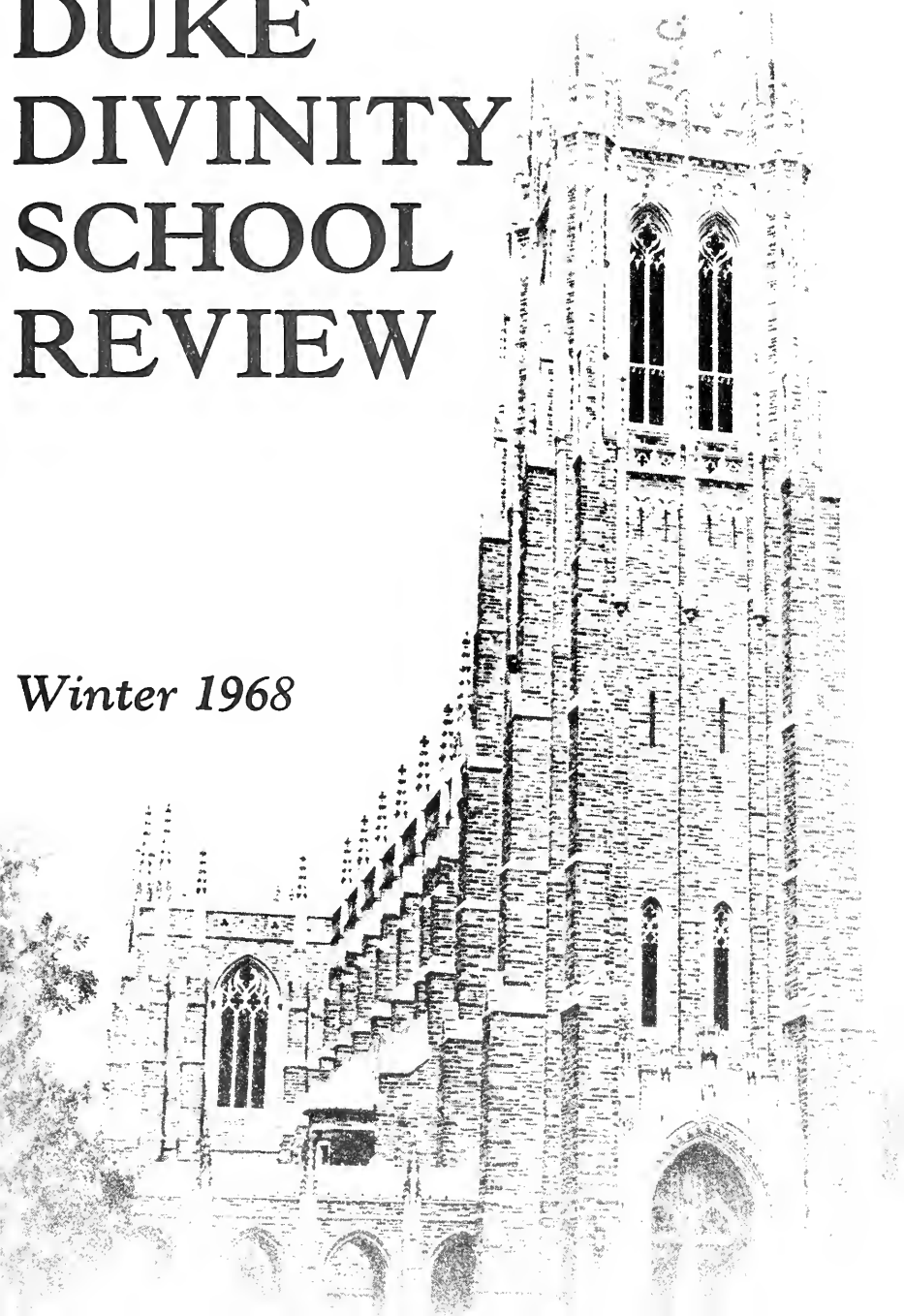


THE DUKE DIVINITY SCHOOL REVIEW

Winter 1968



A Post-Easter Prayer

Our Father God, it is time to pray, and so we bow our heads and close our eyes. We have learned the words of thanksgiving and praise, and we recite them to thee. We have been taught to confess our sins, and we have said the words. Some have become so pre-occupied with their guilt that it has become their only concern. If forgiveness should come and the sins were forgiven, for these, the center of faith would be removed. But most of us come to thee, not to be cleansed, but to be blessed as we are. . . .

Dear God, we hope the talk of the death of God will soon cease. It disturbs us that there is so much said about death in our faith, anyway. Crosses and graves are not pleasant subjects. We prefer Easter lilies to empty tombs. We accept the empty tomb, even though no one can prove it, for it is a part of our faith. Yet, why is it, Lord, that we do not feel the wonder of the empty tomb as the disciples felt it, or in the way that we used to feel it?

Could it be that something has died in us? We know our souls are bathed in the brightness of Easter, but we do not sense that anything has changed. We have not really participated in the resurrection. Why does its reality elude us? We know that it is thy mercy that withholds thy blessing from us as we are, for we cannot bear to remain as we are. Heavenly Father, as we come before thee, must we face the fact that it is not the talk about the death of God that disturbs us, but the fact that we are not more alive than we are. It is not the empty tomb that troubles us, but the emptiness in our souls. Yet, we know they are not empty. Our beings are fat, stuffed and overflowing with our self-centeredness, our greed, our pride. We have eyes that do not see the living Lord. We have ears that are deaf to the call that thou dost speak to us. We have hearts that do not feel the needs to which we should respond.

Dear divine Father, grant that the new life of Easter may even yet be ours. Bless us with a new hunger for righteousness. Make us alive to the demands of thy kingdom. Strengthen us to take up our crosses and to follow with joy our risen Lord. . . . Amen.

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Theological Education

A Reconsideration of Its Nature in Light of Its Objective

ROBERT E. CUSHMAN

I

Our opening Convocation each fall is intended to gather the re-assembled Divinity School community for corporate worship. It celebrates our mastering end as a school, namely the greater glory of God. It is the hope and purpose of all, I am sure, that, in the day-by-day acceptance and discharge of our common tasks, we shall likewise be celebrating God's glory and advancing his purpose, for it is in the common tasks of life that devotion is most keenly tested, as it is, also, most fittingly visible.

For the Convocation address of this morning, I believe I have a text from Scripture. It is the familiar line of I Corinthians 13:13: "But now abideth faith, hope and love, these three; and the greatest of these is love." However, entering students are cautioned not to look to my example this morning for an instance of good expository form, for the bearing of the text will only become evident at the end, and that is very poor preaching indeed!

What, in fact, you are going to have to endure is a discourse of some length. It is beamed toward all, but especially in the direction of the entering class of Junior students. The subject is theological education and the question of its nature as correlated with its proper aims and goals. These should be appropriate considerations, both for those who are just setting their course and for those who, for many years now, have been trying to find their way. This pretty well covers the spectrum of those assembled. Hence, with some confidence at least in the relevance of the subject matter, although with much less in its treatment, I will launch my craft upon the sea of your excited attention!

And speaking of the sea (which, indeed, can be very unpredictable), one reason immediately suggests itself for the importance of goal-identification. As in seamanship, so in theological education,

one cannot chart a course unless he has a fairly clear notion of where he is going. But the analogy does not fully hold, because the voyage in search of Christian understanding is, often, more like Columbus' voyage of discovery than the sailing of the Queen Elizabeth from Southampton to New York or Calcutta. And it is just this distinction between voyages based upon already identified destinations and voyages of discovery that may assist us to differentiate between the proximate and the ultimate goals of theological study.

II

Lately I have been giving second and more careful attention to an impressive study of the state of theological education in North America directed by Charles R. Feilding and published in 1966 under the title *Education for Ministry* by the American Association of Theological Schools. It is the fruit of long research by a team of knowledgeable and concerned educators. The study, assigned by the Association and with the usual Foundation support, was inspired by a fairly widespread misgiving as to whether the theological schools of the Association were succeeding in discharging their roles and fulfilling their aims as educational institutions claiming to prepare a Christian ministry. The Feilding Report is an important instance of the kind of self-scrutiny to which theological education, quite generally, has been subjecting itself for nearly a decade. What the really solid findings of self-study are remains, no doubt, still uncertain. No general consensus as to the value of several findings is established. Nevertheless, throughout the community of theological educators, complacency has been largely replaced by an earnest concern to square the methods and practices of the educative process with more or less acknowledged goals to which, it seems, seminary education, by its very nature, must be committed.

We must note without attempting comment that one pervasive finding of the Feilding Report is that the Protestant ministry, in role and function, has been and is, by force of cultural circumstances, in process of enforced alteration. The country parson and parish of an earlier day are no longer serviceable norms or images in the face of the vast urbanization of life in North America. The ministry entails different roles and functions in greatly altered contexts. In urban society the ministerial role has been vastly diversified, both by new demands and by unprecedented opportunities.

All this is wholly familiar, almost to the point of tedium, in view of the flood of publications devoted to the matter during the past several years. One observation only I make, namely this, that recent sociological conditioning of the role of ministry in North America, contained in the word "urbanization," has undoubtedly greatly pluralized the ministerial function, fostered uncertainty among ministers as to their role, and contributed, thereby, to a blurring of the ministerial image. Accordingly, the manifest and sometimes scandalous ineptitude of churchmen and ministerial leadership in applying the Gospel to the malformations of urbanized society is attributable not merely to insensitivity and inertia but, rather, a plain inability to know *how* to relate the Gospel redemptively in and to rapidly altering and uncomprehended burgeoning societal disorganization.

Plainly this external situation, this altered context for the work of the ministry, carries important implications for the educational program of schools charged with the educational preparation of the ministry. One is not surprised, then, yet he may be startled, as I was, by a crucial sentence of the Feilding Report. It is this: "*Ministry today is generally discontinuous with the preparation provided for it.*" To a conscientious seminary educator this sentence is or, I believe, should be shocking for reasons that are manifest. What indeed are the aims of theological education? Are they in fact implemented by existing curricular provisions and arrangements; or are the curricular arrangements provided in the schools simply incompatible with, or at least only obliquely relevant to, the ministerial tasks for which their graduates are allegedly prepared? Or, further, have the aims of seminary education been inherited from another day, prevailed with the years without adequate scrutiny or revision, and become somewhat inviolable and sacrosanct? Have they, in fact, been premised upon other purposes than those publicly announced for a long time in catalogues?

For example, have theological schools, and not merely university divinity schools, taken as their model, as the Feilding Report strongly suggests, a style of "theological education based on graduate schools in the humanities"? The Report testifies to a "growing dissatisfaction" with this model and makes the following statement with reference to it: "Earlier, there had also been an abhorrence of turning a theological school into a trade school. In place of either model, I

believe the emerging consensus is that theological education should be based on the model of professional education.”

It is, in fact, toward a conception of professional education, as the proper aim of the schools avowedly committed to ministerial education that the Feilding Report looks and gropes. It seeks to delineate in general outline some characteristics of professional ministerial education today. This is predicated upon the assumption that the tasks of the ministry today and tomorrow call for a new kind of professional competence, namely, that suited to the altered context of ministry in the altering societal structures of today’s world.

III

Now I would like to make a sort of personal testimony, but first with the open acknowledgment that I myself am a product of the kind of theological education which in fact did, and with conspicuous success in those days, base its style on the model of “graduate schools in the humanities.” Moreover, I have been concerned here at Duke over a godly number of years not only to keep something of that model alive but to foster it, not, however, intentionally in such a way as to hamper, but rather to advance, the distinctive and inalienable requirements of good professional education. Furthermore, it remains a pressing question whether a university divinity school can ever, properly, wholly relinquish the model of graduate studies and remain responsible to its distinctive university context.

This is true for many reasons, not the least of which is that the graduate concept keeps the goal of truth-seeking and high standards of critical understanding as fairly constant norms of excellence for the whole enterprise of professional studies leading to the ministerial career. However faulty some seminary education may have been, and continues to be, in grooming professionals for the application of the Gospel to life in its changing aspects, it is still a steady conviction with me that a primary qualification in the longtime usefulness of any practitioner, minister or doctor—in what around here is called “the nitty-gritty” of life’s actualities—is an informed, disciplined and, therefore, critical understanding of that whole range of experience with which the practitioner must deal.

Yet it is probably to be conceded (and this is also a part of my testimony) that—after this has been said in apology for that style of theological education which more or less adopts the model of “graduate schools in the humanities”—the Feilding Report must still be

heard. It must be fairly attended when it affirms that "*ministry today is generally discontinuous with the preparation provided for it.*" It must also be attended when it reports that, in place of either the graduate school model or the discredited training school model, there is an emerging consensus favoring "the model of professional education."

I must now state that I find myself increasingly participant in this emerging consensus. I am participant, not because I understand completely the distinctive characteristics of a "professional education" towards which we are presently groping (although I hope I am not without some grasp of essentials); rather, I am participant because I, for one, must concede that old-style theological education, as I have known it, has in truth not sufficiently and openly faced the fact and the nature of the discontinuity between itself and the actualities of ministerial practice.

IV

Now, unless I were to prolong this discussion to a length which would trespass upon the just rights of professors and students to already scheduled class time, I could not give adequate account of my reasons for acknowledging openly a *discontinuity* between theological education as practiced and the ministerial calling it purports to serve. However, I can begin by acknowledging the cogency of much sociological appraisal of "churched" religion insofar as it demonstrates that rapid societal change in our time has pulled the rug out from under both the inherited and age-old ministerial functions and the educational preparation that was correlated with the older conception of the ministry and was styled to serve it. This, however, does not mean, forthwith, that all which traditionally has gone to make up the regimen of theological studies is unprofitable. It does, however, call attention to the uses of theological knowledge and, above all, urges reconsideration of the *purposes* that might better prompt and arrange its structure, if we may hope for a more timely discharge of the vocation of the ministry for tomorrow.

I will illustrate the problem: When my ever-so-many greats great-grandfather, Thomas Cushman, the ruling elder of the Church of Plymouth in 1654, received the grandson of John Cotton as teaching elder of the Plymouth congregation, fresh out of Harvard, young John Cotton had but one primary role. He was to preach the word of God, having been fully introduced to its content by the mastery

of the Biblical languages and by diligent study of the commentaries of Calvin, Ames, and Master William Perkins. For nearly twenty years there had been no stated pastor at Plymouth. But Elder Brewster had administered the sacraments and expounded Scripture, and so had my ever-so-many greats great-grandfather in succession. But neither Brewster nor his successor were learned men. Evidently they commanded neither Greek nor Hebrew. They had not been university-trained. Nevertheless, as laymen, they performed some ministerial functions to the gathered community. Young John Cotton was learned in the Scriptures. This was his certification for full pastoral vocation, and Harvard College was founded primarily to assure a learned ministry for the infant colonies.

I draw a conclusion: for more than three hundred years *the preaching role* of the American Protestant ministry has provided the controlling purpose and, consequently, has prompted the disciplinary content of theological education. It prepared men primarily for a ministry *in the church* to the gathered community. That ministry centered in a learned proclamation of the Word.

With the evangelical awakening of the eighteenth century, and the enlarging efforts of the Moravians, Methodists, and Baptists, the field and context of proclamation widened. It was no longer a gathered community of the "saints" and the "elect." The Methodists, following Wesley, took the world to be their parish and sought, by preaching to all and sundry, "to spread scriptural holiness across the land." Thus, the itinerant preacher and the installed "parson" became two dominant types of American Protestant ministry, but their primary roles were similar. If the installed parson retained rather more a teaching function within the congregation, the itinerant fulfilled his role by attention-commanding eloquence in the cabin churches and open glades of the expanding frontier. Even in an age of oratory, the American nineteenth century, the itinerant could hold his own, however rustic his speech or his learning, as a powerful publisher of both the wrath and the mercy of God and of personal and public morality. At length, the itinerant also became installed, or, as we say, "stationed." Then he too began to speak rather more to the the gathered church than to the world. Protestant Christianity which, with the Wesleys and the evangelical revival, had broken out of its introversion gradually fell back into preoccupation with its own self-maintenance, where, indeed, it has largely been, with some very important intervals of relief, since the first World War.

While, manifestly, this historical sketch of the role of ministry in American Protestantism is impressionistic only and is, doubtless, woefully slighting toward many variables, it does serve to explain why theological education—with its curricular emphases—took the shape it originally adopted and which, I think, it has essentially maintained with some important variations of recent years.

Yet, granted these innovations of recent years that prominently involve Christian education, clinical pastoral care, and the application of sociological understanding to various facets of the ministerial task, it is predominantly the case that American theological education was early shaped, in aim and content, by the prestigious image of the installed and learned parson, the teaching elder of the gathered churches of the Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth colonies of sixteenth-century New England. These teaching elders were responsible primarily for the integrity of the Word and correctness of doctrine within the gathered community of the saints. For language mastery and exegetical acumen they were, by comparison with our modern ministry, shining lights. And when the Methodists and Baptists came, in the mid-nineteenth century, to aspire after the certifications of learning, their seminary curricula were in great part shaped on the prestigious patterns of Harvard, Yale, and Bangor. As for the Reformed and the Lutherans, I believe it may be said that they largely transplanted to this country their European modes of ministerial education. And this, too, was education calculated to produce a ministry for the inner group, the justified community, all the more closed to the world by its ethnic self-consciousness and self-defensiveness, from which, indeed, it has scarcely yet emerged.

To sum it up, what I am strongly suggesting is this. If there is, as the Feilding Report declares, a basic discontinuity between what is called for in ministry today—indeed what is forced upon us—and the preparation for it, this is partly attributable to a long history of theological education that has remained insufficiently revised. Based upon a conception of ministerial function of the past, ministerial education is, even yet, insufficiently designed for the realities and exigencies of the present.

To put it bluntly, the ministry can, I think, no longer be educationally moulded on old and unexamined images of what the ministry once was and, perhaps, could once properly be. The ministry is no longer almost exclusively the preaching of the Word, either to the

closed community or the expanding frontier. The ministry is no longer primarily a service to an inner group of the justified and elect in teaching and sacrament. Ministry is service of the church to the world and not primarily to itself. Ministry is not simply the maintenance and growth of the *congregation*, but the enlargement of the range of grace in the determinative structures of national and international society. One reliable thing which Harvey Cox has said is that ministry today carries an obligation, incumbent upon all Christians, namely, "the stewardship of power" in the orders of society.

I have said enough perhaps at least to adumbrate the emerging pattern of ministry, but the point is that ministry of this conception entails a huge educational problem and task. It is the problem of bringing within the reach of men preparing for it a very wide range of expanding knowledge of the social sciences. Moreover, the distinctly Christian ministration of this knowledge calls for extraordinary creativity in its application. It is, consequently, most difficult to see how the Christian ministry can avoid differentiation and specialization. I, for one, see no necessary reason why this pluralization of ministries means abandonment of the local congregation or the ministrations of Word, sacrament, or pastoral care. But today these roles, together with others that must be added, no one minister can competently discharge. Some of them go well beyond what is conventionally understood as service to the church.

In these extra-mural ministries multitudes of harried clergy have already been engaged for years, but their services have been "extra-curricular" and without official authorization or ecclesiastical endorsement. The result is the proverbial "jack of all trades and master of none." What else could follow but the dissolution of the minister's self-esteem as his own comprehension of his role becomes confused and blurred by the unmanageable multiplicity of functions he has the will to face but not the way. The fact is that, in the past half-century, the ministry has become infinitely pluralized while in education and in practical polity it has stubbornly been conceived simplistically and monistically. Hardly anything seems plainer than that team or group ministry is the urgent need of both the rural and urban situation, not for tomorrow but for yesterday! But we are in bondage to arthritic stereotypes hardly more up-to-date than the late eighteenth century.

V

Since I am treading on everyone's toes today, I may as well conclude with at least some attention to that model of ministerial education identified as "the graduate school in the humanities." In point of fact, at least in this country, it is a nineteenth- and early twentieth-century graft upon the older model. The older model produced the learned divine disciplined in the Biblical languages, exegesis, and the doctrinal standards. The basic difference between the older and the engrafted model of ministerial education is that the later one presupposes the full employment of the methods of *scientific historiography* as applicable to both *Scripture* and *tradition*. More than anything else, it is the espousal of scientific historiography, as the chief instrument of theological understanding, that styled ministerial education after the manner of graduate schools of the humanities. Yet, despite this change, there was no accompanying alteration of the conception of the ministry or of the ministerial function, and essentially the same ministerial product was expected—as it was certainly demanded—from the newer model as, formerly, had been forthcoming from the old. This presumption has rarely been candidly scrutinized.

Herein lies, I increasingly believe, another basic inconsequence in twentieth-century American theological education. In face of it, the Bible Schools of fifty years past began to flourish, and the reason was neither fully understood by seminary educators nor candidly faced or even acknowledged. Armed with the tools of scientific historiography and engrossed in the excitement of their great utility, generations of theological instructors failed to see that no amount of refined comprehension of historical antecedents in Christian origins or tradition could assure either the judgment or the commitment of faith. Yet it was precisely this that was requisite for a vital publication of the Christian message and a relevant application of its import in any age.

And herein I believe lies another really fundamental cause for the thesis of the Feilding Report: "Ministry today is generally discontinuous with the preparation for it." Bluntly stated, it comes to this: you cannot derive the judgments of faith from judgments of fact, however refined. The *recognition* of this is, of course, what launched the Barthian theology on its way, and the *proof* of it is what has largely animated Bultmann's historiographical campaign

of exposé. And all of this is to say, I think, and to say candidly, however belatedly, that theological education modeled somewhat supinely upon graduate schools in the humanities will not suffice to overcome the discontinuity between ministry and its preparation.

Members of the entering classes, I know that you have, in what I have offered you today, a long and possibly tedious lecture rather than an inspirational address. But inspiration that survives is never separable from understanding. I have been trying to "clue you in" on the immensely complex problems of contemporary theological education as it seeks to reorder itself for the demands of the new day. Comforting or not, perhaps you ought to know that theological educators generally, and I believe here also, do not think, in the polite language of the day, that they "have it made." Our curriculum is frankly in transition after nearly two years of exhausting assessment and reassessment. Its formal revision is probably not completed; its reassessment probably ought never to be.

But there is something else I have sought to do in discussing the problems facing the theological school. That is to warn you of the danger of false expectations. There is, of course, the fact that no regimen of educational disciplines can guarantee the quality of its product. In a measure, there will always be a *discontinuity* between the practicing ministry and its preparatory disciplines. No educational program will make you a minister or, in every way necessary, equip you to apply the substance of faith to the varying circumstances that fall to you in the diverse situations of your apostolate. Furthermore, there will always be a "lag" between the professional training of today and the demands of tomorrow. In the long pull, it is basic theological understanding that counts, an acquired habit of critical investigation, and familiarity with and respect for the sources and resources of Christian understanding. But, above all, it will be the steadfastness of Christian devotion and commitment that will see us through.

Of this last there is no direct equation between the educational regimen and its product. Yet the content of Christian commitment is classically and timelessly clarified in the trilogy of I Corinthians 13. The content of the Christian life—as it is also, and consequently, the three-fold pattern of all Christian ministry—is faith, hope, and love. The pressing task of the Christian in every age, as also of theology, is not so much to weight them in respect to one another but to perceive the following: Firstly, that they are *always* correlatives and in-

separable one from the other. Secondly, that no one of them is attainable without the other. Thirdly, that the disposition to affirm any one or two in the absence of the other or others issues in theological aberration and, worse, in truncated ministry and, usually, moribund (or heretical) Christianity. With these aberrations the history of organized Christianity is littered.

Finally, and fourthly, when you are tempted to suppose that theological education can safely be modeled upon the graduate school in the humanities (at least as it has generally understood itself for a century) then I urge you to consider these things: (1) that, apart from love, Christian faith is inaccessible; (2) that, without love, faith is unfulfilled and even dangerous; and (3) that faith is directionless without hope and regularly insensible of the urgencies of its vocation in the world.

No doubt theological education, in its long history, has been notably successful in opening minds to the treasures of faith in both Scripture and tradition; but, in the end, it, of itself, is powerless to invoke the love and the hope that transforms belief into the living substance of Christian life and ministry. Understanding becomes faith only by transfiguration through hope and love into the substance of life.

The problem we face, then, the problem confronting the churches, the problem and obstacle in the way of a more authentic ministry for today's world, is, when all else is said and even provided for, the everlasting cruciality. You might say it is the awful task of espousing Christ's Cross as vocation. Or you might say it is the mystery of transition from inherited or even articulated belief to the *wholeness* of Christian *life*. This is the faithful life, enabled and then empowered by love and directed and prompted by hope.

Entering and returning students, I hope that, by wrestling together in collaboration, theological education may be a more serviceable avenue to the point of cruciality, the transition, and the crossing into authentic ministry for you than it has been for many. If so, your eager participation in your own pilgrimage and crossing will be one indispensable condition for the fulfillment that, together, we work for.

Comments

In addition to the following comments on Dean Cushman's opening address, other members of the faculty have been sharing their reactions and interpretations and applications—more privately but more extensively in a bi-weekly Committee for Continuing Study of the Curriculum. Responses or further perspectives on the aims of theological education in today's world are earnestly solicited from pastors, alumni, and other readers.—Editors.

WILLIAM F. STINESPRING, Professor of Old Testament and Semitics:

I find in this address a good analysis of our existential situation. But being a part of a university, we cannot entirely escape "the graduate school in the humanities" syndrome. This is an asset, not a liability, as the Dean avers; for certain very worthy students will continue to look in this direction.

On the other hand, the Duke Divinity School some years ago made efforts to bridge the gap or "discontinuity" between "theoretical" preparation and "practical" ministry. A good symbol of these efforts was our system of vocational groups. While this particular device was far from perfect, and has been discontinued in the new curriculum of 1967, it did serve a useful purpose, and caused a number of students, of whom I have personal knowledge, to choose Duke Divinity in preference to another seminary.

This kind of diversification and flexibility in the curriculum should be continued, and is, in fact, being continued. No mere curricular device or reorganization, however, will insure that each of our students shall have that *sine qua non* of the Christian faith which the Dean describes as "the love and the hope that transforms belief into the living substance of Christian life and ministry." Such love and hope can be held and mediated only by those who have and continue to have a personal experience of and commitment to the crucified and risen Christ. All of us, faculty and students alike, should strive constantly to improve and modernize the curriculum with respect both

to the tradition which we have received and to the urgent needs that face us today. We should study this tradition and these needs diligently. But we must also examine ourselves constantly to make sure that we have not lost contact with the Source of our faith: "he that hath seen me hath seen the Father" (John 14:9). The cleverest organizational devices of men will fail if there are no consecrated men and women to administer them.

* * *

WALDO BEACH, Professor of Christian Ethics:

The Dean's eloquent statement in analysis of the dilemmas and aims of theological education is one with which this colleague is in hearty accord. Better that we should be troubled and perplexed about our tasks in theological education than that we should be complacent, mechanically grinding out products of a preacher factory. But compared with the atmosphere and morale of our neighboring professional schools of law and medicine, we seem to suffer badly as faculty and students from lack of a clear image of the church and the ministry, a lack reflected in much tired, lonely teaching and aimless, demoralized study.

I would phrase our common malaise in terms of a lost relevance. We are here to learn to preach the Gospel to the world, we say. The basic problem that bothers the world is not as to the truth or falsity of the Gospel, however anxiously we debate these matters in seminary. The prior problem is that of its relevance or irrelevance, how the saving word of God to the world is appropriate or inappropriate to the condition of modern man.

Two sentences of the Dean's address bear repeating—one of diagnosis: "the . . . ineptitude of churchmen and ministerial leadership in applying the Gospel to the malformations of urbanized society is attributable not merely to insensitivity and inertia but, rather, to plain inability to know *how* to relate the Gospel redemptively in and to rapidly altering and uncomprehended burgeoning societal disorganization."

And one of prescription: ". . . a huge educational task . . . of bringing within the reach of men preparing for [the ministry] a very wide range of expanding knowledge of the social sciences."

Amen. A most urgent innovation needed in theological education would be to include in its scope, in both informal and formal ways, a Christian interpretation of the cultural dynamics of contemporary

urban society. Not just courses in economics, sociology, political science, but an interpretation of the findings of these sciences by the light of Christian theological categories. We need worldly knowledge. As long as the major part of our theological study remains blithely oblivious of the cultural revolutions of our day, the preached word will remain vain and remote rhetoric, floating right over the common needs of men and out the back door.

The Divinity School is in the midst of a university, where there are resources that could be tapped to serve this end of greater relevance. And Durham is a New South city bedevilled with all the disorders of urbanization and racism. How to use both Durham as a laboratory and the worldly knowledge of the university for theological education is a baffling problem which would require imagination, daring, and a marked shift in our present order of priorities. But a move in this direction would bring greater relevance to our whole enterprise.

* * *

FREDERICK HERZOG, Professor of Systematic Theology:

It is gratifying to see Dean Cushman as the administrative head of the Divinity School wrestle so vigorously with the changing direction of theological education. I find little to disagree with in his "A Reconsideration of the Nature of Theological Education in the Light of Its Objective." What I wonder, however, is whether some of the questions he raises must not be dealt with in terms of basic premises that need to be specifically articulated if answers should be forthcoming. Central to his address seems the Feilding Report tenet that "*ministry today is generally discontinuous with the preparation provided for it.*" What type of situation is this kind of reasoning addressed to? Obviously the general trend of American theological education. But a Divinity School never trains people in general. It is always part of a particular situation, a geographical environment, a specific faith tradition and spiritual milieu. For Duke this means first of all the South. Here my questions begin.

(1) What is the particular responsibility of Duke Divinity School for training ministers *in the South*? In recent years in major metropolitan centers Roman Catholic and Protestant schools have begun to cooperate in teaching efforts and in developing common curricula. Only a few of these have been formalized thus far, the most recent one in Boston under the name Boston Theological In-

stitute. While Roman Catholics are not as numerous in the South as in other parts of the country, Duke Divinity School will have to make up its mind whether it wants to minister to the Church as a whole or only to a segment of the Church. Just what this implies concretely I am unable to state in terms of the brevity required for these comments on the Dean's address. But I have good reason to believe that the whole new scene must soon make its impact on the kind of preparation for the ministry we want to give. Duke Divinity School must become a Theological Center for the South—if it wants to continue to move ahead.

(2) What is the particular responsibility of the *theological faculty* in preparing ministers? Theological education in the past few years has become so diverse in terms of a variety of disciplines that we no longer have a universe of theological discourse. And with the freeing of the theological curriculum from too many hours required the possibility of a theological multiverse looms even larger, since students can choose courses more according to their special interests. This need not be negative at all. But in this situation faculty members must engage in dialogue lest centrifugal forces make the whole enterprise fly apart. The dialogue dare not be a "potshot" affair. It needs regular times of exchange and discipline in preparation. And it must be directed specifically also to problems of the particular area we are working in, which is the South. Students have to feel that the faculty is working at the unity of theological education, and that not in a vacuum. And for the outside world Duke needs a theological face.

(3) What is the responsibility of the *Church* for the training of the ministry? In my view, the Church needs to take a much greater interest in what is going on in the Divinity School, perhaps through the Board of Visitors or some such organ of school-Church relationships. I still need to be asked by a member of the Board of Visitors, a bishop, a pastor or a layman what I as a faculty member think I ought to be doing at Duke in theology. Perhaps others have different impressions. Even so, without a lively exchange on this score among all concerned, theological education will remain very much in the ivory tower.

I appreciate the opportunity afforded by the REVIEW to comment on matters of import in the life of the Divinity School. I at least have been compelled again to think about the basic premises of theological education at Duke.

MOODY SMITH, Associate Professor of New Testament Interpretation :

“Ministry today is generally discontinuous with the preparation provided for it.” Dean Cushman quotes this statement from the Feilding Report and agrees with it in large measure. It appears to be true in at least two senses. First, theological education does not adequately prepare the ministerial candidate to perform the functions of his office as these are understood by many, if not most, laymen, by some denominational officials, and by others who lay down the criteria of “success” in the ministry. Insofar as it does, theological education may well fall under suspicion of being neither theological nor education, given the present state of American church life. But second, and more importantly, theological education does not prepare the ministerial candidate to minister to man in society in a time when both that man and his society are in a state of rapid flux. To a certain degree it cannot, since the state of man in society ten or even five years hence may differ from what it is today, or even from what can be anticipated today. Moreover, with the exception of certain well established special ministries such as the campus ministry or the ministry of personal counseling, the forms of ministry relevant to our own day and for the remainder of the twentieth century are not yet clearly discernible. Are we then to conclude that the statement of the Feilding Report is true, but not helpful, inasmuch as nothing should or can be done about the situation? No, I do not want to say that, partly because I believe something can be done, but also because I am not certain that this statement and its corollaries in themselves lead us to a right understanding of whatever is amiss.

For instance, it is perhaps true, as the Feilding Report alleges, that theological schools, especially good ones, have modelled themselves upon graduate schools in the humanities. Yet I wonder to what extent the relationship between theological study and such graduate education arises out of a common history in which the study of theology once played a leading role. I would venture to suggest that the relation between theological education and the graduate school in the humanities has not been strictly a one-way street. Moreover, if it is the purpose of graduate education in the humanities better to equip the presumptive heirs of the intellectual leadership of society to think about mankind, its problems and prospects, in the light of the best of our cultural traditions, this model ought not to be wholly

irrelevant to the purposes and goals of theological education in any age. Therefore, the problem may not be simply that the theological school has modelled itself upon graduate education, but that it has taken its lead from graduate education in the process of petrification and furthered the process. If theological education and graduate education arose together, as I suspect they did, it is certainly arguable that many present patterns of theological education represent more a corruption than an adoption of anything approaching a classical ideal.

Turning more directly to the Dean's address, the example of the very erudite young Reverend John Cotton is appropriate insofar as it illustrates the centrality of preaching in American Protestantism. It is, however, far less apposite as an example of the degree of preparation that has ordinarily been accepted as sufficient to qualify a man for the task of preaching. Yale, Union, of late Duke, and several denominational seminaries (especially those of the Presbyterian and similar churches) have fairly well emulated the example of theological education established in Great Britain and on the continent. But in all candor I doubt whether even their typical graduates have been more learned in scripture and tradition than the Dean's ancestors, not to mention the very learned Reverend John Cotton. I should dislike to compete with the latter in knowledge of Hebrew and Greek! This is simply to say that I doubt whether the American Protestant ministry, not to mention the Methodist ministry—much less the Methodist ministry in the South¹—suffers from an overdose of theological education in the classical tradition, i.e., along the lines of really good graduate education in the humanities.

Assuming for the moment that this conclusion may be correct, I would nevertheless not infer from it that the cure for whatever problems we have is a return to a classical model of theological education in the European or traditional sense. What do we need? We must discern our ailment or problem before we can recommend a cure. Dean Cushman has rightly referred to the increasing complexity, and especially the urbanization, of society. He has also noted a need for the development of specialized skills in the ministry and for commensurate preparation in theological education. Certainly I do

1. Duke Divinity School draws many students from outside the Methodist Church and outside the South. According to our most recent catalogue, however, 198 of 250 candidates for professional degrees are Methodist and almost exactly the same number, 199 of 250, are from Southern States (West Virginia and Kentucky included).

not wish to quarrel with this. On the other hand, I believe that Dean Cushman would not deny that the fundamental question for the student of theology in our time and any other is that of the nature, meaning, and implications of Christian faith. He himself says: "It is still a steady conviction with me that a primary qualification in the longtime usefulness of any practitioner, minister or doctor . . . is an informed, disciplined and, therefore, critical understanding of that whole range of experience with which the practitioner must deal."² I think he would agree that a fundamental component of such experience in the case of the Christian minister is the content of scripture and tradition. He has well said that, "in the long pull, it is basic theological understanding that counts, an acquired habit of investigation, and familiarity with and respect for the sources and resources of Christian understanding."³

The problem with our graduates has not been that they knew too much useless theology. Rather it has been that they did not know how to use the theology they knew. Consequently, many of them have either withdrawn from the ministry, at least from the pastoral ministry, or have slowly and reluctantly conformed to the demands and mores of a culture Protestantism which desires a ministry long on superficial piety, building programs, and program building, but with little inclination to speak a word of judgment or renewal. Discontinuity with such "ministry" is to my mind a desideratum of theological education.

Inseparable from the problem of devising forms of ministry relevant to the present world is the urgency of judgment and renewal in the institutional church. *Ecclesia semper reformanda* is more often a slogan than a reality. Before the churches of our society, and particularly of this region, will think to undertake new forms of ministry, they must first face the challenge of whether they are interested in comfortable folk religion or in the gospel. Such a challenge implies the question of what the gospel is or means. This being the case, the theological school will do well to continue to entertain this question, recognizing that it demands continual reflection. It is not, however, sufficient to allow it to remain at the level of pure reflection. Such a course would promote a necessary, but as yet ineffectual, discontinuity between ministry and preparation for it and would perpetu-

2. "A Reconsideration of the Nature of Theological Education in the Light of its Objective," p. 6.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 12.

ate fear, frustration, and impotence in ministerial candidates. We have now reached the point of considering the proposal of the Feilding Report, endorsed by Dean Cushman, for remedying this problem of discontinuity, insofar as it needs to be remedied, namely, "professional education."

To ask whether theological education should be "professional" or whether it should embrace the model of the "professional school" is actually to raise the question of the nature of professional education, as Dean Cushman also recognizes. Both he and the Feilding Report reject the concept of the trade school, which presumably means a school designed to train men to perform already well-defined tasks. Such a concept, while perhaps viable in the past, becomes obsolescent in a day in which the tasks themselves are in the process of change. Even if the minister's task is taken to be teaching and preaching, so that the proper vocational training would include a large dose of Bible, theology and ethics, it cannot be safely assumed that knowledge of the subject matter automatically equips a man effectively to communicate it nowadays. At its best, therefore, the trade school concept seems inadequate. What then may "professional education" be?

Perhaps we should begin by asking what the product of this professional education ought to be. This may sound redundant, but it is not superfluous to say that he ought to be a professional. In what sense? At least in the sense that he should be worthy of his reward. Although no one would want to stop with that definition, it is not the worst place to begin. The member of the learned professions, among which the ministry is traditionally numbered, does not work simply to gain a reward. Otherwise he might better pursue some other line of endeavor. Yet he should be possessed of the kind of competence which those who retain him for pay have a right to expect. If they do not expect much, and pay little, this may be because they do not have an adequate idea of what to expect and need to be taught to demand more. The professional knows who he is and what he wants to do, and he has the skills in hand to accomplish his purposes. The trouble with many of our graduates today is that they do not know—either vocationally or in any more profound sense—who they are. They do not really know what they can expect to accomplish, and if they knew, they would not know how to go about it. Now, that is an exaggerated statement, but its kernel of truth is borne out by the fact that we are discussing this subject with such earnestness. Moreover, the departure of many able young men

from the ministry is probably testimony to the existence of some such condition as I have just briefly described.

If there is any truth in this diagnosis, it would be delusive for the theological school to propose to correct it singlehanded. On the other hand, the theological school is not helpless. What can it do? I want to suggest a few measures which will probably seem unspectacular and perhaps obvious. First, the theological school ought to teach theology. By this I do not mean only Biblical theology, the history of doctrine, or "theology in the abstract"—if there is any such thing. It should above all teach the student to think theologically. Theological thinking involves encounter with the tradition at a serious level so that the student's whole self-understanding and conception of the church and ministry is called into question. It involves the freeing of the imagination and of the critical powers, so that the sinfulness of the world and of the church is seen against the background of the righteousness of God and His kingdom. It ought to be a grasping and shaking experience. But the job of professional theological education is not completed when the student has been grasped and shaken. Yet this is precisely where we leave many, if not most, of our students, excepting, of course, those who have eluded our grasp altogether.

In the second place, the theological school must help the student understand how, in the light of his theological perspective, he can carry out an effective ministry in the church. This may not be through the usual route of ordination and the parish, but for the foreseeable future it probably will be. We had better not delude ourselves and our students into thinking that any form of ministry which they deem appropriate is going to be available to them for the asking. It is usually a struggle to bring into being and sustain a new form of ministry. It requires money. Right now the institutional church has access to money. If for no other reason most people will have to work in, with, and through this organizational entity. The student need not despise it because it is an organization. If he breaks with existing structures and tries to accomplish anything of significance or lasting value, he will probably have to start his own organization—prophecy cannot be a permanent state of affairs. Quite apart from the theological problems inherent in such schism, any new ecclesiastical organization is eventually overtaken by the same threat of institutionalism that plagues the old ones.

At Duke we have probably done a fair job in teaching our people

to think theologically. We have not done as well in helping them understand how they can effectually express their theological concerns in the church and in the world. Hence the large number of able students who choose the profession of teaching in which they can at least see the possibility for gaining competence and being able to use the understanding and skills they are acquiring. (Many of these able men are probably heading for frustration, since despite more favorable prognostications, there still seem to be more good men than good jobs in the academic field of religion. Others who could become exceedingly useful churchmen are likely headed for positions of mediocrity in the academic world. It is a shame, for we ought to be able to help able men perceive their concrete possibilities for various ministries in the church.)

The seminary cannot alone define the forms of ministry, nor can it alone fully prepare the student to exercise a ministry. Thus, in the third place, there ought to be greater cooperation between the theological school and the church. Such cooperation has in the past been made difficult by the obduracy and theological know-nothingness of some ecclesiastical moguls. But the day of the paternalistic official who plays God with his subordinates and with churches is probably passing. This is happening, I think, for two reasons. Men of theological understanding are coming into positions of leadership, and the institutional church sees stormy seas ahead and is willing to listen to constructive criticism and advice. While the institutional church has presented some difficulties and obstacles to the goals of genuine theological education, theological faculties have for their part been all too ready to dismiss with lordly disdain any and all criticism from outside the walls. Perhaps it is because our enrollments have dropped and we have sensed that the stormy seas without may set us adrift also that we too have become more tractable. God moves in mysterious ways his wonders to perform!

Fourth and finally, despite the churches' alleged need of ministers, we ought to make it more difficult to become a minister. Paradoxically, the ministry is one of the most difficult professions and at the same time the easiest to enter. This is because it is possible to fail utterly and to survive. This failing and yet surviving—which, incidentally, has nothing to do with the Pauline paradox—begins even before theological school. It begins when we admit inferior students who would not gain admission to any decent law, medical, graduate, or, in some cases, undergraduate school. It continues as

we nurse along students who never perform adequately, as well as those who may be intellectually competent, but who in other ways can not or do not really prepare themselves for ministry. The theological school ought to be more demanding, yes, ruthless, in the former case, the school and the church in the latter. It is reasonable to suppose that the enforcement of higher standards would result in fewer ministers. But I also believe it would result in more really competent, professional, ministers. Moreover, we have no way of knowing how many men do not enter seminary or leave seminary to enter another professional group, e.g. the academic, because they do not want to be identified with mediocrity.⁴ What Paul says in I Corinthians 1 and 2 is no argument against this, for Paul was no fool, and he did not bear fools gladly in responsible positions in the church.

We do need a more professional, in the sense of professionally competent, ministry. Therefore, we are in need of better, or more, professional education. But the concept of "professional education" is one which requires definition in terms that are theological as well as pragmatic. Our failure has not been in being too theological, but in not being sufficiently pragmatic. I would therefore understand a more adequate professional education to entail a better articulation of the interrelation of the theological and the pragmatic. Such a concern is fully justified in view of the fact that Christianity is itself grounded in event and act rather than in abstract ideas. I firmly believe a much better job can be done. But can it be done in the traditional three-year period? There are grounds for serious doubts. One reason for our lack of pragmatism is that it takes most of the available time to accomplish the basic theological task. Must we not find ways of either beginning theological study earlier (before a man is twenty-one or twenty-two) or extending it later, either through advanced degree programs, the extension of the basic degree, or continuing education? Some kind of positive answer seems necessary if we are to accomplish adequately the task of preparing men for ministry in times such as ours.

* * *

C. RANDAL JAMES, '68, Chairman, Co-ordinating Council for Community Life:

No small furor has arisen since Charles R. Feilding published

4. Cf. Van A. Harvey, "On Separating Hopes from Illusions: Reflections on the Future of the Ministry," *motive*, November, 1965, pp. 4-6. Harvey argues vigorously and persuasively for higher professional standards for the ministry.

his *Education For Ministry* with its basic thesis, "ministry today is generally discontinuous with the preparation provided for it." Simply stated, this meant the seminaries were and are not doing their job, which job was and is articulated generally as preparing men and women for the Christian ministry. Thus, much seeking and searching, adjusting and revising, has been engaged in, especially within Protestant circles, to determine the conditions and problems which produced the Feilding thesis. These probings have revealed two predominant models now extant for theological education, viz., that of the professional school, and that of the graduate school in the humanities. The former appears to be the more popular. But whatever the choice, the tacit assumption is that one or the other of these models, or perhaps a combination of both, when properly manipulated and practically implemented by a curriculum congenial to the model, will, in some way, eliminate the discontinuity between the ministry and the preparation for it.

Now the theological student, the one toward whom the model is aimed, is somewhat befuddled by all of this. Certainly he is cognizant of the foregoing issues even if he does not have complete comprehension of the full range of implications therein contained. He is not a professional theological educator. Yet be that as it may, the theological student is aware that he does have a stake in all of the talk, and he too wants to be heard.

When given opportunities to speak to the problem at hand, it appears that the contemporary theological student, in his scrutiny of the aims and purposes of theological education, wishes to raise a prior question to that of "models for theological education." The question is that of his own self-understanding within the context of the professional Christian ministry. That is to say, he seeks some professional identity. At first, this identity is usually a derived one, one appropriated from older "ministers." Hence, unless he comes from a unique situation, his experience and observation of the ministry largely has been centered around his pastor. He sees his pastor engaged in fragmented, discontinuous, and unrelated tasks. "Perhaps," he says to himself, "it will all make sense once I enter seminary." But when he makes his entrance into formal theological education, he soon becomes aware, to his consternation, that fragmentation exists there also. All he has to do is peruse the curriculum, with its divisions and subdivisions. What does church history have to do with leading an authentically Christian official board? Or what does

Ignatius of Loyola have to do with the student he will face one day in his classroom?

Thus it is that the theological student earnestly endeavors to discover some model (not necessarily a person) of his own for the professional ministry, a model which will unify and dovetail the multifarious theological tasks and disciplines. If he fails to find such a model, he is usually frustrated and confused during his three years in residence at the seminary. Or, at the extreme, he may drop out of school and leave the professional ministry. Hence, the questions I wish to raise are, what is a viable model for professional self-understanding for the contemporary theological student, and, does such a personal model have implications for a model of theological education in general?

In the past, the student may have been "forced" to choose one model among several possibilities. For example, until 1967 the student at Duke Divinity School could pick from the categories of parish minister, teacher, missionary, pastoral psychologist, religious educator, or campus minister, for his model when he chose his "vocational group." Of course, Duke no longer operates with these categories, each of which is, in point of fact, unacceptable as a model which will encompass all of the theological tasks. Rather, it seems to the present writer that the only viable model for professional self-understanding is that of "theologian," understood in the broadest possible sense. That is to say, the "theologian" is to understand his task as threefold: to determine God's will, to follow this will, and to interpret this will to others in order that they may follow in the same direction. Thus, the model calls for radical theocentricity, where this theocentricity implies the triadic relationship of God, man, and neighbor. Further, radical theocentricity forces the theological student to understand all the disciplines he studies in relation to the core of his own professional self-identity. Even when he graduates, the total spectrum of his tasks must also be seen in relation to that core. The result, then, is not fragmentation, but unity, no matter whether the "theologian" be studying American Christianity, engaged in preaching, caring for the sick, planning a commission meeting, or preparing to teach an undergraduate class on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. Radical theocentricity also implies that the "theologian" must be existentially involved in his tasks; he cannot theologize in the abstract. He must be constantly on the alert to discern the will of God in each existential situation insofar as is possible in

order that he might embody that will to others. Hence, the model of "theologian" provides the theological student the unity he seeks in his professional self-understanding.

But what does this model of professional self-understanding have to say about a model for theological education? It says, first of all, that theological education must keep a clear eye cast upon its goal, namely the training of theologians. The model of theological education is constructed after its goal is determined, not before. A viable model for theological education must be predicated on "theological grounds," as it were, rather than predicated on some model that happens to work for some other type of education. Thus, if theological education resembles a graduate school in the humanities or a professional school, it is coincidental, not predetermined. Secondly, our model implies that theological education is not a closed experience, but an open-ended one. What begins in seminary never ceases. The theological student becomes a "theologian" the moment he enters seminary. He does not attain the title of "theologian" upon receipt of his degree and understand his training to end there. Rather, he is engaged in theological education not only during the three years in seminary, but throughout the remainder of his life. The authentic "theologian," using the basic tools acquired in seminary, tools mastered not for their own sake but for the larger task, is constantly "growing" or "becoming" in his professional self-understanding. The Pharisaic theologian is the one who never writes a new sermon, who uses the same lecture year after year, who has the same answer for the counselee before him. Thirdly, the model implies that the practical implementation of a model for theological education can never be static, but must be dynamic. A curriculum "long established" is worthless. A curriculum which thwarts the theological growth of students is deficient. What is good for one student is not good for all students. Theological curricula must provide for individual tailoring. A student forced to take three years of "requireds," be they specified courses or specified "areas," is serving the faculty and not his God.

In conclusion, then, the discontinuity between the ministry and the preparation for it will be overcome when students, faculty members, and administrators recognize what it is they are about. It is only when they recognize their primary three-fold task as delineated above that they will be more fully able to proclaim the Christian gospel to the world at large.

The Place and Task of “Confessional Families” in the Ecumenical Movement

LUKAS VISCHER

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The place and task of confessional families in the ecumenical movement is today undergoing lively discussion. Some consider it a self-evident necessity for national churches which agree in doctrine, preaching, and order, and are able mutually to recognize each other as churches in the full sense, to express their fellowship at the universal level, to try to strengthen and support each other, and to make a common witness. It is inherent in the nature of the Church for it to reach out over the borders of individual nations. Any church which did not strive to live the catholicity involved in the gospel would be robbing itself of an essential characteristic. Others see in the development of the confessional alliances a problem for the ecumenical movement. Is it not inevitable that individual traditions harden if they organize at the universal level? Will they not be reinforced in the conviction that they are able to represent the one Church? Will not international obligations to distant sister-churches weaken the immediate obligations to churches in one's own country? Will not unions be made nearly impossible or at least postponed to the distant future? In the opinion of the latter people, the confessional alliances are indefensible entities; the alliances do not take seriously enough the fact that the one holy catholic and apostolic Church extends beyond the separate traditions. On the other hand, they also do not take seriously enough the fact that Christ's Church always lives at a particular place, wherever the Word is proclaimed and the sacra-

The Duke Divinity School Review is proud to publish this significant treatment of a timely topic, through the courtesy of Dr. Eugene L. Smith, Executive Secretary in the U.S.A. for the World Council of Churches. It is timely in anticipation of the Uppsala Assembly of the World Council this summer, and of the Methodist General Conference, which will shortly be considering some radically new proposals from COSMOS (the Commission on the Structure of Methodism Overseas).—Editors.

ment celebrated, and that for this reason the unity of his disciples can be realized first and foremost in this particular place. . . .

Let us present the following thesis: It is difficult to determine the significance of the confessional alliances because *neither the World Council as a whole nor the individual churches have a clear enough idea of the way in which the unity of the Church must be expressed at the universal level.*

The churches which belong to the World Council have, it is true, made a first attempt at describing the unity which must be realized. The outcome of the discussion on this point is to be found in the so-called "New Delhi formula."¹ But the description adopted there is extremely weak precisely in regard to the universality of the church, and it is clear that the common image of unity must be expanded considerably if it is to exercise a determinative influence upon the further progress of the ecumenical movement. The text places all the emphasis on the concept that unity must manifest itself in each individual locality. All those in that locality who are baptized and confess the name of Christ are to be led by the Holy Spirit into a totally committed fellowship. But the text hardly touches upon the subject of how fellowship is to be effected between the different individual churches. After the Third General Assembly has emphasized the fellowship of "all in one place" it must now be stated what sort of fellowship exists among "all in all places."

The individual confessions are hardly in a better situation. Although some are of the conviction that they are and represent the one holy Church, none of them is in a position to explain how the unity of all the churches ought to be expressed today at the universal level. They are all still trying to find ways to do this. Even those churches whose ecclesiological assumptions are clear and unequivocal in this respect, such as the Orthodox or the Roman Catholic Church, must rethink these assumptions in view of the ecumenical movement and in the impact with the modern world, and must authenticate them anew. But until the goal has been clarified by all jointly, it cannot be said what tasks the World Council on the one hand and the different confessional bodies on the other have to fulfill in the ecumenical movement. Only as the goal to which they are striving becomes clearer can their mutual relationship and responsibility be determined.

1. *The New Delhi Report* (London: SCM Press, 1962), p. 116. Report of section on "Unity," stressing the oneness of "all in each place."

The following considerations are presented as a small contribution in this direction:

1. *The Origin of the Confessional Alliances*

The divisions which have come about in the course of history occurred at first in particular, limited areas, the result of a long historical development within them as yet unbroken fellowship of the church. Because the churches which were separated in one particular place drew others with them and the divisions became set, larger groupings arose which opposed one another, and were mutually exclusive. Again, separation has never immediately resulted in the formation of two churches, both of which regarded themselves as the one holy catholic and apostolic Church. Rifts occurred first within the fellowship of the one Church, and the churches which confronted one another still knew themselves to be parts of the one Church. For a long time they lived in relationship with one another; they sought the unity and the renewal of the *una sancta*, and they went their own ways only after many attempts at restoring unity had failed. The consciousness of being the one holy Church and of representing that Church in the face of other "churches" developed only gradually, and even after the breach had been formally completed a certain fellowship remained, if only the fellowship of a bitter struggle.

These observations apply to the divisions in the East, to the schism between East and West, and to the divisions in the West. . . . The different cultural backgrounds between East and West gave the two halves of Christendom a different stamp from the beginning, and the resulting differences in thought and in church life created at least the possibility of a division. Rome's unjustified claim was therefore able to destroy the unity of Christendom, and the events of 1054 only clinched a division which in certain respects already existed. The schism did not prevent the Roman Catholic Church from continuing its claim to be the one Church. Admittedly, the Eastern Church also raised this same claim, but it never developed it in the same way—not only owing to theological convictions but also to historical circumstances. In any case, it has retained through the centuries a deeper consciousness that the one Church would have to include the patriarchate of Rome.

The Reformation began in particular, limited areas, and although intensive relations were immediately established both between the

individual Reformers and between the territories which had gone over to the Reformation, the fellowship was not immediately understood as a new church. It was regarded rather as an alliance within the one Church, a provisional alliance in order better to guarantee the reform of the *one holy* Church. The provisional character of their relations is evident from the fact that for several decades the Reformers demanded that a Council be convened. If the Council had taken place, it would never have been necessary for Lutheran or Reformed Churches to come into being. The Reformation would have remained nothing more than a movement within the one Church. But because the Reformation movement was not completely successful nor completely suppressed, the division developed into a permanent fact. . . .

The Anglican Communion is a particularly clear example of how a universal fellowship can gradually develop out of a relatively limited division—if favored by historical events. While the Reformation in England was at first geographically limited, the Church experienced a tremendous expansion through emigration and through the mission work which took place as the British Empire extended; the Anglican Church thus became a wide Communion. This process has, in turn, had its effects upon the Church's character. It is hardly accidental that precisely in this period of wider responsibility a movement arose which began to give Anglican theology a "catholic" orientation. But the Anglican Communion has never designated itself as the "one holy and apostolic" Church confessed in the creed. Precisely because even to its name it has remained marked by its origin, it has, perhaps more strongly than other churches, always understood itself as a function directed towards true catholicity. Nor were the Methodist, Congregationalist and Baptist churches universal fellowships in the beginning. They arose as movements of renewal, and it was only in the course of time that they developed from relatively modest beginnings into world-wide families and had to be given (or at any rate were given) a certain organizational expression. Thus we see that the confessional alliances represent a hardening and solidification of the differences between the churches. These world alliances raise division to the universal level and give it visible expression at this level.

2. *The Historical Place of Confessional Alliances*

Although the confessional alliances represent on the one hand

a hardening and deepening of divisions, we must not forget that on the other hand their development and in some cases even their origin coincide with the beginning of the modern ecumenical movement. To be sure, the confessional families existed potentially before. But in recent times all the churches have felt much more strongly than earlier the necessity of manifesting their fellowship at the universal level. As relations between the nations became closer and the world became smaller, international structures had to be created. An undivided church would also have had to develop in this direction. . . .

The modern ecumenical movement originated not only from the impulse to restore the unity of faith and order. Without a doubt it originated also in the desire to make a common witness at the universal level. The possibility of joint action in international problems has from the beginning been an important motive for ecumenical encounter and work, and the readiness with which the churches were prepared to co-operate for joint action at this level is astonishing—as a rule, the preparedness has been far greater on the international level than at the national or local level.

The universal character of the Church, however, could not be expressed exclusively by the fellowship into which the churches had been led through the ecumenical movement. Although it opened to them new opportunities for witness, it was nevertheless clear from the beginning that it could be only a provisional and imperfect fellowship. The profound differences in doctrine and order could not be ignored, and to preserve the truth entrusted to them, it was felt necessary by some individual churches to foster fellowship with their sister-churches.

Some of the confessional alliances are older than the modern ecumenical movement. Others arose later. But in any case all received important stimuli through the ecumenical movement and cannot, in their present form, be imagined without the ecumenical movement. Through the ecumenical movement they have been limited as well as strengthened and supported. The ecumenical fellowship took over some of the tasks which they could have carried out. But at the same time the ecumenical movement deepened the relations within the individual confessions, and some churches came together only because they had contact in the ecumenical movement. The Ancient Oriental Churches are a particularly clear example.

Is this historical connection accidental? Or does it contain a deeper significance? The rise of the ecumenical movement is cer-

tainly more than an accident. It is the sign given by God that no one of the individual traditions can ever really represent the one holy catholic and apostolic Church. It arose at the moment when the necessity increased to appear as a larger fellowship. We have already seen that the individual confessions responded to this necessity only with hesitancy. The ecumenical movement is the expression of this hesitancy and as a result of it none of the confessional alliances could really become an exclusive, self-sufficient entity. The ecumenical movement helped the unity given by Christ to break through anew at a time when this unity was on the point of breaking up completely. It set a limit to the sin which maintains division. In the face of the ecumenical movement, the individual traditions must recognize that they are provisional, transient structures on the road to the manifestation of the one church. The ecumenical movement makes it impossible for them to set themselves up as absolutes. It constantly reminds them that they arose out of division and can transcend this division only in fellowship with the other churches. This is true even for the Roman Catholic Church, which seemed to have solved the problem of unity. It, too, had its self-satisfaction shaken by the ecumenical movement, just when it had developed its conception of itself as the One Church to a particularly high degree.

On the other hand, the confessional alliances are a result of the fact that the ecumenical movement was only partially, and not completely, able to bring unity to light again. As long as the deep causes of separation are not overcome, the individual traditions must create separate expressions for themselves. Their separate existence is even beneficial, since it prevents the ecumenical movement from slipping into a pragmatic universalism. Their separate existence aids in bringing the causes of division to the level at which they must be solved, if a truly stable unity is to come about.

However, the confessional alliances are necessary not only because the causes of division have not yet been overcome. They are also necessary because some churches have as yet not even been drawn into the ecumenical movement. This is shown especially by the fact that some churches have not yet joined the World Council, but participate in the life of their own fellowship. For these churches, the confessional bodies represent the only expression of universal fellowship. Without this fellowship they would be completely isolated. In some cases this fellowship may be a hindrance. Membership in the confessional family may block the way to the wider ecu-

menical fellowship. But the confessional bodies can also be an important link. They can manifest the universality of the Church in a limited, preliminary way in those places where the ecumenical movement has not yet broken through and where the ecumenical fellowship is not yet mature enough for a co-operation transcending the limits of the individual tradition to be considered.

Thus we see that the ecumenical movement (and also the World Council) and the confessional alliances are very closely linked. They are related to each other and cannot exist without one another. This has found expression again and again at the meetings which bring together the Presidents and Secretaries of the world federations. The statement issued in October, 1965,² first points out that it is "pre-ecumenical" to regard one's own confessional family as the only spiritual reality to be taken seriously. It then declares that it would be premature to regard Christendom as a world-wide fellowship. Finally, it calls to mind that all the confessions must ask themselves the ecumenical questions: what is the significance of their common faith and how can this common faith be expressed in and for the modern world? However important these observations are, they describe the close connection between the ecumenical movement and the confessional families only in a superficial way. The deeper relationships are not brought to light. The expression "pre-ecumenical," for example, is misleading because it obscures the close interrelation between the two movements. The general description of the ecumenical task overlooks the fact that the confessional alliances have a particular responsibility for realizing the universality of the Church. The short statement does, it is true, point to the tension in which the confessional bodies exist. But it is not sufficiently based on the fact that the *World Council and the confessional families are constitutive elements of a single whole*. They must be seen together.

The World Council and the confessional families should be aligned with each other, but instead of that they merely coexist. They are beginning to get into closer touch, but the links are not yet organic enough to be really effective. This difficulty was already seen and thoroughly discussed when the World Council was founded. Some had suggested that the World Council ought to be conceived as a fellowship of confessional families. However, the original plan prevailed: the organization is based on the principle of geographical representation. The aspect of confessional representation was, it

2. Cf. *The Ecumenical Review*, Vol. XVIII, No. 1, 1966, pp. 91ff.

is true, not completely ignored. Provisions were made, for example, that a confession could send no more than a certain number of delegates to the General Assembly. Without this sort of limitation, confessions consisting of a great many scattered churches would have had a disproportionate influence on the life of the World Council. But the individual churches are members of the World Council directly, and not through the mediation of the confessional families. The Constitution also requires that each church be autonomous, i.e. in a position to administer itself—a requirement which was to prove particularly significant for the participation of younger churches.

Undoubtedly this organization has many advantages. An ecumenical fellowship in which the churches of the individual countries and areas are direct members is a fellowship of *churches* in a much more immediate way. If the principle of confessional representation had been chosen as the point of departure, the life of the World Council would have been dominated by confessional points of view and would probably have become bogged down in them. But the geographical representation made it far more possible for the problems which the churches had to face in their struggle with the modern world to receive appropriate attention in the ecumenical discussion. It thereby also made it easier to break through the confessional boundaries. Just as the confessional families are a reminder that the World Council is primarily no more than an instrument for dialogue, the World Council with its present organization is a particularly powerful reminder that the confessional alliances are only of provisional nature, the aim being the *una sancta*.

This organization also has advantages for ecclesiological reasons. It expresses “proleptically” something of the insight that on the one hand the Church is the whole fellowship of the local churches, and on the other hand each individual local church—each concrete fellowship of believers which gathers in the celebration of the Eucharist.³ If the World Council were organized according to a different principle, the fundamental significance of the local congregation could not have been recognized and made itself felt the way it has in the ecumenical conversation and in the joint work of the churches.

Despite these great advantages, it must be recognized that the confessional families have been given no real place in the World Council. They have developed alongside of it, and since effective

3. Cf. on this point *The Fourth World Conference on Faith and Order*, Montreal, 1963 (London: SCM Press, 1964), Section I, par. 24-25, pp. 45ff.

co-ordination was lacking, it was easy for a certain tension to arise. A genuine relationship becomes more urgent as the ecumenical movement progresses and leads to concrete results. Every union which takes place in any country has repercussions for the whole ecumenical fellowship, and the difficulties which may arise can be overcome only in close co-operation. But above all, the unity of the Church at the universal level can only be solved jointly.

3. *What is a Confessional Family?*

We have, up to this point, spoken of "confessional families" or "confessional alliances." But are these terms suitable for expressing what is meant? What is meant are those structures through which the supranational fellowship of churches with the same faith, the same doctrine and the same order finds visible expression. The term originated in the Protestant, and in particular in the Lutheran, churches. Since there the *Confessio*, the confession of faith, represents the link between the individual churches, the whole family could be called one "confession." It is thus not surprising that some churches cannot accept the expression "confessional alliances." The only "confessional" family is the Lutheran World Federation and, to a more limited extent, the World Alliance of Reformed Churches. The expression is not really suitable for Methodists, Congregationalists and Baptists, but presents no problems; whereas those churches which are of the "catholic" type do not feel that this term applies to them.

This difficulty in terminology would not be disturbing if it did not result in confusion and misunderstandings and lead to practical complications. By stressing the question whether or not a fellowship of churches can be called a confessional family, the ecumenical problem here involved is obscured. Every supranational fellowship has its own peculiarities. It represents a particular faith, particular doctrines, and a particular order. It is marked by its own history and especially by the historical circumstances under which the division took place. As a result of this background it also has definite ideas about the form which the fellowship of the churches should take. Each regards the links between the individual churches in a slightly different way. Each understands the relationship between the individual churches and the total fellowship in its own way and also defines the relationship to the *una sancta* in a different way as a result of its particular ecclesiological convictions.

The only solution then is to broaden the concept and conceive of the fellowship in such a way that all fellowships of churches fit into it and that the differences in their nature and structure can really be arbitrated. No fellowship of churches can exempt itself from the ecumenical confrontation with others. If it is to become clear what is to be understood by the one holy catholic and apostolic Church of the Creed, then the Orthodox and the Ancient Oriental churches, as well as the Anglican Communion or the various Protestant federations must accept each other as participants in a multi-lateral conversation. The Roman Catholic Church must also be included in this conversation. Since it has expressed the universality of the Church in a special way, rejected by all other churches, it is a particularly important partner in this conversation. And although the moment has perhaps not yet arrived in which the number of participants can be complete, we must nevertheless strive to reach this goal. The term "confessional family" is obviously an obstacle on the road to this goal. It means that only some of the supra-national fellowships are brought together for conversation, and mainly those of a Protestant nature. The term ought, therefore, to be replaced by the preferable concept of *fellowship* (*koinonia, communio*).

The statement worked out by the consultation mentioned above (1965) gives a definition of the expression "confessional body," which remains superficial and is formulated in such a way that the Orthodox, as well as the Roman Catholic and the Anglican churches can hardly recognize themselves in it. First, it recognizes that the different fellowships have varying conceptions of themselves and of their task in the ecumenical movement. Then it points out that each of the confessional fellowships confesses not only the general tradition which is common to all the churches but also specific traditions, namely traditions which are the outcome of a spiritual crisis in the history of the Church. In addition, each confessional fellowship desires to render witness to its specific doctrinal and ecclesiological convictions. Is this formal definition all that can be said? Does the common ground which links the different fellowships consist solely and simply in the fact that each has specific doctrinal and ecclesiological convictions to support? Is not precisely this sort of definition "pre-ecumenical"? A satisfactory definition can be given only on the basis of the Creed: "I believe in the Holy Spirit . . . , in one holy catholic and apostolic Church." For only when it be-

comes clear that both the World Council and the individual fellowships of churches are subordinated to this confession and are seeking to *live* this confession in the world today will the true common ground be comprehended. Any definition which speaks only of convictions which must be upheld is ecumenical formalism, which fails to do justice to reality.

A deeper difference exists between those churches whose ecclesiology is based on the model of the Early Church, and the different fellowships of churches which originated directly and indirectly in the Reformation. In this context the main question is what significance is to be attached to the historical model of the first centuries. The Orthodox Churches have retained a structure based on the Episcopal constitution as it had developed by the third century at the latest. They are convinced that the one Church can be expressed only by means of this structure. The confessional bodies did not arise on the basis of this model. They are, in part, based on the synodical principle, but in some respects they have developed pragmatically without much theological consideration. The model of parliamentary constitutions and international organizations has been a determining factor. Not that such a procedure is *a priori* questionable! But the difference must be seen and its significance be recognized if the question how to express the universality of the one Church is to be answered.

However, even if all the traditions represented in the World Council open genuine relations with each other, it will still not be possible to recognize all the aspects of the problem. It will become fully visible only when the Roman Catholic Church also enters the conversation. It is one of the confessional fellowships, and the nature and organization of most of the other fellowships have been strongly influenced by their conflict with the Roman Catholic Church. The manifold complications which the problem has experienced in the course of history will thus become evident only when the Roman Catholic Church presents itself for this conversation. Only then will both it and the other churches be in a position fully to recognize themselves and their relationship to the *una sancta*. The Roman Catholic Church even makes the conversation at this level particularly urgent. Since it represents a world-wide fellowship to a greater extent than any other confession, it involuntarily seeks debate with a fellowship at this same level. The very fact that the Roman Catholic Church has officially decided in favor of dialogue with

other churches has already made encounters between the confessions more important, and the more intensively the Roman Catholic Church engages in the ecumenical movement, the more important the conversation will become. But if the conversation is not to get bogged down in confessional emotions or superficial pragmatic propositions, it must be taken up with conscious theological reflection.

4. *A Few Suggestions*

(a) The time seems to have come for the Churches to enter into more intensive conversation at the international level. Although the World Council is primarily a fellowship of national churches in separate countries or areas and must remain such a fellowship, closer connections within the World Council on the supranational level are becoming increasingly urgent. This does not mean that the present structure must be given up—it is essential that it be retained. The ecumenical fellowship would lose much of its vitality if the individual churches were no longer to belong to it directly, but only through the mediation of the confessional families. The present organization of the World Council is a source of healthy unrest in the confessional structure of Christendom. But if the problem of unity is to be brought closer to a solution, it is crucial *at the same time* to bring about a closer fellowship at the universal level.

The conversations, or at least the plans for conversations, between fellowships of churches have become more numerous in recent years. We mention the following: Orthodox and Old Catholic Churches, Orthodox Church and Anglican Communion, Orthodox and Ancient Oriental Churches (planned), Anglican Communion and Lutheran World Federation (planned), World Alliance of Reformed Churches and Lutheran World Federation (in North America and Europe), World Alliance of Reformed Churches and International Congregational Council, Roman Catholic Church and Anglican Communion, Roman Catholic Church and Lutheran World Federation, Roman Catholic Church and World Methodist Council, Roman Catholic Church and Disciples of Christ (planned). All these conversations are of the utmost importance for the ecumenical movement. They have an influence upon each other and it is thus important that the results of each be made fruitful for the others.

For this reason, the various fellowships need a common point where they can meet as fellowships, can discuss their task in mutual responsibility and cannot merely adjust their actions to one another

but really coordinate them with each other. The consultations up to this point have been too incomplete and insignificant to be able to perform this service.

(b) If the Churches' relationships to each other are to be further clarified, one of the first steps must be to clarify *together* the question of the unity, holiness, catholicity and apostolicity of the Church. The different fellowships must therefore find a way to enter into a multilateral study—which should be as binding as possible—not only on this theme but also on other related questions.

The Commission on Faith and Order concerns itself with the theological problems related to unity in a multilateral way. The results of these studies must be aimed not only at the member churches but also at the fellowships as entities. For this reason closer relations between the Commission on Faith and Order and the different fellowships would be desirable. Both sides ought to see to it that the theological work be better synchronized (cf., for example, the separate studies on the episcopacy in Faith and Order, in the Anglican Communion and in the so-called Wider Episcopal Fellowship, in the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, and in the Lutheran World Federation).

The confessional fellowships ought particularly to examine together more carefully the unions between churches in individual countries—a process which is of great importance for the further development of the ecumenical movement. They must concern themselves with this process for the simple reason that the increasing number of negotiations cannot fail to have an influence upon inter-confessional relations. But in certain respects joint consultation could also help to further the movement. Not that the negotiations should be moved exclusively to the universal level! That would mean postponing the unions for a long time. But agreement between the confessions might throw light on some general theological and above all practical questions. Many unnecessary difficulties could be eliminated if the confessional fellowships would co-operate in tackling them.

(c) As a rule, divisions were accompanied by formal condemnations. Some churches today ignore this fact as if it did not exist. They consider the condemnations to be (if not expressly, then at least implicitly) rescinded by the ecumenical movement. However, if unity is to be on firm ground, the past must be overcome. Conversations between the fellowships provide the place where these

obstacles can be removed. Express elimination of divisive factors is highly important for the future of the ecumenical movement, even if these factors are no longer alive in the consciousness of the churches (for example, the condemnations which the Lutherans and the Reformed have pronounced against each other). The elimination of divisive factors paves the way for a deeper fellowship between all confessional groups. For just as each division affects the whole of Christendom, every elimination of such divisions also influences the whole.

(d) Joint studies ought not, however, be limited to ecclesiology. The fellowships would be taking an important step toward unity if they were also deliberately to co-ordinate their work on contemporary theological questions. All the churches are faced with the necessity of giving an account of their understanding of the gospel in our time. They must provide answers to the problems which arise in confrontation with the world today. Some "confessional families" are trying to achieve this goal by means of theological studies on the supranational level. They are trying in this way to create a common consciousness. If closer relations were established between the World Council and these efforts, this common consciousness could be broadened.

This is all the more necessary since the ecumenical movement does not necessarily free the churches from the danger of turning round in circles. The "ecumenical study of one's own navel" is even more dangerous, for it is more difficult to recognize. The churches appear to have been led beyond their own borders, but they are still in a ghetto which is equally isolated from the world. Because attention must be centered on ecclesiological questions, the ecumenical discussion may even lead to still greater concern with oneself. Thus the multiplication of dialogues of all kinds is not always a gain. The expansion of the themes discussed is in any case an urgent necessity, and we must not fail to take any step which prepares for and furthers common witness.

(e) For these reasons the fellowships must also ask themselves to what extent they can co-operate in practical matters. They are all of the conviction that they should co-operate in the ecumenical movement. Some have even expressly declared that they consider it their duty to further this movement. Would it therefore not be natural for the fellowships expressly to commit themselves consistently to apply the principle formulated at Lund, and to do everything

together (also at the universal level) which conscience does not command them to do separately? The framework for the application of this principle would, in most cases, be the World Council; in some cases joint action in which the identity of the individual fellowships is still retained might be preferable. In any case, the fellowship could be considerably deepened in this respect.

If the different fellowships join and co-operate in this way, if they clarify the ecclesiological problems and at the same time strengthen the consciousness that they belong together, the separating walls will gradually be broken down by a growing consensus, and through the joint action of the World Council and the individual fellowships the moment will approach when through a truly ecumenical council it will be possible not only for unity to be restored but also for a common united witness to be made. It is this goal which must determine the further progress of the ecumenical movement, and the fellowships must recognize their own provisional character by deliberately and concretely working toward this goal. Whether it can be achieved is not for us to say. But if this goal is maintained, the relationship between the fellowships will certainly prove fruitful for the future.

The Reformation—Then

HANS J. HILLERBRAND

On October 31, 1967, Protestant Christendom celebrated its 450th birthday. According to the traditional version at least—here quoted from the German historian Heinrich Böhmer—the beginnings of Protestantism were as simple as they were far-reaching: “On the day before All Saints (October 31, 1517), shortly before twelve o’clock noon, accompanied only by his famulus, Luther walked from the Black Cloister to the Castle Church, about fifteen minutes away, and there on the door of the north entrance, which had often been used as a bulletin board before the great festivals, he nailed the placard with the Ninety-five Theses.” With the publication of the Ninety-five Theses the Reformation began.

Few epochs in the history of the Christian Church have been so extensively examined and yet so divergently interpreted, perhaps even persistently misunderstood, as the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century. The reason for this is not difficult to discern. Both Protestants and Catholics have seen the Reformation as more than a historical epoch to be viewed in cool and detached manner. Ecclesiastical and theological presuppositions have oriented the view of the age which was seen as a battlefield of good and evil, of light and darkness, of the proper interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures and unbiblical perversion. Such diversity of perspective has characterized not only the sixteenth century itself but subsequent centuries as well and thus constitutes the eminent feature of the historiography of the Reformation.

Thus, there has not been only one Reformation, but there have been two—the one sketched by Catholics who were disposed to see the Reformation as *the* tragedy of modern times and the Protestant Reformers as a motley crew of moral and theological misfits. Thus, a papal encyclical of 1897 spoke of the “*rebellio Lutherana*” which had led to the “*ruina morum ultima*” and in 1907 the “error of the Protestants” was described as the first step on the way to atheism. The other “Reformation” was sketched by Protestants who returned

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the compliment by bewailing the moral and theological perversion of the Catholic Church on the eve of the Reformation, and glowingly painted the picture of a vibrant Protestantism, the source of all that has been good in the West during the past four centuries—from the ideals of democracy to women's suffrage. There have been, in short, two kinds of "histories" of the Reformation, the one written by Catholics, the other by Protestants.

If this situation was not perplexing enough, it was made even more so by the fact that on the Protestant side there were actually not one, but two, three, indeed four "Reformations"—the Lutherans, the Calvinists, the Anglicans, and last but not least the Anabaptists. Protestantism was a house divided unto itself where no less than four factions competed with one another, each one claiming to propound the true apostolic faith. And each one had its own way of looking at the sixteenth century. Diversity and even chaos have ruled. That all of these four traditions have persisted, more or less, through the centuries seems sufficient evidence that no individual claim was fully persuasive.

In short, the Reformation of the sixteenth century can easily become the cause of despair both of those who seek simple answers in history and of those who desire the answers of a simple history. Any effort to speak about the Reformation faces, first of all, the bothersome question of which Reformation we are speaking about. After all, we must not talk about the "Protestant" view of the Reformation or the "Catholic" view, but about the historically accurate one. It will not do to act like the man who in the bookstore asked for a scholarly history of the Civil War, written from a Southern point of view. The legacy of how subjectively men have spoken about the Reformation in the past is a heavy one indeed for the present. How shall we talk about the Reformation? Our knowledge of the sixteenth century is still far from being comprehensive and, what is more, we, too, tend to attach importance in the past to that which is meaningful to us, regardless of its actual significance in the sixteenth century.

The first comment to be made about the Protestant Reformation is that it was neither precipitated nor dramatically furthered by widespread ecclesiastical abuse and perversion. Such is the traditional Protestant picture, time-honored and persuasive, one that depicts the pristine glory of the reformers against the gloomy picture of worldliness and abuse. Still, it is an erroneous view. To be sure, at the

present juncture of research we know far too little about the actual ecclesiastical conditions in the early sixteenth century, but we do know enough to justify the conclusion that the notion of extensive perversion, which saw every priest as a drunkard, every monastery as a brothel, and every spiritually sensitive man as an advocate of reform, is surely incorrect. Needless to say, the ecclesiastical situation in the early sixteenth century was not perfect. It never has been and one suspects that it never will be. There was some worldliness, even as there were tensions between church and society. And from some quarters, notably from Erasmus and the humanists, the ecclesiastical establishment came in for a good deal of vigorous criticism. Not all was well in the state of Denmark, to paraphrase Shakespeare, and two concerns in particular were mentioned fairly often: the place of the church in society, especially the perpetuation of her traditional legal and economic prerogatives, and the inadequate training and dubious conscientiousness of the clergy.

But by no means was early sixteenth-century society some sort of ecclesiastical pressure-cooker with the heat turned on. The undeniable existence of criticism, as well as its substance in fact, must not mislead us to assume that worldliness and abuse were the rule. These were the exceptions, and both rule and exception need to be kept in proper perspective.

In the main, the ecclesiastical situation on the eve of the Reformation was a stable one. It might well have survived without major turmoil and upheaval for the remainder of the century.

One might perhaps find a striking parallel with our own time. An appraisal of the state of the church today will come to different conclusions depending on the kind of evidence that is used. Any assessment will be erroneous if only the voices of our critics are heard. To be sure, we have our critics, our concern for reform, and naturally even the need for reform. Still, if nothing more is said, the picture remains incomplete. The same comment can be made about the early sixteenth century. It was a stable situation mixed with an uneasiness concerning certain ecclesiastical practices. Nothing, however, gave any hint of impending revolutionary upheaval.

This conclusion is supported by a second consideration; namely, that Luther's initial proclamation was a call for a theological reorientation rather than for a new church or a new "reformation." Luther's early tracts contained few comments about the general state of

the church, about ecclesiastical perversion, about power-hungry or worldly prelates, or about the need for church reform. There was little interest in power-hungry prelates or immoral clerics. Luther was concerned about something altogether different, namely, a new understanding of the Christian faith. This is what he had himself experienced and this is what he sought to convey to others. His own spiritual struggle had not been over the worldliness of his church or its lack of spirituality, but over a theological problem. And this problem—Luther himself put it into the question, “How do I obtain a gracious God?”—was resolved through a profound insight into the distinction between “law” and “gospel,” between God’s demand and God’s gift. Even if early sixteenth-century Catholicism had shone in pristine splendor, this insight would have been dramatic, since, as Luther himself promptly realized, it proved to be the key to a host of related theological problems, so that before too long he had re-cast a new theological system.

Of this theology it must be said—and with this I come to my third point—that it was strikingly new and did not have any real connection with the immediate theological past. With this I do not mean to say that Luther did not have any theological sources, for indeed he did. Nor do I mean to say that he was utterly original in his theologizing, for this he was not. What I do mean to suggest, however, is that the whole was greater than its parts—and this both in form as well as content. In form, because Luther’s was a biblical theology, far more so than had been the case for a long time. In content, because he propounded a Pauline theology, such as had not been done, with the possible exception of St. Augustine, since the Apostle himself.

To be sure, there was a “catholic” Luther, who had manifold ties to his ecclesiastical and theological background, who could never emotionally divorce himself from the way he had first prayed and worshipped. Still, he was rather like a fish out of water. There was little kinship between him and his tradition. And at the crucial point—namely that of what we conveniently call “justification”—his position was one that the Catholic Church had really never embraced. Accordingly, Luther’s program was not so much a “reform” as a “reconstruction” of theology.

His was a “new” theology. But, if we would have asked him, he would have resented having his theology labeled “new.” He was persuaded that it was old, that it was biblical, and apostolic. By the

same token, he accused the Catholic Church that her teaching was new and not apostolic. In a tract entitled *Against Hanswurst* (Hanswurst was a German carnival figure, a "broadly farcical or burlesque" character) published in 1541, Luther provided a systematic exposition of the matter.

"We will come to the point at issue, namely, why the papists . . . call us heretics. And the point is that they allege that we have fallen away from the holy church and set up a new church. . . . We have been unable up to now to get the papists to prove willingly why they are the true church, but they insist that according to Matthew 18 [:17] one must listen to the church or be lost. Yet Christ does not say there who, where or what the church is; only that where it is, it ought to be listened to. We confess and say that as well, but we ask where the church of Christ is, and who it is. . . . It is just as if I asked a drunkard or a fool or someone half-asleep, "Tell me, friend, who or where is the church?" and he answered me, ten times over, nothing but, 'One should listen to the church!' But how am I to listen to the church when I do know who or where the church is? 'Well,' they say, 'we papists have remained in the ancient and original church ever since the time of the apostles. Therefore we are the true church, for we have come from the ancient church and have remained in it; but you have fallen away from us and have become a new church opposed to us.' Answer: 'But what if I prove that we have remained faithful to the true ancient church, indeed, that we are the true ancient church and that you have fallen away from us, that is, the ancient church and have set up a new church against the ancient one.'"

Luther, in short, propounded an understanding of the Christian faith that was new and yet old. The response to his proclamation turned his personal experience into a widespread movement. This is my fourth point, for this response surely constitutes the most remarkable aspects of Reformation history. Within a few years a movement of a vast dimension had emerged, not only throughout Germany but in other European countries as well. What were the reasons? One plausible explanation is that the people had tired of the worldly and perverted Catholic Church. Or one might suggest that people found it advantageous and profitable to object to the Catholic Church and embrace the new faith. But for the former explanation the evidence is lacking and for the latter the facts point very much in the other direction. The main factor seems to have been the inner persuasive-

ness of the Protestant message. Luther and his fellow reformers propounded a version of the Gospel that was striking in its simplicity and persuasive in its profundity. Those of us who labor through the sophisticated contributions of Luther scholarship—or even through the writings of Luther himself—can easily get an erroneous picture of the nature of Luther's proclamation. It was astoundingly simple, for Luther reminded his contemporaries that the Christian religion was essentially faith and trust, that it had to do with God loving the unlovable, and with the acceptance of God's offer of forgiveness.

In other words, the striking and profound notions that subsequently characterized Protestant theology, such as the doctrine of justification or of the sacraments, did not rank very prominently in the early years of the Reformation. We are woefully in error if we assume that every follower of Luther and other reformers committed himself to these sophisticated notions. What the people read from pens of the reformers in those early years were basic, simple, and comprehensive pronouncements—pronouncements that lacked the esoteric sophistication of the scholastic theologians of the thirteenth and of the Protestant divines of the seventeenth century. Take Luther's early pronouncement on Christian ethics, for example, as found in his tract on *The Freedom of a Christian Man*. No weighty theological tome, but a slender pamphlet, well written and at the same time incisive in its formulation: "A Christian man is a perfectly free lord of all, subject to none. A Christian man is a perfectly dutiful servant of all, subject to all." Even though Luther's inevitable paradox crept in here, the fact remains that this was a simple diet, one that offered basic and staple fare. "It will not hurt the soul if the body is clothed in secular dress, dwells in unconsecrated places, eats and drinks as others do, does not pray aloud, and neglects to do all the things mentioned above, which hypocrites can do. . . . One thing and one only is necessary for Christian life, righteousness and liberty. That one thing is the most holy Word of God, the Gospel of Christ."

The people accepted this word. This was no simple matter, for we need to remind ourselves that the men who embraced the new evangel had earlier committed themselves to the old form of religion, that those who renounced pilgrimages as unbiblical had themselves gone on them, that those who rejected relics had themselves bequeathed money to further the veneration of the saints, that those who rejected monasticism had themselves made monastic vows. The

personal change required was radical; one's religious background had to be labeled erroneous and cherished notions had to be disregarded. All the same, this was done widely. But we need to remember that sixteenth-century men were not saints by definition, nor were they so religious in orientation and outlook that they thought about religious matters every waking moment. Though the general religious orientation of the time was great, there was a great deal of a-religiosity prevalent, and people were concerned about matters other than religion and the church. The widespread illiteracy had something to do with this situation, the fact that the majority of the people were unable to read or write. This meant that their ability to comprehend theological truths, except on the most elementary level, was limited. A host of visitation records from Protestant areas in the sixteenth century tells a woeful tale of theological and religious ignorance. Take, for example, the record of a visitation undertaken by the English Bishop Hooper in his diocese in the 1550's during the reign of Edward VI. At that time many clerics were unable to answer satisfactorily about such simple aspects of the Christian faith as the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Apostles' Creed. One well-meaning though ignorant divine was prompted to observe that the Lord's Prayer had its name from the fact that it had been promulgated by "our Lord, the King."

If we speak about the popular dimension of the Reformation, then, we must be aware that we cannot speak about the proverbial man on the street, about the peasant behind his plow, or the artisan behind his bench. Quite likely, these did not know what the religious controversy was about in the first place and were unable to do more than routinely follow one party line or the other as it was imposed by the political ruler. Still, some people did have religious convictions which enjoined them to become Protestants.

It must not be said that everyone who rejected his Catholic heritage and embraced the Protestant faith, however, did so for the right and proper theological reason. Some did so because they read their own personal theologies into the proclamation of Luther and the other reformers. Some found ecclesiastical change politically advantageous and others economically profitable. For Henry VIII it was a matter of obtaining a new candidate for his royal bed. In short, the cause of ecclesiastical transformation became quickly embedded in complex, though blatantly non-religious considerations. To see the success of the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth

century as the result of the glorious working of the Holy Spirit is to assume its devious activity.

The Catholic Church, as an ecclesiastical institution, showed itself remarkably vigorous when it came to the repudiation of the Protestant challenge. With very few exceptions, no eminent Catholic churchman or theologian deserted the Catholic Church to join the new evangel. The enthusiastic proponents of the Wittenberg theology were the "angry young men," the theological and academic outsiders, the learned laymen in cities and towns. To be sure, the over-all Catholic response to the Protestant challenge was weak—there were few incisive theological treatises, few martyrs, little valiant defense on the part of Catholic churchmen. Still, the Catholic Church was remarkably strong, despite the losses she suffered.

This, then, takes me to my last point. The Catholic Church countered the Protestant proclamation with a resounding "no." She did so swiftly and categorically, making it obvious to the reformers that there was no room for them in the Catholic inn. This unequivocal fact of history, the consequences of which are still with us, easily obscures the more fundamental fact that this parting of the ways was by no means theologically inevitable or ecclesiastically necessary. As we have noted, Luther propounded a version of Christian faith that was different from that of the late medieval church. But this difference—no matter how radical—was not of such a sort as might not have existed within the broad folds of Catholicism. One need only remember that neither the doctrine of indulgence nor that of justification had been normatively defined when the controversy erupted in 1517. Considerable leeway existed with regard to these undefined theological issues, and the outright condemnation of Luther and his followers was by no means an inevitable theological necessity.

The paramount question facing the Catholic Church in the first years of the Reformation was whether the interpretation of the Christian Gospel as propounded by Luther could be considered a legitimate expression of a truly "catholic" church? In my opinion this was an open question which could have been answered either way. Luther, in other words, might well have died peacefully as a respectable Catholic professor of theology. That the question was answered negatively had many reasons, and few of them were strictly theological ones. There were shortsightedness, lack of charity, narrow-mindedness, doctrinaire zeal, indeed, guilt on both sides.

If the protagonists had been determined from the outset to bring about a schism, they could not have done it more beautifully.

There was no theological inevitability for Luther's condemnation; indeed, the contemporaries did not think that it had been definitive. The actual course of events in Germany between 1521 and 1541 shows that in the opinion of many a split could yet be avoided—despite Luther's condemnation. The deep awareness of a profound gap between the two sides is the product of a later time. During the early years of the Reformation the notion of the one Christian body was still real and both sides were committed to it.

Such, then, was the Reformation of the sixteenth century—a peculiar combination of men, of ideas, and circumstances. Current research challenges us to revise both the traditional Catholic and the traditional Protestant understanding. If history is not only to be an antiquarian venture, but have relevance for the present, then this revision might well be a most hopeful sign for a common future.

The second Convocation Address by Professor Hillerbrand, entitled "The Reformation—Now," will be published in the next issue of *The Duke Divinity School Review*.

The Dean's Discourse

Of the many things I might, as Dean, have elected to say in this column, I am not sure that my choice has always been either fully pertinent or properly discriminating. So I wish to begin this New Year, not with an inviolable resolve, but with "the general confession," accepted for myself, that there have been "some things done that ought not to have been done and some things undone that ought to have been done." Nevertheless, I have welcomed the opportunity to speak somewhat directly to our alumni (who are our principal reader group) about both affairs of the Divinity School and others affecting it that have more than passing significance. These sundry things that form the "warp and woof" of our existence as a school are, perhaps, worthy of such public notice and record as these pages afford. Apart from this, school affairs would have either the ephemeral and rather superficial attention accorded them by the recently established *Alumni Newsletter* or only the solemn sequestration of the official *Faculty Minutes*.

Apart from the real satisfaction of harboring a celebrated German professor of theology this year, Dr. Jürgen Moltmann of Tübingen, who has—as anticipated—brought escalating vitality to theological discussion in our midst, and, apart from the surprising increase in enrolment (with the largest entering Junior class of our history), the introduction of a new or, at least, rather drastically revised curriculum comprises the salient event of the current year. This kind of event is apt to command scant attention; however, it is as significant as it was taxing to effect. The innovation was cautiously acknowledged as "experimental," and, to prove it, a faculty committee for the continuing study of the curriculum, chaired by Professor Creighton Lacy, has been at work this year probing prior questions on the nature of the ministry in relation to which any really serviceable course of studies must be shaped for tomorrow.

One of the factors which has recurrently confronted our reflections in this area is the seemingly amorphous state of the mind of the churches—ranging from traditional conventionality to radical pluralism—about the shape and function of ministry in today's world and for tomorrow. No doubt a new consensus on the nature of the min-

istry is in ferment and, hopefully, in the process of formation. Until it begins to crystallize, however, the task of the educator is as risky as it is puzzling.

Two important studies, the one by Charles Feilding, *Education For Ministry* (American Association of Theological Schools, 1966), the other by Charles Taylor and Nathan Pusey, *Ministry For Tomorrow* (New York: Seabury Press, 1967), assist immensely in sharpening the issues, clarifying the problems, and laying out certain guidelines that may well contribute to the hastening of the needed new consensus. Meanwhile, the widespread confusion, or at least strife of tongues and perspective, among practicing churchmen on the role of the minister, complicates the task of curricular re-formation for educators, even if they are earnestly moved, as I believe they are, to provide an adequate vehicle of more relevant theological education. But it is precisely the question, *relevant to what?* that presently has no clear consensus, but toward which, surely, both responsible churchmen and seminary educators must be groping.

One thing that is becoming fully manifest is that the diminished stature of the ministry in contemporary society is something that has overtaken us in the very era of unprecedented aggrandizement of the institutional church in American Protestantism. However paradoxical this may seem, it may not really be unintelligible, for the consequent pluralization of the ministerial function in the institutional church has resulted precisely in a loss of certainty about the distinctive task of the ministry. Needed urgently, therefore, is a new consensus respecting both the "center of gravity" of the ministerial vocation and an honest consent to an inescapable division of labor and diversity of ministries. On both points St. Paul himself might be appealed to. In any case, the long-standing presumption about a hoped for omniscient pastor for any given congregation is certainly in for the most thorough reassessment in the days ahead. The implications for educational planning are many-sided and as perplexing as they are challenging.

—Robert E. Cushman

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OUT OF THE VINEYARD, BACK TO THE BIG HOUSE: A REVIEW-ESSAY. *Who Speaks for the Church?* Paul Ramsey. Abingdon. 1967. 189 pp. \$2.45.

When the ministers of Little Rock found themselves in the midst of racial crisis, they used a variety of homiletical techniques to help their parishioners (and themselves) avoid concrete decisions and action regarding the most pressing issues raised in the struggle over school desegregation. The "deeper issues" approach allowed evasion of responsibility concerning equal protection of the rights of Negro citizens while calling on churchmen to be sure that "good will" and "brotherhood" were in their hearts. The "every-man-a-priest" technique permitted a few prophetic words on the school situation, so long as their moral authority was immediately undercut by the assurance that every man, after all, is entitled to his own opinion (the implication being that nobody has much of a right to try to persuade his brethren in the household of faith that they ought to do something they don't want to do).

There are a number of disturbing similarities between the line of reasoning followed in Paul Ramsey's *Who Speaks for the Church?* and the escape mechanisms employed by the Little Rock ministers. Some of the things Ramsey advocates are just as unassailable as good will and brotherhood, but one fears that the consequences of his book may be equally disastrous: just as the deeper issues approach and the every-man-a-priest technique in the context in which they were used were mechanisms of evasion, one fears that the arguments of *Who Speaks for the Church?* will function mainly as a convenient rationalization for indecision and inaction in the homes, studies and classrooms where they are taken at face value. One fears that many an unwary moderate will overlook the astonishing political and sociological naiveté of the book and will be hoodwinked by its spurious logic, and that many disgruntled conservatives (the sophisticated ones in the seminaries as well as the simple-minded ones at *Christianity Today*, which praised the book) will seize upon it as a handy confirmation of their misplaced faith in fundamentalism, pietism or academic virtuosity.

Who Speaks for the Church? is presented, according to its subtitle, as a critique of the 1966 Geneva Conference on Church and Society, but it is also, in a more general sense, as assault upon the way Christian ethics are "done" by many contemporary theologians and active churchmen. One-half of Ramsey's argument consists of criticisms of the errors of what he calls "the social action curia" of ecumenical Protestantism. He attacks four shortcomings of the WCC's Church and Society Conference in Geneva: (1) its procedural arrangements (which did not allow sufficient time for "adequate deliberation sufficient to sustain its numerous findings"), (2) its condemnation of U.S. policy in Vietnam, (3) the way in which various Americans and delegates from the Third World were allowed to exercise an influence out of all proportion to their importance in the ecclesiastical bodies supposedly represented at the conference, and (4) its statement on nuclear war (pp. 58-118). It is in connection with (1) above that he denounces the "truncated Barthianism" of the conference (pp. 77ff.) and ridicules its working group paper on "Theological Issues in Social Ethics":

A Christian theologian or ethicist would have to be out of his mind to regard the working group paper on 'Theological Issues in Social Ethics' produced at the Geneva conference as *the* basis (or even *a* basis) for future discussion in any other than the trivial sense that it may on occasion be useful to start talking. It cannot be emphasized too often that the propositions affirmed by this conference, whether by receiving them or by adopting them as in either case a report of its thinking, are no more and no less than exactly that:

the thinking that went on at this particular gathering, composed as it was and structured to think and act as it was. Its statements have exactly the inherent meaning and importance they themselves manifest. No additional authority or persuasiveness should be attributed to them. The same statements issuing from another source would have had the same force; these same statements known to have been pondered under better deliberative conditions could be set forth in the wider human discourse of church or state with better backing; and more searching statements issuing from this or another source would have greater intrinsic force. If anyone thinks otherwise, he thinks more highly of ecumenical statements than he ought to think. If anyone persuades a church member or a civic leader otherwise, he appeals to some other authority than Scripture and right reason to bolster some partisan particularity.

This criticism of the conference *per se* is based on a conviction that its planners and the sizeable school of thought they represent are victims of a "Church and Society syndrome" which expresses itself in a form of culture Christianity that would turn the Church inside out and make of it a secular sect. Contending that Christian social ethicists err in seeking to proclaim *directives* (policy recommendations) instead of merely pointing a *direction* (a range of permissible action), and castigating them especially for "trying to compile a Christian social ethic by leap-frogging from one problem to another," Ramsey declares that "It is a yen for specific involvement that betrays us from our primary calling, and from the world's most urgent need." (p. 140)

What, then, is the primary calling of the Church in the social arena? The other half of the book gives a very thought-provoking answer to that question:

(a) The Church should look for something distinctive to say, something that its official gatherings can announce without faulting the consciences of other faithful Christians on the authority of long established and widely accepted Christian truth. (See pp. 15-16, 49-50, 56-57.)

(b) That "something distinctive" will almost always be a declaration which lies between a vague generalization or a pious injunction, on the one hand, and, on the other, a specific policy pronouncement. It will be, above all, an utterance which promotes further intelligent discourse instead of cutting it off, an utterance which promotes a wholesome ethos for rational discussion. It must not disturb the consciences of good Christians who are serving in the army or some other lawful vocation associated with actions being called into question, for so long as they are carrying out duties lawfully assigned to them by the magistrates, they are expressing obedience to God.

(c) The churches ought to submit themselves to a self-denying ordinance which leaves the details of policy formulation in the trustworthy hands of the magistrates, and "statements made with a view to opening a larger consideration of issues and possible particular actions ought not even to be formulated so as to leave the impression that Christians as such have insights that would supplant the office of political judgment and decision on the part of magistrate and citizens, bind or fault their consciences." (p. 119).

(d) Ramsey calls on fellow Protestants, finally, to quit dodging potentially disruptive questions about basic doctrinal matters in their quest for cooperation in programming. He quotes with approval a Faith and Order document which warns that "the specific problems refuse to be treated apart from the deeper questions." (p. 145)

A comprehensive and scrupulously "fair" review would require many pages of carefully qualified "Yea's" and "Nay's" based on painstakingly constructed interpretations of the exact import of various insights and assertions contained

in the pages of *Who Speaks for the Church?* His complaint about the procedures followed at Geneva have considerable merit, and even though his alternative proposal is neither realistic nor desirable, some movement in that direction would be. Point (d) above is likely to elicit assent from all kinds of churchmen (for all kinds of reasons!); (b) can be interpreted in a congenial sense; and (c) is especially welcome to the extent that it encourages churchmen "not to allow themselves to advocate particular policies in the public forum without also specifying how we are to get from where we are" and "not to allow ourselves to specify only the optimistic among the prospects if certain steps are taken without specifying also that to take these steps may entail that other steps be taken that are rather grim, even if possibly less grim than where we are." (p. 119)

But the congenial interpretation one finds it possible to put on Ramsey's dicta (or the real content one reads into them) is more often than not, one fears, the exact opposite of what he had in mind. The welcome interpretation of (c) implies *more* emphasis on strategy development, not less—more emphasis on *directives*, not simply on a direction. The only acceptable interpretation of (b) would require faulting many a conscience, Christian and otherwise, in the name of the God of the prophets. (Thank God that Amos, Isaiah, Jeremiah, *et al.*, not to mention Jesus of Nazareth, were less cautious than Ramsey urges!) And the first item on the agenda of the kind of eyeball-to-eyeball discussion invited in (d) would have to do with the bankruptcy of propositional theology and of the brand of scholastic casuistry Ramsey practices.

Perhaps Ramsey's most fundamental error is revealed in recommendation (a), which values Christian distinctiveness more than the articulation of policies designed to meet pressing human needs and mobilization of Christian and secular energies for the implementation of these policies. The function of such an emphasis is to keep ethicists forever embroiled in a process of symbol manipulation regarding the theological warrant for whatever is said, and churchmen forever obsessed with the church instead of the world.

That, in sum, is why *Who Speaks for the Church?* is such a dangerous book: since it is written by one of the most learned, versatile, prolific and highly regarded members of the guild of Christian ethicists, the book is in effect a rallying cry designed to focus energy once again on the "proper" concerns of the discipline. But the focus called for by Ramsey is reactionary and fruitless, a part of a monstrous process of institutionalized evasion which enables religious intellectuals and their followers to avoid their top priority moral responsibilities just as neatly as the Little Rock churchmen avoided theirs.

When Professor Ramsey urges us to articulate directions instead of directives, when he recommends the cultivation of an ethos for discussion rather than mobilization of support for specific policies, he is using the "deeper issues" approach. To follow Ramsey's advice on this score would be to play right into the hands of the ruling elites of our society by allowing them to determine the policy that supposedly implements the values which religion is asked to sustain. That's exactly what the more cynical among the magistrates* want: they are quite happy for religious leaders to talk on and on about values and principles so long as the magistrates have the final say about laws, budgets, administrative procedures and all of the other factors which actually decide what happens in the world—and they are no doubt delighted whenever they find a Christian ethicist who wants the church to keep its mouth shut about policy

* "Magistrates" is a nice medieval euphemism which helps to obscure the fact that the men who make public and corporation policy are by virtue of their office dedicated to national self-interest or profit, and are thus very much in need of having a prophetic word addressed to them by the church.

Die Christliche Welt, opposition to liberal Biblical scholarship, the rediscovery of Paul, Otto's "wholly other," open rejection of cultural Protestantism (19th century liberalism), dialectical theology, and the journal of that new theology, *Zwischen den Zeiten*. But, eventually to prove much more significant, there were the differences that generated into the "divided mind" of modern theology. Many of these early variances have been obscured because of the tendency of liberalism to lump its opponents into one indiscriminate whole. But from the beginning there were decisive disparities—Barth began his career as a pastor, Bultmann as a professor; Barth was a dogmatician in the service of the Church, Bultmann an historian in the quest of scientific truth; that is, Barth looked, together with theologians of the past, for the World or dogma in scripture, whereas Bultmann, as a lifetime member of the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule* (history of religions school) critically examined the Bible in light of its historical and cultural setting; Barth viewed historical scholarship as necessary but penultimate, whereas Bultmann regarded it as necessary and decisive; for Barth the Jesus of history veiled the presence and revelation of God, for Bultmann, the otherness and transcendence of God; accordingly Barth sought to translate the witness of scripture into theology, while Bultmann would speak anthropologically. Other differences of emphases could be cited, and regardless of the fact that both theologians repudiated liberalism and agreed that "the revelation event in which faith is born . . . /is/ an encounter between man and the living word of God himself," these diversities proved decisive and therefore divisive of modern theology. What emerged then, by 1933, where Professor Smart's story concludes, is the *Church Dogmatics* of Karl Barth, and the existentialist hermeneutics of Rudolf Bultmann. "The crucial issue

is whether theology is to be focused upon the word to which faith responds or upon the faith that responds to the word." (p. 197). In other words, is true anthropology theology, or is true theology anthropology? I suppose contemporary theology could be understood as an attempt somehow to say both and thereby overcome its schizophrenia.

I know of no other account of this terribly interesting story of Barth and Bultmann, 1908-1933—which is also the story of modern theology. For the student who is already familiar with the thought of Barth and Bultmann, this study provides the fascinating *Sitz im Leben* that will make his theology not only more lively but also more accurate. For the reader who would be introduced to the theologies of these scholars, I can recommend no better source. In other words, this is an excellent volume, theologically and historically. I do find fault, however, with the footnotes—they are too few and at the end of the book. I have little doubt that Barth had misgivings early about Gogarten's philosophical bent (p. 108), but I would like to know where he expressed these. And as a student of Barth, I found it quite inconvenient to have to flip to the back to discover in which article Barth states that he was not conscious of "any conversion away from" Herrmann (p. 36). One final word: Professor Smart is a craftsman in the arts of theological and historical writing, so *The Divided Mind of Modern Theology* is just plain, good reading.

—ROBERT T. OSBORN

Recent Homiletical Thought: A Bibliography, 1935-1965. Edited by William Toohey, C.S.C. and William Thompson. Abingdon. 1967. 303 pp. \$4.75.

This modest book is an exciting chapter in the story of the renewal of the Church in our time, and it will aid in that renewal. Its genesis and

genius are related in the Preface. In 1960 the officers of the Catholic Homiletical Society began the project; they soon invited Protestant cooperation; certain teachers of speech and preaching in the Speech Association of America joined them, and the resulting "labor of love" is both symbol and useful proof of the values of such a team-approach.

Statistics will show its scope. Two editors, Roman Catholic and Northern Baptist, 36 contributing editors, 20 of them teachers in graduate Divinity Schools, searched the literature, read, annotated, and organized the resulting 2137 items under 15 helpful "topics."

The topics, likewise descriptively annotated in pages 6 and 7, combined with the item—annotations, multiply the usefulness of the book, and reveal both standard themes and some of the cutting edges of American preaching theory and practice. They are: General Works; Preaching and Theology; Topics of Preaching; the Preacher; the Congregation; the Setting-Liturgical; the Setting—Special Occasions; the Sermon; Delivery; History-Individual Preachers; History-Groups; History-Periods; History-Theory; Teaching; and Bibliographies.

Abingdon Press can be proud of this book, and we should be grateful. It will be indispensable to teachers and students of public address and preaching, and useful to thoughtful ministers who would break out of the "preach the Word" stereotypes of Southern American and European Protestantism. I surmise that the periodical articles will be even more fruitful than the books, for they reflect the cutting edges of preaching as thoughtful pastors and teachers in several related disciplines write. Three examples must suffice. In item 906, under "The Congregation," Earl Ferguson editorializes in *Pastoral Psychology* concerning the role of psychology and psychotherapy, as they deal with "how" and with "what."

John Casteel, teacher of speech and preaching in several major seminaries, and author of several books on prayer and the small-group movement, in 898 and 899 offers principles and methods by which the minister may utilize his counseling experiences in sermons, and "describes in detail the 5 steps in sermon construction and presentation which he believes will make preaching an effective counterpart of the ministry of counseling."

Equally suggestive is the topic "The Setting-Liturgical," where even descriptions of articles hint at the latent biblical, theological and pastoral power of the gospel year as it can focus our praise, prayer and preaching.

This review must be ended "Continued." The Catholic Homiletical Society now has over 2000 members, and a full-time executive director. William Thompson is ecumenical editor, and their periodical *Preaching*, is widely read. Our Protestant future is not so clear. Most Divinity Schools are breaking the barriers between "scholarly" and "professional," and have learned team-teaching from the clinically-oriented disciplines. Our own Divinity School is handicapped by our rural environment, and we do not have a tradition of team work with each other or with the Church. And the biblical and theological renewal has shifted attention from pastoral preaching and interdisciplinary teaching. But ecumenical, denominational and faculty resources are available, and our new curriculum challenges us.

Likewise, you ministers who read this must write your own chapter in the story. The staff of the Divinity School will be honored to aid you—in clinics and seminars on worship and preaching, and by personal correspondence and suggestions for study. This book can aid you even more in the arena where you must work out a whole ministry—your study and pastorate, as you and your people together do the work of Christ.

—JOHN J. RUDIN, II

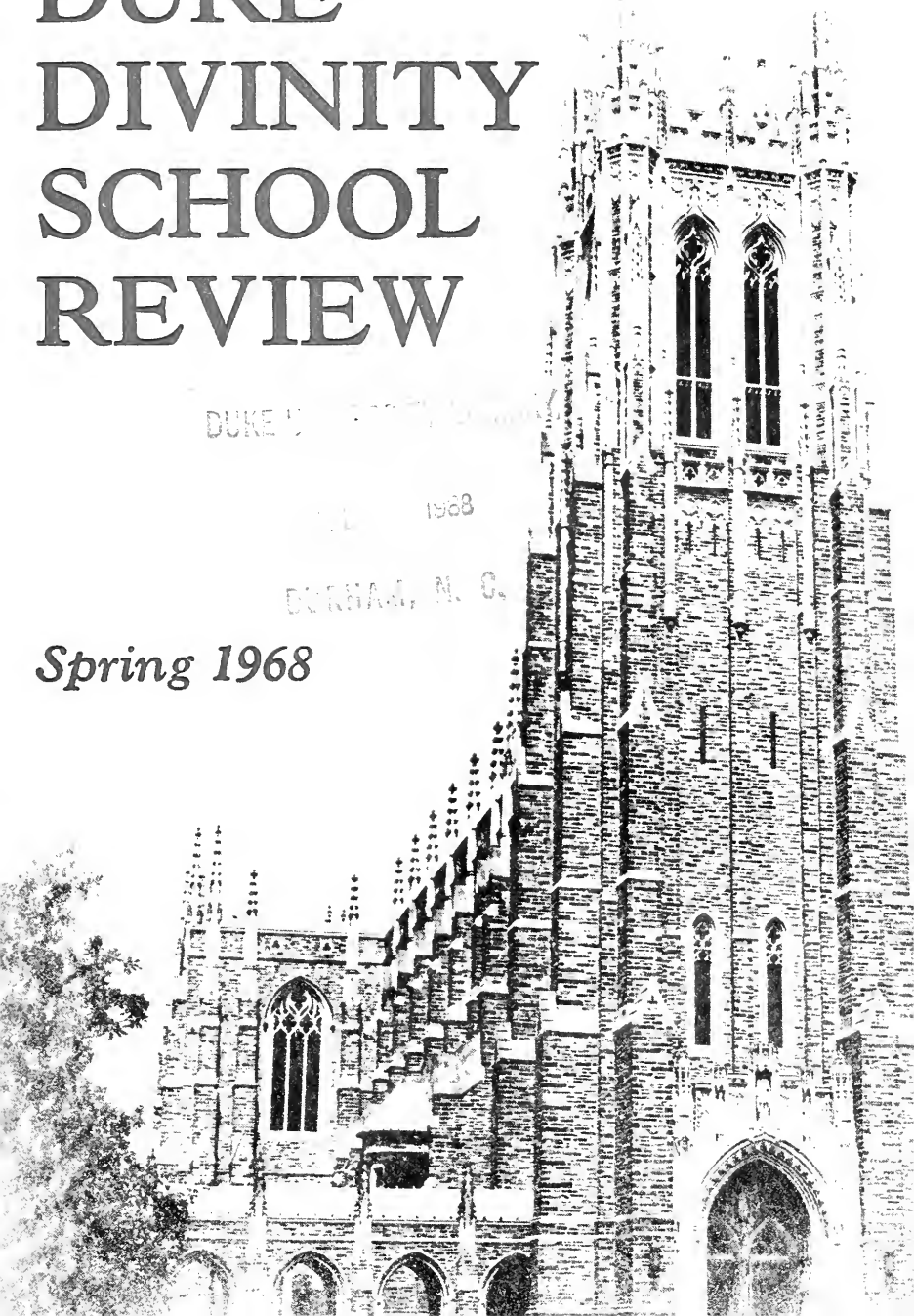
THE DUKE DIVINITY SCHOOL REVIEW

DUKE UNIVERSITY

1968

DURHAM, N. C.

Spring 1968



A Memorial Prayer

Let us offer unto God our prayer of thanksgiving—for the manifestation of his will and way and power and love in his servant Martin Luther King, Jr.

O God of all peoples and races and nations who have lost this leader, in sorrow and contrition we mourn with millions this day, yet in gratitude and devotion we celebrate thy gift of this life poured out faithfully in thy service.

We thank thee for
the joy and freedom of his song,
the depth and range of his compassion,
the faith and fervor of his prayer,
the discipline and devotion of his mind,
the glow and eloquence of his word,
the courage and persistence of his march,
the power of his inclusive love, his non-violent
action, his trust in eventual response of
others, his trust in thee.

We thank thee for
his fearless exposure of wrongs,
his clarion call for their righting,
his challenging word to our consciences,
his effective power in political action,
his faithful witness against all war,
his willingness to give his life for his people,
for all people, for thee. . . .

We thank thee for showing us once again what it means to be a man, to be thy man, to be thy man for others, to take up a cross and follow him who went about doing good and gave his life in serving love.

We thank thee for another chance now for us to be awakened, and directed, and committed to responsible service and leadership for the good of all men, beginning with those who are oppressed.

THE
DUKE
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“You Have Wrought A Revolution!”

“You have wrought a revolution!” “Your actions have had a profound effect on this University. I don’t think it will ever be the same again.” These two statements—made by faculty members to students—characterized Holy Week at Duke in the Year of our Lord 1968.

The assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. profoundly moved this academic community, as it did the nation and the world. In two memorial services held in Duke Chapel, Dean Cushman, Professor Richey and others of our Divinity School family made inspiring contributions to the comforting—and the challenging—of the entire University. Dean Cushman had hoped to compose an introductory statement for “The Dean’s Discourse” but did not have time before his departure to General Conference. His meditation from one service and his prayer from another speak eloquently for us all (pp. 119-122).

During the second memorial, held simultaneously with the funeral of Dr. King in Atlanta, a sizable portion of the seminary faculty and students participated on the lawn immediately in front of the Chapel and the Divinity School building. They did so as a living link between the formal ceremonies in the great Gothic cathedral and a thousand students camped in Vigil on the main Quadrangle, around the statue of James B. Duke. These “demonstrators”, “protesters”, “resisters”, “Vigil-antes”—as they have variously been called—were supporting, in memory of Martin Luther King, the demands of non-academic workers for a minimum wage rate and collective bargaining.

By April 16 the University Trustees had promised the appointment of a committee to study “the adequacy of the relationship between the University and its non-academic employees”, and a minimum wage of \$1.60 per hour by July 1969. In May they substantially increased wages toward that goal. In June they accepted a proposal for an Employees’ Council and an Employee Relations Advisory Committee of faculty.

What made this an intense and exciting week in recent Duke history were the caliber and commitment of participation. On the

Monday after Dr. King's death, *before* employees had gone on strike, the Divinity faculty voted unanimously to forego their annual salary increment for the coming fiscal year: not as a pious moral gesture, not to provide a substantial sum (from our small pittance) toward the enormous cost of wage increases, but to challenge Trustees and Administration to find other ways of meeting the avowed goal. This prompt action, together with other individual involvement, led one student leader to refer to the Divinity School as "the most radical faculty on the Duke campus". It has been a long time since any segment of the Church has been called the most radical element in society!

The greatest credit belongs, however, to students engaged in the Vigil and to their Strategy Committee. Camped on the Quadrangle for four days, alternately sunburned and soaked, they maintained a discipline, an organization, a dedication, an order that would have been unimaginable. The "religious" tone of the entire enterprise was manifest in the prayers and hymns which came over the loud-speakers, the active participation of University Christian Movement leaders—and the early exhortation of encouragement from Jürgen Moltmann, whose "Theology of Hope" was under learned discussion on campus when these events began. Provost R. Taylor Cole, as Acting Chief Executive Officer of the University during President Knight's illness, called the Vigil "unique among college students in our country today because it was purposeful, peaceful, and orderly throughout the six days. . . . I would like to publicly commend our students both for their self-discipline and for their high ideals, which prompted them to seek more rapid progress toward the attainment of social justice and better wages for our non-academic employees." (Amid many divergent interpretations of the Vigil we are glad to print herein a "Quad's eye view" by a Divinity School participant, James Lawrence.)

The goals are not attained as yet. But certain by-products are already obvious: a new understanding and mutual respect between faculty and students, a new community across departmental and professional lines, a new sense of power in participation for sincerely moral aims. Those of us in the midst of these happenings have in truth seen the making of a revolution; beyond that, we hope and believe that we have seen the making of a *University*. And more has been at work than student activism—or faculty guilt—or employee agitation—or any combination of these. Said one: "What a pity that it took the death of a man to crystallize, to catalyze, this action!" Came the reply: "But that is the Christian Gospel!"

—Creighton Lacy

Sociological Reflections on Theological Education

EDWARD A. TIRYAKIAN

Professor of Sociology

It is most gratifying to be asked, as a sociologist, to comment upon theological education; as one whose familiarity with divinity schools is based solely upon occasional visits to their libraries to borrow works of sociological relevance unavailable in the general libraries, it is with "fear and trembling" that I undertake this task.

To be sure, I need not feel that I am starting from a position of weakness, but if anything from one of strength. By that I mean that in recent years the "sociological" point of view has gained increasing adherents in the ministry and among certain "young Turk" theologians, typified by Harvey Cox of *Secular City* vintage. Social change and social problems, at many levels of complexity, have intruded themselves in the preoccupations of the divinity school. In themselves, they constitute sufficient materials for an extensive addition to the theological curriculum. Let me suggest in this vein some of the themes and topics which could warrant needed new offerings.

The adaptation of religion (and theology) to urbanization has several dimensions of major significance. Not only is the exodus from rural areas to urban areas continuing, both inside and outside the United States, but also as a secondary movement, the flight from the core cities to suburban areas is a major demographic trend, attended by an equally significant movement to the inner cities by new ethnic/racial minorities, e.g., Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans. Qualitative and quantitative shifts of parishioners, not only of different ethnic backgrounds but also of different socio-economic backgrounds, poses major institutional problems for church organization, to say nothing of sheer financial problems which parallel the problems of municipal governments. The problems of urbanization spill over into those of race relations and the social conflicts involved in civil rights legislation and enforcement. Where and how to take a position on race relations, the nature and difficulties of religious "activism", certainly constitute an area for a curriculum offering. Closely cor-

related with race relations is social class, which opens up the question of the church's involvement with the poor—no longer the overseas poor of missionary activity, but the domestic poor. From here we can go into the subject of the political involvements of the ministry, not only on behalf of the poor, but also on behalf of a variety of other disenfranchised or so-called "alienated" groups, e.g., student protest movements, etc.

I have not even mentioned the manifold sociological problems attending the ministry and religious organizations from within. The problem of recruitment to the ministry in the face of apparent decline in the social prestige of the minister, irrespective of denominational affiliation, is acute enough to warrant a course; the bureaucratization of religious organizations is another.

We could go on in this manner, and by stressing the need of the seminary or the divinity school to adjust to the social world a case could be made for a very substantial increase in essentially sociological offerings. That, in a sense, is what you might normally expect a sociologist to say about "up-grading" theological education. However, being somewhat of an unorthodox sociologist, I have some alternative observations to make.

For one thing, it seems to me that theological schools presuppose implicitly the grounding of Christianity in Western civilization. There is, to be sure, a positive and significant correlation between the two, but it is not an identity. I would propose that any theological curriculum needs very much to incorporate courses dealing with comparative materials on Christianity: what has happened to Christianity, both in its social structure and in its creed, as it has gone to other shores? And here I mean the development of separatist churches, syncretic movements, millenary movements of all sorts as they have developed in Africa, Latin America, Asia and other far-flung areas. These, for the most part, are "nativistic" religious movements which spun-off from Christian missions; they have come under increasing attention by anthropologists and social scientists as significant social phenomena, but my feeling is that they are still in limbo as far as the theological curriculum is concerned. Not only should they not be ignored by any theological school or seminarian interested in social change and the adaptations of religion to the social world, but, furthermore, the beliefs and symbolisms of these "new" Christian and neo-Christian groups may offer refreshing insights into the nature of Christian truth and revelation. Why, for example, limit the theological offering on prophetic movements to ancient Israel when

modern Africa offers just as rich data, say the figures of Simon Kimbangu in the Congo or William Wade Harris in the Ivory Coast (the latter, by the way, being the product of a Methodist mission in Liberia)? Perhaps these sectarian movements may be seen as outside the pale of traditional Christianity, as something a bit too "exotic" to be dealt with by budding theologians; yet, in terms of social structure, they are of the same genus as those studied in the context of Western Civilization, and they are just as exciting to study as the Anabaptists, the Camisards, the Shakers, or what have you.

In my previous remarks I have been suggesting that theological training may have been guilty of neglecting the social context which is an integral part of religious reality, of "putting in brackets" or abstracting away social and cultural variations in expressions of religious life. This is, to be sure, a caricature of things, but all caricatures (or stereotypes) have a certain empirical justification. Now, however, let me suggest a different kind of neglect which I consider of greater significance, and which also has an important bearing on the contemporary situation.

What I have in mind, bluntly put, is that theology tends in its intellectualization of its subject matter to cut itself off from the depth existential levels of religious reality by reducing the manifold complexity of the sacred to some rather simplistic notions of the deity. "Monotheism" is the fruit of a certain philosophical speculation which blandly overlooks that on a cross-cultural basis the experiences of religious, transcendental reality have been experiences of antithetical religious forces that tend to be grouped in terms of a "divine-demonic" antinomy. If popular language uses the phrase "good Lord" or "good God", this suggests that the divine's moral opposite also exists, and therefore that both sets of religious forces manifest themselves in human society. I would go even so far as to suggest that human society *is* the medium or vehicle in which antithetical spiritual forces express themselves. It is all too easy to dismiss the Manichean heresy as an intellectual fallacy of an earlier historical period, but theologians might want to reconsider it as a structural aspect of the human condition.

In this vein I would suggest that theological training would be wise to incorporate materials on religious rituals, which social anthropologists have observed in great detail in so-called "primitive" societies. Rituals embody existential experiences of social groups with the realm of the sacred; they are not "intellectual" or "rational" constructs but are grounded in pre-reflective awareness of dimen-

sions of religious reality. I would certainly hope that Emile Durkheim's *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* be required reading for any theologian, for it is of central importance in the consideration of rituals. The themes of "purification", "expiation", "defilement", "sacrifice", which rituals embody, have been treated by Durkheim and his pupils, such as Mauss and Herz, and more recently in the brilliant study by Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, well deserve the attention of theologians. Such readings should give theologians a greater sensitivity to the complexity of their own subject matter, particularly, of the non-rational if not irrational dimensions of the sacred. If theologians had a greater appreciation and understanding of the existential layers of the transcendental, which are manifested in rituals and symbols more than in their intellectual articulations, if they understood that there is nothing *passé* to this reality since it always encompasses the social world, they might not feel so defensive about their position in the modern academic setting or in the larger society. Instead of having to get attention by (1) shocking their flock (e.g., "God is dead"), (2) "jazzing up" their language, (3) trying to get accepted by secularist intellectuals, they could regain a more meaningful place in the social sun by talking about religious reality, not as a simple intellectual affair but as an existential aspect of the present setting. This may seem to be what Cox and others are doing, but it is the obverse; for Cox, as I view him, is reducing the religious to the social when for him speaking about God must be political—the *polis* or politics is the salvation of religion, whereas from my viewpoint, the relation is reversed: Christ, to put it in Christian terms, is the redeemer, not the redemptee. It is in a secularistic society, which is more anti-religious in its ethos than irreligious, that a pauperization of the psyche or soul occurs; to "de-mythologize" religion on the part of theologians is to become the unwitting instrument of the profane. Jung's *Modern Man in Search of a Soul* is one of the few really profound expositions of the modern predicament, and I would suggest that if the present crisis is a spiritual malaise more than any socio-economic or socio-political thing, theology has contributed to this crisis by denuding religion of its psychical, spiritual, symbolic strata, by losing its militancy and verve. In recent years, courses in religion, including sociology of religion courses, have had a marked increase in attendance. This is not due to an intellectual curiosity *per se*, as I see it, so much as an unconscious search for identity, for one's spiritual identity, or if you wish, a search of the psychic self for its roots (which have been up-

rooted in the development of an impersonal technological civilization).

But instead of a radical alternative to the rationalistic and depersonalizing ethos of mass society, students in these courses (and perhaps in seminaries as well) find the same emphasis on abstraction and intellectualization, or else find religion treated as just another social institution. Their search is therefore bound to end in frustration unless theologians are able to get attuned to the psychic need for spiritual nourishment, one which cannot be filled in any genuine way by the mainstream of today's academic psychology.

There is another consideration I wish to raise in terms of the role of theology/religion in modern society. An old European folk saying has it, "Where God steps out, the Devil steps in." Theologians who have lost attunement to the demonic aspect of the transcendental might be skeptical about the presence of Satan in a modern enlightened world (if God is dead, surely—or hopefully—Satan should also be dead). But as I look at the cultural setting of our own society, I am struck with the emergence in the last few years of demonic symbols—kabbalistic and astrological symbols, mentions of "black masses", witchcraft, ritualistic murders (for example, the instance of a group of "Hell's Angels" crucifying a woman on a motorcycle), themes of ghouls and ghoulish activity undertaken by some leaders of the "hippies", depictions of morbid and sadistic activity in plays and movies. Is this anything for theological schools to worry about? As far as I am concerned, assuredly yes, for they cannot be simply dismissed as "innocent", "absurd" or just "irrational" activities. They are, rather, proof to me of the dualism of the sacred, of the power of the demonic and its human agents to exercise an all-too-powerful influence in a social setting which has stripped itself of the protection of the divine. What we are witnessing is the reverse process of *civilization*, what I would call *paganization*.

If the vocation of the theologian and the minister is, in part, pastoral care, then in their training they must learn how to protect their flock from the onslaughts of predators. Of course, the secular psychoanalyst will explain these phenomena as being "phantasies" or "projections", and thereby seek to lull us back to sleep rather than have us face the very grave dangers of these phenomena for society and for personality formation. But these kinds of cultural "innovations" may be projections from another source than that of individuals—they may be projections from the demonic itself which gladly intrudes upon a society that has let down its guard. And to know how to guard society from being taken over by the demonic and its human

agents, theologians must know something about the latter. What I am suggesting—which is probably the last thing you might expect from a sociologist as a course recommendation—is that the divinity school should have at least one course in demonology, which would offer comparative, cross-cultural and cross-historical materials on the manifestations of the demonic, as well as therapeutic measures for it. In this context, let me highly recommend an exciting book I have recently come across which has some very relevant materials, H. te Velde's *Seth, God of Confusion* (1967)—not because of what it tells us about an aspect of ancient Egyptian religion as such, but because in the process of reading it you may see how much of contemporary social disorder ties in with Egyptian notions about Seth. If Seth may still be present, so may be other aspects of the demonic which Church fathers fought against as heresies, such as Gnosticism. If that seems like a quaint notion, then take a good look at the symbols of the great seal of the United States, displayed on the reverse side of every dollar bill, for they are Gnostic symbols, which should horrify every Christian theologian who innocently assumes the United States to be (or have been) a Christian nation.

It is the theological school, not sociology or anthropology, which must supply the shock troops against the demonic, but it must first realize that this is a real “hot” war against the forces of the Anti-Christ, a war where “honorable negotiations” have no place; the “Christian revolution” did not end with the triumph of the Resurrection twenty centuries ago—it is a “permanent” revolution that has to be waged in every century, for every age has to be Christianized anew. Perhaps sociology and anthropology can help theology realize what is involved by enriching the theological horizon concerning religious reality.

Tradition, Impotence and the Seminary

HENRY B. CLARK

Associate Professor of Religion

Thesis

"Then shall the King say unto them on his right hand, 'Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. You seldom fed me when I was hungry; you seldom clothed me when I was naked; you hardly ever visited me when I was sick or in prison. But you were careful about your historical generalizations, you spent years of your life elaborating a sophisticated mode of ethical discourse, and you were faithful to the hallowed values of the university and the church, so that you never lost the esteem of your colleagues in other departments and your peers in the ecclesiastical Establishment.'"

No, Matthew 25 doesn't read that way—but you would think it did by the look of the curriculum and the feel of the ethos of many theological schools. Not that this is the order of priorities consciously chosen by many seminary faculties and administrators, for they are persuaded that their emphasis upon essentially meta-ethical concerns will ultimately lead to ethical fruits. The discipline of ethics is commonly considered as the thought and talk which precede or accompany action designed to benefit one's neighbors. I contend that this is an erroneous and fundamentally ideological understanding of the term, and that ethics does not really begin until we have actually *done something* for others. This is not to minimize the importance of the meta-ethical process, because action apart from disciplined reflection may in some cases be almost as bad as endless jabbering about what one ought to do. But that is not the major temptation of the intellectual, and it behooves us to admit that a great deal of the palaver which passes for ethics is nothing more than *recreational* activity. Once again, there is nothing evil *per se* about play—but we should

Reprinted, with permission, from *Reflection* (Yale Divinity School, Vol. 65, No. 2, January, 1968). Dr. Clark returned this year to Duke, his undergraduate alma mater, from the faculty of Union Theological Seminary, New York.

label properly what it is we're doing and it should not be sold to ourselves or to others as an effective (or even a seriously intended) means to mission if it is simply an activity which leads to nothing more than our own amusement.

The seminaries are still attracting some of the best young men and women in the country, and their graduates often turn out to be effective agents of Christian mission. But my fear is that the good products are in most cases good despite their theological school training, not because of it—and my empirical judgment is that for every good one the supposedly sophisticated seminaries are turning out, they are turning out a score of misdirected, ill-prepared Establishment intellectuals who wind up being custodians of the status quo.

Some Presuppositions

My analysis of the sickness of the seminaries is based on the following presuppositions. The first presupposition is this: *the established order in which the writer and most of the readers of this piece so comfortably exist is rotten to the core*. If that is an overstatement, it is a *necessary* use of hyperbole. Future generations will look back on the economic and political arrangements of our century, and upon our complacency regarding them, with a horror very much akin to that which we feel when we contemplate slavery, human sacrifice, and other prize examples of the blood-curdling inhumanities accepted in the past. They will marvel at the moral insensitivity which allowed middle-class citizens of the developed countries to enjoy all of their privileges while the majority of their brothers lived in misery and degradation. They will wonder how on earth we managed to rationalize our preoccupation with security, status and affluence. That's why mission has to have a clear priority over academic elegance and the kind of ecclesiastical business-as-usual so fatuously glorified in James Dittes' article in the May (1967) issue of *Reflection*.

The second presupposition is this: *attitudinal change follows behavioral change, and political, economic and psychological power are more important in bringing about social change than the power of ideas*. Anyone with a grain of common sense will pay lip service to the importance of self-interest as manifested in the psychology of the individual and the sociology of institutional life, but few intellectuals really take seriously the implications of this truth. To do so would be to go against their own self-interest insofar as it would challenge the self-image they have of themselves and of the significance of their work. Insofar as it would undermine the importance of the institu-

tions in which they work and have achieved status, it would necessitate the kind of radical change in our usual way of doing things which everyone finds threatening.

This is not to say that ideas are totally unimportant, nor is it to deny that there is an elective affinity between material interests and ideas which allows the latter to provide a decisive acceleration to material and institutional developments already under way. It is to say, however, that the very great emphasis placed upon the manipulation of verbal symbols and the rearrangement of intellectual furniture which is now characteristic of seminary education, and of the academic tradition as a whole, is disproportionate. We do need scholars and thinkers. Indeed, they are crucially important for the church at the present moment. But their focus needs to be on reinterpreting the tradition for the present and the future, not in trying vainly to hang on to it as received.

Furthermore, we do not need as many of them as of strategists and front-line action troops. Our present patterns of theological education put bows and arrows into the hands of the infantrymen, and it makes too many of them want to be generals. What we need is the kind of education which will give them modern rifles and bazookas, and which will make them realize that the time-honored role of the general is only for a few with special talents and limitations, and that the role of the infantrymen and the lieutenants who have the battle-line skills is of greater relevance for the majority of them. To be concrete, we need relatively few scholars and technical theologians in comparison with the number of congregational and community mobilizers needed. We do require a few of the former, because what Ruel Tyson has aptly called "urban renewal in the holy city" is a continuing necessity, but to have more than a few of our limited personnel involved in writing articles, quarreling and quibbling about the subtleties of articles others have written about the books of a hundred years ago based on books of five hundred years ago, which are based on scrolls and stones of even greater antiquity—well, it's a waste. Any contemporary student who fails to perceive this elementary fact of life, through exaggerated reverence for the wisdom of his professors or through sheer inertia, is well on his way to becoming an intellectual and a moral Uncle Tom. The implication is that we need large numbers of young men and women trained in a *professional* degree program (such as the new D. Min. program at the University of Chicago Divinity School), and fewer trained in conventional Ph.D. and Th.D. programs.

The third presupposition is this: *our whole understanding of the nature and the meaning of Christianity must undergo a drastic alteration.* As Robert Bellah observes in a brilliant article on "Religious Evolution", it is impossible to speak of a symbol system in a contemporary religion, because our whole understanding of the character and the function of the belief system of a religion is quite different today from what it ever was before. Even if we continue to believe in God and to allow some room for the possibility that the Holy Spirit guides the action of men in ways which are real even though they are difficult to define, we must admit that all religions, including Christianity, are creations of men. They are designed to provide a superordinate meaning structure which causes men to give allegiance to the highest values affirmed in a given culture, and to legitimize the roles and behavioral norms considered necessary for a realization of these values.

It is quite possible for a religious leader to acknowledge all this and to continue to use the traditional language and rituals of Christianity without bad faith. For it is still possible to reinterpret biblical mythology in such a way as to make it the expression of man's highest values and a vehicle for their attainment. But we must be very clear about the distinction between the value-affirmations we commit our lives to and the rhetoric we employ, and we must be very clear about what we are doing and which of the two takes priority. Seminaries must convey this message unambiguously to their students, and the students must have the integrity to receive the message and to adjust their beliefs and their lives accordingly. Otherwise, they are likely to be a menace to their society instead of a blessing.

The Backwardness of the Seminaries

One way to describe the backwardness of the seminaries is to analyze the kinds of wisdom needed by the agent of mission and compare this to the educational process and the life-experience offered in the typical theological school. Three kinds of wisdom are necessary for the effective agent of mission. The first is moral wisdom, which includes sufficient knowledge of the good and sufficient motivation to seek and work for it. Moral wisdom is the sphere of the *ought*: the vision of cosmic righteousness and love expressed in biblical mythology and elaborated in various ways at various times by the church, the norms of behavior taught by various exponents of the tradition, and the mode of ethical decision-making appropriate for members of the household of faith.

The second type of necessary wisdom is technical wisdom, which includes knowledge about the *is* of the human psyche and human collectivities. This is the sphere of social science, the area in which we try to learn about the cultural and reference group pressures that operate on all sorts and conditions of men, the way that institutions operate, the strategies and tactics which the social change agent may most fruitfully pursue in various settings. The third type of wisdom is the kind that comes primarily through experience. It is the practical wisdom or "savvy" about how to utilize academic learning without which the latter is of little value except to the person who enjoys possessing it or fiddling around with it in his mind.

Most seminaries devote too much attention to the first type of wisdom, not enough (and not enough of the right kind) to the second, and too much to the wrong kind of the third. They clutter up the student's mind with an enormous load of information about theology, the Bible, and church history, and they train him to regard it with entirely too much importance. They take up his time with courses in homiletics and exegesis, and with field work in traditional roles which are of less value for the ultimate ends of the church than for her institutional ends, and which are in any case of diminishing importance. And they give him almost nothing in the way of detailed knowledge about and experience in certain decisive areas: the new actualities, possibilities and trends in science and technology (which render so much of our traditional moral wisdom obsolete, or demand new interpretations and new specifications of it); new patterns of institutional and social organization (which lead to or call for new allocations of resources and energies, and new administrative arrangements); and how to locate issues, define goals, set priorities, identify targets, devise tactics, and assess probabilities in the planning of strategy.

Another way to express my complaint is to examine the natural history of a typical seminary graduate. What happens to a man when he gets out? Well, maybe he makes it. Having received from the seminary a solid theological foundation, keener motivation, and certain intellectual tools, maybe he has enough common sense not to spend the rest of his life engaging in meta-ethical reflection, study, and conversation. If he has enough guts and shrewdness to gather the required technical and practical wisdom for himself, he might become an effective agent of mission.

But it's a different story in the case of the *typical* graduate of one of our theological schools. He is, remember, a man who has been

taught (by the ethos of the seminary as well as its curriculum content) to believe that words and concepts are all-important, and to feel most comfortable with words and concepts. He also knows, of course, that institutions are important, and that he must endeavor to work through, with, and on them. But when he tries to exercise leadership in church or community (especially if he tries to re-form institutional structures or practices), he lacks the requisite skills and experience. Unless he is extraordinarily secure, gifted, persistent, or lucky, he is relatively unsuccessful in his efforts to work with institutions or in his efforts to be a strategist, and therefore he retreats to his study to lick his wounds. The pattern revealed in Kenneth Underwood's *Protestant and Catholic* is all too common. In the words of one of the ministers portrayed in this study: "The whole fiasco of political action has convinced me that I and other clergymen ought to concentrate in the future upon personal counseling."

Having made his retreat, he then makes a virtue of his necessity by believing more than ever—and proclaiming—that salvation comes mainly through words and concepts, and/or that *his* vocation is working with words and concepts. So he falls back into the traditional career pattern of the pastorate—and since, having indeed been well trained in the manipulation of words and concepts in seminary, he finds success, status, and comfort in this traditional career pattern. The further he progresses in it, the more of an interest, psychological and sociological, he develops in perpetuating the traditional hierarchy of values embodied in the above pattern. So he advises others to follow the same course that he has followed (and succeeded in). Specifically, he directs money and prospective students to the same kind of seminary he attended.

Had we but worlds enough and time, this comfy routine would be perhaps no crime. But the possibilities for good and evil are so momentous in our time, and time is so short, it is hard to justify fooling around with the cozy little world of traditional ideas and practices which most seminaries and most seminarians get bogged down in. The real world is bigger than this, and God calls us to something more than this. Our seminaries ought to be training cadres of responsible and intelligent revolutionaries, not custodians of the status quo.

Curriculum content: Instead of disproportionate emphasis upon traditional fields, taught by traditional pedagogical methods, which encourage selective perception of relatively irrelevant issues and stultify initiative and skill, we need more knowledge of the technical wis-

dom provided by social science, e.g., models of social change, group dynamics and leadership techniques, community organization skills, facts and how they are brought to bear on the lives of citizens (effect of mass media, advertising, education processes, etc.).

Field education: Instead of training, and growing ego-investment, in relatively insignificant traditional role activities, which leads to a mind-set that overlooks the highest priority concerns or is unable to grapple with them effectively, we need experience in decision-making roles which require accurate perception and analysis of complex situations, sophisticated goal-setting, planning of strategy, and execution of tactics, in a group or an organization working for social change.

Ethos: Instead of a conservative (and fundamentally ideological) definition of role expectations, ego-ideals and style of life aspiration, we need an atmosphere in which living arrangements, economic and social disciplines, sensitivity-trained personal relationships, all proclaim that commitment is more important than comfort and revolution more important than respectability.

It is often argued by seminary professors that the present curriculum content, pattern of field education and ethos are required by the university and the churches. The seminaries must offer solid classical education in the traditional disciplines, it is said, because otherwise the "high standards" of the university could not be maintained. A positive attitude toward the existing church (which at the present time means the parish) must be communicated, for that is where the jobs are, and in many cases, that is where financial support for the seminary comes from. These are, of course, realities which have to be taken into account in plotting a pragmatic administrative strategy. But in our definition of the goals of seminary education, we must never fail to perceive that the values of the university and of the existing social institution we call the church are by no means sacred, and that in many cases they represent just another group of obsolescing cultural values which must be denied or overcome in the name of Christ. If it is a choice between God and humanizing action in the world on the one hand, or a set of idols enshrined in academic or ecclesiastical institutionalism on the other, we must always choose the former. What we should and must be concerned about is the treasure, not the earthen vessels of dogma, ritual and ministerial role which once contained it, but which must now be re-fashioned.

What is Christian Ministry?

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Probably no great clamor of opposition will be raised against the assertion that the purpose of theological education is to train men for the ministry. Moreover, it is also the case that the way we conceive the nature and purpose of ministry is by and large determinative of the shape and content of theological education. As C. H. Hwang says, "Behind every pattern of theological education lies an implicit *image of the ministry*."¹ Robert E. Cushman has illustrated this by pointing out that for over three hundred years ministry, in the American Protestant churches, was viewed primarily as preaching the gospel, and that accordingly theological seminaries were concerned with training men to preach accurately and authoritatively.² Similar correlations between the nature of ministry and the nature of theological education are apparent in those periods when ministry was viewed in other ways—in primarily sacramentarian terms, for example, or in terms of a dominant ethical concern. The point is that any prevailing conception of ministry largely governs the shape of theological education, and is in turn perpetuated by it, particularly when the seminaries permit themselves so to function without continual self-examination and criticism. Indeed, part of the proper responsibility of the seminary is to be the church's organ of self-examination, and continually to raise questions about those views, central to the life and work of the church, too often uncritically assumed.

All this is preface to one major point: that the question of the nature of theological education "in light of its objective" requires extensive and deliberate consideration of the prior question of the theology of ministry.³ Many of the essays on training for ministry provide very little in the way of explicit discussion of "what is the nature of Christian ministry?" The report edited by Charles R.

1. C. H. Hwang, "A Rethinking of Theological Training for the Ministry in the Younger Churches Today," *The South East Asia Journal of Theology*, IV, No. 2 (October, 1962), 9.

2. Robert E. Cushman, "Theological Education, A Reconsideration of Its Nature in Light of Its Objective," *The Duke Divinity School Review*, XXXIII, Number 1 (Winter, 1968). 8-9.

3. *Ibid.*, p.1.

Feilding speaks to this question only briefly, defining ministry as a profession and mentioning various kinds of ministerial responsibilities.⁴ With all its value in assessing the critical state of ministry today, the "Feilding Report" is deficient in that it makes proposals about ministerial education on the basis of assumptions about the nature of ministry which are neither explicitly stated nor critically examined.

Theological seminaries are having difficulty in self-understanding, and with specific matters such as curriculum reform, because the question of the nature of ministry, for which they are endeavoring to prepare men, is not clear, nor is it always adequately considered. The local church ministry is in a similar quandary. If old conceptions of ministry and its purpose seem to be somewhat obsolete, no new articulations of the theology of ministry have yet been overwhelmingly accepted. Surely part of the necessary work of theological schools, in conversation with the practicing church, is to contemplate the "theology of ministry", to examine and formulate creatively what the historic Christian ministry is, and then to project prophetically and constructively, in increasingly competent awareness of present and probable future directions of society, what forms that ministry must take by, say, 1984 or the year 2000. In this, perhaps, the seminaries must lead the church, and serious constructive work is essential before seminaries can significantly and relevantly rearrange their curricular furniture.

I

The nature of the church's "historic ministry" needs examination. In these revolutionary days, it is a great risk to take anything for granted, and the definition of the nature of Christian ministry is no exception. Little more can be done here, however, than to outline the kinds of questions requiring consideration, and to suggest one method of approach to them.

What is the essential character of the *Christian* ministry? The primary basis for defining the nature of Christian ministry is the ministry of Jesus Christ as pictured in the New Testament. The ministry of the church originates with Christ. It is something *given* to the church, something the church receives as a trust from its Lord. The church ministers in his name and is responsible to him for the adequacy and faithfulness of its ministering. This means that the

4. Charles R. Feilding (ed.), *Education For Ministry* (Dayton, Ohio: American Association of Theological Schools, 1966), pp. 69f.

church's ministry is not its own, but the ministry of Jesus brought to contemporary expression in such way that, while continually changing in form or shape, it is nevertheless his ministry which continues in the present. As John W. Deschner has said, the ministry of Jesus "is the revelation of the character of his continuing ministry today".⁵

The servant-image of Jesus in the New Testament is a central element in defining a theology of ministry. "I am among you as one who serves." (Luke 22:27) Attempting a definition, one could say that Christian ministry is *service* motivated by faith which works through love in fulfillment of duty. Even so, this definition of service is extremely general, and left without further elaboration is of little practical value. Fortunately, the New Testament record presents a more specific picture of ministry.

One of the New Testament terms for ministry is *diakonia*. Viewed in relation to the ministry of Jesus, *diakonia* has at least two directions. In the first place, Jesus assumed ministry to his own followers and to the existing religious community. Ministry or service in this dimension took the form of *preaching* the words of condemnation of sin, of forgiveness, and of the promise of the kingdom of God to those who repent and believe. (Mark 1:15) It also took the form of *teaching* about the meaning of the kingdom. Further, it was a *healing* ministry which sought to restore to life hearts dead to God through sin. This was service directed both to those within the Jewish religious institutions and those devoted to Jesus himself who needed to hear the words of judgment and promise, to understand the Gospel, and to be made whole.

The ministry of Jesus, secondly, took the form of service beyond the religious communities in and to the world in its needs. Itineracy was a characteristic form of Jesus' *diakonia* to the world. He went to people in need wherever they were to be found and in whatever conditions of life—the oppressed, the poor, the affluent. His was a service of healing carried on by entering into the "life-places" of people and into the affairs of the world with the purpose of transforming them. He sought to heal souls, to be sure, but also to heal broken relationships between men, to better the conditions of the poor, to prick the consciences of the affluent, to condemn and replace inequity and injustice with the rule of God in the world.

These two forms of *diakonia*, exemplified in the work of Christ,

5. John W. Deschner, "Jesus Christ and the Christian Mission," in *The Christian Mission Today*, (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1960), p. 24.

are essential parts of the pattern for ministry in his name. There is a necessary service of the church to itself involving judgment on its fallenness and the renewal and reformation of its life before God. There is an essential service of the church to the world which calls for sensitivity and action in meeting the needs of individual persons and, further, which seeks to change, remove, replace those conditions in the social order which are inconsistent with the justice and mercy of God revealed in Christ. Neither dimension of ministry should be considered optional.

Another kind of service is reflected in the ministry of Jesus—the service *to* God. To be sure, *diakonia* understood as ministry to men in need may appropriately be considered as service *of* God. But the meaning of ministry is not completely defined in terms of service to the church and to the world, that is, by the horizontal direction of service. There is in Christian ministry an essential service *to* God which has, so to say, a vertical direction. It is a service which recognizes God's majesty and mercy and involves personal and corporate response to him. This ministry may be called, using a biblical term, *leitourgia*, the offering of the service of praise and confession and thanksgiving to God. The warrants for *leitourgia* are so clearly apparent in the model of Jesus' ministry as to make it a central concern for those who minister in his name. Indeed, the service of the response of man to God in worship constitutes one of the fundamental ministries of the church.

II

The foregoing description of the nature of Christian ministry as *diakonia* and *leitourgia*, following the pattern of Jesus' ministry, is intended to be indicative of the kind of defining of the nature and purpose of ministry in which the seminary and church need to be engaged. Theological clarity on the conception of ministry, deliberately arrived at and articulated, is required if the questions of the nature and structure of theological education are to be adequately considered. Having clarified a theology of ministry, the question of how to bring it to expression in relation to the problems of the present and the future can be entertained fruitfully, providing important clues for defining the task of a seminary and the reform of curriculum.

As noted at the outset, theological education is concerned with the training of ministerial leaders for today and tomorrow. It is important in order to avoid undue one-sidedness that education for ministry be carried on in relation to a view of ministry that is broader

rather than narrower in scope. Ministry is not just preaching, or teaching, or ethical and social service. The identifying of particular ministries, traditional and experimental, is called for, to be sure, but these forms should be exercised in an awareness of the nature of ministry in its wholeness.

Christian ministry has been defined as service of the church to the church and to the world, and service to the church to God. What does such a definition mean for the work of a seminary? It means, for one thing, as D. Moody Smith has suggested, that "the theological school ought to teach theology."⁶ The theological catechumen needs to acquire theological knowledge—biblical, historical, contemporary, ethical—to provide the reservoir of understanding upon which he draws in the formulation and exercise of creative ministry. He needs further to learn to think theologically, in order imaginatively to perform service to church, world and God in the constantly changing contexts that confront him. Robert E. Cushman recognizes this in his claim that in training for ministry "it is basic theological understanding that counts, an acquired habit of critical investigation, and familiarity with and respect for the sources and resources of Christian understanding."⁷ The provision of opportunity and means for attaining this foundation in theological knowledge and in the habit of intelligent and creative thinking is one of the primary tasks of theological education.

This task is necessarily related to another. Christian ministry is service motivated by faith, and working through love in the fulfilling of duty. Theological education must make searching inquiry into what forms of love and duty are demanded of the faithful by the gospel and the fluid conditions of human life. The forms of Christian ministry cannot become static. To do so is to invite obsolescence and petrification. This is especially true of the church's ministry to itself. The forms of Christian ministry as traditionally practiced should be under constant examination, and subject to continual revision or replacement in the interest of a renewal of ministry in the church with its purpose of bringing judgment and seeking human fulfillment. The forms which Christian ministry will take the future are likely to be very different from those presently dominant. For psychological and sociological reasons, the shapes of the ministry of the church to itself will certainly have to be different from some of those presently prac-

6. D. Moody Smith, "Comments on Dean Cushman's Address," *The Duke Divinity School Review*, XXXIII, Number 1 (Winter, 1968), p. 22.

7. Robert E. Cushman, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

ticed—for example, in Fuller's geodesic "city of the future" in which an entire population lives in a self-contained apartment-house metropolis.⁸ Theological schools will need increasingly to ponder the shape of future ministry and to provide in its educational process such opportunities for theological guidance and learning as will enable future ministerial leaders sensitively to perceive the sinfulness and need of men in the church, and to create imaginative new forms of or alternatives to Christ's preaching, teaching and healing ministry.

Theological education should, moreover, train men for service in and to the world. It is conceivable that the present trend toward disillusionment and suspicion of institutional Christianity will continue. If it is convinced of the importance of its message, the church, in order to sustain its influence for good, will have to go to the people, to go "where the action is". The church's *diakonia* must take creative new forms in what Van A. Harvey calls its "service in the modern world".⁹ The present struggles for bread and equity and justice and peace, involving the use of economic and political power, are areas in which human need and Christian ministry coincide. Clearly part of the church's ministry to the world, consistent with that of Christ, is to involve itself fully in the fight against oppression and poverty. In addition to this encompassing issue stands the question of the forms of the church's ministry to the world in the more distant future. A recent work entitled *The Year 2000* makes intelligent and calculated predictions, based on the findings of sociology, economics, medicine, and political science, about the world in the last third of this century.¹⁰ Curiously, in this very lengthy book the influence or role of the church is nowhere evident. Perhaps it will not have a role in the future of world civilization. But if the church is to exercise leadership in the future, it is now time to examine and contemplate that future in terms of its own ministerial responsibility and through the eyes of other reputable disciplines. The seminaries increasingly need to relate their theological perspectives in a sophisticated way to the sociological, psychological and economic sciences. On the basis of such knowledge the church will be able significantly to exercise its ministry of healing and hope to the world.

Finally, what about the church's service to God? We cannot sur-

8. R. Buckminster Fuller, "City of the Future," *Playboy Magazine* (January, 1968), pp. 166 f.

9. Van A. Harvey. "On Separating Hopes From Illusions," *motive*, XXVI, Number 2 (November, 1965), 4-6.

10. Herman Kahn and Anthony J. Wiener, *The Year 2000* (New York: Macmillan, 1967).

render either intentionally or by default this ministry, for the service of praise and thanksgiving, confession and self-offering is the outward expression of loyalty to the ground and power of all *diakonia*. But, like other ministries, service to God is not static in form. James F. White has correctly pointed out that the forms of *leitourgia* may change, may even be disposed of, but not *leitourgia* itself.¹¹ In this aspect of ministry flexibility and creativity are essential. The forms of *leitourgia* for the "city of the future" or the year 2000 cannot at this point be clearly foreseen. But the purpose of all *leitourgia* can be inquired into, and it is one basic task of theological education, in formal curriculum and other ways, to emphasize the centrality and essentiality of this ministry.

The church, then, has ministry to itself, to the world, and to God. The task of theological education is to stimulate understanding, expression and application of this ministry. Engagement in this task in the totality of its directions and requirements defines the nature of theological education. Education which prepares leaders for ministry such as this will be professional education in the highest sense.

11. James F. White, *The Worldliness of Worship* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 31.

The Duke Silent Vigil

H. JAMES LAWRENCE, '69

The "Silent Vigil", the phenomenon that took place on the Duke University campus during April of 1968, provoked a wide spectrum of response, ranging from enthusiastic support to vigorous opposition. Though its significance and lasting value may be the subject of much debate, one thing is certain: Duke has been greatly affected by the explicit activity and the rather far-reaching implications of the Vigil. The University was so shaken by the occurrence that *The Duke Chronicle* (April 12, 1968) editorialized about the birth of a "new university," and one professor proclaimed to a night rally of students that "you have wrought a revolution." It will take time to delineate the multiple dimensions and ultimate consequences of what actually happened. At present even those who have been an integral part of the movement from the beginning "know only in part". For this reason, one must establish a rationale for attempting to glean theological significance from the Vigil.

The Duke University Divinity School community was jarred loose from its moorings—not only by the presence of student demonstrators outside its windows, but also (perhaps primarily) by the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., on Thursday, April 4, 1968. In numerous meetings and discussions opinions were polarized concerning actual physical participation in the Vigil, and over goals and purposes. Consciences were disturbed and the desire for "action" was greatly intensified. A special issue of the Divinity School newspaper, *Response*, cited no less than *fourteen* different community projects that were virtually non-existent prior to the Vigil.

Though student reaction and response greatly varied, the Divinity School faculty appeared to reach some unity of purpose in their pronouncements as a group. On April 8 a statement was "unanimously adopted" by the faculty in which they offered to relinquish their annual salary increment in order that the amount be used to help raise the wages of non-academic employees. On April 9, "Members of the Divinity School community" issued a statement which voiced support for the Vigil, recognized the strike and the boycott, and urged the University to grant *all* non-academic employees a minimum wage of \$1.60 per hour. In addition, when *The Duke Chronicle* (April 17)

printed a "Statement of Concerned Faculty," the names of fourteen Divinity School professors and associate professors appeared as signers of the petition.

The ambiguity of student response, and the rather decisive action of the faculty, present interesting material for study in themselves. (One must be careful not to over-simplify the extremely complex dimensions involved, or to set up artificial polarities). But our purpose here is to deal with the ethical problem that permeated the whole of the Vigil and created such profound reaction within the Divinity School itself; namely, *the extent to which the ministerial community* (specifically, the Duke Divinity School) *is called to political involvement* (specifically, active participation in the Vigil). This paper is offered not as a depth analysis of the Duke Student Vigil, but as the setting for the crucial issue of *theology as involvement*. We believe with William Lee Miller that "each religious man . . . has the responsibility to carry on his own social thinking and action in the framework of the doctrine and ethics of his faith, even though others of the same faith will think and act differently."¹ The Duke Vigil proved to be a laboratory for such thinking and acting. But we also believe that "the religious man should not wait for unanimity before doing his own work as a political animal and a social being."² It is these two points, political responsibility and a call to individual action, that form the focus of this study.

Background and Development

The Vigil itself had its beginnings following the death of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., on April 4, 1968. On Friday, April 5, approximately 450 students and faculty marched to President Knight's house, and about 250 remained there for two nights. Spokesmen for the group presented four demands:

(1) That President Knight sign an advertisement in the *Durham Morning Herald* calling for a day of mourning for Dr. King, asking citizens of Durham to do all they can to bring about racial equality and freedom.

(2) That Dr. Knight press for \$1.60 minimum wage for Duke employees.

(3) That President Knight resign from Hope Valley Country Club.

(4) That President Knight appoint a committee of students, faculty, and workers to make recommendations concerning collective bargaining and union recognition at Duke.

1. William Lee Miller, "The Church and Politics," *Reflections on Protest* (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1967), p. 43.

2. *Ibid.*

The events that initiated the Vigil are probably best described in a *Duke Chronicle* article (April 8) :

When they reached the president's home, a gracious Mrs. Knight met them at the door. She maintained a hospitable air as around 200 of them crowded into the house.

Meanwhile, Dr. Knight stood outside in a light drizzle and talked to 150 more marchers. He urged them to understand that he, too, was both saddened and concerned by King's death. He pleaded for time in which to make decisions. . . .

Knight went inside and, after appearing initially surprised at the sudden influx of visitors, met with three spokesmen . . . for nearly two hours. . . .

Jack Boger, one of the students, expressed the mood of the marchers: "An old order is changing—we cannot allow institutions that are amoral, good men who can't take moral stands because of something they can't control . . . We must take a stand in this situation. . . ." The students then told President Knight: "We'll stand behind you if you take a stand."³

The issue was complicated on the following afternoon when Dr. Knight's physician ordered him into seclusion. He was suffering from exhaustion (and a possible relapse of hepatitis). As part of a memorial service for Dr. King, Knight had delivered a speech which left the student demands unsatisfied, so new strategy had to be developed.

Faced with being guests in a home where host and hostess were absent, the demonstrators then made their decision Sunday morning (April 7) to move onto the Quad.

Throughout the day supporters joined the demonstrators on the chapel quad. A few students stood nearby and heckled occasionally, but for the most part only the curious came and stared.⁴

In a prepared statement, the steering committee of the Vigil (as the movement came to be called) declared that "from the beginning the Vigil members had one overriding goal: to bring the University to address itself to the political and social inequalities in its midst."⁵ The statement went on to point out the importance of Dr. King's death and the need for action now: "We can no longer tolerate the economic degradation and consequent dehumanization of the black community in our midst." A further policy statement described the Vigil as a "political action aimed at an impersonal institution. . . ."⁶ Due to

3. *The Duke Chronicle*, April 8, 1968.

4. *Ibid.*

5. "What is the Vigil?"

6. "I Have a Dream"

certain objections raised to the demonstration and its "four points,"⁷ a revised statement of purpose was issued (*alongside* the original demands):

(1) Despite our past acts this university must publicly reassure our commitment to the community.

(2) Although Dr. Knight obviously does not have the power to grant \$1.60 minimum wage, we are asking him to endorse this as Duke's first priority. This would require that he press for a re-orientation of Duke's fund-raising and fiscal policy to accomplish this end.

(3) Dr. Knight certainly has the right to associate with whom he chooses. But we feel that his membership in a segregated country club requires him, as president of a major university, either to alter its membership policy or withdraw.

(4) We can imagine no objections to the establishment of a committee with representatives from all sectors of the university community to explore the possibility of a democratic solution to Duke's labor problems.⁸

The spokesmen for the Vigil continued to affirm that their supporters would work constantly to "phrase our demands in such flexible terms as to encourage an atmosphere of creative change rather than one of belligerent confrontation."

Labor Situation

One element which contributed to the complexity of the situation was the desire on the part of the non-academic workers for recognition of their union, intermingled with the aims of the Vigil. The general problem represented by the union's cause was set forth succinctly in a Vigil pamphlet:

. . . the university argues that it can do more 'for' the employees than a union. Yet this position merely deepens the basic problem. Employees need to have a voice in their own future, and that voice can only come through collective bargaining. Only then *must* employees agree to wage scales and fringe benefits for which they will work. Only then may employees negotiate and sign a contract as mutual, equal participants rather than dependents of a paternal employer with unilateral decision-making power. . . .⁹

7. The letters in the issues of *The Duke Chronicle* from April 8 through April 15 express very well the range of the opposition to the Vigil. See also "The Vigil: Children's Crusade to Fascism," by Seth Grossman, April 17, 1968. "Vigil Leaders Reflect Diversity," (April 8, 1968) sets the tone for the internal friction that was inherent within the Vigil itself.

8. "I Have a Dream", *op. cit.*

9. "Why Local 77?"

The paper went on to point out that in the dining halls, \$1.25 per hour is the minimum wage earned by "only" twenty per cent of service employees. The bulk of these earn less than \$1.40 an hour (still well under the \$1.60 minimum wage). Maids (according to the pamphlet) make from \$1.25 to \$1.40, while the bulk of them make between \$1.25 and \$1.35. Janitors make a maximum of \$1.65 after many years of service, and hospital blue collar workers earn from \$1.15 to \$1.40. In the laundry most workers earn below \$1.25. In all of these cases workers can serve this university for twenty years and still fall within this wage scale—almost all below poverty level.¹⁰

The strike of the non-academic employees went into effect on April 9.¹¹ The East, West, and Graduate Center dining halls were picketed, and boycott of these facilities was initiated. A union assessment of the strike indicated that it was ninety per cent effective in the first day.¹²

On the Quad

The actual Vigil itself presents a wealth of material for sociologists and psychologists, as well as political scientists to study. (Just the fact that at least eighty per cent of the demonstrators came from upper middle class families and had never "rebelled" for or against anything before is an interesting statistic for those who tend to associate student demonstrations with student activists.)

Each participant in the Vigil was given a list of "ground rules" for the duration of his stay on the Quad. These included: (1) Remember that this is a day of mourning; (2) Remember the sense of purpose—we are very serious; (3) No talking. Please study or read; (4) No eating but at group snack and meal breaks; (5) No sunbathing; (6) No singing except at specified periods under the direction of the song leader; (7) No conversation with the spectators; (8) There should be no response to harassment; (9) Please do not give out information to the press, to avoid misinformation; (10) We must boycott the West Dining Halls. Finally, each participant was reminded that "the monitors are in charge so please listen to them." (As the number grew to approximately 1400, more than thirty monitors were chosen to carry out certain defined duties.)

10. These wages were considerably improved in May, with a promise of \$1.60 minimum by July 1, 1969.

11. Some workers (perhaps 25%) remained on duty, aided by student volunteers.

12. *The Duke Chronicle*, April 10, 1968. Also, "Why Local 77?"

The organization of the Vigil was really quite amazing, for it included among its more obvious expressions:

(A) An information center: mimeographed statements were available, explaining each step in the development of the Vigil. Basic points were continually re-asserted.

(B) An "Actions Table" was the source of petitions. Also, a list of courses offered on the Quad was continually revised there. Registration of all women participants was also required.

(C) A Lost and Found was maintained.

(D) A medicine table stocked sun-tan lotion, aspirin, salt tablets, and various cold medications.

(E) A main "office area" with a microphone and amplifying system was maintained. Radio news was broadcast to participants. Announcements were made periodically. A bulletin board was kept up to date.

(F) An inside office was maintained in Flowers.

(G) A banking service was established.

(H) Collection points were set up, and money was continuously collected for food and for the "Strike Fund".

(I) A kitchen area and sandwich counter served as the dispensing point for food. The organization was such that 1400 people could be served in little over an hour.

(J) A steering committee (later the "strategy committee") handled negotiations, and notified the Vigil participants of each step taken.

(K) Monitors circulated from time to time collecting suggestions, criticisms, ideas. Many were implemented.

(L) Picket lines (run on volunteer basis) were maintained and changed regularly.

(M) All blankets, sleeping bags, etc. were collected, stored, and re-distributed.

(N) Clean-up crews operated continuously. All bathroom facilities were cleaned after use. All paper, cigarette butts, etc., were picked up.

(O) Seminar classes were arranged and conducted on the Quad.

(P) Periodic group singing, guest speakers, and announcements helped pass the time.

(Q) There was a continuous dispensing of information regarding the goals and purposes of the Vigil.

(R) Demonstrators were seated in straight rows, and were requested to remain quiet and orderly (which they did).

On Monday night, April 8, folk-singer Joan Baez and her husband, Mr. Harris, addressed the assembled Vigil. Harris delivered a rather lengthy oration directed against the draft and the evils of the American military establishment. This writer was greatly impressed when one of the student participants rose at the conclusion of Mr. Harris' remarks and said: "We appreciate what you have said, but this is not why we're here!" He received a standing ovation. It was

on this night that this writer and four other Divinity students joined the Vigil. (To my knowledge, a total of *nine* seminary students were actively involved in the Vigil itself. Two were already involved in the movement before we arrived on Monday night. The rest joined later. One joined on Monday and left the following day.)

Tuesday, April 9, was an eventful day. Martin Luther King, Jr., was buried in Atlanta. A class boycott was called "in memoriam for Dr. King and in support of our effort". A memorial service was conducted in the Duke Chapel, and broadcast to the demonstrators on the Quad. Dean Robert E. Cushman of the Divinity School delivered the sermon, in which he referred to the "cruciform quality" of the events that had taken place in the preceding days.¹³ During the afternoon, telegrams of support were received from Senators Eugene J. McCarthy and Robert F. Kennedy, as well as from Benjamin E. Mays, and others. It was announced that the Divinity School faculty had voted to relinquish its annual pay raise in favor of the non-academic employees (see above). The strike of Local 77 went into effect; picket lines were set up, and a boycott of the cafeterias was begun. Also, Howard Fuller, a local Negro leader and organizer of the black community in Durham, appeared, to tell the Vigil: "Although I'm a black man and proud of it, you all look good to me today." Fuller ended his appearance with a warning:

. . . Now is the beginning, and all those who are within the reach of my voice who have anything to say about anything had better start listening to those who preach peace, because if they don't listen to the voice of peace they are going to listen to those who have no peace on their minds.¹⁴

The Plot Thickens

The events of Wednesday, April 10, were climactic in character. No one sitting on the Quad was unaware that before the day was over, some type of significant turning point would be reached. The total number of active participants "camping out" on the Quad had grown to nearly 1400. Local and national interest in the Vigil had increased considerably, definitely making it a force to be reckoned with. The stage was set.

A steady drizzle of rain lasted throughout the day, but from early afternoon on events began to happen that kept spirits from dampening along with the bodies. A statement by the "Divinity School Community" (see above, p. 89) supported the aims of the Vigil. Dr.

13. See below, p. 121.

14. *Duke Chronicle*, April 10, 1968.

Samuel DuBois Cook, Associate Professor of Political Science at Duke and a representative to Dr. King's funeral, delivered a moving address expressing his feelings about the Vigil: ". . . you are sacrificing for humanity; you are finding yourselves by losing yourselves in the needs, aspirations, and just demands of your fellows."

"The University administration," he continued, "has taken the wrong side of a great moral issue." At one point in the afternoon a large delegation of law school students and faculty marched onto the Quad, announcing their support for the Vigil and presenting the Strike Fund¹⁵ with a substantial contribution.

At five o'clock Wright Tisdale, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, appeared on the Quad and read a prepared statement which expressed his concern over Dr. Knight's illness, and voiced sympathy for the issues that had prompted the calling of the Vigil. Turning to the "four demands" presented to President Knight, Tisdale gave July 1, 1969, as the date by which the \$1.60 minimum would be in effect at Duke. "We will make a significant step toward this by July 1, 1968," he added, and pointed out that the minimum wage will be achieved two years earlier than specified by federal law. Reference was made to a committee mentioned by President Knight in his chapel address, but the other demands of the Vigil were put aside as "of a personal nature, answerable only by Dr. Knight". However, as *The Duke Chronicle* (April 11) pointed out, what Tisdale failed to say and do may be as important as the text of the speech:

No mention was made of Local 77, its strike, or the possibilities of collective bargaining for the union. Collective bargaining has been named the 'number one goal' by the strikers.

The opportune moment had arrived, but the general aims and specific goals of the Vigil were still unfilled. Clearly, *something* had to be done—some action must be taken. But what? That question was on everyone's mind as the Vigil quietly moved into Page Auditorium to contemplate its position and chart a course of action.

Time of Crisis

The air was charged with emotion. Fourteen hundred demonstrators crowded into the auditorium and waited impatiently for the Vigil leaders to arrive. The days and nights of physical hardships, the lack of sleep, and the overwhelming disappointment with Tisdale's

15. The Strike Fund was created to provide financial assistance for workers on strike. It was estimated that approximately \$3000 per week was needed to enable them to stay off the job.

remarks combined to make tempers short and nerves ragged. Also, for a second time the inherent diversity within the Vigil began to rise to the surface: Radical “activists,” militant black students, “first time” demonstrators, as well as thoughtful, concerned strategists formed a motley conglomeration of feelings. When the leadership finally arrived, they were greeted with rhythmic chants of “Four! Four! Four! Four! Four!” The anger and frustration were very apparent.

This afternoon session centered around an announcement made by the chairman of the Academic Council (a committee of professors). The council urged the University not to disregard “justice and morality in the larger community in which it operates and in the non-academic community within its own bounds.”¹⁶ The statement urged co-operation in working out racial problems in the community at large, but was actually pretty weak in its direct support of the Vigil’s aims and the union’s fight for collective bargaining (though it recommended a committee “study the feasibility of collective bargaining”). The report concluded by urging students to return to their classes, implying that a significant moral victory had already been won. The disappointment was obvious, and was vocalized by Jack Boger, who said: “As the logic of events transcends finance, the logic of morality goes beyond mere rational thinking. In the context of events in this country and in the context of dealing with the administration of the University, I must say that this statement is unacceptable!”¹⁷

Dr. John Strange, Assistant Professor of Political Science, opened the evening session by outlining a plan of action. He suggested that the Vigil make supporting the goals of the union top priority (i.e., \$1.60 per hour and collective bargaining). Further support of the union would be expressed by: manning the picket lines, maintaining the food boycott (offering alternate food plans), contributing financially to the Strike Fund, continuing to meet as a strategy committee, and electing a group of four students to deal with collective bargaining. Strange felt strongly that the Vigil should now move from the Quad, with the understanding that it could be reconvened or could return to the Quad if the situation demanded it.

Mr. Oliver Harvey, founder of the union, describing his experiences with the administration at Duke, and the growth of Local 77, repeatedly emphasized the importance of collective bargaining. The need to have a say in working out work loads, wages, hours, and fringe benefits was crucial in his eyes. He referred to the “hard-boiled

16. *The Duke Chronicle*, April 11, 1968.

17. *Ibid.*

policy" of Duke University that was adamantly against unionism. (Earlier in the afternoon Tisdale had pointed to the progress made at Duke in improving working conditions. However, Harvey pointed out that literally nothing had been done until the union began to make its presence felt in 1965.)

Following Harvey's talk, Jack Boger presented what he termed an alternate proposal. "We can't just support them with a lot of money we have . . . This will satisfy a lot of liberal consciences, but it is not what we started out to do," he proclaimed. He suggested that a committee be organized to co-ordinate activities with the union, and to look to the faculty for support. He wanted to leave a token of about 200 pickets on the Quad, and invite the Trustees to join in a discussion of collective bargaining in about a week. Boger seemed (to me) to be caught between radical impulses and common sense.

Feelings and opinions flew fast and furiously. Some wanted to remain on the Quad; some supported Boger's suggestion; some felt with Dr. Strange that the Quad had served its purpose, and it was now time to do something else. One suggestion was an Easter Sunday "confrontation" (which was actually adopted). Too, it was pointed out that the labor personnel were working within a six-week time period: at the end of the semester, their student support would be away from the campus. It was also pointed out that the "black community" had lent its support to the endeavor, and "we can't let them down by giving in!" Many felt (the writer among them) that the Trustees would view the Vigil as "over" now, and any continued presence on the Quad would be self-defeating. What was needed was a "new approach", a new dimension of the Vigil, that would be as effective in a deeper and more comprehensive way. However, exactly *what* that approach was (with the exception of Strange's proposals) was a mystery at this particular hour of the night! The wisest suggestion of the long evening was that nothing definite be decided until Thursday morning, when heads were clearer and emotions had cooled. Vigil participants headed for the Chapel and the Divinity School to bed down.

An interesting phenomenon occurred immediately following the adjournment of the session. Small groups sprang up all over the Quad, usually consisting of one or two black students and ten or twelve white. Passionate discussions were taking place, in which the Vigil was denounced by the black students as a "failure"—a "typical expression of how the white man works". Many students were trying to defend the long, drawn-out process of rational decision-making, but

there was also a real yearning for radical action of *some kind*. Then, about two o'clock in the morning, Wright Tisdale suddenly appeared in the University Chapel. He told the students (who immediately surrounded him) that he had come in to "meditate and to pray".

Whatever Mr. Tisdale's motives for his coming to the Chapel, it almost turned out to be disastrous. Under intense questioning by Vigil members, he stated that (1) he personally did not believe in unions; and, (2) he felt that Duke "knew best" when it came to dealing with non-academic employees—Duke would "take care" of its workers. He said that the administration would talk only to *individual* employees, and would not recognize their union representatives; there could be absolutely no intermediaries. The student reaction was very strongly negative, almost violent. One black student, standing on one of the Chapel pews, muttered, "You leave us no choice but to burn!" Tisdale requested to be left alone for a few minutes—and had to slip out of the Chapel to avoid being cornered by the students again.

The discussions that flared up following Tisdale's appearance really threatened to disrupt the Vigil totally. One group was trying to organize to meet Tisdale's plane in the morning and prevent him from leaving. Another wanted to "take over" Allen Building via a sit-in. Some were suggesting that the Vigil move to the dining hall kitchens and lie down on the stoves. The crisis had arisen partly due to the fact that the responsible Vigil leadership had *all* retired (out of sheer exhaustion) in order to get a good night's sleep. Into this vacuum of leadership, the more "radical-activist" elements of the Vigil eagerly stepped. They fanned the fires of bitterness, urging militant action in response to Tisdale's adamant stance.

Around 2:30 A.M., six Divinity students huddled on the steps of the Chapel. Abbie Doggett, president of the Women's Student Government Association, joined us as we discussed what *we* could do in the face of the rising agitation. Abbie suggested that the first thing was to get everyone to bed and break up the various groups that were gathering around the Chapel. We felt also that it was crucial to restore rationality. Separating, we moved into the various groups, trying to break the intense emotionalism by introducing some type of cogent and rational arguments into the discussions. It was after 3:30 when most of the groups had been dispersed and the Vigil had finally retired.

The Decision of Thursday Morning

The mass meeting came together again at 7 o'clock on Thursday morning. Bunny Small began the discussion by pointing out that the

goal now had to be collective bargaining, and that this would be a long-range action. "We cannot expect instant justice," she said. She made a strong appeal for a commonsensical approach and urged effective support of the union.

The discussion that followed was tense, enthusiastic, and represented the vast spectrum of feelings represented in the group. I think it helpful to reconstruct as much of it as possible:

—Where can we put the most pressure, and how?

Can we put financial pressure on the Duke Endowment?

Let's sign a statement saying that we will never buy a Ford!

Let's seek alumni support—organize a letter campaign.

—We need a "physical commitment"!

We have to have a physical presence: A sit-in in the kitchen of the West campus dining hall would be effective.

Let's organize a "division of labor" and set ourselves to different tasks.

—We are experiencing what any Mass Movement must come to:

We began with the actual sit-in itself, committed to "social justice". Sentimentalism and emotionalism dominated this period. We must now forget the emotional dimension and move to the realm of reason.

We need now the execution of *reasonable ideas*.

There has to be some type of *confrontation*.

We have to keep together, supporting different methods.

"We're here for action, not discussion!"

We're just tired; we haven't lost our commitment.

Peter Brandon, the union representative, addressed the group:

Up until last night this was a tremendous movement! Your actions focused national attention here . . .

Tisdale came down here to bust you up. He took a hard position to force internal stress to the surface . . .

My feeling is that to act now in an unwound state would be to disintegrate what has already been built up . . .

I would propose that we disregard the difficulties in trying to understand and deal with Tisdale. . . . You should ask about anything you decide:

Does it support collective bargaining?

Does it support the workers?

Be sure you *listen* to the striking workers.

Be willing to fight with the strikers down the line for collective bargaining . . . *NOIV!*

The broadest possible support of the campus is needed. Therefore you must re-create the credibility of your movement . . . any action you take must be done in a thoughtful, effective, genuine, sincere way. . . .

When a vote was called, the principal proposals made by Dr. Strange the night before were passed. Also, it was decided that a

rally would be held at 9 P.M., and that a march from Page Auditorium to the Women's East Campus would mark the official "end" of the Vigil. The evening rally would allow the union the opportunity to express its demands. Faculty were also urged to attend, and at this time some members ventured some more direct support for the aims of the Vigil. The Vigil disbanded with the understanding that the strategy committee would continue to meet, and that the entire body could be re-called at any time. No one really thought "everything was over", and the victories won were surely limited indeed. However, the general sentiment seemed to be that *something* had been accomplished; *now* it was time to do something else to enable the union to achieve their goals.

THEOLOGY AS INVOLVEMENT

One of the fascinating aspects of the Duke Vigil is that it presented a "political laboratory" for the Divinity School. The presence of the Vigil forced the theological community to respond to a condensed version of what it faces in the broader sphere of social relationships. This is especially true today, when theology is taking renewed interest in the world of politics. More and more we are realizing that "politics is the business of everybody," including the minister.¹⁸ The time is gone (if indeed it ever existed) when the minister and/or theologian could be viewed as somehow dealing only with "the spiritual realm"—keeping himself carefully removed from "dirty politics". The theologian learns as much about man from the political arena as from introspection. And the new humanism is at least as much concerned with civil rights, war in Vietnam, and the struggle against poverty as it is with the inner world (of the existentialists).¹⁹ Bruce Douglass has put this point more succinctly:

God is not captive in the church but active in the world, and the mode of his action is *political*. He is "making human life human" by transforming the structures of society, and the task of Christians is to follow his lead. Therefore out of the churchy ghetto and into the world away from pietist individualism toward *social* change, away from bourgeois complacency toward revolutionary radicalism. . . .²⁰

The mood is similar to that of the social gospel,²¹ with its emphasis on the *tension* that exists between the world (i.e., society) as it is,

18. See Roger L. Shinn, *Tangled World*, pp. 102 ff. Also, R. L. Shinn, *Man: The New Humanism*, pp. 112-113.

19. R. L. Shinn, *Man: The New Humanism*, p. 112.

20. Bruce Douglass, *Reflections on Protest*, p. 13.

21. See W. Rauschenbusch, *A Theology for the Social Gospel*, pp. 131-145.

and the world as it is meant to be in the "Kingdom of God". The cry for action is best put forth by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in his "Letter from a Birmingham Jail":

Human progress never rolls in on wheels of inevitability; it comes through the tireless efforts of men willing to be co-workers with God, and without this hard work, time itself becomes an ally of the forces of social stagnation. We must use time creatively, in the knowledge that the time is always ripe to do right. Now is the time to make real the promise of democracy and transform our pending national elegy into a creative psalm of brotherhood. Now is the time to lift our national policy from the quicksand of racial injustice to the solid rock of human dignity.²²

Jürgen Moltmann has based his whole theology on an eschatological perspective that emphasizes the position of man as "one-on-the-way", living in the tension of the not-yet. The Christian Church must be a church for the world; it "has not to serve mankind in order that this world may remain what it is, or may be preserved in the state in which it is, but in order that it may transform itself and become what it is promised to be."²³ Christianity takes up mankind; it performs its service only when it infects men with hope. "This kindling of live hopes that are braced for action and prepared to suffer, hopes of the Kingdom of God that is coming to earth in order to transform it, is the purpose of mission."²⁴ It is not surprising that revolution has a prominent place in Moltmann's thought (as well as in the thought of Harvey Cox). This is a clear call for the "creative extremists" mentioned by Martin Luther King.²⁵ The Christian man is acutely aware of the painful tension between a broken world and the promises of God's kingdom; and he is called toward the future of God through action and involvement *within* the society of which he is a part.

What does all this have to do with the Duke Silent Vigil? For one thing, it sets forth the basis of a *motivation* for participation in the activity of the Vigil. Just as a "political theology" seeks to relieve the tension between promise and practice, so the *raison d'être* for student politics is that it provides a source of renewal and creative change in both university and society-at-large.²⁶

One of the real strengths of the Vigil movement was the "righteousness" of its cause, the morality of its purpose. The issues in-

22. Martin Luther King, Jr., *Why We Can't Wait*, p. 86.

23. Jürgen Moltmann, *Theology of Hope*, pp. 327-328.

24. *Ibid.*

25. M. L. King, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

26. Bruce Douglass, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

volved were clearly *moral* in character (i.e., they transcended mere political expediency and appealed to the broader concept of “justice and racial equality”). Also, the demonstrators were calling for reforms that were basically *for someone else*. The physical hardship of the days on the Quad—the “vicarious suffering”—contributed to the morality of the movement. Bruce Douglass has outlined certain guidelines for student protests, and it is interesting to note that the first one is “discipline in the selection of issues for action”.²⁷ The original “Four Points” were explicit requests with broad moral overtones—they were *specific instances* within a more general goal, i.e., preservation of basic human rights.

Douglass’ second criterion is that *discipline* in the pursuit of a certain issue be maintained over an extended period of time.²⁸ Fickleness is a characteristic of many student protest movements. The desire for “instant justice” (see Bunny Small’s remarks above) and the confrontation of a firmly unyielding power structure often produces disappointment and disillusionment. Within the Duke Vigil the temptation was very great. However, the presence of the union and the realization that they were to some extent dependent upon the support of the students contributed to the disciplined pursuit of the basic goals of the Vigil.

Thirdly, Douglass emphasizes that a detailed analysis of the problem and the preferred solutions be continuously undertaken.²⁹ The Vigil expresses very well the problems involved in keeping a large protest movement focused on the “hard-headed” facts and probabilities involved. Shouting “Four! Four! Four!” was of the same dynamic as “Ban the Bomb!” “Stop the War!”, etc. Understanding and analysis must accompany passion and idealism if a movement is to succeed. A social program and prescription must translate the idealistic vision into hard-core reality.

In the fourth place, according to Douglass a long-term strategy must be developed.³⁰ Though the Vigil made plans for future action, it was really impossible to set up real long-range plans. The time limit of six weeks had to figure heavily in the planning. The real danger is that students will respond to a call to action with a “crisis-response” mentality, because of their tendency to focus on dramatic issues, and then only for short periods. The strategy committee has followed

27. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.*, p. 28.

Douglass' advice in developing a carefully organized plan which plots gradual development toward change over an extended period. Another difficulty, however, came about because each statement by the Trustee committee and/or administration made strategy revisions necessary.

The development of a multi-faceted strategy, Douglass' fifth criteria, seems to appear at various points during the Vigil. In fact, Dr. Strange's proposals were representative of a number of different activities parallel and complementary to one another: manning picket lines, collecting money, boycotting the cafeterias, etc. "The ideal for student action . . . is a strategy which brings together protest and 'construction' so that they are interdependent and mutually complementary."³¹ This is what the strategy committee of the Vigil attempted to work toward.

Douglass recommends that the development of coalitions with like-minded groups beyond the student community be considered next.³² This was stressed throughout the Vigil. One of the strongest arguments against any extreme or "radical" action was that it might alienate our faculty and community support. A tightrope had to be walked, however, between the "oppressed and exploited groups" (i.e., workers and people in the black community) and "reform-minded persons that work within the 'system' ". How successfully this was carried out is still an open question, since members of the black community have expressed disappointment with the accomplishments of the Vigil.

The elements of *protest* and *construction* were both involved in the Duke Vigil, and both had certain basic functions. R. S. Moore's article on "Protest and Beyond" is helpful in delineating these functions. The functions of *protest*, especially within a student setting, may be described as follows:

- (1) *Publicity*: it provides a way of bringing social problems to the attention of a wider public, and keeping them in the public eye.
- (2) *Building social and political movements*: it provides a context in which support can be attracted, organized, mobilized, and consolidated.
- (3) *Serves to embarrass and press the relevant authorities*: Directed at public and those responsible for conditions.³³

Responsible protest, however, involves the proposal of one or more *viable* policy proposals to deal with the grievances in question. This

31. *Ibid.*

32. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

33. R. S. Moore, "Protest and Beyond," *Reflections on Protest*, pp. 51-57.

means that “construction” needs to be a companion to protest. Four broad categories of constructive action may be suggested :

- (1) *political organization*: an attempt is made to create new centers of power from which to effect change in the existing distribution of power. . . .
- (2) *exemplary project*: students organize a pilot or demonstration project designed to make clear that it can be approached constructively.
- (3) *education*: gathering, distribution, and interpretation of information.
 - (a) general public must be informed;
 - (b) those who suffer the grievances must be completely informed;
 - (c) students themselves need continuous education
- (4) *reconstruction*: practical service projects and fund raising.

In various ways and degrees, each of these aspects of protest and construction was present in the Duke Vigil. It found much strength in struggling with the political and social dynamics of the situation, and directing its forces into a sound, practical approach to reach its ends.

There is more to the case in point than structural dynamics. The elements of student protest, especially the structure and framework of the Duke Vigil, are extremely important—and that is why we have taken so much care to point them out. However, there is “transcendent” (yes, religious) rationale that permeates the activity itself. Perhaps this motivational feeling can best be expressed by the “Port Huron” statement of the Students for a Democratic Society :

We are people of this generation, bred in at least modest comfort, housed in universities, looking uncomfortably to the world we inherit.

Our work is guided by the sense that we may be the last generation in the experiment with living. . . . We ourselves are imbued with urgency, yet the message of our society is that there is no viable alternative to the present. . . .

We regard *men* as infinitely precious and possessed of unfulfilled capacities for reason, freedom, and love.

Human relationships should involve fraternity and honesty. Human interdependence is contemporary fact. Human brotherhood must be willed, however, as a condition of future survival and as the most appropriate form of social relations. . . .³⁴

This humanistic approach to life-in-general is typical of the motivation of much student involvement in social protest. The interesting thing is that, whereas the protest movements generally seem to have very *moral* overtones, and demands are based on an appeal to human dignity and certain inalienable rights of all men, the “religious”

34. “Port Huron Statement,” 1962, *The New Student Left*, pp. 9-13.

motivation *per se* is either negligible or "has had a negative role in shaping the ideology of the college student".³⁵ Students who instinctively want to *do* something are often repelled by the hypocrisy of churches which engage in segregation while preaching equality. The Church has increasingly identified itself with the middle class to such a degree that it is difficult for sensitive young people to see that the values of the middle class cannot wholly fit into an ethical system consistent with the teachings of their religion.³⁶

The Church must become *relevant* for the student again. We have heard that so much it sounds trite—but it is still true. A revolutionary change in the religious institutions is called for: "ministers, rabbis, and educators must again preach and act, not soothe. They must be willing to risk as much as the sit-in students in the South risked in their actions. Only when students feel that the church is again the Church will they be able to identify with it. Until that time, one of the most potent forces for justice and peace will remain without meaning for large numbers of concerned and active students."³⁷ Or to express it as forcefully as C. Wright Mills:

Politics, understood for what it really is today, has to do with the decisions men make which determine how they shall live and how they shall die . . . Politics is the locale of both evil and good. If you do not get the church into politics, you cannot confront evil and you cannot work for good. You will be a subordinate amusement and a political satrap of whatever is going. You will be the great Christian joke.³⁸

It must be apparent by now that what we are calling for is a conception of *theology as involvement*. This is not to negate the reflective, contemplative aspect of systematic theology, but it is to say that a theological "system" born and bred in hallowed halls or cloisters is irrelevant and meaningless in the complex world of today. The *starting point*, at least for Christians, should be the *reality of the incarnation*. God's embodiment, his "enfleshment", in all the problematic perplexities of life makes *all* of life the sphere of God's activity. The tension between the reality of Christ's *presence* now, and God's future intention for mankind must of necessity be a painful one for the Christian. There is really no decision to be made about *whether or not to act* when we experience injustice, poverty, disease, war, hunger, and suffering: the question is *where* and *how* to act, to become involved.

35. P. Altbach, "The Student and Religious Commitment," *The New Student Left*, p. 24.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 26.

38. C. Wright Mills, *The Causes of World War Three*, p. 155.

Several of us who became involved in the Vigil, who made the decision to sit on the Quad and to join in the actual demonstration, did so with mixed and uncertain motives. We knew the *cause* was just, but we had no assurance that the Vigil would maintain its "dignity". Many things could go wrong. It could very well become a misdirected, scatter-brained activist movement that would defeat its noble purposes by faulty decisions and unwise actions. The decision to cross the rope and place our sleeping bags on the Quad involved an unavoidable *RISK*. We simply could not *know* how it would turn out. We could possibly look "foolish"; we could be "sucked in" by effective propaganda; we could be sacrificing school-work and personal comfort for nothing. Maybe the Vigil would be a complete failure. The fact is, however, a decision was made. There was a real need to "act out" our feelings about Martin Luther King's assassination, I'm sure of that—and this was doubtlessly influential. But the goals of the Vigil were *right, reasonable* and *constructive* attempts to protest certain manifestations of racial injustice in the Duke University community. Somehow we knew that in this particular existential moment a commitment had to be made—and the inherent risk taken.

The crucial point here is that we began with no "*theology of the Vigil*". We started from a Christological base that *seemed to demand a definite response to this situation*, but we were not totally convinced that "God was on our side," so to speak. We did not enter with predetermined ideas of what our "ministry" would be while we sat on the Quad. However, the theology and the ministry both evolved *within and through* the experience of participation. We became a part of the group, and participants in the collective cause—we happened to be ministers, too. In moments of crisis and decision we were personally accredited and listened to *because we had earned the right to speak first, and were ministers second!*

Perhaps this is a controversial point, but *it was actually our participation and involvement that seemed to validate our ministry*. If we had arrived in the wee hours of the morning on Thursday and said exactly the same things, we might or might not have been as effective—the chances are we would *not* have been. Our ministry was meaningful and valid (and effective to some extent) because we were expressing an "*incarnational*" view of ministry: we had become embodied within the perplexities and problematics of the Vigil, and the "costliness" of this experience somehow accredited our right to speak.

The parallel between the Vigil experience and our political experience in general should, I hope, be apparent. The ministerial community is called to political involvement—there is really no way around it. I honestly believe that the Duke Vigil demanded some kind of supportive response on the part of the Divinity School, if for no other reason, by the very rightness of its cause. The minister does not have the luxury today to “deal in spiritual things” while the world “goes to hell”. He must realize that if the world goes to hell, he goes with it. Political responsibility is a vital part of our interpersonal and social existence in the world today. It is even more so for the minister: how can he live with the reality of the incarnation and the promise of the Kingdom of God, and refuse to “dirty his hands” in the problems of society and the world? Surely, he cannot!

The final point concerns individual action. What is the responsibility of the minister as a man, as *one man*? I have answered the question repeatedly throughout the paper. The *risk of commitment* is now imperative. Just as the Church can no longer be the last to act or speak out, so the minister can no longer wait to sift public opinion before addressing himself to a controversial issue. The prophetic nature of the ministry demands that the word of God be spoken wherever the will of God is frustrated. And, finally, we are called to the realization that the ministry is ultimately the diakonic expression of Christ's involvement in the world. We are servants of the needs of men as well as proclaimers of God's coming Kingdom. In the light of this double-dimension of our vocation, how can we understand theology in any other way? Costly, incarnational involvement is the *way* of Christ's ministry today—and it is our calling to walk in his way.

“Hope Beyond Time”

JÜRGEN MOLTSMANN

Visiting Professor of Theology

All hopes of man sooner or later come upon their most difficult test of verification: death. In that darkness in which man arrives at his end and which spreads itself out from death already into the midst of life, it becomes apparent how much light his hope can disperse. Man becomes conscious of himself and his life because he knows of his death. Thus his hopes always originate in the problem of death. They flare up and break through here. If there is no hope against death, then there is also no sustaining of hope in life. But what is there to hope for in death? Is there hope which also overcomes death?

In our Western history we know two conceptions of hope in view of death, i.e. the Greek concept of the immortality of the soul and the biblical concept of the resurrection of the dead. Thus on one side is the certainty of the invulnerability of the soul in the death of the body and on the other side is the certainty in the God who will create a new life out of death.

If we ask Christians and atheists which hope Christianity offers the dying, they answer ordinarily: hope in a life after death, hope for the immortal soul. But if we hear the Christian confession of faith in the worship service, it says there: “I believe in the resurrection of the body and in a life everlasting,” and “I wait upon the resurrection of the dead and a life of the future world.” What should we think?

Let me first of all delineate the fundamental difference between the two conceptions of hope in face of death. It becomes clear to us if we compare two kinds of death with each other.

A. The Greek philosopher Plato has portrayed for us the death of Socrates in order to show us what the immortality of the soul means and what attitude this understanding confirms in death. As is well known, Socrates was condemned, as a blasphemer and enticer of youth, to death by means of a cup of poison. In his last hour he sits

with his disciples gathered around him and explains to them his philosophical insight and attitude with respect to death. Our body is only an outer garment that as long as we live hinders our soul from becoming free and coming to itself. Inferior passions and bodily pains bind it to this world where all is changeable and transient and where is found nothing true, constant and binding. Thus is the soul, our true self, confined in the body as in a straight jacket. As in a prison the soul lives here in a foreign land and yearns for its eternal homeland. The body, which fetters us with the weal and woe of transitory things, is the soul's house of troubles. It is alienated from itself here and must constantly do things which do not belong to its true nature. But through insight and recollection the soul of man can recognize already here its ground in eternity and its own immutable nature and thus gain distance over against the fortune and pain of the world. What, then, does death mean for it?

Death makes the soul free from the body. It leads the soul out of transitoriness into permanence and out of a world of deception into the eternal truth. Death can only consume that which is transitory and therefore belongs to it. But if the soul is of immutable origin, death can not hurt it. The innermost self of man is invulnerable and unassailable. Whoever in this life already comes to this insight is more than a match for death and can look forward to it in peace and self-composure. Whoever, on the contrary, fears death only indicates that his soul is still entangled in earthly passions and is not yet detached and composed. But whoever has reflected upon the immortal, unassailable kernel of his soul does not tremble when death breaks the bodily shell. He welcomes the death of the body as the friend of the soul.

When Socrates saw to what extent one of his disciples who loved him suffered from the idea that he would soon be laid before them as a corpse, he said with surpassing irony that the true Socrates would have already slipped away when they would be worried about his corpse afterwards.

Here we have a "beautiful death" before us. Serene freedom and excellent calmness emanate from the dying Socrates.

Men in the Old Testament die in a completely different way. Let us hear the prayer of King Hezekiah in peril of death: "In the noontime of my days, I must depart; I am consigned to the gates of Sheol. I shall no longer see the Lord in the land of the living. My time is past. Like a weaver I roll up my life. He breaks me off like a fine thread. I clamor like a crane and I moan like a dove; my

eyes are weary with looking upward. Lo, Sheol cannot praise thee, nor can death glorify thee, and those who go down to the pit cannot hope for thy faithfulness, but all those who are living praise thee. Lord, help me."

Here somebody is afraid of death because he loves life. He cannot look upon it with serene composure. This death is so deadly because it annihilates the whole man, body and soul. This death is so deadly because it is godless and leads into godforsakenness. It is a hell because there one can no longer see and praise God.

The death of Jesus is not so beautiful either. Jesus "begins to tremble and be faint-hearted". His soul is troubled unto death. He pleads that this cup pass by him. He dies with the words on his lips: "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" The deadliness of this death is the terrible forsakenness by God, by the Spirit, and from every inner support of eternity. This death is no friend of the soul but rather the enemy of man and the enemy of God. Thus Jesus dies "with great cries and tears", as Hebrews says, and not in self-composure and calm irony. In view of Jesus' suffering death on the cross the disciples gained the certainty of the resurrection from the dead in his Easter appearances: Jesus the first fruit of the dead, the pioneer of the resurrection. Through him appears "life out of death".

We understand now that this Christian hope in resurrection by God is something other than the certainty of the divine immortality of the soul. Resurrection hope is a hope against death. For it death is the "last enemy" of God and man. True life is for it a life in which death is subdued and destroyed, indeed, completely eliminated. Such a life is hoped for from God who showed his power in the resurrection of Jesus. When he shows it also to us for the first time, we will sing: "Death is swallowed up in victory. Death, where is thy victory? Hell, where is thy sting?" God who spoke to man in the resurrection of Christ is alone adequate to a new world in which death is subdued and destroyed. One of the two must yield: either God or death. Whoever considers death as final and invincible, to him God becomes obscure. But whoever believes in God for the sake of Christ hopes against death. He cannot take death for the end. For the sake of the divinity of this God he believes in the final victory of life, of the dear and glorified life of the promise. Therefore, he suffers here in death.

Now, we can imagine the life of the immortal soul in the heaven of spirits just as little as we can imagine the eternal life of the resur-

rection from the dead. The conceptions for them fail us because we always form our conceptions out of our experiences and because we have experienced neither one nor the other up to now. But it is different with hope than with our conceptions. Faith and hope come not after experiences but go before experiences. Faith does not come out of experience but experience out of faith. Therefore, we must ask ourselves what has the precedence by reason of faith and hope: the immortality of the soul or the hope in resurrection and, furthermore, how we experience life and death in the one and the other?

One definite attitude toward life is grounded in the certainty surrounding the unassailable immortality of the soul. It is the attitude of distance and superiority in the face of fortune and suffering, in the face of pleasure and pain. The Greek philosophy of life in the Stoa educated men for apathy, which means passionlessness. Whether happiness or pain: pass by the world, it is nothing. Whoever binds himself to nothing, whoever does not love anything too much, he also does not suffer. Equanimity and self-composure are the virtues of the wise man who is certain of his origin in another world and therefore is not perturbed by the conflicts of this world. Many have believed that, in view of the belief in immortality, this world is only the waiting room of the soul in which one has to take nothing really seriously. One waits and indifferently turns the pages in the illustrated magazine of this world of appearance until the doors to the consulting room of eternity open up. But we must also see as positive this inner distance of man from the physical world. Out of this distance are born praise-worthy human characteristics: serenity, self-composure, the stance above things and the capacity to take oneself not so terribly seriously.

A wholly different attitude toward life is grounded in the hope in the resurrection of the dead, the attitude of love. In love man opens his heart. He binds his soul to the life of his loved one. In love he does not want to preserve himself and his soul. He forgets himself and surrenders himself. For love, life here is everything. Therefore, for it the death of loved ones becomes so deadly. The soul which loves suffers from transitoriness. Its passion makes it wholly present with things and loved ones and makes it suffer when they pass away. Death is known for the first time by the soul not when we ourselves die; its bitter presence is already felt in the death of those we love. How should life overcome death without abandoning itself and becoming apathetic? It needs a hope beyond death and against death

so that love can last, so that it will not be resigned and indifferent to life.

We must not understand the Christian hope in resurrection as remote speculation on the conditions after death. The love which gives up everything here, risks everything, passionately involves itself—this love alone grasps this hope because this hope grasps it. The hope in resurrection prepares man to give up his life in love, to say an undivided *yes* to a life which is vulnerable and surrounded by death. The hope in resurrection makes one ready to take upon himself the pains and sufferings which love brings to him. It does not remove the physical, earthly life from the soul but inspires this earthly life with devotion, willingness to obey, readiness to sacrifice and with gladness, too. Thus he who hopes in love no longer needs a protective covering of indifference and irony which guards the soul against the unexpected onslaughts of evil and death. He sheds his defensive armor for new offensive action in the world. He spontaneously gives his life in love out of expectation that God will raise the dead out of the dust which everything eventually becomes and that God will create a new life. The Bible has for this transformed relationship of out-flowing love and hope in resurrection the image of the wheat seed. "Unless a grain of wheat falls into the earth and dies, it remains alone; but if it dies, it bears much fruit. Whoever will save his life will lose it, but whoever loses his life for the sake of Christ and the Kingdom of God will gain it." "What you sow does not come to life unless it dies." The hope in resurrection opens in love that future of God and that freedom which it needs to be able to love and to remain in love. What the hope in resurrection essentially is we experience here in love, and what love and affirmation of life mean in the apprehension of God is revealed through the hope in resurrection.

With that we come to the last question: If the Christian hope in resurrection is so completely divorced from the certainty surrounding the invulnerability of the soul, is there in this life, which is moving toward death, nothing which remains and endures and makes man invulnerable? Is the doctrine of the resurrection hope only a mournful truth for men in this life? No, there is also, according to Christian understanding, already in this life something which is equally immortal and therefore makes man secure against death. That is for the Apostle Paul the Spirit which blows out of the resurrection of Christ as a strong, irresistible wind through the life of the believing and hoping ones. It leads them out of apathy into the midst of today's

problems. To be sure they also will die. Body and soul, the whole man sinks into the grave. But the resurrection spirit bestows on life a direction and an openness forward which is indestructible and already extends beyond death into a life which overcomes death. This spirit is no substance in man but an act of the whole spiritual and physical life. Where man gives himself up completely to this direction, where he lives wholly out of the future of God, and seizes the power of this future in his life, there he has overcome death, there he has, as it were, out-stripped the coming death. Death comes too late. It no longer affects him. That is no utopia which rescues itself by flight into another world, for this openness of man in the spirit of the hope in resurrection beyond death leads man into a life of love. Therefore, the resurrection power utters—with deeper meaning, I think, than with Socrates—in the First Letter of John: “We know that we have passed out of death into life, because we love the brethren.” Amen.

“Descent Into Hell”

JÜRGEN MOLTSMANN

If we went into a church and listened to a sermon about hell, many of us would laugh and with a shrug of the shoulders inquire, “Where is it supposed to be, this hell, where the evil devils torment the poor souls and roast them in the fire? Those are fairy tales with which one can horrify children. But we are grown up, enlightened and of age. We will not be browbeaten. This hell, with which the church makes threats, does not exist.” Therefore when we go into a church today, we can be fairly certain that hell will not be the topic of the sermon.

But does that mean that there are no hells? After the other world has become obscure, we have made this world, this life and this earth into hell. Everywhere human life seems to be plastered with hells. We speak of the “hell of Auschwitz” and know that not even the most horrible fantasy could conceive the meaningless genocide of the innocent, the cold, calculated evil of mass murder. We wander over the death fields of the world wars. There was the “hell of Verdun”; there, the “hell of Stalingrad”; and now here is the “napalm hell of Vietnam”. We hear the gasp of the dying, the torment of the tortured. Injustice stretches heavenwards. Suffering finds no compassion. And we find no meaning in all this—because there is none. “Lose all hope, those who enter here,” Dante inscribed above his hell. We know that the history in which we are involved bears out this superscription in manifold ways and places. Therefore we very often sink into apathy. “Consider the darkness and the great coldness,” cried Bertolt Brecht. We do not willingly consider it, but we know that it is there and surrounds us on all sides. “Damned in all eternity”: since we no longer get to hear that from the church, films, book titles, and the theater shout it in our ears.

But it is not necessary for us to scurry to these media, where, after all, we are able to witness the horror only secondarily at a safe distance. “Hell is others,” announced Sartre in his post-war play *No Exit*. How often do we complain to each other: “You make life hell for me!” Where men are assembled in utter closeness, they can prepare themselves a heaven on earth or they can also make life into hell. One expects acknowledgment and fellowship and suddenly

terrible disdain, helpless rage is there. A forlornness appears and struggles in deathly fear. This is the experience of hell. It is not only a simile. Inescapably and imperceptibly it disintegrates happiness and transforms a passionate hunger for life into a pitiful hate for life. And something else: we are not only hell's victim but also always the lighter of its fire. Then no one will guarantee us that the "hell of Auschwitz" has been the last hell on earth. No one can promise not to make life a hell for his neighbor.

Thus we understand well how near that is to us which we thought to be at a distance and how real that is which appeared to be a misty fairy tale. Martin Luther has expressed it in a classical hymn:

In the midst of life we are surrounded by death;
 In the midst of death the jaws of hell tempt us;
 In the midst of hell our fear stimulates our sins.

Death is in the midst of life. The agony of this death in the midst of life is hell: to live and not to be able to live, to love and not be able to love, to help and not be able to help. That develops into a fear which has no name. Its sting is the guilt, the burning torment of an empty life. That is why all hells fall back on us and remain with us. "For I do not do the good I want, but the evil I do not want is what I do" (Rom. 7:19).

The song changes these illusionless statements into a shout *ad infinitum*: For whom should we search, who makes redress, that we may obtain mercy? Who will make us free and untrammelled from such a misery? Where should we flee, we who would like to remain here?" Is there an answer? Would it still be the hell of life if we knew already the answer? And if we ourselves give the answer by promising: No more war! No more Auschwitz! No more bombing of Vietnam! Nor any more making hell out of the lives of others!—would we be safe from the evil of hell which threatens us so much? Are we certain of ourselves? In view of our present experiences of hell the religious answers and also the moralistic answers have only a faint and colorless relevance. But even if we no longer had these answers, the question would still remain: Whom do we seek? Where should we go? Who makes us free from such a misery?

II

What do Christians mean when they affirm that Jesus, who was taken to be the Son of God, "descended into hell"? Is that an answer? Does this answer have any validity in face of our hells? To begin

with let us make clear to ourselves by means of a few dates what is meant. It was not until the Synod of Sirmium in the year 359 that this sentence was added to the confession of faith. The Syriac theologian Markus of Arethusa had proposed it. He meant by it: Jesus the Son of God actually died. In his suffering, his being crucified and buried, he himself actually suffered the absolute agony of godforsakenness. The descent of Christ meant the lowest point of the suffering of Christ. It meant not a transmigration of Christ through the mythical realm of the departed. "Suffered-crucified-was buried": What really took place here was Christ's entering into the hell of guilt, of suffering, of death, and what goes beyond that in the metaphysical evil of the *nihil* itself. Christ is not so divine that all these things had not been able to affect him. He is divine precisely in that he became our brother throughout all our hells. That was the first meaning of the belief in Christ's descent into hell.

The Latin Church of the West, however, very soon understood it differently. Here Christ's descent into hell came to mean: triumphal procession of the Savior through the underworld, victorious conquest of hell, redemption of the imprisoned righteous ones of the old covenant. One therefore understood Christ's descent into hell as the beginning of his ascent into heaven, in which he would become Lord over all, over the living and the dead. Nothing is excluded from his power which is capable of bringing salvation to all. So already in First Peter we find: "Christ went and preached to the spirits in prison who formerly did not obey" (3:19). Even "to the dead the gospel was preached" (4:6) and salvation brought. Christ overcame death in his own body; therefore he had the "keys of hell and of death" in his hands. Thus there is none who is "damned in all eternity". Even the dead, murdered, gassed and burned are not forsaken. Whether they all will be saved, however, remained an open question.

Thus both conceptions— 1) Christ's descent into hell as the embodiment of his suffering on the cross of godforsakenness, and 2) Christ's descent into hell as the beginning of his resurrection to salvation for all—are transmitted through the Christian tradition of faith. Luther and Calvin understood it from the point of view of the cross, as did Markus of Arethusa. The Lutheran theology of the seventeenth century understood it from the vantage point of the resurrection. Thus whether it meant the suffering through the torment of hell on the cross or the triumph of Christ over hell, in both conceptions something true remains.

That becomes understandable when we look upon the real death of Jesus in the company of criminals (outside) the gate of Jerusalem. Jesus died the death of the excommunicated. Condemned by his own people in the name of God's law, he died as one cursed and forsaken by God. He was delivered over to the Romans and profaned by them with crucifixion. What is so extraordinary about this death? It is said seven thousand were crucified on the Via Appia after the Spartacus revolution. One grasps the extraordinary character of Jesus' death only when he recognizes *who* was forsaken and disgraced here. Jesus had preached the kingdom of God as near and had lived wholly in this nearness of the Kingdom. God is with men. Therefore he had forgiven sins like God, granted grace to the poor, the prostitutes and the tax-collectors, like God. When this one died the death of a criminal, something lay in his death which is of no consequence in the death of any other, namely, the experience of forsakenness by God whose nearness he had auspiciously communicated. That means the experience of godforsakenness with clear consciousness that God is not far off but is very near. And precisely this: in full consciousness of the nearness of God to be excluded from God, that is the agony of hell. No one can be more forsaken than he who had been so much at home with God. Therefore Christians have always found comfort in the fact that Jesus was the most tempted and forsaken of all who have God and life and yet find death and hell. That even Albert Camus understood when he summoned up sympathy, not, to be sure, for God, but for the crucified one, sympathy in the brotherhood of suffering.

It is different with the triumphant understanding of the descent of Christ. For it takes for granted the belief that God raised up even this most forsaken of the forsaken from the dead and led him out of hell. If God has proved his nearness and his liberating power in precisely this one, then hell, which this one suffered through in solidarity with all the damned, is no longer what it was. Then that Kingdom, where "peace and joy" rejoice, appeared with this one who suffered for all others in the midst of hell. And in him hell is broken open and conquered. It is no longer fear without end, but the beginning of the end of all fears. The torments of hell are no longer eternal. They are also not the last things. "Death is swallowed up in victory. Hell, where is they sting?" as Paul kicks against the pricks (I Cor. 15). Hell is open. One can go through it freely. And that holds good not only for his hell but for all hells on this earth. If God has allowed his future to begin in the crucified one, a glimmer

of dawn gleams even over history's fields of death and abodes of the dead and also over the everyday, minute hells of life.

III

If we compare this faith in Christ's descent into hell with the hells which make the earth unbearable for us, we will find the courage to identify through the crucifixion of Christ with those in agony. Not between two candles on an altar but between two blasphemers on a rubbish heap before the gates of the city he was crucified. He became the brother of the forsaken, the solitary, the tortured, the innocent murdered and the guilty hated. He is with them and not with the others. To be sure they are in the dread of hell, but they are not alone. God has left behind his loftiness and is present with the forsaken. Among the lowly, among the tortured, among those for whom we make life a hell—there is our God.

But then that means on the other hand: do not look upon yourself, do not become numb in the moment of misery on the earth. Look upon the wounds of Christ, for there your hell is conquered for you (Luther). God goes into hell, hell extends to him: that is the meaning of Christ's descent into hell. Not that agony is diminished for us or for others, but trusting that God is in hell, we are able to go through it—freely. "He tears through death, through world, through sin, through need; he tears through hell; I am constantly his companion" (Gerhard). Certainly we ourselves are not so. But we do live together not only with the "hell of Auschwitz", but also with the martyrs who have found God and Christ in this hell.

Thus also the other becomes inevitable: If Christ really rose out of death and hell, then that leads to the revolt of conscience against hell on the earth and against everyone who lights it. For the resurrection of this condemned one is attested and also realized in the revolt against the condemnation of man by man. The more real the hope in a shattered hell, the more militant and political it will become in the shattering of hells, the white, black, and green hells, the loud hells of napalm bombs, and the sullen hells of solitary but bitter suffering. The Christ who has gone to hell is not only a comfort in suffering but also a passionate protest of God against submersion in suffering. For he has risen.

In whatever hell you are, lift up your heads—for salvation is near. Amen.

(Both Meditations translated by M. Douglas Meeks,
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“I Have a Dream”

ROBERT E. CUSHMAN

It is now nine score and twelve years ago that “our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that *all* men are created equal.” So Lincoln pointed to the corner-stone of American democracy.

Was not the anguish of Lincoln's years that he lived in a time when a perilous *contradiction* had become acute between the dedication of the nation and its actual practice? But is it not true that, in an altered form and context, a like *contradiction* has become both our vexation and our anguish? Is not this the real reason for our assembly today? Do we resort to this place today to confess that this is so? What is the power of this recent event to galvanize with almost unprecedented strength the emotions (albeit contrary ones) of a whole people? Is it that in various and sundry ways we have been at odds with ourselves and that the murder of a wholly dedicated man has proved it beyond any power of ours to deceive ourselves longer? Is this the reason why a noted local citizen is reported this morning to have said we can no longer endure a “dual society”?

This is Holy Week! What a passing strange coincidence! Ever since last Thursday night I have been haunted by the words: “Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends.” And there is added: “Ye are my friends, if you do whatsoever I command you!” Is it possible that Martin Luther King accepted the friendship of Christ and, thereby, became a friend to all? Is it possible, by some strange providence, that there is a cruciform character in his life and death and that this Holy Week is hallowed by Martin Luther King's valiant effort to resolve the *contradiction* in American life between the principle of its dedication and maxims of its practice? I do not claim to know. I would not venture to prove it. But I am deeply impressed by the visible signs of an upwelling response of a great people and a suddenly galvanized re-commitment to the principle of dedication on which Lincoln said the nation is founded.

If I am not mistaken, this is the underlying ground of current

student and faculty action, this re-commitment. It takes almost complete shock at times to jar us awake to the contrariety in our lives and our manner of living. The resolution of the contrariety releases powers, slumbering and unsuspected, and devotes us to causes previously viewed with indifference or disdain. And one of the questions before Americans in this hour is whether they will allow themselves really to be converted.

But with all the admirable qualities of "the expulsive power of a new affection", there is a great need for us to see to it that the newly released powers are properly mated to the ends they may advance and serve. Powers not governed by ends, and consonant with them, may easily be harmful and actually obstructive to the vision that has lately dawned and the ends that have been crystallized. Yet the newly engendered resolve is to be honored and cherished. It is to be respected and nurtured. Yet the implementation of vision requires both patience and a willingness to let the healing powers of the new motivation alter the conditions of our life without willfulness, vengeance, or anarchy. Healthful change requires, in a society so complex as ours, or in a university so complex as ours, time for a nest of negotiations. And peaceful negotiation is the way of democracy, for it makes way for change while it preserves freedom.

So I think that no small part of the greatness of Martin Luther King was this: In him the vision and the end were properly mated with the use of powers—powers suited to the ends he had in view. He affirmed means and, quite recently, stubbornly reaffirmed those means that comported well with the democratic principle he affirmed. He was a man of vision. He was a young man who dreamed dreams. Not long ago he said:

I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: 'We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal.' I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places will be made straight, and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed and all flesh shall see it together. This is our hope.

In commentary, the Editor of the Divinity School *Response* wrote last Friday these words:

Martin Luther King led his people in search of their promised land. It is a tribute to democracy that he believed he could find it here, and it is a tragedy that for many of us his dream became our night-

mare . . . but he was one of those men of vision who demanded of democracy its potential.

The Editor of *Response* is right: Martin Luther King had a *dream*. He was "one of those men of vision who demanded of democracy its potential". If so, then indeed he stood in the tradition of Lincoln. He saw clearly that the issue confronting American life was *contradiction* with its own heart and core. It was founded on equality of humanity and opportunity, but it has paid lip service to and withheld full commitment to its own creed.

Dr. Neal Hughley [Chaplain of North Carolina College in Durham] was wholly right the other day when he urged that it was the American dream, the struggle for American justice, for human justice throughout the world, that impelled Dr. King's crusade. It was not the struggle of blacks versus whites that animated his campaign but the integrity and agreement of the American spirit with itself. He called upon America to be at one with itself. He sought a reconciliation between the principle and the practice of American life. So he takes his place, I believe, among the seers and prophets of moral integrity. He calls upon all men to be no more at odds with themselves, but to realize and fulfill their true humanity. In this respect, it is surely true that Martin Luther King "demanded of democracy its potential".

Perhaps it is true, as the Editor of *Response* said, "it is a tragedy that for many of us his dream became our nightmare." For some it may be so, for some it may continue to remain only a nightmare, the nightmare of a tortured conscience. For others it has already been a restoration. For some it has been a rebirth of conscience, and this rebirth is the hope of America. The resurrection of conscience is the hope of the fulfillment of the American dream, the wedding of principle and practice. If America is sick, it is not for want of material resources but of a moribund conscience and a divided soul. Let us pray that, passing through this Good Friday of the spirit, the Easter that is upon us may be the resurrection of the American dream.

Martin Luther King—as I understand his *faith*, his *dream*, and his *gospel*—beckons America to a recovery of its inner concord, of unanimity between the principle to which it was dedicated and the practice to which it *must* be committed. "I have a dream," he said, "that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed."

This can become a truly Holy Week for us if we will unite

ourselves to his dream and claim his vision for our own. If our lives can be galvanized by this cause, we will have done something more than "emote" with the time. We will have participated in a rebirth of conscience and a resurrection of the American spirit. Then we shall keep faith with the dream of Lincoln and of Martin Luther King.

Nine score and twelve years ago "our fathers brought forth upon this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal." Of this master statement Martin Luther King's words will probably remain the greatest interpretation of the twentieth century—written in his own blood: "I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed."

Men and women: it is up to us with God's help! Amen.

* * * * *

O God of our fathers, we come before Thee to make a solemn act of penitence on behalf of ourselves, our community, and our nation. With our fathers before us, we have honored Thee with our lips, but we have withheld the devotion of our lives. We have affirmed the equality of all men before Thee and before the law, but we have not made way for equal opportunities in education, in housing, in employment, in the franchise, or in the courts. As we have been at odds with ourselves, so we have been in opposition and rebellion against Thee. We have made laws to circumvent the Law of Thy righteousness. We have left unrevised and uncriticized inherited ways and inequitable arrangements. We have temporized, postponed, and obstructed Thy purposes. We have subordinated the common good to advance private and partisan gain. We have turned deaf ears to the prophets of old and to the words and message of the Master of our race. We have extolled the golden rule and not lived by it. We have not done unto others as we would they should do unto us. We have flown in the face of Thy teaching that he who saves his own life shall lose it. Look with pity upon us miserable sinners, hypocrites. We acknowledge before Thee that we have sown the winds of discord, but preserve us from the whirlwind of division and strife. Help us to amend our ways. Convert all Thy people from stubborn resistance to the common good. Let neighborliness replace defensiveness and hostility. Guide our feet into the paths of peace. "Lord, make us instruments of Thy peace: where there is hatred, let us sow love; where there is injury, pardon; where there is discord, union." Unite us, O God, unto Thee, that through the long pilgrimage of our national sorrow we be united to one another; through the grace and light of Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

Jesus. Edited by Hugh Anderson in "Great Lives Observed" series. Prentice-Hall. 1967. 182 pp. \$4.95 (\$1.95 paper).

This particular book will be of special interest to readers of the *Review* because the editor will be remembered by many as a revered teacher, scholar, and friend. Hugh Anderson in this work has condensed for the non-scholar and beginner much of the discussion found in his well-received book *Jesus and Christian Origins*.

The work begins with an introductory chapter by Dr. Anderson outlining in brief the background, problems, and present status of research into the "life" of Jesus. Then follows a series of chapters illustrating various "solutions" to the problem. The method employed is that of the editor's selecting from representative writers sections of their works which illustrate the point being made.

The first "Part" deals with what the editor calls "the last stage", defined as ". . . the assured historical minimum that criticism has left us." (p. 37) In this section the editor relies heavily on the works of G. Bornkamm and M. Goguel.

Part Two is entitled, "Nineteenth Century Liberal Views of Jesus." This section includes selections from E. Renan, D. F. Strauss, Shailer Mathews, W. Rauschenbusch, and A. Von Harnack. This is, in the mind of the present reviewer, the best section of the book.

Part Three deals with the aftermath of the nineteenth century, "Jesus in the Twentieth Century," and this section naturally begins with Albert Schweitzer. Further liberal scholars are noted as well as popular treatments of Jesus'

life, and twentieth-century Jewish and existentialist treatments are presented also.

The book concludes with a short statement by the editor and a bibliographical chapter which is annotated and should prove useful to those who wish to go further into this area of study.

This book is not intended for advanced scholars but for beginners, and therefore scholarly criticisms really have no place here. One could quarrel with the editor's selection of persons or passages or his arrangement of the material, but this would only be quibbling over minutiae. Dr. Anderson has done an excellent job of presenting a wide range of opinions over a long period of time in a short amount of space. For this he should be applauded, because this work will prove invaluable to advanced laymen wishing to know more about research into the life of Jesus, to college students studying in this area, and even to seminary students who have not previously been introduced to this fascinating aspect of New Testament studies. Scholars and students have been in Dr. Anderson's debt for his earlier book (mentioned above). Now the depth of his scholarship will reach even further, hopefully into the laity of the church, and this should please Dr. Anderson and Christian ministers very much.

—James M. Efrid

Christian History and Interpretation: Studies Presented to John Knox. W. R. Farmer, C. F. D. Moule, and R. R. Niebuhr, editors. Cambridge University Press. 1967. 428 pp. \$9.50.

The editors have produced an excellent *festschrift* for a distinguished

New Testament scholar. Appropriately, the two parts of the volume represent the two principal areas of Knox's interest, namely, "Problems of History and Faith" and "Chapters in Paul's Life and Thought."

"Problems of History and Faith," especially the problem of Jesus and Christian faith, are dealt with by Norman Pittenger ("Some Implications, Philosophical and Theological, in John Knox's Writing," pp. 3-16), Daniel Day Williams ("John Knox's Conception of History," pp. 17-34), F. W. Dillistone ("The Atonement," pp. 35-56), Durwood Foster ("Theological Arguments for Christ's Historicity: Parallels with the Theistic Proofs," pp. 57-77), Richard R. Niebuhr ("Archegos: An Essay on the Relation between the Biblical Jesus Christ and the Present-Day Reader," pp. 79-100), William R. Farmer ("An Historical Essay on the Humanity of Jesus Christ," pp. 101-26), W. D. Davies ("Reflexions on Tradition: The Aboth Revisited," pp. 127-59), F. W. Beare ("Sayings of the Risen Jesus in the Synoptic Tradition: An Inquiry into their Origin and Significance," pp. 161-181), C. H. Dodd ("The Portrait of Jesus in John and in the Synoptics," pp. 183-198), and D. E. Nineham ("... et hoc genus omne—An Examination of Dr. A. T. Hanson's Strictures on Some Recent Gospel Study," pp. 199-222).

Pittenger and Williams are in general agreement on Knox's "dynamic view of history" as "shared communal existence in a temporal process." Both accept with few demurrals Knox's conviction that the resolution of the problem which historical criticism presents to faith is to be found in the church, understood as the guarantor and mediator of the reality of its historical origin. Certain reservations concerning Knox's position are made explicit in Dillistone's article, and some may also underlie the noteworthy contributions of Foster and Niebuhr.

Most illuminating is Foster's adaptation of classical theological arguments for the existence of God to the Christological problem. While not claiming that they can be conclusive, he demonstrates their considerable dialectical value. Equally stimulating is Niebuhr's discussion of how the Biblical Christ impinges upon the modern reader. Implicit in his position is a rejection of Knox's propensity for placing Christology strictly within the limits of ecclesiology. The Biblical picture of Christ may make contact with the reader apart from the church and the constellation of interests and ideas associated with it.

Farmer seeks to show conclusively that Jesus actually did rebuke for their self-righteousness the scribes and Pharisees who criticized him for association intimately with tax-collectors and sinners. This reviewer never thought to doubt that he did, but it is always useful to have one's opinions undergirded with solid historical and exegetical argument. Davies writes an interesting and significant essay on the Pirke Aboth, showing that it undercuts certain commonplace ideas about Judaism at the beginning of the Christian era. He also believes that it bespeaks the conservative character of the Gospel tradition. Beare performs a useful service in showing why it can scarcely be doubted that the early church created sayings of the Risen Lord and ascribed to Jesus sayings which he actually did not utter. Superficially, at least, Beare's conclusions seem to contradict the inferences about the conservative character of the Gospel tradition which Davies draws on the basis of the Rabbinic materials. The contradiction may be more apparent than real, however, since Davies grants that tradition was interpreted in both Judaism and early Christianity. If so, it would not be unlikely in view of the church's faith in the reality of the Risen Lord that such interpretations would in some

instances have taken the form of additional *Herrnworte*. In a splendid essay Dodd shows just how far one may go in bringing to light the substantive agreement between the Johannean and Synoptic portraits of Jesus without transgressing the bounds of critical exegesis. The final article of this section is Nineham's reply to Hanson's misinterpretations and criticisms of his own and Knox's views. The article is of general interest insofar as it brings to light and disposes of certain common misapprehensions concerning form criticism and related matters.

In Part II Paul Schubert ("Paul and the New Testament Ethic in the Thought of John Knox," pp. 363-88) and C. F. D. Moule ("Obligation in the Ethic of Paul," pp. 389-406) politely but firmly prefer Paul to Knox in their discussion of Knox's charge that Paul has separated God's justice from his mercy and open the way to antinomianism through his doctrine of justification. The other articles on Paul, while of less general interest, are quite significant. J. C. Hurd follows up his study of the origins of I Corinthians with a vigorous plea that the problems of "Pauline Chronology and Pauline Theology" (pp. 225-48) not be kept in separate watertight compartments. Robert Funk ("The Apostolic Parousia: Form and Significance," pp. 249-68) examines the modes of apostolic presence—personal, by emissary, and by letter—and the literary formulae associated with it in the Pauline letters. In "Epistemology at the Turn of the Ages: 2 Corinthians 5:16" (pp. 269-87), J. Louis Martyn argues that eschatology is the key to Paul's famous statement about having once known or regarded Christ *kata sarka*, but now knowing him so no longer. (Martyn understands "according to the flesh" adverbially with *oidamen*.) Henceforth Paul's knowledge of Christ must be appropriate to the new age that is breaking in. Paul actually knows

Christ *kata pneuma*—according to the Spirit—but does not say this because he knows it would be misunderstood by gnosticizing elements in the Corinthian church. M. Jack Suggs, "The Word is Near You': Romans 10:6-10 within the Purpose of the Letter" (pp. 289-312), contributes to our understanding of the purpose of Romans while shedding important light from the Jewish Wisdom tradition on this specific passage. In a study of "Paul and the Church at Corinth according to I Corinthians 1-4" (pp. 313-35), N. A. Dahl gives a sober reconstruction of the Corinthian situation, using the explicit evidence of the letters primarily, and on this basis proceeds to show the connection between chapters 1-4 and the rest of I Corinthians. G. W. H. Lampe discusses "Church Discipline and the Interpretation of the Epistles to the Corinthians" (pp. 337-361). He concludes that apostasy and radically false teaching tantamount to apostasy were the only grounds for total, irrevocable excommunication in New Testament times. In the case of the incestuous man (I Cor. 5) he argues that the punishment which Paul demanded was remedial in intention and had its desired effect, as subsequent references to the case (II Cor. 2:9-11; 7:11) show.

Within the scope of a review it is, of course, impossible to discuss even the more important issues raised by these essays, most of which are of uncommon quality and significance. Like the recent Schubert *festschrift* on Luke-Acts and the Dodd *festschrift* of over a decade ago, it is a volume which the serious student of the New Testament will want to add to his library.

—D. Moody Smith, Jr.

The Gospels in Scouse. Frank Shaw and Dick Williams, editors. Gear Press. 1967. 55 pp. \$1. paper.

The Cotton Patch Version of Paul's

Epistles. Clarence L. Jordan, tr. Association. 1968. 158 pp. \$4.50 cloth. \$2.25 paper.

Don't shoot yer mouth off about the good turns you do. Don't do em in public if yer kin elp it. If yer figure out ow to get a audience for yer good turns, yer kin take it fer grantid God's got yer prop'ly weighed up. So when you give a ten-bob dropsey to a neighbor don' make a song and dance about it. Some folk turn dare religion into a "I love me" campaign. Religious exhibitionists dat's wot! I tell yer straight, the attention dey attract is the on'y reward dur gonna get! When you elp somebody—keep yer trap shut about it. Remember—God kin see wen its pitch dark.

* * * * *

Wen yer pray get lost someplace. Yew gottes be yerself wen yer pray. So yer can't afford to be tinkin about wot other people tink about you. Wen nobody's thinking about you at all—God's all ears! Dare's no need to go on like a cracked grammyphone record. (Matthew 6:1-7)

This day e got is lads ter fetch in a likkle donkey wot nobody ad ever rid on before. An wen day'd fetched it dey chucked dare coats over de back uv de likkle ting—fer saddle like—and give Jesus a leg up. (Luke 19:29-30, 35)

Dis boss give a big do for his son's weddin. He sends out a lorra invitations. But there was a big race or footie game or summit and dey makes all sorts a excuses. And him with all the chuck ready to be et. So he sent again. Norra a sign of em. So he says, "I'm finished with dat lot . . . And he sends out for all the ragtag and bobtail in the scruffy part of town and dey all had a gear do. (Matthew 22:2-10)

These are samples of the Scouse version of the Gospel. The Scouse dialect is the rough-hewn colloquial

speech of Merseyside Liverpool, home of the Beatles. It is the instrument selected by an Anglican pastor to communicate the "gear story" (great gospel), just as his parishioners speak. "It is no gimmick," say Williams and Shaw; "it was written with the utmost possible degree of reverence." Their edition does not present the full text of the four Gospels, but rather paraphrased excerpts and in some passages harmonistic medley.

The style is not for liturgy and, indeed, it may impress some as solecistic. But we must take it for what it is, an effort to "identify" and to communicate where traditional forms seem stilted and obscure. It is an interpretational "translation" that effectively conveys the basic morality, even if it does strain the proper text. Its unique expression provokes a thoughtful attention to the sense of a passage. The reviewer finds it perfectly charming, and wishes that the full gospel text were so set forth in Scouse.

But turn now to the "Cotton Patch," of similar inspiration and purpose: a translation of thirteen "Pauline" letters, including the Pastorals but excluding Hebrews. This version claims the critical Nestle Greek text as its basis and it does reflect the best sources and the latest emendation (e.g. Romans 8:28). Dr. Jordan brings to his task excellent training in Greek and in exegetical insights. A Southern Baptist, he is the founder and director since 1942 of the Koinonia community in Georgia, a pioneer ministry in interracial understanding.

Jordan employs the device of allegory, imagining Paul writing to the Christians of Washington (Romans), Atlanta (Corinthians), Georgia (Galatians), Birmingham (Ephesians), etc. Jerusalem becomes Charleston, and Macedonia and Achaia are Mississippi and Louisiana (he states that these equations are merely "stage setting"). The Jews (Pharisees) of "the establishment" become White American Protestants (WAP's). The

pagan, non-Christian gentiles take the role of Negroes. The "Law" becomes the "Bible;" circumcision becomes instead church membership.

Observe how Jordan's version addresses his Negro community in the "Letter to . . . the Georgia Convention."

When the time for our manhood came, God sent forth his Son—through a woman and into the Southern system—in order that he might rescue those caught by the system and that we might receive our full sonship. Because you are now sons, God has implanted the spirit of his Son in our hearts, and we murmur, "Father, Father." So, you aren't a slave anymore. You are a son. And if you are a son, you are, through God, a noble heir of the heritage. (Galatians 4:4-7)

Note further, in Romans, some colloquial phrases from the "Cotton Patch:"

Puffed-up braggarts, blowhards, slick operators (1:31).

A man's face cuts no ice with God (2:11).

So what's the score? Are we church members ahead? Nope, not at all (3:9).

Their throat is a waiting grave.

Their tongues are lie factories (3:13).

All sinned and flunked out on God's glory (3:23).

God has given us a love transfusion (5:5).

Half the time I don't know which end is up. . . . What a scoundrel I am! (7:15, 24).

God will give life to your hellbent egos (8:11).

We don't know beans about praying (8:26).

If God is rootin' for us, who can win over us? (8:31).

God decides who gets mercy and who gets the works. He calls the signals (9:18f.).

The day is dawning. So let's take off our pajamas and put on our work clothes (13:12).

The God movement is not doughnuts and coffee (14:17).

I want you to be geniuses at goodness but duds at deviltry (14:19).

Jordan explains that he translates ideas, freely, not words. So he does, with trustworthy interpretation and with conscious application. He has chosen Paul's Letters as the best medium for his message, although they hold the greatest difficulty for the interpreter. Since this publication appeared, he has pursued his Cotton Patch translation in additional books, and has utilized it also in two LP records: *The Rich Man and Lazarus*, and *The Great Banquet*.

In both of these special versions, "involvement" is the key; and they are a natural product of contemporary social concern. Scouse and Cotton Patch are characteristic of the mood and movement of our day. With all of us they do have a place, and I commend them to the attention of colleagues.

—Kenneth W. Clark

Interpreting the Resurrection. Neville Clark. Westminster. 1967. 129 pp. \$2.75.

At my desk, sit I, in a quandary. Having read this book twice, I want to say that it is a first rate piece of work: valid as to content; readable as to style; carefully developed as to organization. But, being more of a homiletician than a New Testament scholar, I realize that flaws and errors and failures may be obvious to the textual and theological pundit. However, as a pulpiteer reviewing this volume for pulpiteers, I say, frankly and flatly, that it is a great wee book.

The headings of his six chapters are arresting: According to the Scriptures; Between Two Worlds; Tomorrow is Now; The Last Day; The Third Day; The Lord's Day. The sub-headings are as arresting, e.g. in

Chapter 5: The Easter Narratives: The Easter History; The Easter Reality. (There is sermonic material for three sermons in Eastertide.)

The Preface carries this assertion in its first paragraph: "For the Resurrection is not one belief among others, one doctrine in the Christian corpus; it is rather the concealed reality on which the whole of Christian faith depends" (p. 7). That opens the doors to vigorous debate. Is the Resurrection true? In what sense is it an "historical" event? What do we mean when we say that it "happened". Is it "according to the scriptures"? Is it an eschatological event, to be understood only in terms of faith? Does it draw a line between the past and the future, and yet somehow tie them together in the present? Is tomorrow now? Is the Easter fact now? Is it a fact? Is the emphasis to be located in the empty tomb or on the appearance of the risen Jesus, who is the Christ? What is the stuff of the resurrection "body"?

With all these questions the author wrestles. He may walk lame after the encounter, but he walks blessed; and he lets us share in the blessing. Is he worthy to be a guide to us? Well, he was a Visiting Professor of New Testament and later of Systematic Theology in a good American seminary, and is now a Free Church minister in England. For your comfort, he lives up to the intent of the series of which this is but one volume: "It is concerned to set forth the faith in a way that will aid preaching, hearing, understanding" (p. 7).

—James T. Cleland

We Jews and Jesus. Samuel Sandmel. Oxford, 1965. X + 164 pp. \$5.00.

We Jews and You Christians. Samuel Sandmel. Lippincott, 1967. 146 pp. \$3.95.

The James A. Gray lectures which have been a boon and a blessing to the Duke community and our friends (thanks to the generosity of the late

James A. Gray of Winston-Salem, a man worthy of grateful remembrance) will present a very different emphasis this fall. The lectureship was Methodist in its 1950 inception (Ralph W. Sockman): but it quickly became interdenominational: Lutheran, Congregational, Baptist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, with Methodists regularly interspersed. Then in 1964, the ecumenical note was heard, when Father Godfrey L. Diekmann, O.S.B. shared a series on "The Second Vatican Council" with Dean Cushman. In the last week of this year's October, the lectureship will become inter-faith, with Rabbi Samuel Sandmel, Professor of Bible and Hellenistic Jewish Literature in, and Provost of, Hebrew Union College, the distinguished Jewish Institute of Religion, in Cincinnati, Ohio. His tentative subject is: "The Several Israels."

To introduce Provost Sandmel to you, let us look at two recent volumes by this recognized Biblical scholar, who has made the study of the New Testament an avocation, almost a vocation. *We Jews and Jesus* is an honest, objective, appreciative, critical piece of writing, which ends up with the author still a Jew, and glad to be so. He is grateful for the new climate in Christian-Jewish relations; but he declines to be a rabbinic, male Pollyanna about the spiritual weather. His approach, as he says, "is Jewish and not neutral" (p. 4). Yet he confesses a "warm sympathy", even "concern and respect", for Christianity (p. 4). He knows that the history of the relationship "is marred by many chapters that are ugly" (p. 4), and he is not sure that the end is yet. In successive chapters he sketches early Christianity and its Jewish background, recognizing that our only source material is the New Testament, whose historical trustworthiness he questions repeatedly. Appreciating the problem of separating the Jesus of reliable history from the Jesus of theological belief, he tackles both

facets, starting, interestingly enough, with the latter: "The Divine Christ" (pp. 30-50). He concludes that for the Jew "Jesus is never more than a man" (p. 48), which leads him to Chapter 4, "Jesus the Man". Here he reveals a wide-ranging knowledge of early lives of Jesus: German, French, Jewish, English, American. His conclusions are vigorous and appreciative, but he says "most plainly that Jesus has no bearing on me in a religious way", though the situation is quite different for him culturally (p. 111). Then, to my complete surprise, he admits, in Chapter 5, that he would rather read the letters of Paul than the Gospels! For him, Paul has "a challenging mind, a profoundly sensitive perception, a remarkably fluent and poetic pen, and hence a level which is far above the achievement of Matthew, Mark, Luke, or John" (p. 128).

In a final chapter, "Toward a Jewish Attitude to Christianity", he starts with the assertion that "Early Christianity was a Judaism; within a century after the death of Jesus it was a separate religion. It was critical of its parent and hostile to it, and elicited from its parent reciprocal criticism and hostility" (p. 135). He looks at the matter of Jews as responsible for the death of Jesus, and the resultant pogroms which involved his own Eastern European parents. But he acknowledges that "the descendants of the persecutors became rescuers" (p. 143). Moreover, he is not convinced that the Christian attacks on Jews were any worse than their attacks on heretics. He somewhat anticipates his Gray Lectures in a sentence almost at the end of this volume: "Indeed, of the many varieties of Judaism which existed in the days of Jesus, two alone have abided into our time, rabbinic Judaism and Christianity" (p. 151).

We Jews and You Christians is a different kind of book—no footnotes, much more involved in the contemporary situation, dedicated to Sid Lovett,

the beloved Chaplain of Yale University, 1932-1958, "My cherished friend for all time." Its purpose is to give an answer to the question which Christians regularly ask him: "What is the attitude of you Jews to us?" (p. 1). He admits that there is no official answer, but he hopes, and believes, that what he says in the next eight chapters is "in its essence a responsible Jewish statement, even though the language and the wording are the voice of one man" (p. 4). He deals with historical backgrounds, but acknowledges that ours is a time of reappraisals, for both Judaism and Christianity, though with undertones of the discordant past. He reminds us not only of Hitler but of American anti-Jewish movements, yet gladly admits that "so significantly have matters changed for the better that in the United States at least we stand on the threshold of understanding each other" (p. 42). He will raise some eyebrows with his comments on the present situation in the Middle East.

The author recognizes that there are basic theological differences between Christianity and Judaism, though he avers that much of the problem is, at root, sociological. His contrast of fundamental divergencies in the two faiths reveals that there are points of view, ethical emphases, religious usages, and creedal affirmations which prohibit any fundamental theological at-one-ness. This may be a matter of sorrow, of joy, of inevitability to us, but it is a hard fact. In the secular world there is hope for rapprochement; in the religious world there is common ground for joint-action; in the theological realm there is, at best, understanding but no agreement. We can be good neighbors. We are related!

My colleagues of the Committee on Lectures and Public Events were unanimous in their choice of Rabbi Sandmel as this year's Gray Lecturer. Some of them know him. (He studied at Duke and served the Hillel Society at the University of North Carolina before he became a Navy Chaplain in

World War II.) The phrases they used about him were "always worth listening to", "a telling speaker", "a charismatic fellow". We present him to you with confidence. Come and hear him. You will want to, if you have read these books prior to the evening of Monday, October 28, in Page Auditorium.

—James T. Cleland

Come Sweet Death: a Quintet from Genesis. B. D. Napier. United Church Press. 1967. 96 pp. \$3.50 (\$1.95 paper).

This slender book is concerned with five stories from the book of Genesis: the Garden, the Brothers, the Flood, the Tower, and the Land (the call of Abraham). To read these accounts is to share in a re-creation of the inner life of these people in the Genesis narratives and thereby to become more aware of the agony and glory of our own lives under God.

Napier gives us this absorbing yet difficult material in an attractive style, combining lyric description with direct, common language and occasional rhymes of deliberate familiarity. Almost every passage is eminently quotable, expressing lightly those things with which men bolster their self-esteem, yet treating with utmost seriousness the one important thing: God and men and the relationships thereof.

Like Adam in the Garden we luxuriate in the pleasures of creation, yet protest being put into a world we never asked for. We participate in his rejection of the terrible close relationship with God, the tight supervision of the "Landlord". Adam's fierce desire for freedom from God's sovereignty is also ours, and God allows this rebellion though not forever.

Cain and Abel are the brothers who are seemingly at opposite poles, one respectable and successful, the other "different" and happily so. There is a strain here, a rawness of nerves from rubbing too closely against

others; like Cain we also resent being *pushed* into brotherhood. We, too, deny our responsibility and proceed in various ways to murder men in body and mind. Cain cannot endure being accepted by God when the hated brother is equally acceptable to God. Thus Cain becomes a fugitive, estranged from all supportive relationships "until the day when Cain becomes a Keeper" and "all estrangement will be at last redeemed in death".

"The Flood" combines Noah's story with Jeremiah's lament over the state of the world and the person of the Adversary from the book of Job. It is the Adversary who argues that God should send a lethal inundation to bring the "anguish and creation to an end". Indeed, in the heavenly host, "Some now refer to earth as Yahweh's folly." But God will not destroy his creation, for God will not go beyond his Word.

"The Tower" must be an even further temptation to God as object of destruction, for men have built it to be their mighty fortress, their order and destiny. God sees their sorry attempt at creation, their pain at trying to understand and speak to one another. And God comes down to remind them of himself and his judgment.

The day
the awful day
is every day because
man cannot live by man alone
but by the word of judgment and
redemption.

The book concludes with "The Land", God's call to Abraham to listen and to respond, to renew with him the promise and the commitment. We also are called but are too absorbed in commanding and possessing to listen and respond. Even our temples are "much too noisy in the task of making temple sounds." We lose the promised land because we claim it for our own and use it for our own sakes.

The land is come upon in doing the
work,

redemptive work of him who is the Word. . . .

We cannot even recognize the land until we die unto ourselves and our own possessiveness, and then we may enter the land of God's clear possession.

"Sweet Death" may mean a number of things, among them an escape from God into "freedom", an end to unbearable existence, the end of one's selfish desires, and ultimately that Death which ends all estrangement. This book is nourishing to both intellect and imagination, and surely it will be welcomed by ministers, teachers, and all others who cherish works of richness, depth, and humanity.

—Harriet V. Leonard

A Theology for Christian Education.

Nels F. S. Ferré. Westminster. 1967. 224 pp. \$4.95.

The dialogue between theologians and religious educators is clearly more profound and relevant because of this volume by a major theologian. The book does not present a new theology, it does not offer a set of theological directives for a new religious education. Instead it undertakes to transpose theology into the "educational key". It suggests a theology for the church school, the keynote for which is found in the concept of God as Educator.

In the first section of the book, entitled *Methodological Considerations*, Nels Ferré responds as a theologian to specific problems of the church in its teaching ministry today, and calls for an education that is identifiably Christian yet is not divorced from education in general. He analyzes the interrelationships between theology, the behavioral sciences, and philosophy as well as their bearing on the practice of the church, noting carefully that "theology in principle cannot be contrary to authentic science and philosophy" (p. 34). There are ways the educator can and must help the theologian, specifically by "informing theo-

logians of what is being learned in other realms," by further "informing theologians of what it discovers about man" and above all by guiding "the practical concerns of the church in their concrete application" (p. 26).

In assisting the theologian the educator has a distinctive responsibility and role. "Education centers majestically in learning and in fostering the processes of learning. Not to be primarily intellectual in nature is to forfeit its distinctive role and to fail in its peculiar task." (p. 25) To this admonition Ferré adds a friendly but direct warning. Religious educators must choose their theologies. This is a part of the "majestic learning" which is central and basic. In recent decades religious education has been both tardy in its response to theological shiftings and guilty, at times, of being primarily influenced by culture-dominated theologians. In the author's words. "there is no hope for an enduring contribution on the part of Christian education until enough educators . . . embrace the kind of Christian theology that searches more the sea itself than the restless waves of contemporary acculturation." (pp. 30, 31) This is followed by the plea for Christian education to lead the church in a long and disciplined study of the history of the faith. "Having attained some depth of insight as to the nature of the Christian faith it can then proceed to listen to contemporary theology once again and this time to advantage." (p. 31)

This position may account for the scant attention given by Ferré to contemporary voices in theological discussion. He does comment that theology is never completely formulated and must regularly be rewritten. He does insist that the time is at hand for a fresh theological formulation in terms of distinctively Christian categories. Such a formulation is an obligation shared with the theologians by the religious educators. Ferré is an effective representative and spokesman of this kind of collaboration.

In the second section Dr. Ferré discusses Christian theology in pedagogical phraseology and proposes a reorientation of Christian thought patterns suited to educational presuppositions. He sweeps through the main themes of Christian doctrine declaring that for most men in this century the nature of God can best be interpreted by shifting from the traditional concepts of Father, King and Judge to that of Educator.

One basic presupposition supporting this theology for education is that for man existence is a pedagogical process. Life is a school, and the purpose of creation for humanity is learning. The Creator desires his creatures to reflect his nature, which is love; therefore he created man for learning love under his own faithful instruction.

A Theology For Christian Education is not a new theology. Familiar doctrinal concepts and many traditional terms have been preserved. The trinitarian formula is present in an educational key: God the Educator, Christ the Exemplar, Holy Spirit the Tutor; but God the Educator remains God the Father; Jesus Christ the Exemplar is still Son and Savior, and the Holy Spirit as Tutor continues as companion and source of power. Many central Christian doctrines are given direct consideration—creation, revelation, man, sin, atonement, eschatology—the list is extensive. Related themes are not ignored. The orientation for all of them is pedagogical, and this makes the book significant. It is a well-considered effort to accomplish in one volume what Ferré calls, near the end of the book, “a herculean task for oncoming generations”.

The book illustrates the difficulty and complexity of the task to which Dr. Ferré set himself in response to insistent invitations from and in regular consultation with prominent Christian educators. The material is necessarily condensed and so tightly packed that meanings are sometimes obscured. More importantly the effort to transpose theology into a different key does

not bring Christian education into a real confrontation with the complex issues of today's changed and changing society and with the phenomenon of man as a being “characterized by his will to understand and explain the world without God” (from Father John Courtney Murray. “The Structure of the Problem of God” in *Theological Studies*, March, 1962). To relate to man in the context of a pervasive secularism and to be admitted with respect into the world where important decisions are made, Christian educators need more help than is offered in this very able volume.

—W. A. Kale

John Macquarrie, ed. *Dictionary of Christian Ethics*. Westminster. 1967. 366 pp. \$7.50.

Professor John Macquarrie of Union Theological Seminary (NYC) is already well-known and highly-esteemed as the author of several scholarly works in Christian theology; and this latest book will put us further in his debt for a lucid, instructive, and much-needed reference volume in Christian ethics. Apart from its virtual uniqueness, there are other features which will make this book more than commonly useful: entries have been written by eighty knowledgeable contributors who represent both the relevant sub-specialties in theological and philosophical disciplines and a broad range of Western religious traditions; many items have helpful bibliographic references appended to them; distinctively contemporary problems are given prominence; and, to its credit, the book (more often than not) is styled after an encyclopedia rather than a dictionary.

Contrary to the extraordinary claim on the dust-jacket, this volume does not cover the “whole field of Christian ethics, past and present, and all subjects related to it” (what single volume likely could!); nor is it comprehensive and representative except

in a limited sense. There are doubtless restrictions imposed upon and by an editor in an undertaking of this sort but these cannot foreclose certain modest caveats. In the excellent biographical entries which range from Moses to John Bennett and Reinhold Niebuhr, one is at a loss to account for the omission of H. Richard Niebuhr (as well as, among others, G. F. Moore and W. E. Channing). And, related to this point, one's professional curiosity is aroused by omission from the list of contributors of such men, among others, as Paul Ramsey, James Gustafson, Helmut Thielicke, and Carl F. H. Henry. Further, technical errors (however unavoidable in such a wide-ranging work) detract from both the authority and amplitude of the volume. Some of these are, of course, trivial (as, e.g., separate references to G. Murphy's book *Personality: A Biosocial Approach to Origin and Structure*, which cite different publication dates) but others prompt more substantive questions (as, e.g., the entry on "pacifism" which instructs the reader to "see peace and war," but in that article one nowhere sees explicit mention or definition of pacifism). One should note also that the criticism of "unevenness," typically made of symposia, is appropriate here with respect to style, content, subject matter, and contributors: e.g., the article on "euthanasia" incomplete for failure to discuss so-called "direct" and "indirect" means; the pertinence of an entry on "dreams" is far from self-evident; the article on "contextual ethics" is written by its best-known advocate and forcefully presented as a normative method, but the article on "situation ethics" is written by the editor, who gives more space to discussing its "errors" than to describing its method; and, similarly, the article on "conservatism" (a fairly vague term) is critically done by the editor rather than by a more sympathetic scholar (e.g., Carl F. H. Henry).

These instances are simply illustrative, I suspect, of the difficulties one may expect to encounter in any book that ventures so much in so brief a space. In the main, they serve as reminder that even the "best" reference work (as this one is) must be used critically and that, for serious students, nothing substitutes for primary sources. So do not interpret these criticisms as diminishing appreciation for this exceptional book; indeed, in a day when ethics and morals appear to be the special competence of anybody with an opinion about right or wrong on any subject, one hopes that Macquarrie's *Dictionary of Christian Ethics* will be widely-read and frequently consulted.

—HARMON L. SMITH

That the World May Believe. Albert C. Outler. Methodist Board of Missions. 1966. 195 pp. \$1 paper.

Convinced that it is time "for the church folk generally to make the cause of unity their own cause," Albert Outler has prepared this study book for Methodist groups—and it should be widely used. In it the author, a "soul brother" of Duke (in the best sense of that term), deals with theological, historical and practical issues in the quest for Christian unity, facing frankly the obstacles as well as the hopes. If the optimism outweighs the realism at times, it may be simply that Outler thinks more of the Holy Spirit than of Original Sin.

Less forceful, perhaps, than his earlier book, *The Christian Tradition and the Unity We Seek* (Oxford, 1957), this brings the ecumenical story up-to-date, past Vatican II (at which the author was one of the Methodist observers). It provides an appendix of eight crucial documents, including not only Protestant ecumenical statements, but Pope Pius XI's hopelessly negative encyclical of 1928 to contrast with the 1964 decree *On Ecumenism*. Best of all the last chapter shows how "Christian Community Begins at

Home," with comparative study, joint worship, and united action—for "renewal must show itself, first of all, in mission."

There is an error in the date of the International Missionary Council (p. 26); Harry Ward was *not* one of the "architects" of the Federal Council of Churches (p. 67), and only one of the other four men cited (p. 26) in connection with its formation was a delegate at the 1908 meeting. It may be disconcerting to some readers, clerical as well as lay, that the editors felt it necessary to include a glossary, not merely of ecumenical terms (confirmands, de-mythologize, latitudinarianism, uniates), but also of Outlerisms (canard, congeries, paraclete, prolepsis, quintessential). But as Dr. Outler reminds us with his occasional sly humor, *ecumenicity* is less tongue-twisting than *denominationalism*—and far more Christian.

—Creighton Lacy

Christian Mission in Theological Perspective. Edited by Gerald H. Anderson. Abingdon, 1967. 286 pp. (\$2.50 paper).

When the Methodist General Conference of 1968 gave its attention to a new "Aim of Mission", it acknowledged that theological perspectives—if not theology itself!—have changed in

the forty years since John R. Mott composed the previous Disciplinary statement. Since 1956 Methodist mission executives and theologians from Methodist seminaries have been meeting annually to discuss their aims and assumptions, their purposes and pre-suppositions.

Eleven of the position papers (plus an essay by D. T. Niles to represent the Asian view) have now been brought together by the Board of Missions. A few of the authors and titles will indicate the scope better than extended commentary: Carl Michalson—"Ultimate Meaning in History" (ah, *there* was a lively disputation on a lakeshore in Michigan!); Walter Muelder—"Christian Responsibility with Respect to Revolution"; J. Robert Nelson—"Christian Theology and the Living Faiths of Men"; John Godsey—"History of Salvation and World History" (Barth and Reinhold Niebuhr vs. Bultmann and Cullmann); Richey Hogg—"New Thrusts in the Theology and Life of the Christian Mission".

Between canoe trips and rides on the "dunesmobiles" these theologians turned out some vital perspectives on the Christian mission. They deserve reading by all who are concerned with the theological foundations for evangelism.

—Creighton Lacy

Yet we confess

our own involvement in this great tragedy,

our hardness of heart,

our slowness to act,

our blindness to the sufferings, and injustices, and needs, and
problems, of those around us,

our complicity in decades of privileged profiting from the sacrifices
of others,

our self-deceiving willingness to shift the burdens of repair of wrong,
our resistance to the cost of righting the inequities of our society,
of our community,

our tendency to exhaust our awakened conscience in word, not deed,
to enjoy repentance but fail in performance, to give up easily
when our little efforts do not suffice to change the entrenched evils
we deplore,

our preference for comfort and privilege rather than identification
and service,

our deep-set racism, prejudice, discrimination, injustice,

our evasion in blaming others for the evils in which we share. . . .

Thou knowest, O God, how cheaply we may take the sacrifice of this
thy servant, how glibly we may talk and how miserably we may fail.

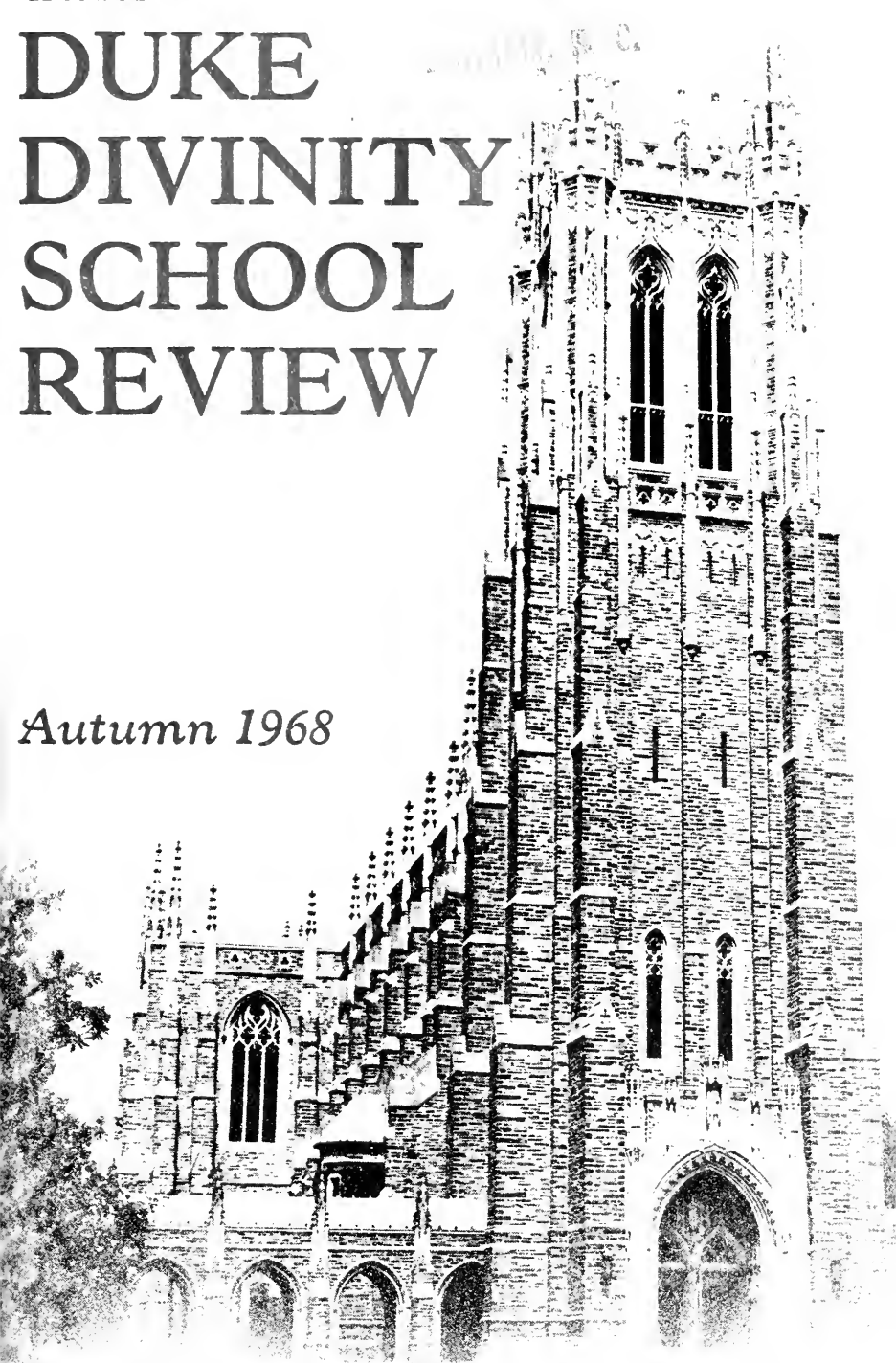
O thou high and lofty One . . . have mercy upon us. . . . Amen.

April 9, 1968

—McMurry S. Richey

THE DUKE DIVINITY SCHOOL REVIEW

Autumn 1968



A Stammer

“ . . . I had to go thru a ward; I walked on tiptoe hunting for my patient. My eyes passed quickly and discreetly over the sick, as one touching a wound delicately to avoid hurting.

I felt uncomfortable.

Like the uninitiated traveller lost in a mysterious temple.

Like the pagan in the nave of a church.

At the very end of the second ward I found my patient;

And once there I could only stammer. I had nothing to say.”

from Michel Quoist, *Prayers of Life* (Dublin: Gill and Son, 1963),
p. 65.

THE
DUKE
DIVINITY
SCHOOL
REVIEW

“Education Through Supervision”

Volume 33

Autumn 1968

Number 3

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Seeing Above and Beyond

Amid the restructuring and refocusing of theological education, now taking place across the country and across the church, field education is assuming an increasingly important place. A number of seminaries already require some kind of "professional" experience outside the classroom as a condition for graduation. A few schools even specify what type and level of community involvement may be undertaken in successive years. Most institutions are recognizing the distinction (made herein by Arthur Kale) of field employment, field service, and field education—and the importance of all three.

The program at Duke offers an expanding variety of opportunities. This year, for example, in addition to student pastorates, and assistantships in assorted church activities, there are students living in the Edgemont Community of Durham and in other institutional settings. At least one student is engaged in a full year's campus ministry internship, another in science-technology, another in business, two in the Washington political scene. A Duke student, currently in Rhodesia, is one of three pioneers in an overseas experiment initiated and sponsored by the United Methodist Board of Missions.

In many circles (including the present generation of students) the old debate goes on: Should theologs, like medics, be thoroughly trained before they are "turned loose" in a *vital* profession (lit. "affecting the continuity, value, efficiency of life")? Or, on the other hand, is that very responsibility, that contact with life, essential for showing the relevance and purpose of Christian ministry?

One of the keys to this question—and to the interrelationship of employment-service-education—is *supervision*, the alternative to being "turned loose." That word may be interpreted as "over-seeing" in a controlling, directing sense. All too many supervisors seem to "look down upon from above" or—even more damaging to personal growth—"over-look" their student associates. All too few have a vision of the student's ministry above and beyond the immediate job. Verily, the pastor or chaplain or teacher who understands the right balance of guidance and freedom, leadership and partnership, helpfulness and trust, is a rare treasure. Yet these attitudes, these relations, are more important in field education than particular techniques of supervision

—or whether the minister-in-charge “dumps” his responsibilities on the student and takes off for Lake Junaluska.

This issue of the REVIEW, helpfully planned and edited by Donald Williamson and Harmon Smith, presents observations from men experienced in various kinds of field education. Some of them speak with the perspective—and jargon—of specialized fields, and in so doing suggest the scope of competence essential to ministry today. Because the expansion and diversification of field education for the future depend so heavily on qualified and dedicated supervision—by laymen, administrators, but predominantly North Carolina pastors—the Divinity School faculty invites reader-reaction to these articles and to the larger issues which are related. In mutual understanding, commitment, and cooperation among teachers, students, and supervisors lies the hope for an effective blend of field education and field service for the ministry of Jesus Christ.

Creighton Lacy

Field Work At Duke: Its Educational Significance

WILLIAM ARTHUR KALE
Professor of Christian Education

Field work, or field education as is now the designation in seminary catalogues, has been an established part of the operation of the Duke Divinity School since its founding in 1926. This enterprise was acknowledged to be essential in the early years and in its expanded form is regarded as more significant in recent times.

As a matter of history, two types of field work were inherited from Old Trinity College around which Duke University has been developed. In the early 1920's a number of religion majors at Trinity served as student pastors of churches in the vicinity of Durham. In the summer of 1924, a few months before the public announcement of the establishment of the Duke Endowment and the expansion of Trinity College into Duke University, an experiment was undertaken whereby two rising seniors at the college were selected by President William Preston Few to work for eight weeks as helpers to pastors of rural Methodist churches in North Carolina. These patterns of field experience for "ministerial students," Student Pastorates and Summer Assistant Pastorates, were inherited by the Divinity School and have been continued with some modification until now. Other patterns have been developed in recent years; namely, Winter Assistant Pastorates; Internships (of nine to twelve months' experience in a variety of settings); and Field Projects in Pastoral Psychology, Community Studies, Leadership Training, Christian Education Laboratories, and Inner-city Ministries.

In the several Duke patterns may be found operational parallels to the three types of field work identified in the recent Feilding Report on *Education For Ministry*,¹ authorized by the American Association of Theological Schools: Field Employment, Field Service, and Field Education. Through *field employment* the financial needs of the student are partially met; through *field service* the needs of the parish and community are recognized and appropriate assis-

1. *Theological Education*, Vol. III, No. 1 (Autumn, 1966), pp. 227-234.

tance given, and through *field education* the student's total maturation is substantially advanced. The three concepts are intertwined in today's institutional practices, so that a student while employed in a church- or community-related task is motivated by a combination of concerns—financial necessity, the desire to serve, and the intention to learn. This represents a change of attitude and policy on the part of the seminary and a revised view of theological education by the student. To appreciate the import of the shift of emphasis at Duke and the other seminaries, another brief historical reference is needed.

Earning versus Learning

Until quite recent times the attitude toward field work of most seminarians, both students and faculty, was one of toleration. In the minds of some it was a competitor to serious pursuit of truth; in the opinion of others it was of minor significance and neither contributory to nor subversive of sound learning. It was regarded as necessary because it provided economic support for students. Initially, the office of Director of Field Work was a kind of job placement bureau peripherally related to theological education. Without question such an office had to be created. With the growth in student enrollment and the associated complexity of student financial problems, other officials, such as Deans or Registrars, could no longer devote adequate time and labor to this matter. The Field Work Director became necessary to handle negotiations between the seminary and churches as remunerative job opportunities were arranged and students placed and supervised. The work of this officer through the years has been, for a very high proportion of young men, the decisive factor in completing their plans for enrolling in a theological school.

The matter of the educational significance of the field work enterprise was not ignored in the early days, but in recent years it has become one of the chief items of concern among both churchmen and seminarians. At a majority of institutions the term "field work" has been changed to "field education" to symbolize the revision of purpose and emphasis. Since 1960, it has been the declared purpose of the administrative heads at Duke to advance beyond the concept of field work as an economic support operation and to relate the total experience of the student, in field assignments as well as in classroom and library, to the seminary's academic requirements. The intention is to coordinate earning experience with learning experience. It is

not suggested that financial aid policies and processes can be or should be completely separated from field education, but what is meant is the subordination of the economic aspects to the educational objectives.

Church-Seminary Confrontation

The involvement of theological students in the life and work of the church for pedagogical purposes has produced contrasting results. On the positive side students have benefited from their participation in parish activities. Their awareness of major theological issues has been sharpened and their understanding of the complex realities of community life has been deepened. In countless instances their skills of communication have improved, and their appreciation for church leaders as persons has been augmented and broadened. They have participated in thousands of routine ministries through which the lives of churchmen at all age-levels have been enriched and the influence of the church in community affairs has been supported. They have experimented with new forms of ministry through which their classroom theories have been tested and revised.

It has to be admitted that misunderstandings have developed regarding the intentions and practices of the Divinity School. The student may on occasions contribute to the tension between seminary and church. He is not the sole contributor, however. To some degree, and in some form, every member of the theological faculty and every executive of the church must share responsibility for this condition. As a result of the tension and misunderstanding, the student is victimized. In his earning-serving-learning role he feels trapped in a kind of squeeze-play between the two institutions—a squeeze-play having intellectual, emotional, and professional threats. He feels a sense of loyalty to both parties of the controversy. His sense of frustration, particularly while engaged in some aspect of field education, often becomes acute and is a barrier to real learning.

Maintaining Dialogue

There is a more optimistic observation that can be made. In the relationships which field education makes possible the acuteness of the problem of misunderstanding and tension can be relieved. This has actually happened at Duke through the several types of supervision given to students engaged in field work. Reports of supervisory visits to parishes by members of the faculty often include summariz-

zations of conversations with laymen. There is an accumulation of testimony that the Duke Divinity School is being seen in a more favorable light than in earlier times. Similarly, these professors have become better informed regarding the attitudes of laymen. The exchange of information, viewpoint, and judgment between seminary instructors and lay workers in the church has encouraged good will and fostered a feeling of mutual trust. One layman expressed a revised judgment when he said recently, "For the first time I saw a professor as a human being, and for the first time I have come to understand some of the reasons for requiring our pastor to get a seminary education." On the side of the faculty supervisors, several professors have reported that through their associations with laymen their own understandings of the church have been changed.

Since 1960, the Divinity catalogue, published annually in May, has carried the statement: "Field education is conceived to have a twofold nature. (1) It is a vital part of the total education of the theological student, testing his motivation and fitness for the vocation of the ministry. (2) It is a symbol of . . . the purpose of the seminary to serve the church as well as the student."² Through this statement, the Divinity School places on all participants in field education, both faculty and students, the obligation to serve as liaison agents and to help keep the dialogue between church and seminary not only mutually informative and supportive but related to contemporary personal and social issues. Thus the education *for* ministry is enhanced by education *in* ministry. This is learning in and through relationships. It is here that the student finds his "motivation and fitness" tested. It is here that the level of his learning is revealed.

Daniel M. Schores, Jr., Director of Field Education at Duke, identifies certain basic "encounters" which compose a vital part of field experience: (1) encounter with self and others, (2) encounter with the community, and (3) encounter with the church. He has initiated the development of specific projects designed to make such encounters actual for the majority of students. He has said, "Regardless of vocational direction, all students in their seminary training should have the possibility of electing participation in these encounters."³ The field projects implement the principle of learning-in-relationships.

2. *The Divinity School Bulletin of Duke University* (1968), p. 52.

3. From Dr. Schores' report to the Field Education Committee, Spring, 1968.

A former professor at Duke, Hugh Anderson, who has returned to his native Scotland and is teaching in Edinburgh, compared Scottish policies and practices with those prevailing in American institutions. "Our aim in Scotland," he reports, "is to produce holy men, that is, whole men."⁴ Such an aim can also be claimed for American theological education, although the practical implementation varies. The growth of students into whole men, or holy men, is fostered through specific encounters with persons, institutions, movements and issues in the ferment and flow of human affairs in the twentieth century.

Field Education and the Duke Endowment

Alumni of the Divinity School like to talk about their experiences when "on Endowment." Their recollections and comments are paralleled by remarks made by current generations of students, especially in the early autumn just after the students report to the campus following ten weeks of work under the Summer Endowment Program. This program has been a part of the operation of the Divinity School since its beginning. Indeed, as was suggested earlier, an experiment in this type of field service was conducted before Duke University came into existence. Its purpose is to serve the church as well as to assist students financially and to provide them with opportunities for learning-in-the-field. Through the years it has given Duke a distinctive position among theological institutions. In their volume, *The Advancement of Theological Education*, Niebuhr, Williams and Gustafson, express the sentiment commonly held: "The plan at Duke University which allows students a certain subsidy during the school year in exchange for summer service on the field is most unusual."⁵

The late J. M. Ormond, for many years Professor of Practical Theology and the first Director of Field Work, was careful to delineate the relationships between the Duke Endowment and the field work program of the Divinity School. In one of his reports to the Rural Church Committee of the Duke Endowment, Dr. Ormond summarized the reasons back of the decision to invest Endowment funds in a special type of ministry involving seminary students. He said:

4. From a statement to the Duke Divinity faculty, Winter, 1960.

5. Niebuhr, Williams, and Gustafson, *The Advancement of Theological Education*, Harper and Brothers, New York, 1957, pp. 113f.

A careful reading of those paragraphs in Mr. Duke's Indenture dealing with grants to rural Methodist Churches in North Carolina revealed his purpose to help those rural churches to build better church houses and to provide better service in carrying on their program of work. These are now referred to as "the building fund" and "the maintenance fund." . . . This benefaction was not intended for ministers, nor for Divinity students, nor for any others outside the church membership and local community.

After what we thought was a careful study of Mr. Duke's maintenance fund and the rural church's deficiency in service, Dr. Few and I recommended that part of the maintenance fund be given to the churches for supplementary service, or service in addition to that which the ministers were giving. The persons best suited to render this extra service seemed to be the young ministers in the Divinity school. . . . These men were available during the summer weeks, and that seemed the best time of the year for speeding up the program in the rural churches.⁶

Other administrators of Endowment funds who have also been related to the Divinity Field work program have included A. J. Walton, now Professor Emeritus of Church Administration, M. Wilson Nesbitt, now Director of Rural Church Affairs under the Duke Endowment and Adjunct Associate Professor of the Work of the Rural Church, and Mrs. Mattie Belle Powell, for ten years (1959-68) the Administrative Assistant for the work of the Rural Church and student financial aid. The Dean of the Divinity School and his staff, including the Dean of Students, have participated in policy making and the over-all direction of each summer's program. All officials, both of the Endowment and of the Divinity School, have preserved the original intention of Mr. Duke's Indenture, to serve the rural Methodist churches of the state.

Beyond the opportunity to finance his theological education and beyond involvement in service to the local parish, the experience of being "on Endowment" is, for the student, a part of his total training for ministry. He is expected to participate in a variety of preparatory exercises. While on the field he is given direct supervision by pastors, district superintendents, and other church leaders, as well as representatives of the school. He is required to make periodic written reports to the Field Education office. His comments are carefully studied, and, when warranted, are made the basis for face-to-face discussion between the Director of Field Education, or his representa-

6. Unpublished report to the Rural Church Committee, Board of Trustees of the Duke Endowment, Autumn, 1947.

tive, and the student. Since the summer of 1962, members of the Divinity faculty and selected graduate students have visited students in their field situations, observing their work and counseling with them regarding their responsibilities and problems. This type of supervision is intended to augment the educational purposes of field experience.

Changing Forms of Field Education

Although traditional types of field work are under scrutiny and judgment, all have not been discredited. A variety of practices will be continued for some time. For a number of years at least, *field employment* will be necessary to balance the budgets of a sizable group of students. It may be assumed that *field service* will continue to be one of the announced purposes of the theological institution, and *field education* will be increasingly used both to enrich and to measure the student's total development. Necessary and appropriate changes in operational patterns are being gradually made as weaknesses of traditional ones are exposed. Modifications of placement policies and practices have already been accomplished. New understandings of the nature and purpose of supervision have already been accepted. Daniel Schores, in reporting to the Divinity faculty recently, described some of the features of Duke field education as currently practiced, referring specifically to the ministry to low-income persons in inner-city situations and to the expanding program of internships. He noted the decreasing number of student pastors and the sharp increase in the number of persons assigned as "assistants," both summer and winter. Figures for the current year as compared with the previous one illustrate a gradual shifting.

	1967-68	1968-69
Number of student pastors	56	50
Number of summer (Duke Endowment) assistants to pastors	117	122
Number of winter assistants	63	80
Number of interns :		
Church and Society	2	4
Campus ministry	1	1
World mission	0	1 ⁷
Number in inner city (summer)	5	12

7. An internship program in Rhodesia, newly inaugurated by the United Methodist Board of Missions.

Innovations appearing in the current year, according to Dr. Schores, are: the use of clinical-type supervision for several students serving as institutional chaplains, increased attention to urban ghetto needs, and additional opportunities for correlating academic course work with specific field experiences.

Vagueness of Learning Theory

What actually is learned by seminary students through their associations and labors in field assignments? Are the fruits of such experience compatible with the purposes of theological education? Answers to such questions are usually ambiguous and perhaps inevitably so. The Feilding Report describes the term "field work" as used currently as "the vaguest of collective nouns"⁸ which often means only whatever a given institution decides to include by this term. Consideration of the relationship of field work to learning theory remains an item of secondary concern in the deliberations of both churchmen and educators.

For years the apprenticeship concept, with young men working and learning under the watchful eye and kindly admonition of an experienced man, has prevailed. The results have been reported as sometimes positive, sometimes negative and sometimes a mixture of both. Underlying the relationships of this concept is a type of conditioning intended to enhance learning. Changes in the learner, whether they be regarded as good or bad, are responses to the stimulation provided by the situation, including the example and influence of the pastor and perhaps one or two laymen.

Opinions regarding this concept of learning are in some conflict. Dean Milton C. Froyd of Colgate-Rochester, in a report to the American Association of Theological Schools in 1962, said that field work can no longer "be justified on the ground of its value as an apprenticeship in the practical skills of the ministry."⁹ In discussions among field work directors, it is often remarked, in some contradiction to Dean Froyd's position, that one of the best ways to overcome hostile attitudes and inadequate understandings of the real nature and possibilities of the Christian ministry is to relate the student to a good pastor. Here, of course, the variations among the clergy have to be noted. As younger men identify and work with older men,

8. Feilding Report, *Theological Education*, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

9. *Encounter*, Vol. 24, No. 2, p. 197.

especially those they admire, they take some of the qualities of the latter to themselves. It must be admitted, however, that an element of uncertainty is in this relationship. In the selection of specific situations to which students are to be assigned, how accurately can a field work director estimate the capacity and inclination of pastors to reinforce and refine the work of seminary courses? How are learning tasks and appropriate goals for any given period formulated? And by whom? The indefinite answers given to such questions demonstrate the vagueness of the underlying theory of learning.

The problem is further complicated by the secularistic inclination of theological thinking and ecclesiastical planning. With the church moving toward the world, the traditional patterns of "conditioning" are no longer adequate for the kinds of learning experience needed by future leaders of the church. Alternatives are not only being sought, they are already appearing.

New Concerns, New Frontiers

The influence of the behavioral sciences on the life of individuals and families cannot be ignored by designers and administrators of theological education. This influence is reflected in the use by seminarians (perhaps too glibly) of the terms "communication," "dialogue," "involvement," "relevancy," and "revolution." To assist the church in interpreting the Christian message in the light of today's radical changes, theological institutions are obligated to propose new forms of ministry for the church. This responsibility is accompanied by an equally demanding one; namely, the obligation to train an effective corps of leaders for the new forms of ministry. New concerns have developed in the minds of all theological educators. New frontiers for experimentation and learning are demanded.

Field education administrators are increasingly concentrating attention upon the student's image of himself in a day of revolution. They continue to seek better ways to test his motivation and fitness for ministry and to offer guidance in the development of essential skill-habits, but emphasis is now given to what is regarded as a more basic concern—that of the student's self-understanding and acceptance. Through the totality of his learning experience, in classroom and in field relationships, the objective is that he may achieve a measure of accuracy and authenticity in self-identification. It is hoped that he will develop emotional sensitivity and stability as well as grow

in his capacity to participate in a significant ministry to others.

Closely affiliated with this concern is the purpose to lead the student into a genuine encounter with the complex realities of society. New types of field experience are contemplated and are slowly being developed. These require placing him in settings other than the local church, including industries, social agencies, technological experiments, political organizations, ghetto-type communities, national parks, and ecumenical ventures. Some involvement with a cultural group other than his own is considered as desirable as, and perhaps more rewarding than, service in typical church situations, although such experience includes a multiplicity of problems and requires specialized supervision.

These concerns symbolize the new frontiers of field education. In reality they belong more to the future than to the present, yet some movement toward them is currently being made at Duke as the report by Dr. Schores, mentioned earlier, indicates. It is anticipated that the inadequacies of apprenticeship will be partially overcome through a further expansion and refinement of internships in the settings listed above.

Supervision

A final major concern must be mentioned—supervision. Perhaps this is the most important single ingredient in an educationally sound program of field work, whatever its setting and particular nature. There are ambiguities in the term, however. Sometimes the word supervision suggests trouble shooting and the policies if not the methodology of the detective. Occasionally, it connotes a distrust of the student in the situation which he is placed. It is sometimes the cause of misunderstanding. Nevertheless, supervision is vital.

Two forms of supervisory practices are found in most institutions, including Duke. First, the field education staff and the teaching faculty give attention to the placement and observation of the students and to an evaluation of their work. In addition, pastors of local churches and the heads of the other agencies are expected to give direction to these same students and to report on their work.

The intention of supervision is something beyond what this description says. It is more than oversight of specific tasks as performed. It is intended to enhance the processes and to measure the quality and depth of the growing experiences of participating students. It is expected to play a decisive role in determining that field employment and service will also be field education.

Experiences in Field Work

NORMAN NEAVES, '66

"Rich" and "varied" most appropriately describe my two summers' experiences with the Duke Endowment Field Education Program—rich because they put me in contact with real persons groping to find the meaning of their respective lives, varied because they transported me from the excitement and relaxation of beautiful Lake Junaluska to the unique and innovative Group Ministry Experiment of rural Anson County.

Words cannot fully capture what the summer of 1964 meant to Kipp and me as we found ourselves directing the Youth Center at the Lake Junaluska Methodist Assembly Grounds. Not only did we experience a new way and style of life which is Junaluska, but, even more importantly, we experienced and felt the very heartbeat of Methodism throughout the entire Southeastern Jurisdiction. We heard and met such great men of the church as Ralph Sockman and Wallace Hamilton, and we witnessed our first episcopal election at the Jurisdictional Conference. We watched the conscience of Southeastern Methodism as it agonized and struggled with the integration issue, and we saw the whole program of the next Quadrennium unfolding before our very eyes. We listened to the peculiar problems of "preachers' kids" as they recounted what it means to grow up in a Methodist parsonage, and we hiked up Utah Mountain with groups of fledging adolescents who were just becoming aware of the opposite sex. There were ping-pong games and study groups, MYF programs and canoe races, counseling sessions and corporate worship experiences, as well as the monumental Junaluska Queen Festival at the end of it all. It was indeed a treasurable experience for us, and one which indelibly imprinted itself upon our theological education at Duke.

Anson County was, of course, an entirely different kind of experience than was Junaluska. And yet it was an experience equally rich and varied in its own beautiful and unique way. Here we were exposed to farming and textile people as we had never been exposed to them before, and here we looked into the face of poverty as we had never looked into it before. But here we also witnessed the dynamics

of an innovative Group Ministry Experiment that recognized a common mission confronting the churches of the county and searched for corporate structures through which to discharge that mission. Our ten weeks in the county found us organizing and executing ten Vacation Church Schools and two Christian Adventure Weeks. It found us relating to children whose teeth had decayed from malnutrition, and to youth whose biggest dreams stretched no farther than to the nearest town. It found us preaching to huge textile barons sitting on "comfortable pews" in "stained glass jungles," and then having a picnic that evening with some of their underpaid blue-collar workers whose work has slowly become increasingly de-personalized.

Yes, our two summers' experiences on the Duke Endowment were certainly rich and varied in a most distinctive and definite way. But they gave to our entire theological education a sense of personal concretion and a practical scope that cannot be gained from years in the classroom and library. And for that, we are forever finding ourselves grateful!

LARRY ELLIOTT ADAMS, '70

Overseas Mission Intern, Rhodesia

Although I am not yet a graduate of Duke Divinity School, and have not terminated my association with Duke's field education program, I feel qualified to comment on field education at Duke, by having participated for the past three years in the summer program, beginning in the summer prior to my first semester at Duke. Herein lies one advantage of the Field Education work. The incoming student can receive an early orientation to his school and the mechanics of the field education program, as well as the opportunity to meet his colleagues. He also has the distinct advantage of re-assessing the strengths and weaknesses of the institutional church, while on the front lines of church work, even before he begins seminary studies. Personally, I think this allows the man who is interested in the parish ministry to look realistically at the church and to work toward the development of his own unique and meaningful ministry in a constructive way. It is much better to recognize the needs of the church to begin with than to become disillusioned as a result of bringing too glorious a view of the church to seminary.

Of course Duke's field education program can have the effect of raising a man's opinion of the parish ministry. I have seen boys who

came to seminary rather sour on "preachers" returning to the parish themselves. All of this is a way of saying that the results of the field education are often the unexpected results. I know this is true in regard to the personal aims and goals of students who work in the program. My experiences in the work illustrate that the result of a student's work is unpredictable and sometimes unexpected.

The first summer of my participation in the program found me doing two five-week stints in rural charges of three and four churches each. Since I, too, am from a small rural church, I felt capable of identifying with the people and doing good work with them. I enjoyed the work, which seemed significant, and the next summer I spent the entire ten-week period on one of those charges. In retrospect, however, I can see that my work among these people, with whom I felt most capable of working, was a failure. No ideas were changed; no permanent inroads were made; and the churches never escaped from the old ruts—there was only a new personality leading the way down the ruts.

In contrast, the third summer was spent in suburbia, quite a far cry from a pietistic rural community. Yet here, where I least expected to be of service, I felt that people responded authentically to community problems presented to them. Creative ideas sprang from all age groups, and I was available to help organize our intentions into actions. I didn't enjoy unanimous approval here, but in this surprising summer, real accomplishments were made.

I have had the good fortune to work with fine laymen and ministers, all of whom have taught me much. My experiences have run the gamut of parish responsibilities. But the most valuable lesson learned from the field education program is that one does not predict or contrive the results of his ministry—he ministers the only way he knows, and the results are not his own.

EMILY BEALS, '68

Putting into words what is valuable about living and working in the Edgemont community is more difficult than anticipated. I am finding it hard to verbalize why it is a good for me.

I suppose it is good that I've lived and worked here because I've never lived with poor people before. And I know most of the world lives poor, and I know my middle-classness shut me off from understanding more fully most of the world, and something there is that wants to know firsthand, or perhaps second, what poor people think

and feel and fight against. Perhaps it was blasphemy that I should be so arrogant as to put my middle-class self superficially and briefly into a lower-class Durham community. What pomposity to parade myself in their midst and presume to understand or even want to understand their world! My presence is justified only if I accept the responsibility of participating in their community, if they permit me to do so, and invest my energies in a productive and helping way, if they or I believe that my abilities are useful.

I suppose it is good that I am here because I have never lived in a Negro community nor been close enough to know what brotherhood really means. I am a white hang-up and I know it and they know it, but they are helping me become more free. And if I have taken my black sisters and brothers seriously, I find that I am turning colors: I am black and white. I am colorless. I am a human being. But I am splotchy and know the pain of not having enough color remover in my world. I am white and my brothers and sisters are black and our hang-ups come and go.

And it's good that I've lived and worked here because I won't be able to go "home" again—at least not the same way I came. And I'm glad sometimes and angry at others. By somebody's grace I have come a little closer to myself because the black and white people of this community have let me come a little closer to them.

Supervision As A Routine Process In Professional Education For Ministry*

THOMAS W. KLINK

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Supervision is a unique and identifiable educational procedure intended to effect the development and training of persons for a professionally-organized mode of work. That is to say, supervision is the pre-eminent method of preparing candidates for the practice of a work in which there is licensed (or ordained) independence, a high and organized level of responsibility to peers in the profession (as well as to those served), and an explicit framework for connection between concrete actions and general theories.¹

The history of usage wherein the word, 'supervision,' has come to be applied to such a professional educational procedure is not clear. There are, however, some interesting sidelights to be found in the conventional dictionaries of usage. The first occurrence of the word is noted in H. Ansley's *Epistorium Accadian* (1554), where it is used to refer to the direction or control of legal, ecclesiastical or testamentary processes; a supervisor is one "who reads for the purpose of correction."² The second occurrence is in the 1623 folio edition of Shakespeare's *Othello* (Act III, Scene 3, line 395), where,

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1. James D. Glasse, *PROFESSION: MINISTER* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1968); Everett C. Hughes, "Are the clergy a profession?", *THE CHURCH AND ITS MANPOWER MANAGEMENT*, Ross Scherer and Theodore Wedel, eds., Department of Ministry, National Council of Churches, 1966; Ernest Greenwood, "The attributes of a profession," *SOCIAL WORK*, July, 1951, pp. 45-55.

2. James A. N. Murray, *et. al.*, *A NEW ENGLISH DICTIONARY* (Oxford, 1919).

strikingly, the word is used in a literal extrapolation from its Latin root as meaning, "to overlook," that is to 'ignore.'³

These two themes of usage have persisted in the subsequent occurrences of the word: a process of directing or correcting, and a style of selective attention which (in striking reversal of the Shakespearean usage) calls for attending to elements which could be ignored. Nowhere in the dictionaries, however, does the word refer to education; that usage appears to have been a recent development associated with the appearance of special forms of professional education in social work, nursing, psychiatry and psychology. It appears that the word was utilized in clinical pastoral education from the beginning, with clear associations to its usage in other professions.⁴ Correspondence with some of the early workers in clinical pastoral education elicits the following:

" . . . to the best of my knowledge the use of the word 'supervision' did derive from social work usage⁵ . . . 'Supervisor' was used to designate the director of clinical pastoral training from the beginning, so far as I can recall. 'Chaplain-supervisor' was a later development⁶. . ."

Whatever the history of usage it is clear that 'supervision' cannot be presumed to be self-evident in its meanings. In its recent usage in theological education the word designates a number of processes, involves a variety of structures of relation, and intends a number of developmental and educational goals. Such a multifaceted meaning reflects three dominant aspects of supervision:

1. *Supervision as a structure*: The administrative creation and maintenance of a pattern of duties, limitations, reports, and occasions

3. Walter W. Skeat, *AN ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE* (Oxford University Press, 1879-82) (Rev. ed., 1946), p. 617.

4. If one recalls the deeply influential role of psychoanalytic practices in the development of supervision, David Bakan provides an interestingly suggestive aside in his exploration of the influence of *kabbala* (Jewish mysticism) on Freud. Bakan notes that the medieval explorers of the occult mysteries worked in pairs to prevent a single worker from becoming "lost". He believes that this tradition was influential in the relation between Freud and Fliess especially during the period of self-analysis. He feels that this relation influenced the later development of the supervisory functionary in psychoanalytic education, the training analyst. See his *FREUD AND JEWISH MYSTICAL TRADITION*. (Princeton, New Jersey: Van Nostrand, 1958).

5. Personal Communication from Ernest E. Bruder, May 14, 1968.

6. Personal Communication from Seward Hiltner, May 18, 1968.

of meeting within which a process occurs.⁷ Such structures may serve to control (or correct) inexperienced or partially-qualified practitioners in the exercise of their profession. A purpose of this facet of supervision is, quite properly, to insure the truth of that fervent cliché from nearly all orientation lectures, "At least, do no harm!" A more positive purpose of structure in supervision is to insure that work will be done, reported and examined in such a way that learning and growth in professional function can occur.

2. *Supervision as routine process.* The indispensable essentials of the supervisory method are the *concrete report* of individual units of professional work, the *examination* of such reports with attention to the relevant general theories as well as to the concrete work event; such examination occurring in meetings within a *relationship* with a supervisor, regularly scheduled over some span of time, and within a context of *consciously-shared motivations*. (Although it is recognized that the involvement of a peer group of fellow-learners or the involvement of more than one supervisor adds important elements, it is maintained that such "training groups" or "group supervision" methods do not alter the above definition of essentials of the routine processes of supervision). The bulk of this paper is concerned with a fuller examination of such routine process.

3. *Supervision as critical incident.* There appear to be incidents within any given structure and process of supervision which call for the professional learner to act in ways which are strange to his previously-established patterns of functioning. The central and distinguishing characteristic of such critical incidents is *anxiety* whose source is the disturbance of established anxiety-relieving patterns by the events or the demands of professional functioning. Supervisory management of such "cross-grained experiences" or "salient episodes," requires a distinctive and more subtle frame of reference than is required for establishing the structures and managing the routine processes of supervision. A small but significant body of literature has examined such critical incidents.⁸

7. Rudolph Ekstein and Robert Wallerstein, *TEACHING AND LEARNING IN PSYCHOTHERAPY* (New York: Basic Books, 1958), esp. 16-35; also, T. W. Klink "Supervision" in Charles R. Feilding, *EDUCATION FOR THE PRACTICE OF MINISTRY* (Dayton: American Association of Theological Schools, 1966), pp. 176-208.

8. Walter de Bont, "Identity crisis and the male novice," Review for *RELIGIOUS*, 9:104-28 (1962); Richard Bollinger, T. W. Klink, Kenneth Mitchell and Leo Thomas, "Critical incidents in supervision," *PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR CLINICAL PASTORAL EDUCATION*

A single, most provocative article offers the possibility of understanding such events in relation to contemporary "game" theory in which playful "demythologizing" is used to move learners through such critical moments.⁹

The development of supervision as an educational method—both for theological education and other disciplines—has been primarily a phenomenon of a clinical institution—the hospital, clinic, case work agency, or correctional institution. In such institutions there are clear distinctions between workers and clients (or patients); there are boundaries of responsibility and definitions of eligibility for service as well as systems of control, report, and 24-hour care. Administrative systems to supplement the institutionalized division of labor make relatively easy the restrictions of work load essential to learning. Furthermore, these institutions embody the practical application of undergirding "basic sciences" or professional theories of the several disciplines involved, thus permitting ready dialogue between theories and practices. It has been in such settings that supervision for ministry—its standards, theories and its myths—has evolved.

Only recently have novel proposals in theological education converged with growing sophistication in defining the essentials of the practice of supervision to create the possibility for understanding other encounters in other settings as lending themselves to the supervisory method.¹⁰ These new developments have, among others, identified ordinary parishes, inner city ministries, lay efforts in ministry, "yoked" parishes with "counseling elders" and multiple staff churches as settings in which supervisory methods can be employed properly to enhance the professional competence and effective identity of those ministering.

In such an era it appears essential that an enlarged corps of persons be prepared to utilize the methods of supervision in their work.

(New York: A. C. P. E., 1968); T. W. Klink, "Supervision," *op. cit.*, esp. 191-4; "Problems about learning," "Learning problems" and "The parallel process". R. Ekstein and R. Wallerstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-197.

9. William R. Merrill, "A design for mythic learning", *JOURNAL OF PASTORAL CARE*, 21:65-77 (1967).

10. Jervis S. Zimmerman, "The relevance of clinical pastoral training to field education," *JOURNAL OF PASTORAL CARE*, 22:1-6 (March, 1968); E. E. Thornton, "The place of clinical pastoral education in new plans of theological education," *JOURNAL OF PASTORAL CARE*, 20:16-23 (March, 1966); Russel J. Becker, "The place of the parish in theological education," *JOURNAL OF PASTORAL CARE*, 21:163-70; "Theological Curriculum for the 1970's," a report of a task force to the American Association of Theological Schools, *Theological Education*, Vol. IV, No. 3 (Spring, 1968).

In fact, this is taking place already in relation to a number of "ministering clusters" and in relation to some seminaries or special educational centers where already-effective practitioners of ministry are being recruited and oriented to serve as supervisors for some segment of the work of ministry. It is this writer's contention that such developments are to be loudly applauded and that such persons merit the most articulate possible sharing of the insights and skills accumulated in the history of *clinical* pastoral training.

*THE MINISTRY AS WORK AND VOCATION
ORGANIZED IN THE PROFESSIONAL MODE*

Ministry is the expression in work (action) of a vocation. The work of ministry may be organized in relation to four fundamental questions which concern, respectively, social coherence, the investment of energy and the securing of satisfactions, discriminating responses as contrasted with total responses, and knowledgeable responsibility. The distinguishably different responses to these fundamental questions produce, variously, ministry organized in the modes of:

Fraternity

Labor

Skill

*Profession.*¹¹

Such a view of ministry implies that some, but not all, of ministering work involves licensed, knowledgeable and responsible practice, *i.e.*, professional work. Supervision—in contrast to such other processes as solemn entry, discipline, skill-training, teaching, etc.—is the pre-eminent device for creating a professional minister competent to express his vocation in work so organized (as a profession). In slightly different terms, Whitehead makes clear a similar distinction.

A craft is an avocation based upon customary activities and modified by trial and error of individual practice. A profession, in contrast, (is) an avocation whose activities are subject to theoretical analysis and are modified by theoretical conclusions derived from that analysis. An intellectual revolution separate(s) those two activities.¹²

11. Thomas W. Klink, *THE MINISTRY AS VOCATION AND WORK*, *op. cit.*, Chap. 2.

12. Alfred North Whitehead, *ADVENTURES OF IDEAS* (Pelican Books, 1948), pp. 73-4. See also, "The Professions" (Special Issue) *DAEDALUS*, 92 (Fall, 1962).

In Whitehead's terms, supervision is the principal device for effecting the personal "revolution" which separates a craft from a profession. Thus, supervision is a special style of teaching and forming in a boundary situation wherein the learner is aided to make the leap from preparation to practice-as-a-professional, that is, as one who is self-appraising of his work in relation to generalizable knowledge. In such a process and transition, learning theories which involve only the communication of a tradition or the correction of defective trials and the reinforcement of right actions are inadequate.¹³ Learning for professional competence through supervision comes as much from errors analyzed and understood as from correct actions taken under strict guidance. An essential personal quality of the effective supervisor and an indispensable requirement of the setting for supervised learning is freedom for the learner to make mistakes which can be reported and considered without undue hazard for the subjects of ministry.

As a boundary situation involving passage from one status to another, supervision calls for an intense and dynamic relation between supervisor and learner. This relation evokes processes of identification and introjection with the supervisor serving (willingly, knowingly, or not) as a model, lending himself to the learner for termination and individuation fully as much as for mimicking.¹⁴

THE SUPERVISORY RELATIONSHIP: STRUCTURE.

The supervisory relationship has several important structural characteristics. It is *a-symmetrical*, that is, it does not involve, at least functionally, the relation of equals. To say this is to make clear that any simple, democratic or egalitarian idealism is alien to the supervisory relation. The a-symmetrical character of the relation derives in part, and on most occasions, from the greater knowledge and experience of the supervisor. It derives also from the readiness of the supervisor to attend to the learner's problems, to the exclusion of his own similar dilemmas. To put this matter most baldly, a supervisory relationship begins with answering some version of the question, directed to the supervisee, "How can I be of help to

13. Paul Pruyser, "Existential notes on professional education," *SOCIAL WORK* (1963), pp. 82-7; also, Renee Fox, "Training for uncertainty," in *THE STUDENT-PHYSICIAN* (Cambridge: Harvard Press, 1957), pp. 207-41.

14. Joseph Adelson, "The teacher as model," *THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR*, 30 (Summer, 1961).

you in the concrete situations of your work?" Conversely, supervision never begins with the question, "How can we improve our functioning by thinking together about our work?" In striking parallel to the Reformation doctrine of the nature of the priesthood, no man can be his own priest/supervisor; no class of men is exclusively constituted as priest/supervisor for others; but all men may accept the discipline required at times to be another's priest/supervisor.

The supervisory relation is a-symmetrical in that it involves, on most occasions, a practitioner of limited competence and limited responsibility who seeks to move towards greater competence and more independent responsibility by sharing the responsible competence of another, a supervisor. The readiness of the supervisory pair to create such a structure, to modify their relations by the half-steps uncovered and evaluated in their experience, in order that the learner may internalize the value and the practice of responsibility—such readiness constitutes the essential elements of the structure of supervision.

Such a structure of relationship involves a context of shared and conscious motivations. So stated, this makes clear that, like all vital processes of learning and development, supervision can evoke unconscious ambivalences and resistances. The consciously-available motivations provide, however, the raw material of a specific "contract" for learning.¹⁵ The appearance of deeply-significant and persistent disparities between the conscious intentions of the supervisory contract and unconsciously-determined contradictions or conflicts marks the occasion in which supervision as such ceases and referral for psychotherapy becomes the education-ancillary device of choice.¹⁶

The more routine components of the structure for learning through supervision involve a *schedule and place* for regular meeting. Such a schedule cannot be avoided, nor can a readiness to meet "whenever you have something you want to consider" be a substitute. The transition into new competency and more effective identity, which is the goal of supervision, is a process and by definition is extended over a span of time. The structure of encounters must reflect this fact if the procedures of supervision are to make contact with the process. Furthermore, to establish a relationship on the basis of "felt need"

15. T. W. Klink, "Relating Educational Goals and Procedures: Towards a Theory of Motivation in Continuing Education," *PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY FOR ADVANCEMENT OF CONTINUING EDUCATION*, 1967.

16. Ekstein and Wallerstein, "Supervision *vs.* psychotherapy," *op. cit.*, pp. 242ff.

is to foredoom the procedure to deal only with those "crises" where the anxiety of the learner has transgressed some normal limits and the reduction of this anxiety has become the major claim on supervision. There is no simple formula for determining the frequency of supervision but, in the ordinary sequences of professional training at least one hour per week has been demonstrated to be normally appropriate.

Additional components of the contract for learning through supervision are the clarification of *the reciprocal functions* of the supervisee and the supervisor in the light of the *goals* of the learner, accepted by the supervisor, and translated into agreed-upon *methods of report and response*. The central elements in this cluster of structural components are the various methods for report and response.

THE SUPERVISORY RELATIONSHIP: METHODS OF REPORTING IN SUPERVISION.

The earliest practitioners of supervision in clinical pastoral education were, variously, rather doctrinaire in their identification of the proper method for reporting concrete incidents of pastoral work. Some of them were adamant in insisting upon the *case* analysis, others devised and perfected the *verbatim* account. Later, equally doctrinaire supervisors insisted upon the singular effectiveness of an electronic recording. Fortunately, most such narrowness of attitude or limitation of experience has disappeared. It has come to be recognized that there are a number of distinctive but potentially useful methods of reporting for supervision. These methods can be listed and described.

1. *The observation report.* In this method the supervisee is least committed to a working role; he can, properly, be as inert a spectator as he desires. He is asked to report, as fully and as concretely as he can, an event of which he was the observer. The directions stress that he should report phenomenologically, not identify categorically. In preparation for the use of this method he may be invited to read one of the guides to naturalistic observation or a sample of such observation reports. The advantage of this method in supervision is that it permits a low-risk style of reporting; thus, it is often especially usable during the initial phases of a training period. It has special importance in aiding the professional trainee to begin his understanding of behavior rather than verbal productions.

2. *A trainee journal or diary.* The process of entry into a new situation is often an important and educationally-exploitable series of events. Such entry involves transition from one "world" to a new environment, with shift from old roles and securities to new ones.¹⁷ A reporting method which is useful in bringing this process into supervision is the journal or trainee diary. In situations of work/learning where the supervisor is separated from the day-to-day events of the trainee's experiences, the diary has a special importance for keeping the supervisor in touch with the process. Because such a diary tends to be discursive and inclusive rather than focussed, this reporting device is rarely useful after the work-learning process has proceeded to define specific work tasks.

3. *Concurrent participation and discussion.* There are some situations of work/learning which permit the supervisor and the trainee to engage concurrently in some unit of professional activity. For example, the expected nature of some parish calls permits a supervisor to be accompanied by a supervisee. In hospitals and clinics an initial pastoral call or an intake interview permits a similar kind of concurrent participation—with discussion following. Even a service of worship with the supervising pastor and a trainee both involved allows this same kind of mutually-available "reporting." In most of the social systems of ministry this method has the by-product advantage of permitting the introduction of a trainee-worker in his proper status as an auxiliary of the practically-responsible supervising pastor. The major importance of this method of reporting is that it permits the maximum support and guidance of a supervisor to be immediately available to the trainee; thus, it has special merits in coping with those otherwise promising learners who find the "getting-started" phases of practical learning especially anxiety-arousing. Whatever the advantages and the indications for its use as the reporting method "of choice," the critical element in use of this method for supervision is the discussion of the event after concurrent participation. Without such discussion, pointedly directed, this method becomes only an experience in inducing mimicry (or rebellion).

4. *Verbatim account of a pastoral conversation.* This device of reporting is attributed to the pioneering inventiveness of Russell Dicks, one of the earliest of the clinical pastoral training super-

17. Donald C. Klein and Ann Ross, "Kindergarten entry: a study in role transition," in *CRISIS INTERVENTION: SELECTED READINGS*, Howard J. Parad, ed. (New York: Family Service Assoc., n.d.).

visors. In such a method the trainee is requested to write as nearly a word-for-word account of a pastoral conversation as he can recall, plus a brief initial description and a closing evaluative summary. Because of its several useful implications this device has become one of the standards of supervision. It is not, however, universally useful. It focuses attention on the verbal exchanges, the subtleties of communication and the literally literal alternatives. It provides concrete data as to "what was said" and "what was replied." Yet, in fact, it is not objective because it is dependent upon the memory (or creative imagination) or the trainee in reporting. Even that fact may be educationally useful inasmuch as it requires a considered reconsideration of what was said and, on occasion, the improvement of the actual interchanges. The pseudo-objective (but significantly subjective) nature of this reporting method makes available for supervisory consideration the affective involvement of the trainee. The disadvantages of this method are that it tends to restrict attention to the verbal exchanges of a pastoral encounter to the exclusion of the meaning of those exchanges. Further, it is time-consuming and memory-demanding to write, voluminous for the supervisor to review. In an extended or heated interchange involving fully both the pastor-trainee and a subject of his ministry it tends to fail to recapture the animated flow of the conversation at its most critical points.

5. *The electronic recording of a pastoral encounter.* Almost universal availability of audio-tape recorders and increasing availability of video recording equipment has opened for the supervisor an entirely new and still somewhat unmastered technology of reporting. (The ethics of the matter make it clear, incidentally, that no such recording is ever done without the express and informed consent of the person being recorded. The legalities of the matter, in most jurisdictions, make it important that such consent be written and witnessed). The advantage of this reporting method for supervision is that it tends to produce, objectively, a much more total account of the pastoral work encounter. Further, such electronic methods relieve the persons involved of sometimes onerous tasks of remembering and writing (and the supervisor of the chore of reading). Control devices for playback equipment makes it possible for the learning pair to select, listen (and/or view), stop, rewind, replay, consider, etc. In using these devices, however, it is important for the supervisor to be reminded that the recording machinery offers

total "exposure" of the trainee as well as more complete recall. Such exposure, especially when used in group seminars and with tapes wherein the trainee has obviously acted ineptly, can arouse defensiveness and anxiety in such a way that rather disruptive reactions occur, for example, stubborn rationalizations of action, evasive humor, even "accidental" erasing of tapes. Another way of putting the disadvantages of these excellent (but not perfect) methods is to note that objective reporting devices permit the trainee no easy way of selecting those points in a process of work where he "ready to learn; ready to be supervised." Inasmuch as learning occurs in highly individualistic and irregular patterns, this is not insignificant.

6. *The critical incident report.* If electronic reporting devices provide the most "total" recall, critical incident accounts provide the most selective and subjective reports for supervision.¹⁸ In using this device trainees are asked to identify and write an account of the event during the week (or month or other time period) which, for them, was most critical. They are encouraged to presume no *a priori* criteria for what is critical but to allow themselves the fullest latitude in recalling the event which, in whatever way seems important to them, they feel typifies their experiences during the report period. (A comparable style of reporting is used in many clinical pastoral training centers in the so-called "Pastoral concerns groups hours." In those sessions the agenda is constituted by "matters which, in terms of your interests in pastoral training, are of most concern to you, these last few days.") The several advantages of this method which may dictate it as the report style of choice are its selectivity from a manifold of experiences, its forced impetus for subjectivity ("critical to you") and its reinforcement of periodization in training ("critical during *this week.*") In addition, as with the observation report or journal, this method lends itself to reporting non-verbal as well as conversational encounters. Finally, in terms of supervisory evaluation of trainee progress over an extended period of time, a series of critical incident reports reviewed in evaluation of a period of supervised training can often produce some themes of development and change in the trainee or worthy of notice.

18. Robert Perske, "The use of a critical incident report," *JOURNAL OF PASTORAL CARE*, 20:156-161 (Sept. 1966).

7. *Initiation-of-pastoral-work summary.* In the clinical settings where supervision developed, the administrative traditions of case-load and intake have produced a clear-cut and important model for reporting: the Initial Summary. In these clinical settings such reports record the first contact between a worker and a patient or client, plus previously-available information, referral details and the clarification between the two parties of their shared purpose in scheduling a series of meetings. In institutions where tightly-knit team operations are not the order, these initial reports may be in the form of an "initial pastoral visit" which concludes with any indications for further encounters. The central element in all of these forms of report is that, following an initial contact, some purposeful (and hopefully, mutual) decision is made concerning subsequent contacts. Although these report forms have developed in clinical settings of supervision, it appears that many of them are applicable—in only slightly modified revision—in many of the other settings of ministry. Thus, for example, a trainee whose work includes meeting as consultant with the teachers of a church school department could profitably be asked to use the "Initiation-of-pastoral-work" summary to record his understanding of this task, his first meeting with the group and the definition of goals and methods (plus scheduled meetings and assigned tasks) which emerged from the first session. Subsequently, process notes (see below) would serve to concretize the experiences for supervision, but the beginning of a process demands special attention and the "Initiation-of-pastoral-work" summary is designed for that beginning. Where supervisory controls over trainee actions is felt to be of critical importance the trainee is directed to "keep tentative any commitments for continuing relationships" and "to discuss with your supervisor the initial summaries before proceeding to a second meeting." In practice, such a restrictive instruction permits the supervisor to exercise oversight of the important "contracting" process and, also, to discharge his responsibility to protect the persons served and the trainee from precipitate planning. As the trainee demonstrates his mastery and capacity in such initiating phases of his work these controls may be relaxed and *post hoc* review of process notes, etc., may suffice.

8. *The process note.* Many of the work tasks of professional training in ministry involve a series of inter-personal encounters within an extended and professionally-responsible relation. Thus, most typically but not exclusively, the process note lends itself to super-

vision of pastoral counseling. Each process note is the recording of a single encounter with the person or persons being served. It summarizes initial impressions and overall impressions of the encounter. It details, as a flowing process, the course of the encounter. Usually these are summaries of the verbal exchanges; no attempt is usually made to produce a verbatim. The process note concludes with the worker's summary of the encounter, including his appraisal of the developments in the reported "hour" as they articulate with the overall purposes of the relationship. The characteristic advantages and disadvantages of the process note as a reporting method are suggested by the description above: It summarizes, with a mixture of objective and subjective styles, the impressions and interchanges of a single unit of encounter within a longer relationship. Further, it calls for the trainee to impose some measure of meaningful order on the fullness of an encounter but provides the supervisor with enough additional data to call into question significant gaps or distorted understanding. Most importantly, in terms of professional development, the process note calls for some summary impressions of developments during the reported encounter towards the goal of the relationship—the "counseling" or pastoral care "contract."¹⁹ Finally, the process notes of trainees during an extended period of supervision should be shorter and shorter as the trainee's ability to pinpoint the process and identify the critical events grows.

9. *The interim summary.* In any extended process of professional work there may be occasions where educational considerations or complications in the work will suggest the use of an interim summary. This device of reporting for supervision and consultation involves the writing of a summary of the initial contact and plans, plus a summary of subsequent encounters and the trainee's best estimate of "where things are now." Finally, an interim summary sets forth the questions and choices which confront the trainee at this point. Instructions for writing an interim summary should request the trainee to recall the initial contact and the purposes of the relationship as established at that time. Then, in the light of the summarized record of subsequent meetings, he should reflect (and record) how those original purposes have been maintained, served, altered (consciously or inadvertently) and what is the best definition of purposes at this

19. For a discussion of the concept of "contract" in counseling, see Charles E. Stewart, *THE MINISTER AS MARRIAGE COUNSELOR* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1961), pp. 29-40.

point, including the choices which appear to be open. Such an interim summary is, obviously, an elaborate and time-consuming task; though a vital and unique device in the supervisory armamentarium; it should be used sparingly lest the weight of time commitments be shifted to the typewriter and away from the field of work. It is an advanced method presuming on some extended experiences and some facility with basic techniques—of conversation (or counseling); the emphasis in an effectively-used interim summary is on examination of goals and progress rather than on methods and personal involvements. Obviously, the investment of time and energy in such an interim summary means that it may be used most properly and economically as the focus of group occasions for control or “supervision” of a number of professional trainees.

10. *The case summary.* Somewhat arbitrarily—but, I think, usefully—I distinguish the interim summary from the case summary by distinguishing between a report of work *in progress* from work which is *completed*. The terminology may be arbitrary but the distinction is not. An important device for supervision is the retrospective review of a relationship of work with the purpose of eliciting and clarifying the general principles of understanding or method which are illustrated. In the educational sense, a case summary is a review with the intention of extracting the fullest measure of learning from a working task now completed. In my experience, it is in relation to the case summary that the issues of pastoral theology become most important. In review of a case summary one is free from the responsible burdens of practice to ask speculative and general questions, to explore alternative frames of reference than the one which guided the pastor at work, etc. It is not surprising in the history of the clinical pastoral education movement that the case summary was the supervisory method of choice of Anton Boisen whose concerns were so primarily “clinical research” rather than practical or pastoral.²⁰

11. *Role-playing (Psychodrama).* All of the reporting methods mentioned above involve written devices. In addition, there is a reporting device which calls for acting. This method calls for the trainee to “take the part” of someone, the ministry to whom he is trying to understand. Although most frequently used in seminars and groups sessions, the role-playing method has a peculiar usefulness in individual supervisory hours. It can be especially useful where

20. Anton T. Boisen, *RELIGION IN CRISIS AND CUSTOM* (New York: Harpers, 1955).

the written reports—or the sudden and anxious pressures of a pastoral emergency—fail to provide any leverage of report and reflection. Its use may be called for when the supervisor's impression is that the trainee is "trying so hard to be a good pastor that he is forgetting how the person feels." In the same vein, the playful freedom of role-playing may be particularly useful with the trainee who is "stuck" with a particular style in a relationship which seems to invite him to "shift gears." The central themes of all of these comments identify role-playing with occasions which call for greater emotional identification with the person being served, which seem to call for a shift in style, or where some pressures over-tax the capacities of more usual reporting methods. The utilization of the method involves some "laying aside of the usual rules" (for example, "Why don't you just lay your reports aside and imagine that you are the person and I am you and let's talk.") On a few occasions, once the method is learned, and the relation of trainee and supervisor is fraught with competitiveness or anger, use of this method may be initiated with a trainee's challenge, "I'll bet you a role-play that you can't do any better!"

THE SUPERVISORY RELATIONSHIP: THEMES FOR EXAMINATION OF REPORTS.

The regular, scheduled, encounter of a supervisor and a candidate for greater competence and more effective identity is the heart of the professional learning process. In such encounters these two seek to fulfill the specifically agreed-upon and reciprocal tasks which their contracting for learning has defined. Most critical to the routine processes of supervised learning is the systematic examination of the work reports prepared by the trainee.

Five recurrent themes may be identified in this phase of supervision. The remainder of this paper is an exploration and examination of these recurrent themes. They are applicable in the "individual supervision" hours and in the settings of group examination which may supplement this indispensable individual hour.

1. *What are the facts?* This thematic question makes it clear that few supervision reports are transparently clear as to their communication or the details of the events reported. The clarification of unclear facts and the eliciting of additional essential facts is the first theme in the routines of supervision. In so doing it is important for the supervisor to recall that his conclusions from the reports may

seem to be "factual" but "in fact" his understanding of the situation may be strikingly different than the one held by the trainee reporting. Accordingly, the clarification of facts involves making sure that the understanding of the two is reasonably mutual. Ordinarily, this is expressed in some version of the statement, "Now, if I understand your report and these additional details, we are considering a situation of. . ."

Again, under this theme, one needs to recall that words do not always point to the same facts for two different persons. This is especially important where the report contains such broadly inclusive or diagnostic words such as "depressed," "senile," "out of touch with reality," "hopeless," "angrily demanding," "unwilling to listen to reason," etc. Where such vague and cover-all words occur, the supervisor will do well to get the trainee to explain and describe what facts these words are intended to designate.

2. *What are the feelings (a) for the person or persons being served? and (b) for "you as you were involved with him?"* In another place I have described the proper focus of all pastoral work as "depth" and have described depth as the "realm of personal meanings."²¹ The professional worker's pre-eminent task is to aid people to cope with such personal meanings. They are manifested in human experience as feelings or, more properly, *affect*, emotion. The second theme in the supervisory examination of a work report involves feelings. The supervisor is reminded that such feelings occur in the person being served but also in the person serving. Thus, some version of two questions will recur frequently in the processes of supervision: "How do you think that made him feel?" and "How did you feel about that?" Although at times such questions will be simply ventilative, more importantly, such questions will initiate the process of integrating feelings with facts, understandings and actions. So, subsequent supervisory interchanges will be some version of, "In the light of the feelings (his, yours, others), what significance do you give to the facts, now?" The skills which support professional functioning are discriminating responses, that is, they are patterns of action which are determined in response to multiple factors of motivation; *feelings are only one among many determinants of skillful behavior*. For the professional, feelings must be modified and fused with realities and with knowledge and with intentionality. Thus,

21. T. W. Klink, *DEPTH PERSPECTIVES IN PASTORAL WORK* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1965), pp. 17-32.

the exploration of feelings in supervision calls for more than simple ventilation in the naive hope that once the affective bubble is punctured and ventilated all will go well.²²

3. *How do you understand the situation?* The third theme in the supervisory examination of a work report is a paradigmatic question which invokes the cognitive frames of reference employed by the trainee in understanding the situation. It is at this point—and, significantly, this is the *third* not the first theme—where supervision concerns itself with a central issue of professional competence, namely, the ability to utilize general knowledge in concrete situations. Classificatory categories and concepts become relevant in relation to this theme—constantly held in check against the facts and the feelings. For example:

Supervisor: How did you understand the situation?

Trainee: She seemed depressed.

Supv.: What facts, as you observed them, seem to support that?

Tr.: (Elaborates on some signs of depressed, discouraged, and fatigued actions.)

Supv.: So, what you understand as 'being depressed' seems to be reactive to some losses, a disappointment and an extra-heavy schedule? Does that modify your understanding of the situation?

Tr.: Well, she wasn't so depressed yesterday afternoon after the neighbor's party.

Supv.: In other words, some happy events in her environment make some difference. Does that lead to any conclusions in your understanding. . . ?

In this brief segment from a supervisory examination of a report, a trainee is being led to consider an adequate framework of meaning for his observations of a woman parishioner with whom he has been working since her referral for pastoral attention following withdrawal from the activities of the church school where she had been previously active. The initial and global category of depression is accepted and examined for its adequacy against the facts observed, and the trainee is being led to conceive of the process of living with which he is involved in cognitively more adequate ways. This is the mark of a would-be, responsible professional.

22. Seymour Boorstein, "Ego Autonomy in psychiatric practice," *BULLETIN OF THE MENNINGER CLINIC*, 23:148-156 (July, 1959).

Other sequences, involving the cognitive frame of reference for understanding encounters, may be cited. These include sequences in which the insistence upon understanding is sharply poised over against the angry, feelingful report of the trainee. (“75% of the committee members failed to appear at the meeting.”) Others deal with occasions where the habitual values of the trainee’s life proved inadequate to the new situation. (“Back home where I come from, these folks would be called just plain lazy!”) In some advance training situations involving closely-knit team work with other professions the questions about concepts for understanding, involve exploration of the alternative frames of reference held by colleagues. (“Is there any other way of understanding the patient’s complaint other than her conviction that he is a foreigner?”) etc., etc.

4. *In light of the person’s expectations, your relationship, and your purposes, what are the alternatives and choices open to you at this point?* Any pastoral encounter invokes the covert (or revealed) expectations of the person met, the pastor (with both his declared purposes and his covert intentions) and the explication of those forces in an understanding which may be metaphorically designated as the “contract.” This contract is effective in even the most casual of contacts, although in such brief encounters the usual effective agent is the expectations of “someone in such an identity.” The fourth thematic question of supervisory examination presumes on the existence of such a “contract” and, at a specific point in the relationship under study, asks, “What are the choices and alternatives open to you now?” The import of the question is its capacity to clarify alternatives and to evoke from the trainee some considered reflection upon such alternatives.

- Trainee: After that kind of response to the meeting, I’m ready to quit. I don’t know why, but this kind of thing gets to me. . . .
- Supervisor: (Elicits and clarifies the feelings of the trainee about the event) . . . etc.
- Supv.: In the light of your expectations and theirs, as may be more fully revealed now, what are the alternatives and choices as to your next step?
- Tr.: My feelings say that I should cancel the whole damned thing.
- Supv.: One very lively possibility—at least for your feelings—is to scrap the entire operation. Any other alternatives?

- Tr.: Well, I guess that I could go ahead as though nothing had happened.
- Supv.: How do you feel about that . . . etc.
- Supv.: Any facts which support that plan. . . ?
- Supv.: To do that presumes some understanding of what is going on in this committee. . . ?
- Supv.: Any other alternatives?
- Tr.: If this is just another example of a group in this place where it's so hard to get attention, no matter what you do, it might be worth sending out notices for another meeting, holding it, but finding some way to notice and work through the meaning—and my feelings, too—about last time. . . .
- Supv.: Sounds like it might be worth a try. How do you feel about it? . . .
- Supv.: Does this plan connect up in your thinking with any other work events? . . .

5. *What are the plans for action or response as a result of this discussion?* The final thematic question in the routine processes of supervision recognizes that there is a meaningful gap between "thinking" and "doing." In fact, it is precisely this kind of gap between fantasy and action which has been described as inherent in the time-extended passage of a person through the career of occupational preparation.²³ Thus, one of the recurrent and thematic questions in supervision is some version of the pointed query, "In the light of what we have said, what kind of plans and schedule does this imply for your actions?" Perhaps as important as the initial version of this question is the follow-up version, "I'd be interested to hear how things went with your plans, after our discussion, last week?" It may have been the persistence of such questions which led one trainee to describe the writer (as supervisor) as being "more like a sheep dog, always behind nuzzling and barking you along."

23. Eli Ginzberg, *OCCUPATIONAL CHOICE: AN APPROACH TO A GENERAL THEORY* (New York: Columbia, 1951) Ginzberg has outlined the sequence of phases in an occupational career as proceeding from "fantasy choices" through "tentative choices" to "realistic choices." In another connection he writes of the "interest stage," "the capacity (to do the required work) stage," the "value stage" (with adoption of the value systems of the occupation) and the "transition stage" (into practice).

Clinical Pastoral Education

As a Clinical Training Supervisor

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During the eleven years I have supervised Clinical Pastoral Education (hereafter referred to as CPE) I have seldom found clergy who felt neutral toward this particular mode of education. They were either positive or negative but seldom neutral. Former students of CPE, almost to a man, feel very positive toward it. Many claim it to be the most significant part of their theological education. I want to define that aspect of CPE which I believe causes the strong feelings, and to show why it is not only valuable, but the essence of CPE itself. I am speaking of the sensitizing experience in the process of CPE.

Every person draws various conclusions about life and the many experiences of life and develops various ways of coping with these experiences. This begins at an early age and continues throughout the entire span of life. These life-coping methods and life conclusions constitute a person's style of living or "life style" and describe for the most part the "person" other people get to know when they relate to him. In my opinion the most important goal of CPE is that of helping a student become sensitive to and aware of his own life style. This is at times a pleasant experience and at times a very painful experience. Students who struggle through this experience find it a very rewarding one.

Once the student becomes sensitive to or aware of his own involvements in relationships, he is freer to manage himself more successfully, freer to change if necessary, and freer to give more attention to people he wishes to help. Many clergy are so engrossed in the struggle to manage their own half of relationships that they have little, if any, time free to focus undivided attention on the needs of the parishioners who contribute the other half. When they try, the two sets of needs get so confused that it is difficult to tell who is pastor and who is parishioner. Theological education too frequently makes the assumption that students are capable of giving undivided

attention and capable of competent helpfulness without any assistance in the area of sensitivity.

How is this sensitizing accomplished? (I do not feel a need to list the prerequisites for CPE other than to say that CPE requires each student to have a personal theology before he is accepted. It is not the responsibility of CPE to give him one. CPE will guarantee a student that he will have ample opportunity to test out his theology and alter or reaffirm it, as the result may be.) As a supervisor I enforce only three ground rules in my program. Everyone must struggle to be as respectfully honest with the others as he can, everyone must struggle respectfully to take the others seriously, and everyone must refrain from destructive physical behavior (acting out). The honesty and seriousness will bring to bear upon a student severe judgment at times, but it will also result in great tenderness and compassion at other times. The mercy which accompanies the judgment is the respectfulness which is emphasized in the program.

The student is required to examine and identify what goes on in all of his relationships and decide whether he is satisfied with the happenings in them or not. In doing this he must take into consideration what the other people involved in these relationships expect of him, as well as what he expects of himself. This sounds like a complex process and it is. Yet, I believe it is nothing more—nor nothing less—than every-day living magnified and in bold relief. In a sense it is life without pretense, in so far as we intellectually sophisticated adults can achieve it. The more sophisticated we become, the less open, bendable or spontaneously honest we are able to be. At an earlier time in life we were able to be this way, but we were gradually taught and educated away from this ability until as adults we find that we must initiate what appears to be a rather complex process in order to do what should come naturally. True, we are capable of voicing rather intricate thoughts and ideas as adults, but we are virtually “caged” or “muscle-bound” when it comes to spontaneous, honest expression of simple, as well as, complex feelings. Earlier in life we dared to speak our concerns and questions about the experiences of life, without reservations, and we dared to speak our conclusions and give our answers just as freely. We were not always right, but it was not as important for us to be right as it was for us to claim the privilege to be open and honest. As adults in our present day culture, we have been taught that it is far more important and valuable to be “nice, pleasant and calm.” This is true for people of

the Christian culture and especially true for the clergy. CPE is an exercise in living which attempts to help students not only become aware of their existing "life style" but at the same time reclaim an awareness of the raw dynamic thrust of their own personhood, with all the accompanying feelings.

CPE requires a student to become involved in three different, and very important, types of relationships. He has one with his supervisor, one with patients, and one with peers (the other trainees). His supervisor is capable of being open, intense, and spontaneously honest because he has struggled to reclaim and develop these capacities as a part of his preparation and training. His supervisor is committed to the belief that such openness and honesty are not only healthy but righteous and necessary for vital meaningful relationships. The student is challenged to come to terms with the life style of his supervisor and deal with its implications for his personal and professional life.

The patient's life is magnified and intensified just because of the stress of his experience. He feels a strong and sometimes compelling need to be open and honest about how he feels, as well as about what he thinks. Yet he finds this extremely difficult to achieve because he virtually has not attempted to be this open and honest since much earlier in life. Also his family and friends find this too threatening to permit him to try.

The student's life is magnified and intensified just because of the stress of his experience, and he too has a strong need to be open and honest about how he feels as well as about what he thinks. The difference between the patient and the student at this point is that the student in his relationship with his supervisor and his peers is not only encouraged to be spontaneous, open, and honest; he is required to do this by their confrontations of him.

I remember one student who was a little older than the other members of the group. He had had several years of parish experience and had learned some very clever ways of "smooth talking" and manipulating people into doing things for him. At the beginning of the year he managed to control the group most of the time. The resentment and frustration of the other group members grew until I heard indirectly that they were determined to confront him with this. By the time they mustered the courage to do this they were angry and, in their words, they were "loaded for bear." When the group started that day, there was a brief period of silence and then,

before anyone else spoke, the older student spoke up and said, "I understand I have been giving you guys a hard time and that you are really angry with me. I don't know what I have done, but I want to cooperate so I am putting my neck on the block. I would appreciate it if you would tell me what I have done." The other students were so immobilized by his apparent honesty and cooperativeness that it took them two days to realize that he had "done it again." When they finally realized it, they then struggled to confront him with their feelings about what was going on. Only then was it possible for a more meaningful and helpful relationship to develop between all of the members of the group.

Students must be able to tolerate this type of confrontation in order to be selected for the program. As the students realize success from their efforts, they then are able to allow and encourage the patients to do the same in those relationships.

As I have indicated, the process of CPE is not atypical of life. It may be foreign to present day adult life in our culture, but the openness, intensity and spontaneous honesty I refer to are common to childhood and very early adolescence. The fact that we lose our ability to exercise these God-given capacities in the process of becoming adults is lamentable and a detriment to our health and righteous fulfillment of life. The justification for reclaiming and exercising these capacities is twofold. First, there is a realization of greater freedom and intimacy—and thus meaning—in relationships. The second is directly related to the first: the way a person explains life to himself (his cognitive struggle) is greatly dependent upon the happenings in his relationships, whether the relationship is with himself (internal), with another (interpersonal), or with God (transpersonal). Greater meaning and fulfillment in relationship is tantamount to greater meaning and fulfillment in life.

Once a student understands himself more fully in relationships, including his strengths and weaknesses, and can accept himself with this new awareness and sensitivity, he is freer to focus more of his attention on helping someone else. He knows more clearly what is necessary to happen in a relationship for him to help another person, and he is ready to select and take to himself certain professional skills and methods which will fit his personality and style of living and implement what he wants to accomplish. Even a "painful inch" in the direction that the CPE process points a person is redemptive and vital to living itself. CPE is predicated on the firm belief that

all theological students in our day and time should have assistance in the area of sensitivity. I believe that this kind of assistance should be built into the educational process for the basic theological degree itself, rather than be a separate process available as an elective for students.

As a Clinical Trainee

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As I stand midway between two years of Clinical Pastoral Education and attempt to write a reaction about the training from a student's point of view, a couple of thoughts come immediately to mind; namely, Clinical Pastoral Education is a struggle, and, secondly, CPE understands religion in the context of life. Taken together, out of the struggle which is at once very personal and at the same time relational, CPE has as its primary goal a pastoral ministry. To say CPE is a struggle is to say something very personal. In terms of this, it is unfortunate that the process of CPE has in some quarters come to mean insight and self-understanding to the virtual exclusion of theological rationale and diakonic ministry, for while insight and understanding are a part of the training, emphasis upon the use and meaning of theology and skills of services are the historical basis of and continuing motivation for CPE. For reasons of clarification, professional and personal categories of struggle and ministry are considered separately in this paper.

Clinical Pastoral Education has profound religious roots. I use "religious" to mean an attempt on one's part at any given time to come to grips with the meaning and value of life (and this requires respect for any such attempt). In a clinical setting this occurs in the context of a patient's attempt to understand and integrate acute or chronic illness into his life style. Correlative to this attempt is the clergyman's struggle with the values and meanings which inform his life and his relationship with others. The structure of supervision, wherein a group of students meets regularly under the direction of a Chaplain Supervisor, provides one such setting. Here the "group" permits a person to enter into peer and authority relationships with the acceptance and judgment common to any relationship. This group setting is not unlike the coming together of persons in any context

where listening, sharing, and taking one's self and another seriously is the sought-after goal. The student in CPE experiences this broader context when he goes about patient care assignments in the clinical setting.

The group in CPE is a selected community of students who, for one reason or another, have sought participation in the program. By this initiative, agreement is given by the members of the group to engage in an intensive therapeutic relationship wherein the emphasis is both upon personal and professional concerns. Herein lies the struggle. It is understood, however, that the therapeutic relationship is not psychotherapy. Or the process of struggle focuses upon one's attempts to relate to others with some measure of emotional health. This involves the bringing to bear of one's own religious resources to meet a situation and inform it with value and meaning in an ultimate sense, and is opposed to the psychiatric model of healing pathological illness and possible character or personality change.

To say it another way, a person with very deep hurt in personal or professional roles should not seek training in CPE. Rather, CPE focuses upon the dynamics present in a given relationship with a goal being the student's increased ability to minister to persons without allowing his personal needs to block or distort the needs of the other person. Obviously this assumes a certain degree of health for the student. Religion and struggle are complementary in that through seeking the worth and dignity of other persons, taking them seriously, one comes to learn of his own worth and dignity—not as he may become, but indeed as he is. To experience one's own worth and dignity as a person is to experience the love of God through the love of Man. Forgiveness of sins is experienced on an ultimate level when, in relationships, men come to love one another. CPE also knows the grace of the Incarnation event in history as it informs the realistic hope and achievement of wholeness of personal and relational health. On the basis of the group experience the student has the opportunity to work with persons in his own as well as other professions. And here, too, is learned his task in the context of a supporting, confronting, and challenging community where the many needs of a person are important and taken seriously. Clinical Pastoral Education does not get beyond a struggle, but it is engagement in and continuation of the struggle for ministry as a communal, reconciling task. To put it negatively, CPE does not mean perfection, but is a maturing, sensitizing process.

I can exemplify what I have been saying by speaking out of the area of ministry known best to me. In working as a para-medical team member in rehabilitation medicine, and specifically in ministering to paralyzed persons, I know persons who can never be physically whole again. But I also know paralyzed persons who have grieved the loss of their body's usefulness—a religious activity—and who have again reclaimed an identity in society and claimed value and meaning for their life. The religious goal of a health team in ministry to these persons is to help them organize or reorganize, claim or reclaim, their own inner health—their own ability and resources to meet and live through an illness consistently and successfully within their own life style. In the case of paralysis, this may well mean living without the use of body functioning. I call this sort of acceptance and adaptation wholeness, and to me such consistency in life means righteousness. To apply this to the “group,” I understand the values and meanings of an individual's personality to be not nearly so important as what he does with them. Or, the professional identity conflicts, the anger, the frustrations, hurt, even the joy of being a particular person is made righteous in the risking of these feelings with another person or persons, in finding there through the struggle of personal disclosures an affirmation and acceptance from others.

Clinical Pastoral Education is not insight- and change-oriented, although students learn more about themselves and thereby learn to function more honestly, hence more usefully, as clergy. Nor does Clinical Pastoral Education set out to make insecure ministers more secure with the personality categories and response patterns of psychiatry than with those of theology, although a knowledge of various disciplines in the medical and social sciences is gained and used supportively in ministry. CPE does not intend to make chaplains or specialized ministers of its students, even though some of the students follow specialized fields after training. It does allow one—and for some persons this is the first such opportunity in a lifetime—the privilege of being who he in earnest is, and expressing what his feelings in earnest are, and claiming his talents and limitations and problem areas. In CPE I learned to claim my own personhood, and I am also saying that I am beginning to know myself well. In this understanding theological symbols and language take on a new and a dynamic meaning for me. My theological orientation is presently one of understanding religion because I can understand more fully what

life is. In a real sense, I have experienced grace on a very personal level that gives life to my theological credentials.

I have found CPE a place to begin growing into a personal and professional role I chose long ago and for many reasons. I have found that in the midst of my own struggle to be a good and useful minister, to utilize eight years of higher education, and to function as honestly and skilfully as I have been taught and know myself capable of, I needed and continue to need help. And one of the major contributions of CPE in this regard is that it is helping me to trust and risk within a community. Granted, the peer group is protected by its very structure—a selected group in a specific clinical setting. It is at the same time identified in its intensity, and in the relationships established in and around it, with any ministry anywhere.

Clinical Pastoral Education is a continuation of the effort to send sensitive clergymen out into the world to serve. And it is premised on the belief that by learning the behavioral sciences and understanding their interactions with religious need and motivations of persons, a clergyman can be a more effective, useful minister. It follows, for me, that a clergyman's competence is his usefulness.

Standing Between Structures

DONALD W. SHRIVER, JR.

Reflections on the Interseminary Church and Society Program

By positioning myself at a point between theological knowledge and industrial experience, I have somehow grown up. Neither of these are alone decisive but rather the *relationship* of which theology and industry are poles. Furthermore, I believe that I have developed the skill now to *create* a position for myself in society rather than simply to fit into a position already there. I see myself now as an 'inter-environmentalist'—a person who functions in more than one environment and sponsors their interrelation.

This is strange language coming from a theological student. Some, on reading such words, may wonder how the author could in fact be a theological student. He has "grown up" by spending a year in industry, but what does such growth have to do with his knowledge of God? He has found that the twentieth-century human world requires men in some measure to be creators of their own futures, but is this after all a sloppy use of the word "create"? He identifies himself now as a relater of diverse environments, but what does this have to do with the Gospel of Jesus Christ and the ministry of the church?

To answer these questions would be to state the assumptions underlying the Interseminary Program on Church and Society, a joint undertaking of Duke Divinity School, Union Theological Seminary in Virginia, and Virginia Theological Seminary. Now in its second year, this inter-institutional program has placed some twenty-two students in organizations as diverse as an IBM manufacturing plant, a political party campaign, a Congressman's office, and an engineering department of a state university. Since the first year of the program is barely over, all conclusions about the importance of this innovation in theological education have to be strictly tentative, but the work of faculty, students, and "secular" supervisors in the program thus far make the first year's experience worth investigating. In particular, the questions inherent in the statement above deserve very sober consideration. No one well acquainted with the contemporary ferment in theological education will imagine that these questions are due to evaporate from the scene very soon.

Learning to Speak of God in a Worldly Way

On the face of it, a Congressman's office is no obvious place for furthering one's theological education. Though one can speak vaguely about the presence of God in all of life, such speech applies to the presence of God in the divinity school too; it could justify a thoroughly "studious" approach to the learning of theology, without recourse to student relationships with institutions outside the theological seminary wall.

For a combination of theological and experiential reasons, a search for the presence of God "outside the wall" has agitated the recent generation of theological teachers and students. Many of the teachers, educated just after World War II, are indebted in various ways to the thinking of Dietrich Bonhoeffer. It was not lost on them that Bonhoeffer began his quest to "speak of God in a worldly way" largely out of his involvement in a political movement, and some—myself included—have been regularly annoyed by the suspicion that the verbal content of Bonhoeffer's writings might have passed unnoticed in the world if that content had not been incarnated in an imprisonment and a death for political reasons. Bonhoeffer's theological impact on the church would certainly be inconceivable apart from his fatal incursion into politics, and many of us suspect that, apart from that incursion, his *thinking* about God and the Gospel would have been radically different.

To reflect this way is to be thrown back simultaneously to some historical, some sociological, and some theological analyses of the "theological moment" in the life of Christians. The history of Christian doctrine has ordinarily been written in terms of the development of ideas, but one can well imagine its being written in terms of the running conversation that many of the church's great thinkers have carried on as they moved between the cloister and the marketplace. Apart from his missionary labors, Paul's theology is hard to account for; apart from his work as a church administrator in a province of the late Roman Empire, Augustine's theology would certainly have been very different; and one can go down a long line of theological saints—Luther, Calvin, Wesley are three—asking the question: How did the character of their involvement in their society influence the content of their thinking about God?

To this fruitful question more attention should probably be given by historians of doctrine. It is a question which recent sociology has largely brought to our attention. Beginning with Marx, sociology

has almost unmercifully documented the degree to which what men think is shaped by *where they are located in the institutional structure of society*. The gods of the hunter, the farmer, and the tradesman are not naturally the same; neither are the gods of the business executive and the urban planner naturally the same. The social structures in which each lives out his life shape his concept of the ultimate.

The utter determinism of thought by social structure is not the issue here, but the profound influence of thought by social structure. Even more at issue for the contemporary theologian is the degree to which theological debate is built into any society whose structure is complex and varied. Such a society we now live in. It is a highly "differentiated" society, in sociological lingo, one which is predictably in ferment regarding the credibility of a previous generation's speech about the one God who created all things, rules all history, and invites all men into fellowship with himself. How can one speak of that one God in the "booming buzzing confusion" that is our industrialized, technological, urban, international society? Indeed, in a society busy with a bewildering array of both cooperative and conflicting relationships between literally billions of people, how can "God-talk" in any classical sense be a meaningful preoccupation? What age was ever more subject to polytheism than our own?

The Gospel of Reconciliation

In lectures delivered at Union Theological Seminary in Virginia in 1954, Archibald M. Hunter posed an answer to such questions that, at the time, made a deep impression on me: The New Testament doctrine that makes most sense to twentieth-century man, he said, is the doctrine of reconciliation. As a hypothesis for the first years of a ministry, I myself discovered both the human importance and the theological problem in this statement. Human beings in our time *do* listen carefully to talk of "reconciliation," because modern society fragmentizes individual lives, parcels them out to many institutional commitments, makes difficult any single answer to the question, "What does life mean?" But the connection-point between reconciliation-talk and the life of twentieth-century man is therefore sociological; men are currently less concerned with being reconciled to *God* than with a discovery of reconciliation and integrity in and among *themselves*. This instigates a crisis for classical Christian theology, because it is evidently difficult for modern man to believe

in the goodness of the news that "God was in Christ Jesus reconciling the world to *himself*."

A way of stating this theological crisis is to ask whether modern man's yearning for reconciliation makes contact with the Christian tradition if it is uncoupled with an opening to the holy and transcendent. That is one way of describing the current struggle of the church to make truly theological and not merely ethical response to the twentieth-century mind.

Along with kindred programs in other parts of the world, the Interseminary Church and Society Program is a facet of this struggle. Its fundamental theological hypothesis is a sort of sociological extension of the one proposed by A. M. Hunter: *Perhaps the modern theologian can only recover the meaning of vertical reconciliation by experiencing and reflecting on the varieties of horizontal reconciliation either achieved or denied in the lives of men at work in the large social institutions of our time.*

This is not an obviously promising hypothesis, and student-faculty participation in the first year of the program yields no unambiguous evidence of its validity. But the theological sense of asking a student to take one year of his professional training in theology to work in a factory or in a political campaign is not far from being implicit in the writings of a crop of recent theologians. One such is Langdon Gilkey, who said:

The holy and transcendent is that which is ultimately relevant to our existence, both as a whole and in all its various facets. While finding no origin in our immediate social and natural environment, the holy is nevertheless that which alone is relevant to every relation the self can have to its whole world, for it is the basis of our relation to these environments, and it is the course and ground of *their* being and meaning as well as of our own. The holy, therefore, can never be completely separated from the secular world it is meant to undergird without thereby losing its holiness. . . . As the example of conservative Protestantism has shown, wherever doctrine or religious experience becomes unrelated to the world of secular thought and affairs, they too, then, become merely special and finite portions of existence, 'Sunday activities' and 'preacher's talk'—and having lost their relevance to our total life, lose thereby the depth and universality that bespeak true holiness. The separated world of religion is in this sense no longer 'holy,' but its Lord is closeted in too small a realm.¹

Gilkey goes on to say that the identification of the holy with the sum

1. Langdon Gilkey, *How the Church Can Minister to the World Without Losing Itself* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), pp. 52-53.

total of "every relation the self can have to its whole world" is not an acceptable alternate solution to the problem of interpreting the Christian faith in twentieth-century terms. Theology, at least, must come to terms with two sides of the tradition that shapes its own logic here: Can God reconcile the world even internally if there is no logical distinction between God and the world? On the other hand, why should he effect reconciliation "in Jesus Christ" if reconciliation is not a historical act, even a historical process, visible and tangible in some way in the human world?

Such reflection takes us to the edge of some theological issues too momentous to be explored here. An operational question is the single point being raised: Can the theologian in our society talk about God the reconciler without, in the language of the student quoted above, becoming a person "who functions in more than one environment and sponsors their interrelation"? Is there modern *procedural* wisdom, integral to the very substance of the ancient Gospel, in seeking to understand the divine work of reconciliation by locating oneself in the interstitial gaps and crevices of major social institutions of our time?

As already suggested, a ready "yes" to this question is not justified by the first year of the Church and Society program under discussion here. But some evidence for the appropriateness of such affirmation is gathered together below.

Becoming an Agent in Multiple Social Worlds

Asked to keep a journal on what they did and how they responded to their intern experience, the eight students of the first year produced a series of notes that are as good an introduction as any to the objective and subjective "stuff" of the program. On the objective side, a Duke student summarized his daily schedule as an aide to California Congressman George E. Brown, who has been one of the major vocal critics of the Viet Nam war:

- Thursday: 9:00 Examine mail and Congressional Record.
- 10:00 Observe a House Committee meeting.
- 12:00 Drop in on Senate and House Chambers during lunch time.
- 1:30 Prepare short speech for Congressional Record on Mennonite Resolution on the war.
- 2:30 Meet with Senator McGee's Legislative Assis-

- tant about progress of radio tape project on Senate side.
- 4:00 Legislative assistants' briefing by Agency for International Development official from Thailand.
- 5:15 Leave early to have dinner at the Seminary.
- Friday : 9:30 Weekly Seminar at Virginia Theological Seminary on "Political Rhetoric" with Milton Koetler of the Institute for Policy Studies.
- 12:30 Lunch at Seminary.
- 2:00 Return to Capitol Hill for Legislative Assistants' Conference with American Civil Liberties Union lawyer on President's Crime Message.
- 3:30 Prepare speech for Congressional Record on American Baptist Resolution on war; examine mail and Congressional Record.
- 4:00 Tape Brown's speeches for radio.
- 5:30 Send radio tapes to United Church of Christ.
- 6:00 Go home exhausted!

On a more subjective side, a student from Union Seminary wrote about his first month or so in one of the engineering departments of a large manufacturing plant as follows :

I called New York today on business. It's fascinating to be able to pick up the phone, dial three digits, and talk with any company plant you desire. . . . We had a departmental meeting this afternoon which lasted all afternoon. A communication problem always seems to exist. People are always going to be opinionated and stubborn to a certain degree. Nobody likes to be wrong or look bad. Sin affects work!

* * *

I am beginning to feel important to the company. I have gotten a couple of compliments on my work, and I am beginning to want to do things *for* the company.

* * *

I feel a real lack of personal relationships in my work. My dealings with others always seem to be matters of business with very little personal exchange. It gets very lonely at times. I can see how people on the benches who have even less personal contact crave attention from their managers. Is this alienation necessary?

* * *

Tuesday was my bi-monthly talk with the Personnel Director. I was very frustrated with my job and therefore with the program, and was

expressing to him my doubts about how much I was getting out of the program. But he pointed out that I was beginning to learn what he had hoped the program would enable me to learn: to experience the frustrations, uncertainties and many other feelings that the new employees, and employees in general have. I felt very stupid for not having seen what was going on. The problems were too subjective for me to be objective about them.

* * *

Why is the manager so feared by the employee? One reason for the uneasiness of the employee is his lack of contact with the manager and his ignorance of what the manager is really like. However, much of this problem is caused by the manager's avoidance of the employee, as well as the employee's steering clear of the manager. It is ironic that the manager doesn't *want* to be feared by the employees yet tends to separate himself from them by not associating with them.

* * *

. . . the more we accept the freedom, power, and responsibility for others that God has given us, the more alienated we are likely to become, for the more we are likely to be rejected by others. Like Jesus experienced.

* * *

I made my first big mistake today. I had a contractor take out a door that wasn't supposed to be taken out. . . .

The academic work of the year was an attempt to mate such spontaneously recorded data with theological reflection. Especially in the final papers produced by some of the students, the cross-over between personal experience and theological insight was very dynamic, as illustrated in the following excerpt from the final paper of an industrial intern:

When I was assigned to work in the Industrial Engineering Department as a novice, there was some head scratching by the powers-that-be as to how to use me. Finally, I was assigned to compile a list of statistics, a job requiring three months of hand-writing cramp, simple calculator work, and endless cross-references in the files. Once the mathematics of this job were mastered, it would become a tedious, boring chore. A check with our business systems department and an evaluation of our third generation computer capability showed that the entire job could be handled by the computer. This would take a fraction of the time and effort. When I got a green light on this change, I wanted to dance, pour a libational cup of coffee over the computer or feed it some punch card tid-bits—anything to express my own feeling of celebration. I was being temporarily relieved from the curse of the plow.

The theme of this final paper was: "A Theology of Joy."

Though the content of such excerpts may not be new to theology, sociology, or any other abstract discipline, the *mix* of theological-ethical questioning and personal-social participation adds up to a relatively new educational experience for these particular students. Others like them are apparently convinced that, as one ingredient of their theological training, the job in industry or government or other secular agency is highly rewarding. As a student from Virginia Seminary put it, "Experience is the best teacher, especially when coupled with productive reflection."

The reward does not necessarily come in the shape of excitement or enthusiasm, however. Most of the first year interns found themselves alternately excited and sobered by the experience. When midway in the year eight interns and three professors gathered in a weekend retreat to evaluate the project to date, comments like these came from the students :

It would have been more comfortable not to have had this experience. It is disconcerting to find that legislators live more in the world of the Middle Ages than the world of Reinhold Niebuhr, e.g., they see law as a sacral value. Furthermore, I now find that national politics can be as irrelevant as the church. I fail to see the world "come of age" in the halls of Congress. It's exhilarating for a while, but then you detect the sense of hopelessness in government; and this is disturbing. I've enjoyed the experience, but it has been frightening. Unfortunately, senators do not know a great deal more about many important issues than the average citizen. . . .

* * *

In Washington and in our weekly tutorials at the seminary, we have discovered that the politician is the only real citizen. Elections are just means for approving what citizens do. . . . Politicians talk to us as people who have little knowledge and no power. In America we have ceased deliberating. . . .

* * *

It's a frightening thought that after these fantastic new experiences I may not really change! Will I run out on what I know now?

* * *

It has drastically revised my preconceptions of industry, and trying my experiences at work with the tutorial discussion once a week has been mind-stretching in a unique way.

* * *

The impact of the experience has been a radical transformation in my life style. I talk to more people now, have developed techniques for learning to acquire information, and have learned something of what

things going on in the world can be associated with God's purpose for the world. E.g., I now get excited about a business deal from which all parties will benefit.

* * *

I've learned that neither the professor nor the students are answermen, that I can't lean on the expert for answers any more.

Later in the year, one of the interns on a Senator's staff in the Washington area summarized the sobering precipitate of his year's attempt to mix politics and religion as follows:

It is true that I felt better about telling people that I worked in the U.S. Senate than that I was a theological student. There was a certain joy at having succeeded in the secular world, at having held my own at one of the centers of action. Yet my experience served to make me more appreciative of the ministry, especially the parish. If there is no ease in Zion, neither is there ease on Capitol Hill. If the church is being questioned, so is our political structure. I have watched government deal with its own demythologization as pluralism made a shambles of the old stereotypes, and I know that the church had long been faced with these same problems. For example, in the church personal relationships are often unauthentically sweet, but in Washington I have seen people shake a man's hand one minute and call him an s.o.b. the next.

I concluded that the maladies affecting the church are the maladies affecting society and every institution in it, and that I could be of most use either as a congressman or minister. As the first is unlikely, I choose the second.

(When this new program was first organized, a few churchmen speculated that it would lure student participants away from the parish ministry. Several men now in the program have indeed discovered the importance of new, experimental social ministries like the Detroit Industrial Mission, but just as many participants seem to have acquired new respect for the organizational service of the church.)

A precise summary of the impact of the first year of the program upon eight young men is impossible, but it is obvious from the above that the benefits are many-dimensional. Among the dimensions that seem to mean the most to the students are these:

- an opportunity to sit for a year "where they sit"—the people of our society who work in large institutions five or six days a week.
- a chance to test theological and ethical concerns, growing out of the Christian heritage, against the workaday concerns of people in these institutions.

- an attempt to combine disciplined study, through weekly meetings with faculty and others, with reflection on work experience.
- a “trial run” at exercising *initiative* in facing some of the new intellectual and practical tasks facing the modern Christian minister.

A Note on Initiative

The question of human initiative looms so large in the discussions that go on between students and faculty in this program that a note on the subject is appropriate here. More than once a student in the program has commented to some faculty member along these lines: “I used to think that there was a rule or a pattern for everything, and that all I had to do was to follow what was ‘there’ to do. Now I see that most situations in modern society are open to my input. I have to take the initiative if I am to ‘do what is expected.’ I am expected not only to respond but also to initiate. That’s partly what it means to be a modern man.”

How to respond to a complex array of human neighbors and to take initiative for their good might be tagged as the critical, summary ethical question that has emerged from the first year of the program in the minds of both student and faculty participants. It is almost as if, in a quest for understanding God’s reconciling work in the twentieth century, our theologians-in-industry and theologians-in-Congress had stumbled experientially across the truth that James Sellers stated so well in his recent book, *Theological Ethics*. We are living, says Sellers, in the midst of an explosion of human initiative unprecedented in the history of men, and one of our theological tasks in the church is to make sense of the phenomenon. What if the reconciling work of the Divine Initiative in human history is embodied in an indispensable way in the initiative that men take towards each other?

The Christian faith solidly affirms the responsibility of taking the first step—of displaying initiative. . . . Initiative corresponds to Luther’s teaching of the priesthood of all believers, which depends upon the Christ-follower’s taking the lead to serve his neighbor, not waiting for the neighbor to break the ice or ask for help, much less for him to do the first favor. So it is with human action—it is primary in human life for this theological reason: We reflect God’s unprompted grace by unprompted initiative toward others.²

To cast the issue here in terms of the old Calvinist-Arminian debate (or to say that the Presbyterian who is author of this article

2. James Sellers, *Theological Ethics* (New York: Macmillan, 1966), pp. 183-184.

has been corrupted by his Methodist colleagues in the Interseminary Church and Society Program!) would be a great mistake. If the experience of only three interns in the first year of this program is any clue, modern man is capable of a new *sense* of the grace of God in the funding of man's power to act through the gifts of technological, organizational, and intellectual tools. The profoundest sort of rebellion against a gracious God may be smouldering in human refusal to take up those tools on behalf of the neighbor. At the very least, such a surmise should get a thorough testing in theology classes these days, and in the context of what theologians experience outside of classes.

Towards Collegueship in Theological Education

The Interseminary Program is an experiment in collegueship—in many senses. Most obviously, its sponsorship is “collegial”—three seminaries in a two-state region, each seeking to supplement the other by developing some new learning contexts appropriate to their respective situations. (Washington is the natural place for the theological community in this country to examine the dynamic of national political decision-making. The Raleigh-Durham-Chapel Hill community is likewise a fitting place for theological reflection on technology and industrialization as forces at work changing the life of a Southern community. And the Richmond area is peculiarly appropriate for the development of a phase of the program scheduled for September, 1969: a series of internships focused around social change in an “old” Southern city with many new problems.)

Since the leading strategists of theological education in this country now foresee the day when seminary “clusters” will be needed to muster resources adequate to the theological teaching task, such inter-institutional collaboration has a certain timeliness.

The thrust towards collegueship in the learning of theology and churchmanship, however, is more basically embodied in two other aspects of the program: the participation of university faculty in disciplines cognate to the program; and the participation of professionals in the political and industrial institutions in which the interns work.

On the academic side, professors from North Carolina State University, Duke University, and the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill have made contributions to the weekly tutorials of the industrial interns; and courses in these universities—especially in the social sciences—have been a major ingredient of the spring

quarter of the program. The disciplines represented have ranged from economics to sociology to industrial engineering. In Washington, Dr. Milton Koetler's seminar lectures on "Political Rhetoric" are expected to be paired with a second set of lectures in the 1968-69 year on "Political Leadership," and the lectures as a whole are expected to eventuate in a book. Plans for the Richmond program call for extensive use of the new Virginia Commonwealth University's Center of Urban Studies. In all these relationships the intern program will hopefully function as a matrix in which faculty from multiple disciplines can learn to work together with students on the central human problems of an increasingly complex society.

A similar collegueship is being sought in the program with professional persons related to the work situation of the interns. On-the-job supervisors are considered part of the program's teaching team, and from time to time persons related to the participating companies or offices have contributed to the weekly tutorials. (In one tutorial in Raleigh a plant manager analyzed an important decision in which he had recently been involved; another manager described the attempts of his company to cope with a rapidly changing market; and the Congressional interns have visited a variety of government agencies each Monday to be briefed on current decision issues.) More important, perhaps, have been the conferences that various interns have had during the year with various professional persons in their companies or agencies. Reflecting on these conferences, two such professionals, each occupying a top position in his respective company, commented toward the end of the year:

Besides orienting him to the industrial environment with the attendant people problems, [the intern] has oriented us to many new facets of the ethical considerations in a work discipline. A tape recording of some of these uninhibited discussions would have been worth preserving!

* * *

Our intern has brought to our organization some interesting attributes: (1) high standards for writing and speaking, (2) great analytical ability, and (3) new insight and perspective on ethical considerations in business decisions. By the same token, I believe that he has gained some things in his contact with us: (1) He has had to rethink his image of business, (2) he has been exposed to the reward system, (3) he has greater insight into the motivations, frustrations, and satisfactions of his parishioners when he becomes a minister, (4) and he has a greater appreciation for the ethical structure in the decision-making process within business. . . . Certainly we feel that

the experiment should be extended, for it promises new definitions of "parish" and new dimensions of service.

Whether or not such articulate laymen can become systematically integrated into a teaching-team of theological educators remains a question which the first experimental year of the program cannot answer. But the intention of the program is plain: to test Bonhoeffer's hypothesis that it is possible to "speak of God in a worldly way," by asking men in industry, government, and universities to explore that possibility *with* the church.

Toward Reconciliation?

All this reflects rather profoundly the truth of Margaret Mead's word to the 1966 World Conference on Church and Society in Geneva:

It is the way of those who follow the Judaic Christian path to be troubled, to search in the sky and in their own hearts for signs and portents that all is not well. Such exercises of furious and exacting imagination are often followed by long periods which some call stagnation and apathy and others call betrayal, when the flame of religious witness burns very low, when young men who should be seeing visions go elsewhere, and the life of the church gives little light to the world like a light under a basket. We are just emerging from such a period when it has seemed that the churches were powerless to wrestle with the new forces of world-wide revolution, instant communication among all the people of the world, forms of warfare that threaten the whole of mankind, and powers from science which seem to give secular man incalculable capacities either to destroy the world or to make it anew. With these earthshaking changes, a new sense of helplessness, of humility, of being strangers in a world too large to love, has fallen upon many of the churches, and from this questioning now comes a new vigor and a new determination. From this sense of weakness, of ignorance and humility, of reaching out for every kind of help, there can come the strength which will make the Christian churches of this world a mighty force to temper and bind the destructiveness of the winds of change, and find a true shelter for man within the storm that has been released, not by wickedness and sin, but by knowledge that we do not know how to use.

For the church to send its theological students out for a year to inhabit the mazes of corporations, legislatures, government bureaus, and universities will be interpreted by some as the drift of the church towards secularism. It will be interpreted by others as a questionable attempt to combine the wisdom of the world with the wisdom of the

Cross. Neither of these interpretations can be dismissed casually, and one suspects that the ongoing vigor of this fledgling Church and Society program will depend upon the care that its leaders give to the theological and missionary concerns that lie behind such interpretations. But it is just possible that Margaret Mead is right: The church that wills to preach the Gospel of reconciliation to the modern world might take an important step in that direction by "reaching out for every kind of help" in every kind of place. By so doing, the church may simply be catching up with its own faith that God was reconciling not less than the world to himself in Jesus Christ; that he is already present in every corner of that world, bringing reconciliation to pass and teaching men to be reconcilers too; and that—as one who has "a plan for the fullness of time to unite all things in him"—the Father of Jesus Christ meets men precisely everywhere they meet one another.

An Industrial Internship

Partnership on Trial

ALLEN WISER

Vice President, Management Services Corporation, Raleigh

A business firm is a tentative entity and can best be understood as a franchise which is subject to revocation. In a traditional sense a business firm perpetuates its right to maintain its franchise by so performing economically as to provide a positive contribution to the economic system. Profit is *prima facie* evidence of sufficient intrinsic good to merit for the firm a legitimate place in the total system.

Business has been rewarded well by our total system for the excellence of its performance while adhering to the simple economic criterion of returning a profit to the investors. We have chosen to award it position number one in the interest of the perpetuation of the free enterprise system. We have a new leader and only now is this becoming clear to us.

Business is becoming aware that leadership is a heavy burden and is accompanied by new categories of demands. Performance required of business to maintain its franchise is no longer the exclusive judgment of the economic system. The long-neglected social system is giving indication that it has powers of franchise revocation. The logic is precise. With ultimate power lies ultimate responsibility.

The assumption that business is obliged to the community has for some time been tacitly held. These obligations have been discharged satisfactorily through the participation of corporate officials in community affairs. There has been no need for change in corporate posture since individuals have shortstopped the demands and effectiveness has been a function of the ability of the corporate official to divide his time and skills between corporate and community demands.

The nature and magnitude of social demands on the corporation are changing. Large economic responses are being solicited from business and this is giving rise to a dilemma.

At some point the pangs of social conscience will become sufficiently intense to provide an impetus to action. At this point there appears on the scene a dichotomy of interests. To return to the investors the

profit of the firm or to divert parts of profits to be employed in response to social demands? This becomes the question.

This calls into play new skills that the corporation has not been called upon to develop. Can the corporation, in good conscience, respond only economically to social demands? In fact should it? The answer appears to be "no." The corporation must select from, or combine, other alternatives. First, a re-perception is in order. A corporation can no longer perceive itself as a generator of a cash flow from which it extracts a profit. A new perception would find the corporation as almost the exclusive depository of money administration skills, charged with the optimum distribution of funds among not only investors but, in addition, those areas of social degradation that evolved in a system dominated by the private enterprise. This will require the corporation taking on partners and the creation of a mechanism through which appropriate skills can be brought to bear on particular issues.

It is in this context that I interpret the presence of a theological intern employed by my firm. An explanation of my firm and some products of our efforts complete the arena of evaluation.

Management Services Corporation is a wholly owned subsidiary of Occidental Life Insurance Company of North Carolina. We are divided into two divisions and are involved in management consulting and investment advisory. The Management Consulting Division has undertaken as its primary project the development of a long range plan for the parent company particularly attuned to the future.

Receiving particular emphasis in the planning effort is the integrative nature of the many aspects of the business environment. A project with these particulars needs to start with some assumptions. Some initial assumptions made were:

1. the optimum group size for the task was four;
2. a diversity of backgrounds should be represented in the group.

These assumptions produced a group composed of a mathematician, an economist, a psychologist, and a theological student under the sponsorship of The Experimental Study of Religion and Society.

The initial concern of the group was the establishment of an efficient, effective communication system within the group. This system was then used to develop unanimity of purpose. The next step was the development of a perspective for the future. Evident in all these activities were forces emerging from the diverse backgrounds represented vying for position. There were initial differences

on the most appropriate vocabulary and terminology. There were differences in interpretation of purpose which had to be resolved. When the subject of perspective for the future arose, it was immediately apparent that it was a wide open ball game.

In retrospect, what was happening was an increasing commitment by all to a concept which had eventually freed us all to do our best work. We made the discovery that "perception was a function of point of view." To say this is obvious or trivial and proceed would have been no less a mistake for us than it would be for the ornithologist to study eagle behavior assuming its perception of the surface of the earth is the same as that of its human inhabitants.

A perspective of the future which we quickly polarized to, as being most appropriate for the individual firm, found it composed of many and abrupt changes occurring virtually independent of the actions of the small to medium-size firms. A major tenet of any long-range plan must be flexibility, and ironically we could find flexibility only in our discovery of permanence. This helped us assume a point of view since we now know we must position ourselves so as to be able to identify the permanent aspects of the future environment of the firm. This led us to the development of a plan characterized by structure and as void of content as we could make it. This approach could be called "macro planning." A more meaningful term to us is "context construction."

Before explicating some aspects of perspectives of the administrator and the organization which appear appropriate in a context content-free and characterized only by structure, I will make an observation. At the level of context construction I see no compelling reason to limit my comments to any particular environment, organization or administrator. I see all organized activity as involving basically the same social dynamics. I should like to isolate two kinds of organized activity and suggest that my observations, though employing business vocabulary, are equally applicable to both.

Consider religion and business as the two organized activities. If we categorize product, the particular markets served, distribution systems, organization types, financial considerations, etc. as content and eliminate them from the analysis, then I see a striking structural similarity between the church, the organization of Christianity, and the firm, the organization of the free enterprise system. Similarly, at this level, I see no reason to distinguish between the minister, the

administrator of the church, and the manager, the administrator in the firm.

The organization—must be responsive to the demands of the market.
must develop an appropriate concept of the future environment in which it will operate.

must isolate its most critical points of interaction with the total environment.

when marketing a complex product or service must expend the effort in merchandising necessary to make its produce or service comprehensible and appealing to its market.

The manager— must develop a sufficiently broad perspective to permit quick conceptual positioning.

must continually strive to extract or develop structure in unstructured situations.

must be introspective and hypersensitive to others' perception of himself.

must acknowledge that uncertainty is not a burden but a concept that legitimizes the existence of his role.

must isolate and consciously direct his detailed attention to the methodology which will maximize his chances to discharge effectively the duties of his role.

This set of statements is neither novel nor innovative when compared to the totality of existing literature. It is significant only as it represents the independent thinking of the diverse group described and in that it was generated in the business environment. These are important statements in the business environment, and to the extent that they are also important in the religious environment they represent a common denominator.

The Experimental Study of Religion and Society and the resulting intern in our midst may not have caused us to generate these statements, but they surely have given me occasion to perceive them as described. I represent these statements as the product of a partnership. They are only the beginning of a conversation which can be carried on in either environment or between environments with equal facility. I feel certain that the intent of the program with respect to the intern in our midst has been fulfilled. The intern has in turn made us privileged to a point of view which is not at all antagonistic to the business community. It is, in fact, most complementary.

The Intern's Dilemma

ED LOTSPEICH, '69

The seminarians who participated in the Interseminary Church and Society Program were provided with a unique opportunity. Not only were they to become the subjects of an experimental internship, but it was theirs to determine the final character of the experiment itself. Given the open-endedness and indeterminateness inherent in a program which utilizes people as its initial subjects, the individual intern is thrown back upon his personal resources if he is to render meaningful his involvement in a non-theological environment. Each man must, then, develop for himself a coherent and functional self-conceptualization, expressive of his fundamental commitments, or suffer the consequences of being overwhelmed by the diversity of all that he will experience. It is in this sense that the intern constructs for himself his own experiment while acknowledging that he will also be its subject.

An industrial internship does, of course, present to the intern a certain givenness which results from the intern's placement within a business environment and his temporary absence from the seminary. Although neither of the factors result in an immediate alteration of the intern himself, they do radically alter the manner in which others perceive him and, thereby, provide a context in which an experiment can be constructed.

The intern's fellow seminarians, cognizant of the fact that he will not be attending classes for a year, arrive at the conclusion that he is "taking a year out." Roughly translated this implies that the intern is perceived as one who has interrupted his theological education and has temporarily transferred his allegiances to some other enterprise. He is tacitly understood as one who has somehow forfeited his identity as a seminarian. The decision to become an intern is, of course, given an enthusiastic hearing, but the intern soon learns that for many of his colleagues theological education is assumed to be somehow limited to the physical boundaries of a divinity school.

The second characteristic of the context in which the intern must learn to operate is provided by his entry into a business environment. Quite unlike his classmates, the intern's new associates are more than willing to affirm his identity as a seminarian. While on the surface this might appear to be both comforting and supportive, it too demands translation. The ultimate meaning of the

word "seminarian" when spoken within an industrial environment is "naive." A more generous translation would perhaps render it: "You may know something about what it is that is taught in seminary (whatever that is), but that something you do know is of limited value here until proven otherwise." The initial givenness of an industrial internship is, then, a loss of functional identity compounded with naiveté. The experiment which the intern constructs for himself within this context is his attempt to resolve this dilemma.

The Church and Society internship is an intensely personal experience, since the intern suddenly finds himself confronted with the task of developing an authentic life style from within a context into which he has literally been thrust. It would be presumptuous to claim that my initial response to this context was an immediate awareness of this task. It is only in retrospect that I am now able to identify my initial groping as a first attempt towards the development of a legitimate style which I can now call my own.

It is important that this analysis be made because the life style which an intern develops need not be abandoned at the conclusion of his internship. If given an opportunity to develop and mature, it holds forth the potential of evolving into an authentic form of the Christian ministry and the fulfilling of a needed role within a society which has a built-in impetus for self-fragmentation. I shall indicate the structure of this emerging life style under three categories: requirements, resources, and calling.

I—*Requirements*

The initial challenge which the industrial intern encounters is that of demonstrating his worth to both business and seminary alike. If he is to act creatively within these institutions, he must first display in word and deed that he takes seriously their respective aims and purposes. The single requirement is, then, responsiveness to the demands of both theological education and the newly entered work environment. The intern must learn to become a functioning member of two disparate communities.

The business environment in which I was located was that of a small management consulting firm which is a fully-owned subsidiary of Occidental Life Insurance Company of North Carolina. Management Services Corporation is comprised of three young men, all under thirty, who are in the process of developing professional con-

sulting skills. Rather than finding myself, as did the other industrial interns, suddenly thrust into the midst of a large production-oriented corporation, I became associated with an organization that had yet to develop a marketable product. Ironically, I suddenly found myself participating in an experiment within an experiment. A considerable portion of those first few months was, therefore, consumed by a group effort to develop for ourselves a rationale for existing. My theological training, rather than proving to be a liability, actually enabled me to make a significant contribution to an organization that was attempting to structure an essentially unstructured situation and achieve a functional self-identity.

Within a year's time Management Services Corporation has evolved from being an untested "stockpile" of potential executive talent, to become a relatively sophisticated project-oriented consulting firm. During this period we have had several clients and have offered a variety of services ranging from market research to computer modeling. Being responsive now implies the existence of clients, their needs, and concerns. More specifically, being responsive means no less than to identify for one's clients what it is that actually needs to be done and then setting about the task itself. If Management Services Corporation has developed a unique expertise, it is in the area of need identification. Once a problem or a task is well defined and structured, it is usually a relatively simple matter to take appropriate action. In retrospect, it would appear that the most valuable service Management Services Corporation can offer its clientele is that which it developed in achieving a self-identity for itself, that is, structuring a variety of inputs from real life situations in such a manner as to indicate viable courses of action. The elements of the prophetic and the priestly in the role of the professional consultant have, then, facilitated my involvement.

The intern's unwillingness to accept the judgment that he has taken a year out is premised upon his active participation in a form of theological education which is not oriented to a classroom environment. Meeting regularly with theological faculty members and his fellow interns, the industrial intern is required to speak and think theologically about his work experience and the environment in which he has become productive. From time to time he is called upon to write papers and to make presentations on a variety of topics about which he knew virtually nothing only a few months prior.

Soon he discovers that he can begin to speak intelligently and theologically about such topics as computers and the decision-making process, the role of profit within the corporate environment, and the meaning of work in an industrial setting. The words do not come easily or with great assurance, for the intern senses the difference between speaking theologically from within the confines of institutional church or seminary and attempting to do the same from without. At times he is sorely tempted to abdicate that very vocabulary which he has been trained to employ, lest he become unintelligible to himself. In the final analysis, however, he is driven back to these words, for no others have as the proper referent those realities he finds implicit within industry. Much of what Christian tradition affirms of man and his creator is present in industry and can only be adequately described by those language forms which have become the primary mode of faith's self-awareness.

Industry celebrates man's potential for creative service to man and his creator. But it is also industry which displays man as ego-centric, a basic motif which reaches its apex in corporate self-centeredness to the exclusion of its competitors, suppliers, employees, and consumers.

II—*Resources*

The most evident characteristic of an intern's life style is his freedom to slip in and out of a variety of environments, particularly those of business, church, and seminary. The relative freedom to be "there" wherever that "there" may happen to be, breeds an air of enthusiasm and excitement and is a source of satisfaction in and of itself. It is as if one's life space had suddenly experienced exponential growth.

Without question the most significant resource that the industrial intern is given is an opportunity to develop "an audience" within those settings in which he is active. Functionally defined, an audience is comprised of those individuals who are willing to listen to the intern and to take seriously what is said. An audience is developed, however, only when its membership perceives that the one who would speak takes seriously those values to which they are committed and only when one who would speak is willing to be "there." Although the intern has not made a conscious effort to emulate the life style of the historical Jesus, the two styles are similar in this respect.

The appropriate locus of the church's concern for industry is

within industry itself, and industry's concern for the church (and it does exist) should seek its articulation within the church itself. Unfortunately neither of these two institutions appears to be willing to meaningfully interact with the other and both prefer to have their respective memberships lead dual lives, one within the church as laymen and the other within industry as a "job description."

The third resource which the intern brings to his emerging life style is that of a "third point of view." The demand to maintain simultaneously functioning positions within industry and "seminary in extension" provides the rationale for this third point of view. Unable to identify exclusively with either of these institutions without risking self-fragmentation, the intern must ultimately construct for himself a vantage point which "underwrites" his life style. The perspective or conceptual framework which he develops out of necessity is, then, his third point of view.

The basic tenet of this perspective affirms the demands and values operative within an institutional framework as relative, and it acknowledges that the locus of all values is trans-institutional. Perceiving that neither institution can exercise a total claim on his time, efforts, and fundamental commitments, the intern experiences himself as set free for creative and purposeful endeavor within each environment. His "birth" as an inter-environmentalist (one with a third point of view) occurs when the intern becomes aware that his potential for creative endeavor in one environment is, in part, premised upon the fact of continuing obligation in another setting.

The inter-environmentalist has a unique role to play in our society and one that can potentially merit the designation "a Christian ministry." It is to this role, perceived as a viable form of the Christian ministry, that the intern is called.

III—*Calling*

The primary task to which the intern is called is didactic in character. This role of "teacher" is grounded not so much upon the intern's capacity to impart information (which of course he does) but, rather, upon his potential to function as the one who alters the perceptions of others. The life style which the intern constructs for himself becomes a reality which others must attempt to accommodate within their conceptual frameworks. Those who encounter the industrial intern usually attempt to ascertain "who he is" in a manner which is consistent with their categories of perception, or they simply

dismiss his presence as an exception to rule. While the latter poses a threat for the intern's self-identity, the former serves the purpose of raising fundamental questions. Since he is operative in two environments, the impact of this participation is, then, to pose for others questions concerning the nature of an immediate sphere of involvement as well as those related to the character of some other setting.

The decision that his fellow seminarians finally settle upon concerning "who the intern is" cannot, then, be disassociated from some conceptualization of what theological education is all about. In this instance the debate surrounding the nature of theological education has been relocated in a crucial decision about the identity of another. The intern is not likely to verbally join the debate and to develop his own position; his stance is implicit in the manner in which he has chosen to commit a year of his life. He is the one who is unwilling to accept as valid the proposition that he has taken a year out, and he is the one who has chosen to engage in a form of theological education which finds its appropriate locus beyond the physical boundaries of the seminary.

The intern's industrial responsibilities also serve a didactical function. His involvement and productivity in a non-theological environment cannot help but affirm something about the character of that particular setting. The intern's affirmation is that industry is a place where individuals with theological training can become significantly involved and sense a degree of worth as a result of their participation. The intern's colleagues in seminary must, then, decide whether or not this possibility is consistent with their conceptions of industry. Hopefully, this process of accounting for the intern's experience will result in an altered perception of industry itself. Again, it is not so much a matter of what the intern actually says about his industrial experience; rather the possibility for altered perceptions is contingent upon the fact of his involvement in a non-theological environment.

The internship experience equally serves to raise in the minds of the intern's business associates questions relating to the nature of an industrial enterprise and a seminary. One discovery of major proportions that transpired during my stay at MSC was that the skills I had developed in the course of theological training were marketable in business. That a seminarian could make a viable contribution to a business enterprise, and that an industrial setting could accommodate a theological student, served the purpose of restructuring perception of both business and seminary alike. What is most significant, how-

ever, is that the intern's presence in business speaks of the church's concern for business (and thereby says something about what the church is) as well as raises to consciousness those aspects of a business enterprise about which the church is most concerned (and thereby says something about what a business is).

To the extent that the intern is successful in altering the perception of others, and to the extent that his life style is coherent and authentic, business and church are meaningfully related. Refusing to lead a dual existence and perceiving himself as one who has a mission to both business and church alike, the intern becomes a potential change agent. Change, in this instance, is understood to be the consequence of individuals acting upon altered perceptions. Change is also viewed as a function of being meaningfully related. Given the limited exposure provided by a single year's experience and the time required to develop a viable life style, the intern's role as change agent is more a future possibility than an actuality. The intern's awareness of his possibility is not, however, without vocational implications. The most appropriate understanding of an industrial internship is to assert that it provides the seminarian with an opportunity to identify and tentatively develop a role which has as its primary tenet the capacity to function as an agent of institutional change.

The "change" debate has predominantly alternated between those who would advocate externally imposed change and those who adopted a "change from within" strategy. The inter-environmentalist brings to this debate a new perspective, one that in a sense combines the other two and yet is not to be identified with either. The industrial intern as an inter-environmentalist premises his unique stance upon two essential affirmations of the Christian community.

Affirming God's presence throughout a secular society and His intent that this presence be made whole, the industrial intern ideally seeks a change process which is premised upon meaningful interaction among and between predominant institutions. In his life style he affirms the potential of the business community (believing God to be present in industry) to aid in the process of church renewal, as well as the church's potential (believing God to be present in the church) to call business to an appropriate role within society at large.

In his efforts the intern acknowledges the relatedness of reconciliation and renewal. The risk implicit in any emerging relationship, be it inter-personal or inter-institutional, is that the two parties involved may be significantly changed as a consequence of their in-

volvement one with the other. In attempting to relate church and industry the intern is, then, tacitly requesting that they change. The eventual outcome must of necessity remain relatively unknown, given the indeterminacy of relationships which involve human beings. The threat of indeterminate change is not, however, a legitimate excuse for holding back if one would continue to assert that God makes himself present in grace within those processes in which individuals as well as institutions are willing to assume reasonable risk in the hope of becoming more responsive to one another and better prepared for significant service to man.

The second Christian affirmation which the intern as inter-environmentalist takes most seriously is that the appropriate locus of reconciliation is to be found within human acts. The intern would have little patience with those who would seek exclusively a theoretical inter-institutional relatedness. If meaningful interaction is to result, it can only occur when there is made present a human act which manifests this particular reality. Reconciliation must then seek its embodiment in human beings and the acts in which they make themselves known. There exists no other possibility.

The intern's life style is one which comes to embody the potential for inter-institutional reconciliation and the making whole of God's presence in society. An industrial internship is certainly not the only possibility available or even the best. Rather, it is simply one among many. I would assert, however, that the three structural categories isolated in this essay must be present in any life style which would seek to function as a vehicle of institutional inter-relatedness and change. Such a style must then display its willingness to be responsive to the demands of those institutions with which it would become involved; it must gain access to, and develop an audience within, several institutions; it cannot permit itself to become exclusively identifiable with those it seeks to serve, and it must sense its potential to alter perceptions, relate various sets of interests, and effect change.

Those individuals who have elected to embody the role of the inter-environmentalist represent a "new breed" within American society. At present they are relatively unproven and, therefore, offer more in potential and possibility than in accomplished actuality. My industrial internship has served the purpose of placing me within their ranks. I am personally committed to translating the inter-environmentalists' possibilities into actualities within the context of a Christian ministry.

Epilogue: Learning Through Supervision

More and more it is being recognized today that theological education is professional education. Most of us are not sure what this means or what the important implications may be, but at least one thing is clear. And that is that "learning through supervision" is of the essence of professional education, especially among the "helping professions," to which the Christian ministry from one perspective belongs.

But how is "learning through supervision" to be programmed into the unyielding structures of the curriculum of the theological seminary? At what stage is it appropriate and fruitful? Is it an experience from which all can benefit or to which all should be exposed? Is its place necessarily restricted to those areas of the theological curriculum where the student, in the popular view, learns how to *do* something "specific and simple" rather than to *understand* something which is "systematic and complex." What is the role, the preparation, and the form of the authority of the teacher, in this kind of learning process? Since supervision is primarily an art, what is the authority of the artist in this context?

Since supervision is an intensive process of personal interaction, analogous to therapeutic process and demanding a relationship of sustained intimacy and confrontation, who can be expected to offer it in the seminary, and who is ready to offer it, and how does one become ready? Whatever else the supervisor needs, he must have a clear sense of his own role and a firm awareness of his own professional competence. Does this, then, clash with the classical picture of the theological educator as a scholar and a gentleman characterized by humility, meekness and tentativeness?

These and other strategic questions are generated by and spoken to in the articles of this special issue on "learning through supervision." And perhaps the articles above do themselves reflect the progress and variance in this field at this time. For example, Kale's article shows how Field Education has come to win new prestige

and a well deserved acceptance as a *bona fide* aspect of theological education. But while some remain skeptical about the educational value of the experience, others argue that the "supervision" process usually available in Field Education is not worthy of the name. And some see a causal relationship between these phenomena. This is to say that a work experience which is not interpreted and assimilated through a sustained and intensive supervision process to which both student and supervisor are committed, and for which the supervisor has had special preparation, is unlikely to be of significant lasting educational value.

The Klink article reminds us that the practice of supervision has developed considerable sophistication, at the point of both conceptualization and process, in the field of Clinical Pastoral Education. Using medical education in general, and education in the practice of psychotherapy and social work in particular, as a model, Clinical Pastoral Education has recognized that the supervisory role itself must be learnt, and can be learnt only through a closely supervised experience of the exercise of the supervisory function. For this reason the Klink article merits (and requires) a careful second reading. Aitken and Adams speak to both sides of the process from "the inside."

The Shriver article is an exciting account and interpretation of a recent co-operative attempt by three seminaries to apply the basic concept of "clinical education" to new and ambitious "bedsides." On the one hand, the context for the supervised learning is infinitely richer and more complex than the orthodox institutional setting of Clinical Pastoral Education. But on the other hand, as the articles by Shriver, Wisner and Lotspeich reveal, the conceptualization of the learning processes involved and the development of structures for the kind of close supervisory processes which are essential, have barely begun. It is conceivable that the quality of supervision (which is a good part of the genius of Clinical Pastoral Education) is dependent upon its being offered in orthodox and restricted settings. But assuming, to the contrary, that the only ultimate limitation which we face is the limitation of our creative imaginations, then exciting possibilities are already at hand. The several articles of this special issue reflect both achievements made and important tasks only just begun.

Donald S. Williamson

The Dean's Discourse

Richard E. Weingart

[The following statement was read at Hartford Seminary Foundation on September 30, 1968, at a service in memory of Richard Ernest Weingart, Duke B.D. 1961, who died in an automobile accident in Massachusetts in July.]

The memory of Richard Ernest Weingart, Bachelor of Divinity (1961), is as bright as it is noble in the recollection of the Dean and Faculty of Duke University Divinity School. As a graduate of Hampden-Sydney College, of the Class of 1958, Richard entered the Divinity School in the fall of that same year with a superlative college record. This he continued to advance throughout the course of his graduate-professional studies, while, at the same time, his election to the student government presidency for his senior year signifies, in appropriate measure, the confidence and esteem he had won among his fellows. His presidency was marked by wisdom beyond his years in negotiating important changes in Divinity School student organization fraught with complexities.

While in his student years, graduation with "honors" was not as yet provided with the conferral of the Bachelor of Divinity degree, Richard Weingart's academic achievement was such as would now entitle him to the highest recognition in the power of the faculty to grant, that of *summa cum laude*. This distinction is now conferred posthumously by the Dean, on authorization of the Faculty of the Divinity School (in special session, September 25, 1968) in recognition of the distinguished career of an esteemed former student, whose life of uncommon promise has been so tragically terminated in the very morning of its bloom.

His former teachers note with both pride and sorrow that Richard's death was preceded, but a few short weeks, by his appointment as academic dean of Hartford Seminary; that his four years of ser-

vice as Assistant Professor of Theology were marked by his customary fidelity to learning and the deepening affection of his students and colleagues.

The following words of a teacher, close to Richard Weingart in his student days among us, are here recorded as a fitting tribute and common *testimonium*:

Richard Weingart was an uncommonly distinguished student at Duke University Divinity School. Diligent and reflective, he labored with true joy and brought understanding and enthusiasm to every serious task. With a shy smile and genuine love for people he responded to students and to faculty. He wrote lengthy papers without a superfluous word. Respectful to seasoned thoughts of others, he was above all concerned with the discovery of truth itself. A brilliant man, he was sincere and humble. His faith was as genuine as his person. There was only one Richard Weingart.

Having truly loved the cross and meditated upon it in his scholarly endeavors, he has now walked past Calvary. Beyond our earthly sight, the radiance of life eternal now surrounds him.

Lord, grant us the renewal of such faith that we, too, may look up to what we cannot see, and walk humbly with perseverance until we shall be one with Thee and reunited with our loved ones.

E. G.

As the Faculty of this Divinity School lament the loss of this beloved student and worthy Christian man to the cause of enlightened teaching and devoted research in both Christian thought and life, so they convey to Mrs. (Richard E.) Weingart and daughter Karen, through the kind offices of President Gettemy, their word of deep sorrow and sympathy. They do so with thanksgiving for the life that was lived and the Life that is to come through Jesus Christ, our Lord.

Robert E. Cushman, Dean

(For the Faculty of Duke University
Divinity School, and by its explicit
adoption, September 25, 1968)

LOOKS
at
BOOKS

Creation Versus Chaos: The Reinterpretation of Mythical Symbolism in the Bible. Bernhard W. Anderson. Association. 1967. 192 pp. \$4.95.

Since the discovery and decipherment of ancient religious texts from Mesopotamia and Egypt the question of the relationship between the mythological thought of those texts and the religion of ancient Israel has been a crucial issue for Old Testament studies. A new stage in the discussion was opened with the discovery of Canaanite religious texts at Ras Shamra in the last forty years. The questions posed by these texts are: To what extent was the faith of ancient Israel influenced by the mythopoeic thought of the religions surrounding her? How did Israel respond to the other religions of the ancient Near East?

Bernhard W. Anderson has focused his attention on these issues at the point where the biblical motif of creation is touched by the ancient Near Eastern motif of the conflict between creation and chaos. Concentrating on these points he is able to raise a broad range of questions concerning the relationship between biblical thought and mythology. In five chapters he discusses creation and history, creation and covenant, creation and worship, creation and consummation (eschatology), and creation and conflict. The conclusions are summarized in an Epilogue and a useful bibliography lists some of the most important works on biblical thought and ancient Near Eastern mythology.

In the first chapter, "Creation and History," Anderson rightly points out that the basic point of contrast between the biblical faith and that of

other Near Eastern religions is that in the latter true being is perceived as timeless, and man is brought into contact with Ultimate Reality when history is abolished and the timeless drama of creation is reactualized in the cult, while in biblical faith the reality of God is perceived in the individual, always unique events of history themselves. (The idea that the most important distinction between the two is in terms of polytheism and monotheism has long been surpassed.) Consequently, when ancient Israel began to reflect on creation, even the first of all events is seen as historical, though the biblical stories draw to some extent upon the language of the non-biblical cosmogonies.

Anderson's basic intention is "to show how the biblical writers appropriated the motif of the conflict between the Creator and the powers of chaos from the religions of the ancient Near East; they radically reinterpreted the motif, however, so that it is now used poetically in the Scriptures to express a dramatic conflict in which man's existence is at stake." (p. 8) It is true that biblical writers appropriated the motif and reinterpreted it, but this and other summary statements tend to minimize the profound struggle between biblical and extra-biblical thought as well as the depth of the influence of the latter on the former. There was, for example, a deep-rooted tension in Ancient Israel between the historical symbols and mythical thought in the cult. Typical of ancient Near Eastern religions was the regular re-enactment of the mythical events at the appropriate points in the cultic calendar. Israel, too, had a cultic calendar and recurring festivals at which, among other things, the history of Yahweh's

salvation was remembered. The difference between Israel and her neighbors is that Israel *remembered* (not re-enacted) the individual events of her *history* (not timeless, mythical dramas). Nevertheless, especially in the cult itself Israel struggled with the mythical view of reality, and seems at points to have used the mythical symbols as more than "metaphorical language." In the body of the work, Anderson points to the deep struggle in ancient Israel between these forms of thought and to the Old Testament's use of mythical symbols as more than metaphorical (cf. p. 104), but in his summary statements he stresses the metaphorical character of mythological imagery (cf. pp. 8, 90).

Anderson's pattern in each chapter is to establish the problem (and to observe how it is a problem for modern man), to present the ancient Near Eastern material bearing on the issue, and then to assess the biblical use of the motifs in question. In the chapter on Creation and Covenant he points out that creation is a motif which is secondary to other motifs, such as the covenant motif, and stresses the importance of the dynasty of David and the Jerusalem temple in the fusion of the creation faith with the covenant faith. In the chapter on Creation and Worship he focuses especially on the use of the creation motif in the Psalms. In the chapter on Creation and Consummation he points out how first and last things are linked, not only in mythical thought, but in the Bible as well. The chapter takes up the thought of II Isaiah and then examines the mythical struggle between God and the powers of evil, especially in terms of the myth of Satan.

This little book, which originated as a series of lectures, brings together a great deal of primary and secondary material on a question of great importance and—as Anderson points out—contemporary significance. It is a lucid, highly exciting introduction to

the biblical motif of creation and chaos.

Gene M. Tucker

The Pre-existence of Christ in the New Testament. Fred B. Craddock. Abingdon. 1968. 192 pp. \$4.50.

Craddock has written a worthwhile, interesting, and theologically informed study of the concept of the pre-existence of Christ in the New Testament, based in part on a Vanderbilt Ph.D. dissertation on the Christological hymn in Colossians 1:15-20.

The book begins with a brief introduction, in which the problem of presenting and understanding the concept of pre-existence is discussed and defined. Craddock concludes that his purpose must be to perceive and interpret the function of the concept in the ancient sources. It will not do to "explain" the New Testament idea of pre-existence and its application to Jesus Christ by referring to the appearance of the concept in Jewish or Hellenistic sources. Such a procedure affords no real explanation, for the question of the function of the category within such sources remains.

In the first major chapter Craddock treats the concept of pre-existence in materials generally agreed to constitute the background of the New Testament. He deals with Sophia in the Wisdom literature of Judaism, the Logos in Philo, the Son of Man of I Enoch, the pre-existence of the Torah in the rabbis, the Logos doctrine of Stoicism, and the various pre-existent entities of Gnostic mythology, concluding that the use of the category of pre-existence has a lot to do with man's ability to entertain the notion of transcendence and that it becomes especially prominent wherever men feel alienated from the world in which they live. Moreover, the conceptualizing of pre-existence is likely to be correlated with the manner in which such alienation is experienced.

Chapter 2, "New Testament Affirmations of the Pre-existence of Christ," presents and interprets the concept as it appears in Paul (esp. I Cor. 8:5-6; Col. 1:15-20; II Cor. 8:9; and Phil. 2:5-11), the Fourth Gospel (esp. 1:1-18, but also elsewhere), Hebrews (esp. 1:1-4), and the Apocalypse. He concludes that as the concept of pre-existence in Hellenistic and Jewish sources is formed in relation to an attitude with respect to man's existence in the world, so the ascriptions of pre-existence to Christ are formulated in answer to certain very specific problems. Yet there are important distinctive elements of the New Testament use of the notion, including the obvious one that it is applied to Christ alone. Additionally, it characteristically functions to unite creation and redemption in Christ, so that no Gnostic condemnation of this world is either expressed or implied. Finally, the role of the pre-existent Christ never cancels out the importance of his historical existence.

This last point is underscored in the final chapter, in which the author deals with the possible relevance or irrelevance of pre-existence as a way of understanding and presenting the meaning and significance of Christ. "All the meaning about the essential and ultimately real nature of life which the category of pre-existence conveys is found, realized, and expressed within [Jesus'] historical existence." (p. 162) The New Testament church allowed neither the pre-existent Christ nor the risen Christ to drive the reality of the historical Jesus from the center of the stage. According to Craddock, we are today faced with the opposite danger, namely, that the dimension of the reality of Christ represented by the category of pre-existence may be lost. Against such trends in contemporary theology, he asks that Christ's pre-existence be taken seriously, if not literally.

D. Moody Smith

The Burning Heart: John Wesley, Evangelist. A. Skevington Wood. Eerdmans. 1968. 302 pp. \$4.95.

The blurb on the psychedelic jacket of this volume terms it "a fascinating and compelling biography of the man who has been called 'the greatest force of the eighteenth century'." We cannot go as far as that. For one thing, this is not a biography, but a series of studies in a biographical setting. There is too much quotation from secondary authorities, too much clogging of the narrative with points having little relevance to the main argument, nor is the style sufficiently lucid and flowing as to make it a "compelling" work. Nevertheless this is a valuable book which makes a genuine contribution to the literature about John Wesley.

As the author points out, Wesley is best known as an evangelist, and every biography touches on this aspect of his work, yet there has been little attempt to analyze his evangelism. This is the purpose of the present volume, which is divided into three parts: "The Making of an Evangelist," "The Mission of an Evangelist," and "The Message of an Evangelist." The six chapters of Part I cover familiar biographical ground, bringing Wesley to the beginnings of his mission in England after the heart-warming of 1738. (Dr. Wood makes a strong plea for the unequivocal use of the word "conversion," and there is much to be said for his argument.) Part II takes up from this point, with a survey of his evangelistic practices throughout the remainder of his ministry. Although there is some attempt to maintain a chronological sequence this is much more topical in character, dealing in separate chapters with various aspects of his mission, such as his preaching-stations, his congregations, his experiences with mobs, his converts, his formation of societies, and his eventual widespread public acceptance. These twelve chapters

constitute probably the strongest section of the book, embodying much fruitful original research. Part II, of course, summarizes the content of Wesley's preaching. The more original of these seven chapters are XIX and XXV, the first describing Wesley's use of the Bible, and the last stressing the strong note of judgment in Wesley's message, as well as touching on his eschatology in general.

This is a book by a preacher about a preacher, and the chapter-headings betray a little of the preacher's gimmickry; each is a phrase from the Wesley quotation prefixed to that same chapter. As with most gimmicks, this presents important values as well as inherent dangers; the twenty-five chapter-headings make an interesting array on the contents pages, in some instances furnishing a clear clue to the chapter's theme, in others an invitation to guesswork. Of more doubtful value (in this reviewer's opinion) is the tendency to moralize in a work whose major purpose is to seek and present historical truth, though the author does indeed offer the book as a "small contribution to the contemporary ecumenical dialogue," and the blurb notes that he "applies the lessons of Wesley's example to the needs of the present day, and demonstrates that Wesley's task is ours as well."

Inevitably there are a few errors, such as the statement that Charles Delamotte was a member of the Holy Club, and the presentation on pp. 52-54 of the lengthy letter of Charles Wesley's as if it were by John, as was indeed thought when it was first published. (Wesley Historical Society *Proceedings* Vol. XXV, pp. 17-20; but cf. pp. 97-102). The book contains a useful classified bibliography, and indexes of names, places, and subjects.

Frank Baker

American Theology in the Liberal Tradition. Lloyd J. Averill. Westminster. 1967. 169 pp. \$4.50.

One special value of this ambitious little book is its confessional character. It represents one man's thoughtful, critical examination of his theological pedigree in light of its past, its present, and its anticipated future. Since that pedigree is the liberal tradition in which many of the graduates of the Divinity School were nurtured, numbers who read the book will discover that Lloyd Averill, Vice-President and Dean of the Chapel, Kalamazoo College, has done their homework for them. This is particularly true for those of us who received our theology as we did our mother's milk. At the least we can be grateful for our early nourishment and take the time to consider appreciatively the source(s) of our benefaction. Averill's study, undertaken as an act of filial gratitude for "a faith untrammelled by doctrinal defensiveness and parochialism," assists us to meet that minimal obligation. Averill's own spiritual pilgrimage took ("rescued") him from conservative Baptist influence to the vision and passion of the liberal tradition. Now after the interval of years in which a "criticized" and "chastened" liberalism has gone into eclipse, Averill affirms that he has modified but not abandoned the faith which flowered in the period between Newman Smyth's *Old Faiths in New Light* (1879) and Walter Rauschenbusch's *A Theology for the Social Gospel* (1917). (There is no substitute for hindsight. Some of us who graced the halls of the Divinity School in the years between the great wars may be excused for our failure to recognize that in theology we were studying a cadaver.)

In his first and last chapters dealing with "The Shape of Things Present" and the "Shape of Things to Come" Averill finds evidence for the recovery of a liberalism "modified" but "in continuity" with the past tradition, and contends for its vitality and relevance in the emergent new human situation. In the chapters between

there is provided an historical and analytical study of the origin and development of liberalism with special attention to its variant character. Of special helpfulness to the reader is the bibliographical guidance furnished, generously documented with illustrative material from the primary sources.

In his delineation of the distinguishing features of the liberal tradition Averill is not impervious to its defects, such as the lack of an "explicit theory of revelation." Still, this reviewer could have wished that he had been as sensitive to the criticism of neo-fundamentalism and conservative, evangelical Christianity as he was to that of neo-orthodoxy.

All in all, *American Theology in the Liberal Tradition* is a valuable guide to show the student the road over which liberalism has traveled: its points of origin, its itinerary, and the problematical nature of the terrain ahead.

Barney L. Jones

From Sacred to Profane America: The Role of Religion in American History. William A. Clebsch. Harper & Row. 1968. 242 pp. \$5.95.

Two of the several virtues of William A. Clebsch's *From Sacred to Profane America* are the clarity with which the author communicates his thesis and the cogency with which he states his case. In addition, Clebsch writes with passing grace, and it is, therefore, a joy to read after him, quite apart from the dividends here available for the student of national culture.

Professor Clebsch argues that the peculiar combination of vision and faith known as the American dream was created by and in the religious milieu, but realized (to whatever measure the dream did come to life) only and always beyond the boundaries of institutional religion and outside the sphere of the sacred. The pattern he describes is simple, and frightening:

need—campaign—success—failure. Sensitive to a problem or possibility of the times, religion addresses itself to the business at hand and succeeds so well that society is inspired as well as involved and takes over the task and, inevitably, profanes the sacred endeavor. For example, religious sponsorship stimulated the nation to establish an educational system which moved steadily toward free inquiry into the very assumptions upon which it was founded. Religion indeed deserves the credit for fostering the university in America, but in the course of doing so she also released energies which by discussion and experimentation desanctified the knowledge whose sacred character religion had sought to protect. A similar pattern of society's ironic frustration of the religious dream through a fulfillment of hopes outside the temple walls appears as Clebsch traces and interprets the history of American religion in the spirit of novelty in search of a new era, the attempt to establish an egalitarian society, the effort to secure a prudential morality as the basis of manners and welfare, a desire for a nationality unlike any before, and the acceptance of pluralism as necessary if not desirable. Clebsch thus maintains continuity between contemporary America and the religious tradition, acknowledging culture's debt to religion while carefully describing the metamorphosis that has occurred. "The cultural pluralism of America which pluralistic religion helped bring into being is in principle accomplished. The success can be called thoroughly profane, with the important reservation that one of the many cities in which American life is lived is the religious city. This culture allows no City of God to rule, much less chiefly to inspire, all its many cities of man. Notwithstanding, for religion to remain one of many cities is to be, if not *the* City of God, at least *one* city of man."

Stuart C. Henry

SNOWBOUND

Thickly they fall on each December day:
the Christmas cards,
the Holiday greetings.

Multicolored snowfall, predictable annually,
filling postal sacks,
covering stands and tables—
a shovel would be helpful.

Flakes of many sizes, tastes, and prices,
with art of all descriptions
and sentiments old and true, new and trite—
and names;
telling more than what they mean to say—
and less.

Emblems of Christians' half-believed convictions:
the birth of God in stable-cave
(the God who now is dead needs once to have been born);
all hail his birth!
(If only it were so!)

Or bearing symbols from a pagan past
when holly, evergreen, and burning logs
in depth of winter death and darkness signified
an order, meaning, hope
to Nature's wisest child.

Some carry frivolous forms of fancy
cherished since faith in all but childhood fairies faded:
Santa, elves, dear deer,
and cherub choirs.

What do these mean? Is man forever prisoner
of symbols long ago conceived
but never fully understood?
And shall we ever know to what these symbols point?
Is there indeed an Absolute, a Goal?
Is it for man to make, become, or find?

One thing at least is clear:
tokens they are of human friendship, true and partly true:
testimony to man's need to join himself to others
caught in the same predicament;
to hold to those who once were close
and now are far, but bound
by fragile thread of poignant, fading memory
at Christmastide.
(Are we still on *their* list this year?)

Yes, let the greetings come and bury us
in their colored, various accumulation!
Whatever else may be unsure
there is no doubt but that December snow will fall,
and we shall be snowbound
as in the other years.

Mac Linscott Ricketts

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