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RELIGION In The Making

VOLUME II

NOVEMBER, 1941

No. 1

CREATIVE RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

By William Clayton Bower

THE TWO HUMANISMS

By Roger Hazelton

PROTESTANT WORSHIP AND THE
LORD'S SUPPER

By Massey Hamilton Shepherd, Jr.

ARE THE EXORCISMS OF JESUS FOLKLORE?

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CHRISTIANITY AND CULTURAL EVOLUTION

By Shirley Jackson Case

FLORIDA SCHOOL OF RELIGION, LAKELAND, FLA.

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Shirley Jackson Case, Editor

Religion in the Making is published four times a year, in May, November, January and March. It is sponsored by the Florida School of Religion and edited by the dean of the School.

The subscription price is \$2.00 per year, or sixty cents per single issue. Remittances should be made by postal or express money orders or by check and made payable to the Florida School of Religion.

All communications, including business correspondence, manuscripts, exchanges, and books submitted for review should be addressed to Shirley Jackson Case, Editor, Florida School of Religion, Lakeland, Florida.

Published by the Florida School of Religion, Box 146 Florida Southern College, Lakeland, Florida, four times a year, May 15, November 15, January 15, and March 15. Entered as second class matter at the Post Office, Lakeland, Florida.

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ANNOUNCEMENT

With this issue *Religion in the Making* enters upon its second year. We have become convinced that it has a real mission to perform. The hearty reception accorded it during the first year far exceeded our fondest expectations. Within a few months the first number was out of print. Consequently many new subscribers have been unable to secure the first issue. This fact we sincerely regret and as slight compensation we added a fifth complimentary number for our first-year subscribers. Henceforth the new subscription year will begin in November instead of May.

Evidently we were not mistaken in supposing that there was a place for a new quarterly religious journal designed for thoughtful readers who desired to keep abreast of the times in the changing world of today. It has not been our purpose to exhibit the technical processes of research but to present the constructive findings that are emerging in the various fields of religious thinking and activity. We have no desire to be propagandists for any particular interest. Rather, our aim is to be informative. Each of our writers speaks for himself untrammelled by any orders from us. In this respect we represent a truly democratic temper and seek to widen the range of our readers' observation to cover different aspects of present-day religious growth.

The selected list of books reviewed in each issue aims to inform readers about the content and character of recent publications. With this information in hand one knows what is being said and whether or not one desires to procure a book for more intensive reading.

Now we solicit subscription renewals for the second year. The subscription price remains the same as before. It is \$2.00 per year, or sixty cents for a single copy. One may remit by personal check or Post Office Order, made payable to the Florida School of Religion, Box 146, Florida Southern College, Lakeland, Florida.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

William Clayton Bower, who is Professor of Religious Education and Chairman of the Field of Practical Christianity in the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, has been for several years one of our foremost authorities in this area of interest. His numerous books published during the last quarter-century are recognized as standards of authority.

Roger Hazelton has been Dean of the Chapel and Professor of Religion at Colorado College since 1939. Previously he was Tutor in Religion at Olivet College in Michigan. He attended Amherst College, the Chicago Theological Seminary, and the University of Chicago from which he received the A. M. degree in 1934. He then obtained the Ph. D. degree at Yale in 1936. He has contributed articles to *Christendom*, the *Journal of Philosophy*, *Ethics*, and the *Philosophical Review*.

Massey Hamilton Shepherd, Jr., is at present a member of the faculty of the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, Mass. Formerly he was an instructor in the Divinity School of the University of Chicago, where he obtained the Ph. D. degree in 1937. His articles have appeared in the *Anglican Theological Review*, the *Journal of Religion*, and in other scholarly publications.

S. Vernon McCasland has been John B. Cary Professor of Religion at the University of Virginia since 1939. During the preceding decade he had been Professor and Chairman of the Department of Religion in Goucher College. In 1937-38 he was annual professor at the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem. He received the Ph. D. degree from the University of Chicago in 1926 and the next year was German-American exchange student at the universities of Marburg, Munster and Berlin. His book on the *Resurrection of Jesus* appeared in 1932, and he has published numerous scholarly articles in different periodicals.

CREATIVE RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

By William Clayton Bower
University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

In order to understand the changes that have taken place in religious education during the last quarter of a century it is necessary to know what the modern religious educator is seeking to accomplish. Since the beginning of the century, he has shared with progressive educators a growing misgiving as to the traditional views of the nature and ends of education and as to the procedures employed. These misgivings had their source in an increasing dissatisfaction with the results, both in individual persons and in society, of the forms of education inherited from the past. The twentieth century was moving into a new attitude toward man's relation to his world—an attitude that had its roots in the Renaissance of the thirteenth century. This maturing attitude had gradually shifted attention from the past with its inherited structures of thought and action to the present with its opening possibilities the realization of which lies within the future. The philosophy and practice of education had been formulated under social conditions that set the supreme value upon the recovery and reproduction of the past as normative for the present. The emergent interest in the possibilities of personal and social living called for a new philosophy of education and a new procedure that would enable society to re-examine its assumptions, explore the possibilities of its present experience, and proceed creatively to bring these possibilities to realization in new forms of thought and action.

Roughly speaking, it may be said that the education which the twentieth century inherited subsumed under three general types, each with its distinctive philosophy, its content, and its procedure. One was the disciplinary conception of education. It is very old—as old as education itself. It grew out of the conflict between the organized

thought and habits of the mature generation and the fresh experience and spontaneous impulses of the newly born. It was conceived to be the function of education to mold the young into the authoritative patterns of behavior and into the institutions inherited from the past. The fresh impulses of youth pressing against the barriers of tradition were looked upon with suspicion. Human nature as it renewed itself in the child was distrusted as innately evil and to be curbed or broken by discipline. In religious education this distrust was deepened and darkened by the doctrine of original sin. As a regimenting procedure, the content of disciplinary education was narrow and formal and prescribed. Its method was that of habit-formation. Its appeal was to the capacities of respect for authority, conformity, obedience, self-renunciation. The method employed is better fitted to animal than human intelligence and is the one consistently used in subjecting animals to the will of man, either in domesticating them or in training them to perform in the circus. It is recently being employed on an immense human scale in the totalitarian states.

A second type was the transmissive concept of education. It conceives the function of education to be the recovery and reproduction of the great traditions of society, literary, scientific, philosophical, aesthetic, technological, moral, historical and religious. It regarded the mind as a blank and as plastic, to be formed from without by the presentation of subject-matter selected from the great traditions. Like the disciplinary concept, in its earlier forms it was manipulative and external. With the rapid growth of knowledge under the influence of the scientific method, greater and greater emphasis has been placed upon knowledge. The content of education under this view is, therefore, the organized body of human knowledge accumulated through the centuries. In more recent years, the growing volume and complexity of knowledge has become so great that it is no longer possible for any one person to master all that is to be known. Out of this dif-

ficuity grew the elective system, which because of its fragmentary results, gave place to the organization of fields of knowledge and specialization. In religious education this idea of education placed emphasis upon the Christian tradition, especially upon the Bible, the heritage of Christian belief, and the development of the church as a divine institution. The effective method for this type of education was instruction which was reduced to a smooth technique in the five formal steps of teaching by the Herbartians. As in the case of disciplinary education, the burden of education under education as transmission rested primarily upon the teacher. It made use of the receptive, assimilative, and passive capacities of the learner. Being dominated by tradition, education could not be other than backward-looking and authoritative.

The third type in the educational inheritance of the twentieth century was the concept of education as recapitulation. It had a brief but enthusiastic vogue in this country. It was one of the outcomes of the influence of the doctrine of evolution upon education. It resulted from the confluence of the ideas of the evolution of the race, of the individual organism, and of culture. According to this view, as the human being in its prenatal stages recapitulated the prehuman biological development of the race, so in its development after birth it recapitulated the epochs in the cultural development of the race. The order of the appearance and flowering of the instincts and interests was set by heredity, and the proper materials for the stimulation and guidance of these interests were the culture products of the epochs of human evolution. Notwithstanding its great contribution in focusing attention upon the human organism as the chief concern of education and upon growth as the basic method of education, it, like the disciplinary and transmissive types, was under the domination of the past—in this instance not through precedent or tradition, but heredity.

The reactions from these inherited conceptions of the nature, ends, and methods of education since the begin-

ning of the century have been profound. Religious educators share in the conviction of progressive educators that it is not the function of education to mold the young into the behavior patterns and thought-forms of the past or to recover and transmit the end-products of past experience in the form of the great traditions. It is, rather, the function of education to assist growing persons to achieve the most intelligent and effective interaction with their real and present world, with the help of the resources of the funded experience of the past, with its rich content of insights, values, techniques, and institutional arrangements. The focus of attention of the modern educator is upon the living present as the existential moment in history, where history is in the making, and where human life in its personal and social aspects takes on new directions. Within the range of the present situation, his attention is fixed upon the possibilities that are resident in it and particularly upon the effect of their out-working upon the future. This is why creative education is concerned with developing attitudes of constructive criticism regarding the existing modes of thought and life and with the conscious and intentional improvement of the conditions of human life through the processes of social reconstruction.

Within this larger framework of current educational thought, the religious educator is concerned with assisting growing persons to achieve a vital religious experience of life. This means for him that religion is not a compartmentalized experience set off from the rest of life, but a quality that potentially attaches to every phase of living—intellectual, economic, political, vocational, aesthetic, moral, social. What the religious educator is seeking to do is to bring religion into vital and functional relation to personal and social experience in its entire dimension. He has become convinced that there is no guarantee that anything religiously significant has happened when biblical knowledge has been taught by instructional methods, when information concerning the

history of Christian thought or the development of the church has been mastered, or the routine of ceremonial acts has been performed. What is more likely to happen is that the literature of the Bible, history, and liturgy will be substituted for a vital religious experience, or that religious instruction will end in verbalizing about religion rather than in the reconstruction of life in terms of religious values.

The achievement of a creative religious experience of life involves, however, much more than dealing with the isolated individual. Religion is a social fact, both in its origin and nature. It is a phase of a people's total culture. It finds expression in man's collective life as it does in his personal life—as a quality that is diffused throughout every aspect of his common life. Moreover, it is an insight of social psychology that the individual develops in interaction with society. It is from considerations such as these that the modern emphasis upon the social implications of religion have arisen. In religious education this has extended the objectives of the religious educator far beyond the assisting of individual persons to achieve a religious personality, to the building of a fellowship that is the church and to the reconstruction of the processes that constitute society in the light of religious ideals and purposes. Nor do these objectives move in separate planes of educational endeavor. They are reciprocally and inseparably interrelated phases of an undifferentiated educational process. No program of religious education can be considered complete educationally or religiously until it has eventuated in effective action—in the actual reconstruction of one's own personal religious life, of the fellowship that is the church, or of society. Modern religious education denies that the end of the educative process is a complete and clear idea. The achievement of an adequate idea is but the beginning of creative education; its consummation is the effective functioning of the idea in the redirection of a complete act. Moreover, one arrives at the clarification and completion of ideas through their

actual use in managing experience. Ideas have their origin in experience; they undergo modification and validation through their functional use in experience. This also is the way in which values arise and find their fulfilment, as do techniques and institutions.

These are the backgrounds of the religious educator's concern during recent years regarding curriculum and method, as well as the organization of religious education. They explain why he has been chiefly occupied with a re-examination of the basic assumptions regarding education and religion, with the formulation of a philosophy to support and guide his work, and with experiments in new types of curriculum and method.

The foundation of the modern theory of religious education rests upon an analysis of experience and of the functional relation of religion to it. One of the most fruitful insights of contemporary social psychology is that persons become what they are at the various stages of their development through the experience which they have. The way, therefore, into the control of the process of personal becoming through educational guidance is through an analysis of the structure of experience and the factors that determine its nature. Upon the nature of experience depend both the curriculum and method.

When experience is subjected to analysis it is seen to be the outcome of man's interaction with his objective world. It is not, as has often been supposed, the result of the pressures of environmental factors, on the one hand, or, as has often been supposed, of the internal growth of the organism, on the other hand. Human experience arises at the point where the live human being and the dynamic objective world interact with each other. Their action upon each other is reciprocal, and results in change in both. The live human being is born with impulses and needs which cause him to assume an active, outreaching, and controlling attitude toward the various aspects of his world. In attempting to satisfy these impulses and needs desires arise in the self and values attach to ends

in the objective world. The objective world is manifold and complex. It consists of the physical environment, other human beings, social behaviors and institutions, the traditions of culture, and values, all with cosmic implications. It, too, is a dynamic process of becoming, in which continuity is indissolubly united with change.

When experience is further analyzed for its structure, it reveals a pattern which makes it possible for the educator to assist the person whom he is guiding to bring it under a measure of conscious and intentional control. Every experience has its beginning in an identifiable situation and its completion in some kind of a response made to the situation. This pattern is not, however, to be thought of as isolated or static. No situation is ever wholly unrelated to other situations. Neither is it possible to set a limit to the response as though it were fully completed. As the situation emerges out of a rich supporting context of experience, so the response has a way of continuing on in its consequences. So also the situation-response configuration is itself a process undergoing development. The situation undergoes change while the response is being made to it. Indeed, the response itself enters into the situation, resulting in what has been called a cyclical effect.

From the standpoint of functional and creative religious education based upon guided experience, the unit of the curriculum is a unit of experience. A functional curriculum consists of a selection of crucial experiences involving major aspects of the person's interaction with his physical, social, and cosmic world at the various levels of growth from early childhood through maturity to age, so arranged as to be sequential, cumulative, and comprehensive. Life situations differ greatly in their educational value. Some are quite trivial and recurrent and require for the most part only simple treatment. They can largely be left to take care of themselves. But others are crucial and extremely complex, involving major issues and far-reaching decisions. These involve not only one's personal

interests and needs, but the major issues of society. These are the ones to which the religious educator needs to give attention. It is not enough therefore, that the child's or youth's interests should be made the basis of an educational program. The child's interests and needs are set in the larger social context. There is something off-center in the concept of the "child-centered" school. Education involves more than the interests of the child; it is at the same time a profound concern of culture itself and its principal means for interpreting and recreating itself.

This does not mean that a functional curriculum is lacking in content. There are two resources upon which the learner or the learning group may draw for the interpretation, evaluation, and resolution of these indeterminate situations. One is the learner's or the group's own past experience, with its mixed content of information, skills, prejudices, and errors. When it is perceived that this accumulation of personal past experience is a means of misreading and mishandling a situation as well as of managing it intelligently and effectively it is easy to believe that not enough has been made of this content of a learning situation. The other resource is the funded experience of the race through long centuries of living. Here are to be found the great traditions of religion—its sacred literature, its heritage of religious faith, its system of growing values, its developing insights into the nature of reality and of man, the rich inheritance of meanings and symbols, and the embodiment of religious ideals in great religious leaders. The difference between the place of this fund of historical experience in the subject-matter curriculum and the functional curriculum is that in the subject-matter curriculum subject-matter is directly "taught", chiefly as an end in itself, whereas in the functional curriculum it is used as a resource for the interpretation, judging, and resolving of the issues involved in current living. All the component elements of the religious tradition had their origin in their functional relation to the once-present experience of the religious community in its

interaction with the actual and concrete situations which it faced with the same uncertainty as we face our own. The Bible, the theology, the creeds, ceremonials, the church—all these are the outgrowth of the religious experience of the ancient Hebrew and early Christian communities and their successors. They are the end-products of past religious living. They are alive and have meaning only when viewed in their functional relation to the experience out of which they grew. It is when divorced from the living experience that gave them birth that they lose their meaning and become inert. It is because they were part of the living tissue of life in the past that these traditions again become living when they re-enter our own contemporary experience as resources for understanding and directing them toward genuinely religious outcomes. The fundamental difference between the subject-matter and the functional curriculum is that the subject-matter curriculum starts with historical subject-matter and, at its best, seeks ways in which it may be "applied" to current living, whereas the functional curriculum starts with the actual life situations of living persons and groups and utilizes the funded experience of the past in resolving them in terms of enduring spiritual values and ideals.

For the same reason, a functional religious education calls for a creative method in dealing with experience. Such a method rests upon an analysis of the way in which an indeterminate situation is resolved by the use of critical intelligence, discriminating choice, and effective executive action. In this the creative method differs markedly from habit-formation, indoctrination, or instruction. It is the method of inquiry, of search, of experimentation. It begins by bringing the situation clearly into consciousness and in clarifying the issues involved. It proceeds by analyzing the situation for its factors and for its possibilities. It searches the resources of historical experience as preserved in the great traditions for such relevant insights, standards, and techniques as may throw light upon the present situation and facilitate its resolu-

tion. It weighs the possible outcomes in the light of the inherited values of the past and of the demands of the present situation which are never quite the same as those of the past. Out of such analysis and weighing a choice is made among the possible outcomes. The chosen outcome is tried out experimentally. If the result is satisfactory the situation is resolved; if not, a new attack is made, a new alternative is chosen, and so on until the situation is satisfactorily resolved. As a result of weighing, judging, and choosing courses of action in order to achieve desired ends that are felt to be intrinsically worthwhile the emotions are aroused and appreciation is evoked. Appreciation in this way becomes as much an integral part of the learning process as are critical thinking and executive action. It is out of this actual experience of value that worship springs. It is out of such experience in the past that the symbols of religion have come and it is only as these values have been experienced in the process of living that the symbols which are their historic expression can be meaningful.

It will thus be seen that creative method in religious education has its beginning and its end in experience. As ideas and values have their origin in experience, so they reach their fulfilment only as they re-enter experience as factors of interpretation and control. The burden of learning has shifted from the teacher to the growing person who has been brought from a passive into an active relation to learning as growth, as inquiry, and as achievement rather than as an external and superimposed result. Its motivation lies deep in disciplined desire and its end is commitment to that which is felt to be supremely worthwhile. Such creative learning is oriented, not to the precedents of the past, but to the possibilities of the future. Through it religious ideals and values are brought into functioning relation to the living process, and religion becomes a vital experience.

It was to be expected that in its reaction from a transmissive, external, authoritative, and backward-looking re-

religious education creative religious education in seeking to redress the imbalance should temporarily overstress certain values and neglect others. Undoubtedly there was overemphasis upon ephemeral interests of the child at the expense of the long-time values and needs of culture. An extreme emphasis upon the present led to an undervaluation of historical experience and tradition. The stressing of life-situations as units of learning led to a certain degree of atomism, though it was never greater than that of a subject-matter curriculum with its specious logical unity. Revolt against the pressures of social authority led to an unwarranted initial individualism. These over-emphases are the normal expressions of reaction which tends initially to be as extreme as that which the reaction sought to rectify. There are evidences that modern religious education is seeking to achieve a synthesis of the new values it has won and the abiding values that were resident in the traditional types of education. Knowledge is indispensable in any intelligent ordering of life; but it is functionally useful knowledge rather than knowledge as an end in itself. A stable and effective life is impossible without discipline; but it is not discipline imposed from without but self-discipline of an even more rigorous sort involved in every form of social co-operation. Growth is the essence of education; but it is not a growth whose patterns are set by the irrevocable forces of heredity, but growth that springs from the interaction of the live human being with a dynamic world, both in process of becoming.

Creative Christian education takes place at the growing edge of Christianity where Christianity is in the making. It is here in the living present that tradition and creativity meet. Too often these have been felt to be in irreconcilable conflict. Actually, they belong inseparably to each other as phases of the historical process. The present is the outgrowth of the past, as the future will in turn grow out of the present. Here continuity and change are inseparably united in an ongoing social movement. In

the experience of living men and women face to face with the issues of the changed and changing modern world Christian concepts and values that had their origin under cultural conditions quite other than our own are subjected to re-examination and reinterpretation. In this testing of historical experience under new and different social demands those elements of the Christian faith that are enduring are sifted out from the context of temporary and datable circumstances. They live again in their functioning in the support and the enhancement of the spiritual life of the contemporary Christian community. So our conceptions of the nature of God and man and their relation to each other that seem so convincing to us under the conditions of our scientific and social world will be subjected to the same process of re-examination and selection by those who will come after us in a world that in its mental outlook and social needs will be very different from our own. The great historic creeds as well as the operative systems of beliefs are the records of the changing and growing faith of the Christian community through many generations and the changing conditions of the centuries.

But at this growing edge of Christianity in the living present not only are the concepts and values of the Christian tradition re-examined, tested, and sifted; Christianity as a growing movement is taking on new qualities and new directions. This has been true of Christianity in the great moments of its development in response to new conditions and new demands, as in the first century when its center was shifted from Jewish to gentile soil and in the Reformation as a phase of the Renaissance. History demonstrates that the experience of twenty centuries has not been sufficiently ample and complex to exhaust the resources of Christianity. The capacity of Christianity to respond to new intellectual and social demands seems to justify the expectation that the extremely complex and difficult situations of the contemporary world will bring to light new potentialities of

the Christian movement heretofore unsuspected. But the Christianity of the epoch before us will be like the Christianity in all of its other great creative epochs—it will be a Christianity that is continuous with its historic past, but at the same time a reformulated Christianity.

It is because creative religious education works at this growing edge of operative Christianity where the great traditions of Christianity are put to functional use in the interpretation, evaluation, and redirecting of present Christian experience that it is brought into immediate and fundamental relations with theology. It has been the habit of not a few religious educators to belittle theology. This is a superficial and mistaken attitude though not difficult to understand. Much of traditional theology, like much of traditional philosophy, has been a rationalization of social behavior irrationally determined—a legitimization of the *status quo*. The speculations of metaphysical theology seem to be so remote from the actual processes of life and culture that they confuse and retard rather than facilitate man's interaction with his real and present world. In so far as this is true much of *a priori*, traditional theology is useless for educational purposes.

A more considered view, however, shows that religious education and theology are closely interrelated. The philosophy, content, and procedure of religious education are conditioned by the theological assumptions upon which they rest. A religious education that rests upon the theological assumptions, be they traditional or neo-orthodox, of a supernaturally revealed and authoritative body of static truth, of a depraved human nature, of God's action as an invasion of the temporal by the eternal, of grace as contravening the known processes of growth—such a religious education will conform to the transmissive and disciplinary patterns of education described in the early paragraphs of this discussion. If, on the other hand, the religious educator thinks of God and man as in reciprocal relations, seeking and finding each other at the point of man's interaction with his objective world, if he

thinks of truths as growing insights into reality to be modified, enriched and extended by fresh experience, if he views man with self-respect and dignity as evolving toward ever higher levels of intellectual and spiritual capacity, if instead of inflexible absolutes he grounds his life upon growing values that have been validated by millenniums of human living, if he is convinced that in creativity man most nearly comes into mutual fellowship with God—if these are the substance of his Christian faith he will ground his educational philosophy upon the present moment in personal and social experience where human life is reproducing and recreating itself and where he believes that God is as creatively at work as in any period in history. He will trust that experience as capable of carrying the load of education more adequately than the past can do. He will endeavor to assist the growing person and the learning group to bring to bear upon the living issues of that experience the highest capacities of the human spirit—critical intelligence, discriminating judgment, and a dedicated purpose to realize in the concrete terms of human relations the values that live at the heart of Christianity. Thus he will lift religious education from the level of repetitive routine authoritatively imposed from without to an ennobling and creative achievement of a way of life consonant with man's dignity and destiny. Above all he will direct the attention of living persons to the frontiers of religious thought and life where God is still at work creating a realm of good where life may be lived and lived abundantly.

The religious educator is, therefore, not only dependent upon theology as a ground for his work. Because creative religious education is concerned with the actual functioning of Christian concepts and values in contemporary experience where historic Christianity is recreating itself, it has much to contribute to theology. Religious education is concerned with the operative aspects of religious concepts, values, and symbols. Theology, on the other hand, is concerned with the interpretation and formulation of

these products of Christian experience. Theology has more to learn from the functioning of these expressions of Christian experience than from their formal structure. Other sciences have long since learned this in regard to their subject-matters. The productive focus both for theology as the interpretation and formulation of Christian faith and for religious education as the conscious and intentional organization of the operation of Christian convictions and purposes in the lives of growing persons and groups is at the existential point in historic Christianity—the living present—where religion is in the making.

THE TWO HUMANISMS

By Roger Hazelton

Colorado College

Colorado Springs, Colorado

"Humanism" has surely been a word to conjure with in contemporary thought. By and large its defenders and critics alike have considered its meaning to be a denial of faith in God and an assertion of the ethical autonomy—and often even the cosmic primacy—of man himself. The arbitrary and confusing ways in which the word has been used almost makes one despair of defining the term again and marking off the things it stands for. In the face of the mass of indecisive discussion about humanism one is tempted to give up impatiently the slow business of clarifying terms and resort to Humpty-Dumpty's advice about words: "Pay them extra and make them mean what you like."

As examples of only a few of the uses of the word we may remind ourselves of some of its American meanings. There is, or has been, a literary humanism urged by Babbitt, More, Foerster and others which has sought standards for literature and life, stressed the place of the "inner check" as against the dogma of self-expression, and exalted the aristocracy of the intellect. This formerly vigorous view has recently come under the fire both of the right and the left wings of current thought.¹ Marxist humanism, combining a world-view of dialectical materialism with a strategy of the class struggle and an apocalyptic of the classless society, stands at an opposite pole of meaning. A so-called "religious" humanism, much to the fore in the twenties, has lately been defended by such able thinkers as Burt and attacked by naturalistic and supernaturalistic theists alike.² It has defined God (where it uses the word at all) in terms of human values, equating religion with their practical and social realization. To these familiar brands must now be added the "integral" humanism of Maritain and Gilson, which is a program

for contemporary culture based on the thought-structure of Thomas Aquinas.³

It is this last, Catholic usage which poses a new problem for Christian thinkers. Theistic and Christian writers have generally sought rather to repudiate humanism out of hand than to come to terms with it. Their attack has been largely apologetic, setting up more or less traditional Christian presuppositions against those of humanist thought. It has seldom been a square facing of the questions humanism poses or a search for better answers to them than the humanist himself can give. David Roberts continues this line of attack in a recent article⁴ and Charles Hartshorne, though more sympathetic than Roberts to the humanist's questions, sets forth panpsychistic theism as a step "beyond humanism"⁵.

Now what the Catholic thinkers have done is to attempt to include humanism within the theocentric perspective and, by making a humanistic theism possible, to kill the views of atheists and non-theists with the kindness of a more adequate religious metaphysics. That this move has been possible from the Catholic position is due to the fact that, interestingly enough, Protestant thought has been moving away from philosophical understanding to theological affirmation, while Catholic thought on the other hand has been feeling toward a "Christian philosophy" capable of comprehending and winning over contemporary secular life.

The importance of this newer development is that the older antithesis between Christianity and humanism cannot longer be maintained without serious confusion, and that it now becomes possible to speak of this contrast as two kinds of humanism, one centered in man and the other centered in God. Perhaps a more accurate statement could be given by using the terms "non-theistic humanism" and "humanistic theism;" but the present discussion, concerned primarily with the fact that the latter view now sees the importance of accepting the challenge of humanism and meeting it so far as possible on its own ground, will speak

of the two humanisms, one of which tells us that man is "the highest type of individual in existence",⁶ and another which holds that man gains his worth from superior powers and values. The one says that man is alone in realizing his ideals, facing an indifferent nature on the one hand and a vacuum where God was formerly supposed to be on the other. The second humanism says that man finds meaning and purpose for his living only because he is upheld by a power not himself, at once great and good, which men have immemorially called God.

In spite of these basic differences, the two humanisms display a common pattern. First there is a realistic appraisal of man as he is, individually and socially; second, an urgent concern about the ways in which he ought to live; and finally a persistent effort to adjust the tension, in thought and practice alike, between what he is and what he ought to be. There are really only two root-questions at the bottom of humanism in this broader sense. They happen also to be ancient Biblical questions: "What is man?" and "What can a man do to be saved?" In so far as these questions are accepted, and answers to them sought, by thinkers of both groups, we are justified in calling both "humanistic."

No one can properly deny that this appraisal concern and effort have been the very substance of both secular and religious thought. But the impact of the present crisis has quite naturally led many to question the power and advantage of thinking itself. The practical failure of liberalism on many fronts, as well as the rebirth of dogmatic finality in political and theological practice, make the painstaking use of reason seem ineffective and frequently impossible. Thinking, even about the things that most nearly concern men's values and hopes, proceeds under a heavy cloud of suspicion. One needs to remind himself of two things: that thought worthy of the name arises out of real needs and stimulations; and that such thought must in turn be tested in the fire of practice and action. It is no accident that Augustine wrote *The City*

of *God* even while the very earthly city that was the Roman Empire crumbled and crackled before his agonized eyes; or that the most important work on ethics of recent times, that by Nicolai Hartmann, was begun in the trenches of the Eastern front during the first World War. Every love, every bereavement, every disappointment, makes philosophers and theologians out of us willy-nilly, and the placid sea of thought is fed continually by the warm and turbulent streams of common, earth-bound life. Nor is it accidental that millions of school children lead different lives because John Dewey writes, modifying the whole course of public education in the United States for several decades, and that John Locke's innocuous treatise on civil government becomes a corner-stone of the American constitution, to which legislators even yet refer with patriotic enthusiasm on special occasions. The point is well put by Irwin Edman:

The waves of a pebble of thought spread until they reach even the nitwits on the shores of action. There is nothing so remote or impractical in philosophical speculation that, granted only its genius and its insight, may not have infinite repercussions on practical life⁷.

If it be admitted, then, that such thinking as concerns the ways of man arises in and contributes to those ways themselves, and that we may fairly speak of both theistic and non-theistic thought as humanistic in so far as they seek answers to the questions "What is man?" and "What can a man do to be saved?", we are prepared to follow the issue between the two humanisms at closer range. We do so in the conviction already voiced by David Roberts: "No clarification of the theological issue is possible so long as humanism and the recent tendencies in doctrinal theology remain hermetically sealed off from each other."⁸ For this purpose we choose two representative American thinkers, each a decidedly influential spokesman for his point of view, Max Otto and Robert L. Calhoun.

II

The keynote of Max Otto's thought may be found in a passage in his earlier book, *Things and Ideals* (New York: Holt, 1924) which Walter Horton has called a classical expression of our first type of humanism:

It is thus a constructive social suggestion that we endeavor to give up, as the basis of our desire to win a satisfactory life, the quest for the companionship with a being behind or within the fleeting aspect of nature; that we assume the universe to be indifferent towards the human venture that means every thing to us; that we acknowledge ourselves to be adrift in infinite space on our little earth, the sole custodians of our ideals... accept the stern condition of being psychically alone in time and space, that we may then, with new zest, enter the warm valley of earthly existence—warm with human impulse, aspiration and affection, warm with the unconquerable thing called life; turn from the recognition of our cosmic isolation to a new sense of human togetherness, and so discover in a growing human solidarity, in a progressively ennobled humanity, in an increasing joy in living, the goal we have all along blindly sought, and build on earth the fair city we have looked for in a compensatory world beyond.⁹

These are courageous, humane, hopeful words. They contain the familiar double-headed insistence of the non-theistic humanist that we must give up the quest for God in or above nature as hopeless and transfer our allegiance to the unfinished business of improving the relations between men. This combination of atheistic naturalism and social idealism he calls, in his latest book, "realistic idealism".¹⁰ Only by ceasing to sing "Glory to God in the highest", Otto thinks, can we set about the important business of realizing "peace on earth, good will to men."

Since the issue about God is the diverging point of the two humanisms, we must get Otto's denial of God into sharper focus. In his *Conversation about God* held not a

decade ago with H. N. Wieman and D. C. Macintosh he accused the theists of having falsely divided the world into material and spiritual realms,—falsely, because the two are “coequal aspects of experienced reality.” He went on to say:

It is my conviction that the happiest and noblest life attainable by men and women is jeopardized by reliance upon a super-human, cosmic being for guidance and help... Reliance upon God for what life does not afford has, in my opinion, harmful consequences. It diverts attention from the specific conditions upon which a better or worse life depends; it leads men to regard themselves as spectators of a course of events which they in reality help to determine; it makes the highest human excellence consist in acquiescence in the supposed will of a being that is defined as not human...¹¹

One wonders, and can never be sure, if Otto's denial of belief in God arises because the belief is false or because it has “harmful consequences.” When he is talking about nature he gives the impression that his aversion is intellectual, because God's existence cannot be proved and seems in the face of the given indifference of nature to be most unlikely. But when he is speaking of man he is against belief in God because he thinks that men who believe in God tend to consider themselves helpless to change things and to look away from the things that need changing to the far-off being who, they fondly suppose, changes not. Belief in God, he holds, is not only an error of mind but a paralysis of the will; it cuts the nerve of action. Now it is clearly not the same thing to say that God does not exist because the facts are against the belief as it is to say that God ought not to exist because men's ideals will fail of realization if they look beyond themselves for the help men alone can give to one another. Mr. Otto, being a pragmatist, confuses the two.

Nevertheless he claims to be an atheist, which he says does not mean that he doubts whether God exists but that he affirms positively that God does not exist. Such an affirmation calls for proof, and Otto offers several reflections pointing in this direction. For one thing there is the undoubted fact that naturalism (the denial of God) has gained and theism has lost in power over men's lives, which seems to prove in a practical if not theoretical way that "in proportion as men have ceased to lean on God, they have not only learned to bend mechanical forces to good use and to control the physical conditions of human well-being, but they have opened up undreamed-of resources for the satisfaction of the noblest desires of which they are capable."¹² Or consider, he goes on to say, that much theism is crisis theism.¹³ When people are comfortable and happy they do not believe in God nearly so much as when they are miserable or shaken. Neither of these furnishes anything like genuine proof of God's non-existence. Otto comes nearer to such proof when he points to the non-moral character of the evolutionary process. We cannot presume to know of a far-off divine event to which the whole creation moves because we are in the middle of the business ourselves and can scarcely speak about the climax of a performance when we have witnessed only the opening scenes; nor can we see in human history any evidence of a power not ourselves siding with our ethical best. On the contrary, "there is no indication that anything or anyone superhuman is bent upon the triumph of humane or ethical principles." See what happened to Socrates and Jesus. Note the growing, festering power of wicked men, the death of the good and the defeat of the things for which they stood. In the face of all this "evidence" from nature and history, "the best we can in truth say for the cosmos is that up to date it has not prevented the human experiment from being tried. Anything more is too much."¹⁴

But even that, of course, is something. It may, strictly speaking, prove the existence, quite as convincingly as

the non-existence, of God. Otto honestly admits that he cannot prove cosmic atheism to be true but claims that the theist cannot prove his assertions either. The evidence sufficient to establish either view beyond doubt is lacking. He chooses for his part an "affirmative faith in the non-existence of God," because in the last analysis it is better not to believe in God so that you will be better able to take up arms against a sea of social troubles.

Waiving for the moment the feeling that Otto has disposed a bit too lightly of God, we come on to his view of man. What is man? The characteristic of human beings which sets them off from all other beings is that they are "intent upon making desired actualities out of imagined possibilities."¹⁵ Man, like other organisms, refuses "passively to accept the world in which he happened to occur," but unlike these his aggressiveness toward the environment is in the direction of an intelligent use of means to further his ends and a higher plane of general ethical consciousness. Otto is a "progressist" though not a shallow optimist; there are lights and shadows, losses and gains, in the picture of human advance, but it *is* an advance. Otto does not suppose, as did Ralph Adams Cram, that man has remained essentially at the Neolithic level. Man eludes all simple formulas and is a hopeless contradiction to logic. He is not only what he was but what he shall find the means of becoming. The conclusion, Otto tells us, must be "that man's nature cannot be exhausted in one stratum of existence."¹⁶ In fact for Otto man is just about what he is to the humanists who also believe in God.

And how shall man save himself, from what evils and for what end? The "spiritualizing tendency" observable throughout human history gives the clue to man's future advance. He must overcome the egocentric impulses which mark childish life in the individual and the race; he must wrestle effectively with the problems created by a general business-mindedness which places power and profit above the contribution of goods and services to life's dignity and beauty; and he must re-channel the immense mechanisms

of industrial and political life into the ways of a contributive society. He can do these things by relying on the propulsiveness, resourcefulness and creativeness of his own spirit to produce not an accidental and chaotic equilibrium between human groups but a "man-conscious planning," based on just a "comprehensible and workable philosophy of life for those who are in it and of it" as Otto himself has set forth. It is the hope of a good life in a good world, not that of a future life in another, which is the undying flame kindling any social idealism worthy of the name.

This is surely a most eloquent and honest example of the humanism which finds man's hope of betterment in himself, rather than in sub-human nature or an assumed super-human God. Its courage and faith must have a magnificent appeal for all those who, when the great maps of life are gone, need to find new incentives for living to replace the old. It should be understood and appreciated by theistic thinkers before it is attacked.

One of those who have best understood humanism without God is Robert L. Calhoun. In a paper prepared for the Oxford Conference he deals fully and fairly with such a view as Otto's.¹⁷ He goes so far as to say that "humanitarian modernism" (which would certainly include Otto's position) "should be cherished by contemporary Christians" in large part, "without conceding its ultimate perspective."¹⁸ That love of man is something we have far more need of, not less, is a recurrent theme in Calhoun's thought. In exalting personality and in seeking to shape the patterns of institutions to human needs such a humanism as Otto's comes nearest, in his opinion, to Christian faith. What the Christian clearly cannot grant is the ultimate perspective of man-centered humanism, which is man himself. He rather sees man "as at once less admirable in his present actuality, and more profound in his ultimate significance."¹⁹

How can this be? Atheistic humanism places man's hope of salvation in himself and his ideals. Intelligence,

good will, education, improving the social environment, which are part and parcel of its program, are all very fine, but they are not enough. They do not come near the heart of the problem of man which is man himself. Even ideals are not enough, for there are demonic depths in man which only a God-centered view can recognize, and only God can plumb. Such optimism about man as the atheistic humanist shares, even if it be like Otto's of a chastened sort, is simply not true to the facts of human behavior. One must admire the courage, but refuse to accept the estimate, of such humanism's account of man.

This refusal does not involve any unwillingness to accept or utilize the findings of science and its positive gains in relation to the social and psychological environment. In so far as atheistic humanism has been far more ready to profit from these than has Christian faith, it is Christianity's shame and loss. Such changes in the environment of human life and the world-views to which they gave rise need not to be repudiated but to be transcended by being included. Yet Calhoun feels certain that the Christian view sees depths of perversity and weakness in man which actually explain what man does better than the easier confidence of humanism without God, and holds that any program for man's advance must reckon with the facts concerning man's worst.

This is what Calhoun means by holding that Christian faith sees man as less admirable in his present actuality than atheistic humanism. But what of the point that it also sees him as "more profound in his ultimate significance?" This is so because for the former man is seen as placed in a universe not alien to him but continuous with his own spirit, the source of his being and the goal of his striving. His significance is not self-sufficient but derived and dependent. But even so it is more profound. Man the sinner is more significant than man the thinker and learner and lover because he stands in the presence of a power and rightness in things which judges him and from which even in sinning he cannot totally separate himself. Unless

there be something greater and better than both man and nature, "there is no obvious ground for optimism about either the goodness and power of men or the ultimate worth of things."²⁰

What, then, are Calhoun's answers to the root-questions of humanism? What is man? Man is "the victim of his own spoiled nature, which has become self-corrupted into a mass of misdirected cravings." He continues by pointing out that the Christian view

has its eyes on man the animal as we know him in business, in politics and in war; in the hypocrisies of home and school and church, and all polite society; in the secret lusts and hates of his most private imaginings, and in the walking nightmares of his madness when these lusts and hates come out frankly, inside hospital cells or in lynchings and pogroms.

From this creature, man as he is, what can deliver him? What can he do to be saved? Neither "high ideals and moral discourses" nor "common sense, nor science, nor philosophy" can avail, though they may all help. And even less can the cults of race or class that seek "to free man from conscience and the claims of *right* by handing him over to the whirlwinds or raw *power*." For man is this curious, ambivalent being: he is an animal, predatory, deceitful, cruel;" but he is no less incurably a "social, responsible, aspiring being, who can no more rid himself of conscience than of his memory or his powers of speech, without ceasing to be a man,"¹² Thus we see an apparent paradox in the Christian view of man. A deep pessimism about man as he is and his ability to save himself is combined with a great hope for man as he may become, and his chances to be saved by God.

The Christian understanding of man, with its relentless pessimism and its exultant faith, is no ordinary utopian dream, for it sees man not merely rehoused and re-educated, but re-made. It does not crudely glorify man, but it sees him, even in the depths of his sin, as never for a moment alone but always

with God, in whose unseen presence he lives and moves, and has his being. If there be any ground of hope for man the animal, it must be because something like this is true.²²

Man, then, is to be saved by God. This does not mean that he is abjectly helpless, cringing in weak fear before the divine omnipotence, as Islam, the Calvinist-Puritan strain in Christianity, and non-theistic critics like Nietzsche and Otto, have all too often pictured him. It does mean that at some critical points in his living man stands in need of guidance, power, help, which neither he nor others of his kind can furnish. It means, further, that on the Christian premise such help is to be had, not magically or arbitrarily, but simply because there is what Einstein has called a "rationality manifest in existence" which has also the marks of power and goodness as we know them in human experience to be.

Man's part in being saved is real and not illusory. But salvation comes by way of response to an order and pattern already "there," not through aggressive, self-sufficient attack by man upon his own problems. The apparent paradox of pessimism and optimism is actually resolved in the experience of worship, in which one discerns the presence of God and commits his living into God's hands. Man is not only animal and child of nature. He is critic and builder, criticizing not only what is in terms of what he wants but even his wants in the light of what he ought to want, and making tools, developing cultures in order to reach desired and far-off ends. He is at all times an unfinished being, and knows his center of equilibrium to be outside himself, for he can become himself only by transcending himself. Even his ordinary work may assist in the process of being saved, in so far as that work is contributive rather than egocentric, planned rather than haphazard, a joy rather than a monotonous routine.

In all this a certain view of God has been implied, and we must glance now at the main lines with which Calhoun sketches in his view. The subject-matter of theology, he

maintains, includes not only the data of natural and social science but also the rich variety and profusion of human experience not yet brought under the microscope and the calipers—"all of the more concrete and pungent aspects of human life."²³ Taking as many of these facts into account as possible, and being as critical as one can in interpreting them, we find good reasons for preferring the hypothesis that along with random or mechanical or unconscious factors in the universe there is something suspiciously like mental behavior.

Calhoun does not suppose any more than Otto that complete certainty can be had about God by any human being. In all such matters we have to move by analogy, which is to explain the less familiar in terms of the more familiar. He is quite as aware as logicians like Mill or Joseph that analogy is inconclusive, but he insists that it is an inevitable procedure in all thinking, and that to say that something like mind is discernible in the working of nature is quite as good an analogy as to suppose with Lord Russell that a million monkeys pounding a million typewriters could turn out all the books in the British Museum, the more so when on a chance or mechanistic view the typewriters would have to assemble, repair and reproduce themselves, turning out books for their own amusement or improvement.²⁴ Such analogical thinking about God should not fly in the face of scientific methods or findings; but Calhoun does not see how scientific research can possibly disprove God's existence, for the very reason that it is not concerned with God but with data that can be pointed to, weighed, measured and otherwise manipulated. We must use what methods we have, where they are appropriate. God is a question not of what we know but of what, given the things we know, it is reasonable to believe.

Pursuing the analogy cautiously, we get, according to Calhoun, a view of God as Mind, present and operative everywhere through the space-time order in such wise that no event transpiring within it is physically hidden

from the central permeating Mind, although it does not possess omniscience in the sense of foreknowledge or in the further sense of being able to get outside its own perspective into some or all others. God's thoughts are not our thoughts, nor his ways our ways. As Doer God also has a purposive nature, for if one thinks of God as good (and Calhoun holds with Plato that this is the starting-point for theology) one must assume that He has some preferences and antipathies by nature. This assumption of goodness in God also prevents Calhoun from maintaining an absolute omnipotence for God: "There are many things which God cannot do, precisely because He is God, and must be true to himself: He cannot act unjustly, nor unwisely, nor unmercifully."²⁵

Rather than pursue this theological trend further, we must consider how this God is related to men. Again, we depend, as we must, on analogies from human experience. If we say that God "loves", however greatly we may think divine love exceeds human love in power and reach, we are saying that God's love has something in common with man's, and can be recognized by men for what it is. There is what in statistics is termed "significant correlation" between human and divine attributes. Yet we have constantly to be on our guard against making over God too easily into the image of man. God, like a friend who refuses to fit into my pre-conceived picture of him, refuses again and again to be what we want Him to be, and by this refusal, as childish ideas of God give way to wiser ones, we are drawn closer to God as He is. Yet with considerable reasonableness we may say, Calhoun thinks, that God's activity with respect to men has three phases: the establishing and maintenance of conditions suitable for the rise and growth of beings capable of knowing good and achieving it; then, bringing into life such beings as can take advantage of these conditions; and finally the awakening in such beings of responses to good already there or possible good to be achieved.²⁶ This is God's way, as "living Mind at work", with men, in which a man

is called to be a "contributing participant in a shared task and a common life," a "co-worker" with God.²⁷

It is a fair question whether such a view may properly be called "humanism" at all. Calhoun himself nowhere uses it to describe his position but rather reserves it for characterizing views to which he takes exception. Yet if the term be allowed in the broad sense already given, surely Calhoun's fundamental realism in dealing with human nature, as well as his careful analysis of human ideals and their grounding in the world order, and his positive statement of the ways in which these ideals are realized by man co-working with God in the search for personal integrity and social reconstruction, all permit the term in his case. When we further consider that he does not set his view up against the non-theistic or atheistic views but insists that they be inclusively transcended, we have another reason for using the term. When we also admit, as we must, that the belief in God which Calhoun upholds is not at all the same belief in God which Otto attacks, we have a third reason for allowing the possibility of such a designation. Calhoun would say that a belief in man such as Otto holds demands some notion of God in order to be made intelligible and practicable in such a world as this. If concern with common problems can justify a common name, "humanism" would seem appropriate in Calhoun's as in Otto's case.

III

In weighing the merits of the two humanisms we have to remember that non-belief in God and belief in God are matters of faith which necessarily go beyond available fact. Otto has been more frank than some of his fellow-travelers in admitting that, and Calhoun has been more willing than some theistic naturalists to say that the existence of God is not a matter of knowledge but of rational faith. We are dealing here, of course, with the ultimate guesses, with what James called the "overbeliefs",

by which men try to body forth the forms of things unknown. We cannot rightly expect sure-footed certainty in these beliefs, though we have every right to insist on such clearness, consistency and adequacy as we are justified in expecting. In choosing between Otto's and Calhoun's views we do not have a choice between fact and fancy, or between certainty and uncertainty; we have two alternative faiths, which we must judge by the standards which are appropriate to them.

We have in the second place to re-emphasize the fact that the real issue between theistic and non-theistic (or atheistic) humanism hangs upon two questions. The first is the theoretical question: Does such knowledge as we have tend to justify or to deny faith in God? It seems to the present writer at least that Otto's negative answer depends clearly upon his sharp division of the human from the natural realm, and that this distinction in turn depends upon a kind of scientific naturalism proper to the nineteenth century but quite out of place in the twentieth. When, for example, Whitehead holds that "the energetic activity considered in physics is the emotional intensity entertained in life",²⁸ he is assuming continuity and not discontinuity between human and natural facts. When Einstein paraphrases Kant to say that "science without religion is lame, religion without science is blind", he is suggesting a postulate of method which is much closer to Colhoun's than to Otto's way of thinking. Otto seems to equate theism with superstition and says in fact that to accept the passing of the gods is "the price of growing up."²⁹ One who makes such a statement in the face of respected opinion based on full acquaintance with rigorous scientific method must take upon himself the burden of proof.

It is the special merit of Calhoun's criticism of non-theistic views that he joins the issue on grounds of rationality rather than attempting to meet them on the basis of the pragmatic effects of belief in God. This is the proper function of a philosophical theology, which needs especially to be maintained in view of the anti-philoso-

phical bias of much contemporary theology. Only such a theology can really understand, and really meet, the questions posed for it by anthropocentric humanism.

As we are constantly being made more aware of the connections between living and non-living, what is "valuable" and what is "real", what men have termed "physical" and what they have called "spiritual", where formerly these were supposed to constitute realms irrelevant to one another, it seems clear that a world-view is now possible among men familiar with the procedures and results of science in which God is not an anachronism or a superfluity, though he be not the God of Edwards, Milton or Dante or of the simple-minded believer. In a sense this is a judgment on past history, since it depends on what recent science has already achieved; but the strong hold of out-moded assumptions upon the "social sciences" makes its insistence pertinent.

The second question which we have seen at issue between the two humanisms is the practical question: Does belief in God tend to reinforce the moral life of the believer or, as the non-theists hold, to paralyze his will? In view of the discussion to this point it will be evident that the non-theistic position is valid only if the God in question be assumed to be all-powerful, all-knowing and all-there-at-bottom-is. To repeat a point already made, the idea of God held by Calhoun is not the idea of God which Otto rejects. A God who is the principle of goodness and the process of making good, who communicates himself to men not by intrusions of miracle into the normal order of nature so much as through that order itself, who is the ground and the goal of human striving persuading but not compelling the will,—such a God is the guarantor and guardian of human good rather than its annulment and denial.

It should be abundantly plain, to those of us who live under the ominous shadow of world crisis, that good will alone is not enough. It should be equally plain, waiving now the problem of theoretical justification with which

we have already dealt, that man "needs to have his own stumbling efforts powerfully upheld by forces greater than his own."³⁰ It should be clear, again, that even such good will as a man has does not explain itself, but points beyond itself to its source and its end. Men of good will, saddened as is Thomas Mann by the failure of the intellect to tip the scales in favor of humane living, shocked like Jules Romains into pained recognition of the unsavory, untractable forces deep within life, or driven like Aldous Huxley and others into the paradoxes of a mystical pacifism, may find in the ageless quest of the human spirit after God not an easy peace, but a more sobering estimate of man at his worst and a profounder hope for man at his best than good will alone can provide. The unmistakable note of sadness sounding through the thought of non-theists like Max Otto is its own commentary on the position that belief in God destroys belief in man. Belief in man and belief in God belong together.

Let this belief be clarified and criticized with all the tools of observation and of reason; let it be tested again and again in the fires of practice and of crisis; but man will know with the sureness born of conflict and desire that he is a child of earth but a child of starry heaven, too, that, in George Herbert's phrase, he is one world and hath another to attend him. This strangest of beings which is man, which is you, which is myself, will go on learning and unlearning, building and wrecking, stumbling and striving, loving and hating. But he will know when he is most himself that the condition of his growth as man is a patient, teachable openness toward what is not himself, what he does not make but finds, after the fashion of the ancient paradox of religion, which is no paradox at all but the simplest truth: "He that loseth his life for my sake shall find it."

NOTES

1. See for example Eliseo Vivas, "Humanism: A Backward Glance," *T'ien Hsia Monthly*, February-March, 1941, pp. 301-313; and Leo

- R. Ward, "Humanism and the Religious Question," *The Review of Politics*, October, 1940, pp. 477-487.
2. See E. A. Burtt, *Types of Religious Philosophy* (New York: Harper's, 1939); H. N. Wieman, and W. M. Horton, *The Growth of Religion* (Chicago: Willett, Clark, 1938), pp. 250-1 and passim; David E. Roberts, "A Christian Appraisal of Humanism," *Journal of Religion*, January, 1941, pp. 2-22.
3. See especially Jacques Maritain, *True Humanism* (New York: Scribner's, 1938.)
4. See above, note 2.
5. Charles Hartshorne, *Beyond Humanism* (Chicago: Willett, Clark, 1937.)
6. *Ibid.*, p. 2.
7. Irwin Edman, *Four Ways of Philosophy* (New York: Holt, 1937), p. 100.
8. David E. Roberts, *loc. cit.*, p 2.
9. Pp. 289-290.
10. *The Human Enterprise* (New York: Crofts, 1940), Chapter V.
11. *The Christian Century*, August 10, 1932, pp. 978-9.
12. *The Human Enterprise*, pp. 323-4
13. *Ibid.*, p. 325.
14. *Ibid.*, pp.332, 335.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 129.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 223.
17. "The Dilemma of Humanitarian Modernism", in *The Christian Understanding of Man* (Chicago: Willett, Clark 1938), pp. 45-81.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 71.
20. *God and the Common Life* (New York: Scribner's, 1935), p. 93.
21. *What is Man?* (New York: Association Press, 1939), pp. 69-70.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
23. "Theology and the Humanites," in *The Meaning of the Humanites*, ed. T. M. Greene (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1938), p. 129.
24. *God and the Common Life*, p. 125.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 193.
26. *Ibid.*, pp. 201-204.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 242.
28. A. N. Whitehead, *Nature and Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), p. 46.
29. Review of A. E. Haydon, *Biography of the Gods*. in *Christian Century*, June 4, 1941, p. 755.
30. R. L. Calhoun, *What is Man?*, p. 62.

PROTESTANT WORSHIP AND THE LORD'S SUPPER

By Massey Hamilton Shepherd, Jr.
Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Mass.

Worship is the response of man to the holiness and the creative and redemptive love of God. For Christians the response of worship derives meaning from the revelation of the nature of God's holiness and love as it is in Jesus Christ. The entire experience of Christian worship is conditioned by historic reference to the life and teaching, death and victory over death of the Son of Man and Son of God. This reference distinguishes Christian worship from other forms of religious worship. In God's presence Christians must face honestly: 1) the absolute demand of God's righteous will that they be perfect even as He is perfect; and 2) the equally absolute demand of the example of Christ, completely obedient to the will of God even to the death of the cross. Every Christian in his profession of faith at baptism and confirmation promises to seek to do the will of God by following Jesus Christ as Lord and Savior. In turn God offers the means of fulfilling this obligation so solemnly assumed in the gift of the Holy Spirit, the spiritual Christ, who is communicated through the fellowship of Christian believers, the Church.

In worship the Church, the company of faithful people, lays itself bare before God for His judgment of its offerings and His strength to carry on its responsibility. Those who share this experience generally agree that it involves the following fundamental elements:

1) *Thanksgiving*—for the knowledge God has given us of Himself, His will, His provident care, and His redemptive love through Christ.

2) *Penitence and forgiveness*—for our failures to live up to His demands and to our obligation.

3) *Instruction and Vision*—that we may more fully comprehend God's purposes, requirements and promises,

the causes of our failures, and the means of overcoming them.

4) *Commitment*—to a more strenuous endeavor to set forth in our lives the ideal of perfect love to which we are called.

I

The experience of the Church in worship differs from the private devotions of individual Christians in that it is social and communal in character. The church offers its praise and thanksgiving, makes its confession of sin, receives the Word of God, and dedicates itself to service as a social corporate body, knit together by the common bond of the Holy Spirit. The public worship of the Church is not the sum total of many individuals' particular offerings and prayers. Granted that the individual Christian does and should come to worship with fellow Christians bringing the fruits of his own stewardship and the requests of his own need: none the less, in order to translate particular, individual concerns into a social experience of worship, all the worshippers must share them one with another. In so doing the individual worshipper learns to interpret and modify his own Christian experience in the light of the largest possible good of the whole Church. Common worship thus gives perspective to each Christian life by relating it to the total purpose of the Church's mission.

If worship is to be social and common it must necessarily be liturgical. Without liturgy worship becomes disordered, anarchic, and individualistic, and consequently unedifying. The experience of the early Corinthian church teaches this. The ecstatic utterance of many of its members though in itself a genuine and sincere expression of individuals' experience of God, was nevertheless unedifying because it was not translated into terms which built up the whole body of the church. Protestant worship today has often been accused of excessive individualism and subjectivism. The charge is not altogether just. Congregations do have an active part in worship (though

choirs often tend to monopolize it); and the minister does endeavor to offer prayer and instruction that is relevant to the intentions of the whole worshipping body. Yet it must be admitted, there is a tendency in much Protestant worship for the congregation to become purely passive to the devotions of their minister. Liturgy preserves worship from such a danger by establishing a means of intercommunication among all the worshippers. It demands the active participation of all who are present, without at the same time allowing any individual to invade or intrude upon the spiritual freedom of his neighbor. It establishes an order of worship which requires every member to contribute his or her proper share to the total offering.

Sacerdotalism has always been a dangerous pitfall for true common worship. By this we mean the monopoly which the clergy assume, willingly or unwillingly, with regard to the conduct of Christian worship. It results in worship being performed on behalf of people instead of in their name. The later Middle Ages afford an excellent lesson in this regard. Contrary to much popular opinion, the medieval Church was marked by steady liturgical decline. The lay folk lost any sense of responsibility and vital participation in what was taking place at the altar. The presence of a congregation was unnecessary for the clergy to conduct worship. People generally received communion only once a year at Easter. Otherwise their attendance at Mass concerned itself chiefly with the witness and adoration of the consecrated host. Though it cannot be denied that this in itself was a high form of worship experience, it was not social, common worship. For the benefits of the adoration of the host were individually sought and individually applied. The Eucharist became very largely the vehicle of private devotion rather than the solemn offering of the people of God. The greatest achievement of the Reformation was its resurrection of the primitive Christian conception of the priesthood of all believers, and the emphasis upon worship as an act

understood by the people. Yet Protestant history has shown that the ideals of the Reformers have not been realized. For the sacerdotalism of the medieval priest there has often been substituted the sacerdotalism of the reformed minister, who functions as a complete dictator in the realm of the public worship. Protestant church people have willingly acquiesced in this. Many consider that they have done their duty if they have secured a talented and capable minister to discharge the office of public worship. Their sense of obligation about attendance upon public worship is thought of for the most part in terms of its help to them personally and individually. They are not keenly alive to the fact that, apart from any personal help which public worship may give them, the worship of the Church is not complete without them. Social responsibility to fellow believers is as much a principle of Christian worship as of Christian living.

Conditions of life in our modern age, well-known to all of us, aggravate the problem of making Christians socially-minded about worship. The complexity and impersonality of our ordinary relationships leave literally thousands without roots in a healthful community life. The very primal social group itself, the family, has not escaped forces of disintegration. All churches feel these difficulties keenly, especially the large city churches. Members of such churches are acquainted with only a fraction of their fellow parishioners, and are intimately known to fewer still. Often their closest friends are not members of the same church at all; sometimes they are not even professing Christians. It is inevitable that in such situations the responsibility of conducting public worship becomes professionalized. A sure sign of this is poor congregational singing. Most people are timid about singing in the presence of strangers. A well-paid choir and magnificent organ can be a great relief to their embarrassment!

Historical students frequently point out the parallels in social conditions of our own time and the days when Christianity arose and spread in the Graeco-Roman world.

The cosmopolitan individualism of ancient days led many to seek religious worships marked either by emotionalism or mysticism—two inevitable retreats of the socially-defeated individual. The mystery-religions furnished emotionalism, with the aid of highly skilled, professional priest-hoods. Philosophy became mystical for the intelligentsia. Neither the mystery-religions nor philosophy afforded men a society of mutual understanding, support, stimulation and comfort. That is why Christianity won in the ancient world. It gave men and women a sense of worth to one another and to God, sympathy and forgiveness amidst despair and failure, and encouragement and joy with one another even in the most bitter persecution and trial. No wonder Christians called their worship *Thanksgiving* and *Love-Feast*! If Christian people today have a high sense of belonging one to another and all together belonging to God as His own people, Christian worship today will be festal and joyful also.

The liturgical movement which is taking hold of Christendom today, both Protestantism and Roman Catholicism, is a welcome and hopeful sign of a new day in Christian worship. In Protestantism, however, it faces a danger which threatens to annul positive gains. This is the danger of aestheticism (and it is related to both emotionalism and mysticism). Phrases often heard these days are the "barrenness" of Protestant worship and the need of its "enrichment" from historic and artistic sources. The enrichment, however, is thought of more from the standpoint of taste than of theology. Let us not forget the wise counsel of the Psalmist to worship God in the beauty of holiness, and not in the holiness of beauty. It is not necessary to have a Gothic church, stained glass, altar and candles, monumental organs, robed ministers and choir, and richly carved woodwork to realize the presence of God in a worshipping body. These things may help; but they may also distract. One's meditation may wander far away from the central concern of the congregation if one lets the ornamentation of many of our

church buildings be "suggestive." How many of us have not been tempted to enjoy the organ prelude and choir anthem for the sheer beauty and excellence of the music itself without any controlling sense of their real function in worship? It adds little to the worshippers' vital sense of participation in worship if choral responses are only available to the choir; if they can only stand by and watch the processional and recessional hymns and not march too; if they do not have before them where they can see and read and say together some of the great prayers and selective readings which the minister has culled from a rich store of Christian devotion. Despite the enrichment that has taken place in much Protestant worship, the man and woman in the pew are frequently left with as small a part in public worship as before. To most of the service they listen passively and, if possible, vicariously to minister, organist and choir. It all may be very uplifting, but it all may be only very entertaining. In many cases entertainment has been the basis—thinly disguised to be sure—for attracting people to church, whether it be the fine building, the fine music, the fine sermon (or address) or a combination of these.

We make the wrong approach to the liturgical arts if we view them as inevitable helps to common worship. Rather they are parts of our offerings which we bring to God, offerings of appreciation and joy for the immeasurable beauty with which He has surrounded and endowed us. They are a part of our total stewardship which we lay before God in worship for His judgment. Ideally considered, the arts used in common worship should come from the worshippers themselves as their own creations, subject of course to the best standards of taste at their command. But worship should never give the impression of a professional performance employed for effects.

II

Thus far we have set forth certain general principles upon which the liturgical life of Protestantism should be based. There is doubtless a large measure of agreement

about them. But the concrete problem immediately arises as to how these principles may be actualized in the practice of public worship in Protestant churches. For an answer to this question recourse will naturally be made first to the historic tradition of the Christian Church. It seems to me that there is only one conclusion that can be drawn from this procedure. The primary and major task of liturgical revival in Protestantism is the restoration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper to its historic and proper place in the worship of the Church. At the present time this sacrament is, in most Protestant churches, an occasional rite. If not occasional, it is subordinated in emphasis to other forms of public worship.

The reasons for this situation are partly historical. Recent investigators have done much to clarify this aspect of the problem and it is unnecessary to repeat their findings here. Suffice it to say that all the great Protestant Reformers (Zwingli excepted) were insistent that the Lord's Supper remain the principal service of worship on all Sundays, as it had been since the very foundation of the Christian Church. We have already mentioned the decline in regular communion by the laity during the Middle Ages. This habit of infrequent communion, acquired over centuries, had a marked effect on the liturgy when the Reformers translated the Mass into a vernacular service understood by the people. It was impossible to revive among the laity the practice of weekly communions. As a consequence the latter part of the communion service tended to drop out of use, and the benediction was given after the sermon. This truncated service has persisted in Protestantism to the present time; though few perhaps are conscious of the fact that their Sunday morning worship service is based on the earlier part of the Lord's Supper liturgy.

Equally significant, however, in the decline of frequency of the sacrament in Protestantism is the way in which Protestants have allowed the original meaning of the rite, so rich and profound, to become restricted almost

entirely to the note of commemoration of Christ's death. As a consequence, in many of our churches the rite is like a funeral. Few people indeed would desire a funeral as the normal expression of their common worship. Actually the note of commemoration of Christ's death has been only one out of many meanings which the Lord's Supper has had in the early days of the Church and succeeding ages. Nor has it always been the dominant theme by any means. Otherwise the early Christians would never have called it a Thanksgiving, or a Love-Feast. To them the commemoration of Christ in the Eucharist included not only his death, but his entire ministry, including the resurrection and ascension. It is true that the climax of Jesus' ministry and in a sense the seal upon it was his passion and crucifixion. At the Last Supper with his disciples he was peculiarly conscious of its imminence, and its anticipation cast a shadow of tragedy across the upper room. Indeed the Supper itself was a part of his passion. Yet the death of Jesus was not the completion of his saving mission. At the Supper he looked beyond to the fellowship with his disciples about a common table in the Messianic kingdom. The early Christians never dissociated the thought of Jesus' death from that of his victory over death. That is why they could break their bread together with joy and gladness; the experience of the living Christ made all sadness impossible at the Lord's table. Indeed some of the resurrection experiences of the earliest disciples were probably had at the table fellowship. The Lord's Supper is a solemn occasion, but not a melancholy one.

Some writers have emphasized the Lord's Supper as a dramatic representation—a mystery play, if you will—of the Gospel story. The point can be over-stressed. Certainly medieval interpreters of the Mass went to absurd lengths in finding in every gesture of ceremonial and every phrase of ritual some correspondence with an actual event in the life and death of Jesus. There is, however, a very real sense in which the Lord's Supper is a dramatic

proclamation of the Gospel. We would do well to consider seriously this *evangelical* character of the rite. The Reformers were deeply conscious of it; to them the sacrament was as much a setting forth of the saving Word as was the sermon. Certainly its observance rivets the attention of the worshipping body upon the central theme of the Christian Evangel. It is both a witness to the world of what Christians most solemnly profess and believe (and thus has missionary implications), and also a challenge to the Christian conscience of the supreme demands of the example of Christ. So long as the sacrament is central in Christian worship, it will keep Christian worship close to its prime reference. It may also help to keep preaching relevant to the Christian message.

One of the oldest and commonest names for the Lord's Supper is Holy Communion. The phrase contains a double meaning—communion with the spiritual Christ, who is present at the sacrament as host, and communion with our fellow Christians as brethren in Christ and joint-heirs of his kingdom. The exact nature of Christ's presence at or in the sacrament has been much debated by theologians; but all Christians at least believe that he is present in a very real and peculiar way. This aspect of communion is so familiar that it is not necessary to dwell upon it here. On the other hand there is need for greater attention to the social implications of table fellowship as an expression of mutual brotherly love. Jesus had a peculiar fondness for the figure of table fellowship to express the practice of love and charity to our neighbors. It embraces all sorts and conditions of men. Is it not very significant that it is only about the Lord's table that Christians have never dared to make distinction of race, class, education, social position, or any other of the marks which tend to set people off from one another? The race question came to the fore in the early Jerusalem church, and at Corinth economic differences raised an ugly head. Actually, the Lord's Supper is the most compelling witness of the Christian social gospel, the most potent sym-

bol of the community and fellowship of all men under Christ which is proclaimed in the Christian Gospel. Any Christian who consents to share in the high privilege of that table commits himself thereby to the social teaching of the Gospel in its widest implications. Lay people need to realize fully this important truth. Eating and drinking together with Christ is as much a matter of social fellowship and equality as eating and drinking in one's home. The heart of God must grieve to see the hypocrisy with which many gather about His table in His house. If our Christian people believe that the Church is one family and they are all brethren they will realize this. But if church membership means no more to them than belonging to an organization, then, of course, participation in the Lord's Supper will be dismissed as idealistic and without practical implications. Cannot we make the Lord's Supper in Protestantism the center of that community life for which men's hearts are hungry today?

Not only communion itself expresses the social ideal of the Gospel but also the offertory of the communion service. The early Christians brought to each service of table fellowship the gifts of bread and wine which were to be used in the sacrament. They also brought with these other gifts of food and money to be expended for those in need. They made the Lord's Supper an occasion of positive charity; the social implications of the sacrament were carried out then and there. Modern conditions perhaps make it inexpedient actually to have the worshippers bring their contributions of all sorts to the service itself; though small parishes might very easily adopt the practice. At any rate the offering is not just a collection. It is an opportunity for sacrificial giving—a giving inspired by the complete giving of Himself which Christ made and which we commemorate in the sacrament. If we emphasized more the benevolences which we support with our offerings than the expenses of our parish organization, we would make our communion offerings a more vital, indeed a necessary part of our common worship.

It is at this point that we see the real, fundamental meaning of the sacrifice which is involved in this sacramental worship. It is a great pity that Christians have fought so bitterly over the doctrine of the "sacrifice of the Mass." The sacrifice which takes place in the sacrament is a double one: the sacrifice and complete self-giving of Christ which is there commemorated and re-presented in all its fulness, and the sacrifice and complete self-giving of the Church, both as a corporate body and as individuals, in response and gratitude for the sacrifice of Christ. The two are inextricably bound together, one calling forth the other. The sacrament is thus a dramatic symbol of the union of offerings of Christ and his people. Faced with the confrontation of Christ's complete giving of Himself as it is set forth in the rite, the Christian bows in thankfulness for its benefits, penitence for its unrequited challenge, and renewed commitment to the fulfilling of its ideal.

Seen in all these meanings the Lord's Supper fulfils all the prime experiences of the Church in worship: thanksgiving, penitence and forgiveness, instruction and vision, and commitment. It probes their deepest meanings more than any other form of Christian worship can do. It is an act of faith, an act of charity, an act of worship. It satisfies every demand of social, common worship; for it is a rite of the people. It is something they do, as well as something they say. The minister acts only as their mouthpiece. The sacrament has the virtues of simplicity and directness; its teaching, though profound, is plain and clear. Protestants have not begun to exploit its possibilities, its evangelical character, its social spirit, its religious power. Moreover it is the only worship which Christ instituted and commanded Christians to observe. Its origin was exceedingly simple and ordinary—a table blessing of thanksgiving to God for the fruits of the earth, the common daily food and drink. Christ made these humble, daily gifts which all men enjoy the symbol

of the greatest of all gifts, the gift of his Spirit, the bond of a new fellowship and the earnest of the Kingdom of God.

III

What is the best liturgical form to express this manifold meaning and invoke this rich experience of Christian worship? The best answer again will be found in the historic liturgical tradition of the Church. Underlying all the great liturgies which have been created during the centuries is a basic pattern, which, reduced to its simplest terms, may be outlined as follows:

(a) *Introductory.* Here there is considerable variation in the liturgies. Two elements, however, are more or less constant: (1) some invocation of the presence of God, through introit, hymn or prayer; and (2) prayers of confession and penitence. These may be in the form of a common prayer of confession, or a litany with the traditional cry, Lord, have mercy upon us.

(b) *Lessons of Scripture.* These have usually been two or more in number, but the last one is always chosen from the Gospels. In this way the whole revelation of God that is contained in the Scriptures is centered in Christ. In the traditional liturgies the people always stand when the Gospel lection is read because of its prime significance. This is a compelling bit of ceremonial, psychologically speaking, and is well worth observing. People as a rule will give better attention to the reading if they are standing. There is no reason why the minister should read these lessons of Scripture. They may very well be read by members of the congregation, selected because of their ability to read well aloud. The early Christians did this. They appointed readers from their number who were especially skilled in the art. The art of reading aloud with clarity and understanding is by no means universal today, even among the clergy. The lessons may be appropriately separated by psalms or hymns or other musical numbers which bring out the message of the lesson read.

(c) *Sermon.* This naturally follows the lessons, and is often based upon them. The sermon should be considered as a part of the total worship and not the goal towards which the worship leads.

(d) *Offertory.* The social meaning of this has already been stressed. In the historic liturgies it consists of two parts: (1) the actual bringing to the holy table of the bread and wine and other gifts, including money, and the preparation of the table and elements for the communion feast; and (2) prayers of intercession for all sorts and conditions of men. It is a wholesome custom to vary these intercessions from Sunday to Sunday according to particular needs and intentions of the time. It is here that individuals may most appropriately bring their own personal needs and aspirations, and have them included with the prayers of the whole church. It is unnecessary for the minister always to offer these prayers of intercession. Why not have one of the laymen do it, if he has a good voice and a sincere interest in the work of the parish?

(e) *The Thanksgiving, or Consecration Prayer.* This is always said by the minister. Some churches may prefer that it be a fixed, invariable form. Others may desire the more primitive custom of the minister giving thanks "as he is able." The prayer should be a thanksgiving to God for all his manifold mercies to men: for creation, providence and redemption—here calling to mind particularly the life and work of Christ, and, if desired, a commemoration of the institution of the sacrament. It should end in the Lord's Prayer. This prayer is as much a hymn as a prayer; its note should therefore be one of joy. It would be a good idea to have the congregation stand while it is being offered. This is not a customary procedure, but it is primitive; and brings out the hymnal quality of the consecration. It is, actually, a table blessing; this fact should never be obscured.

(f) *Communion.* This is the climax of the rite. It might be preceded by a ceremonial breaking of the bread, with attention called to the symbolism therein conveyed.

During the communicating of the people the choir or organ might suggest a basis for meditation. Yet there is no harm in having silence. We do not need in worship to have every period of silence covered with organ or vocal music. Perhaps everyone will not wish to commune. Nonetheless they should have a lively sense of participation.

(g) *Final Thanksgiving and Blessing.* This should be brief. Interest cannot be sustained long after the climax has passed. A festival hymn of thanksgiving is a fitting close. One would certainly not want a mournful hymn here.

How much of such a service should be fixed and prescribed? The answer to this question will depend largely on the taste and the particular tradition of the worshipping body. However one should carefully distinguish three things about the service: order, ritual, and ceremonial. The order has to do with the arrangement of the service. This should always be fixed so that the people know it thoroughly and its mechanics be second nature to them. If the order of a service is unfamiliar, there will be confusion and wasted attention throughout. It is not sound to shift constantly the pattern and arrangement of services, for it confuses the people and places the worship in the control of the minister rather than in the congregation.

The ritual has to do with the actual rite itself, *i. e.* the words said. There may or may not be considerable latitude here. The opening confession might well be fixed, so that all may join in; or at least it should be provided in printed form. The lessons will naturally change from Sunday to Sunday. They should be selected on a broad, long-time basis, giving the people an opportunity to hear the most significant passages of the entire Bible. This is important today, as so few people read the Scriptures regularly in private. The intercessions, as already hinted, may well change from Sunday to Sunday; naturally some items will recur constantly. The consecration prayer is

the duty of the minister. If he and his congregation do not prefer a fixed form for this prayer, the minister should study the historic prayers of Christian liturgies for a clear understanding of the sort of prayer which is suitable.

Ceremonial is the good manners of worship, and refers to the way in which the ritual is conducted. In every case it should be reverent and dignified, not fussy or complicated, and appropriate to the solemnity of the occasion and the dignity of Him addressed. Ceremonial also has a close relation to the setting of the service, *i. e.* the church building and its interior arrangement, and to the resources, artistic and economic, at the command of the parish. As a rule ceremonial reflects the manners of the age whether servile, courtly or democratic. There is a rich field for study today in the matter of ceremonial—how can we make a democratic ceremonial for our worship which is reverent and dignified? Closely associated with this problem is also the selection of appropriate symbols which are comprehensible to all, unambiguous, and evocative of genuine religious feeling.

IV

The following statement occurs in the official report of the recent Edinburgh Conference on Faith and Order:

“We find that the obstacles most difficult to overcome consist of elements of ‘faith’ and ‘order’ combined, as when some form of church government or worship is considered a part of the faith.”

This statement clearly refers to the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper. Certainly all Christian communions, with the exception of the Quakers, hold that this sacrament is a part of Christian “faith,” and not simply a matter of “order.” Their differences with regard to “order” largely arise out of their differences regarding the nature of their “faith” as it finds concrete expression in the sacrament. Yet specific proposals looking towards the union of Christian churches frequently take their starting point on the question of “order.” This seems to me an impossible

line of approach for it jumps over the fundamental question which gives rise to so much difference in "order." Would not a more fruitful avenue towards unity be in the realm of sacramental worship as it centers in the Lord's Supper? At least all Christians agree that it rests on an institution of Christ and has played a central role in the life of all Christian bodies. (The Quakers present a peculiar problem which perhaps cannot be solved along the lines of approach adopted by other Christian groups.) Experience has shown that worship is a better ground of unity than church government.

Our conversations about church unity will amount to little unless the prime concern of the churches is to share with one another their experience of God as it is in Christ. All Christians have such an experience in the Holy Communion, because the holy table is the Lord's, not a priest's or a presbyter's. Of course, there are many Christians who do not appreciate the fulness and richness of grace that is in this sacrament. In fact, who among us does? But we have to grow into this grace, not be argued into it. And we cannot grow if we are unwilling to share. Who will be the loser by our sharing? Will God, Who is the Giver? I for one have come to believe that inter-communion, far from being the *goal* of church unity, is the very *condition of its achievement*. We modern Christians, I fear, are still too much like the Corinthians. One comes away from the Lord's table drunken, and another hungry.

In this paper I have tried to suggest a common denominator, so to speak, of liturgical worship centered in the Lord's Supper. The sacrament, I believe, should be the norm of Christian public worship. If Protestantism will address itself to the task of restoring the Eucharist to its proper central place in the worship of the Church, it will have a more promising and fruitful source of unity than has heretofore been the case.

ARE THE EXORCISMS OF JESUS FOLKLORE?

By S. Vernon McCasland
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

An affirmative answer to the above question has been so often assumed by New Testament scholars and the entire body of Gospel material which deals with the subject so generally ignored, that one might be justified in regarding the possessed person as the "forgotten man" of New Testament criticism. With this question in mind, let us study these stories in the gospels in comparison with similar material both of that time and of the modern world. We readily grant that stories about demons have been a favorite theme in the popular legends of the world, but that is not to admit that all such stories are legendary. It only shows that in considering such material one must be on his guard and use discretion and discrimination. An attempt must be made to arrive at objective criteria of judgment by means of which fact may be separated from fiction. The problem in the Gospels is complicated by the fact that the stories passed through a period of thirty years or more before they were written down in Mark.

The period of oral tradition is a sort of no man's land which has been difficult to occupy. Our problem is to determine whether this tradition which comes to us anonymously represents a creation of credulous popular imagination, or the report of eye-witnesses, or originally true reports which have been partly overgrown with legends. There are thus three definite possibilities. In an effort to solve the problem, we shall present for comparison cases of demon possession and exorcism which are beyond question reported by eye-witnesses, so that the possibility of legendary origin is eliminated altogether. Then we shall present stories which provide a basis for recognizing legendary phenomena as well as the features which are authentic.

Testimony of the Christian Fathers

We turn first of all to the early Christian fathers. Our first witness is Justin, the famous apologist of Roman blood who was born about A.D. 114 at Neapolis, Palestine. He was by training a Roman philosopher and is a writer of high reputation. He lived for a time at Ephesus, then also at Rome, where he suffered martyrdom about A.D. 165. He writes of Christian exorcism in his time as follows:

“For he (Jesus) was made man also, as we before said, having been conceived according to the will of God the Father, for the sake of believing man, and for the destruction of the demons. And now you can learn this from what is under your own observation. For numberless demoniacs throughout the whole world, and in your city, many of our Christian men exorcising them in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, have healed and do heal, rendering helpless and driving the possessing devils out of the men, though they could not be cured by all the other exorcists, and those who used incantations and drugs.”¹

This statement of Justin is from his second apology and is addressed to the people of Rome. He writes of exorcisms with which both he and they are familiar: they have occurred not only in the city of Rome itself but in other parts of the world. These words were written not far from A.D. 150.

Tertullian of Carthage in North Africa wrote of similar things as being well known about A.D. 200. In an apology addressed to rulers of the Roman empire, he attempts to prove that the gods worshipped by the Romans are demons. This he does by referring to Christian exorcism as follows:

“Why, all the authority and power we have over them (the pagan deities) is from our naming the name of Christ, and recalling to their memory the woes with which God threatens them at the hands of Christ as judge, and which they expect one day to overtake them. Fearing

Christ in God, and God in Christ, they become subject to the servants of God and Christ. So at our touch and breathing, overwhelmed by the thought and realization of those judgment fires, they leave at our command the bodies they have entered, unwilling and distressed, and before your very eyes put to an open shame."²

The point which Tertullian is trying to make is not to convince the Roman rulers that Christians exorcize demons from the possessed. He says that they have seen that done and admit it. He challenges the rulers to give just any Christian an opportunity to demonstrate what he is saying. His real point is that the spirits under pressure of the Christian exorcists confess that they are the gods which the Romans worship. Therefore, argues Tertullian, they are not gods at all but only demons. So there is really only one true God, who is worshipped by the Christians, and the charge of treason which Romans bring against Christians for denying the Roman gods is false. We are not concerned with the validity of his argument, but it should be clear that Tertullian is describing real exorcism here, not popular legends.

Other eminent early Christian writers who wrote about similar things with which they were familiar were Irenaeus,³ Origen,⁴ Lactantius,⁵ and Augustine.⁶ Many others might be named. These reports are similar to those in the Gospels to a remarkable degree.

Modern Christian Exorcism

Numerous authors have brought together stories of Christian exorcism from the Middle Ages and later,⁷ but I have come upon some striking cases among Christians and Moslems of modern Palestine and Syria. I present just one case by quoting from a description of it in a letter from the Christian missionary who performed the exorcism to his chief. It was written without any thought that it would ever be published and is clearly a faithful report. I give the story exactly as the author told it, only omitting names of both persons and places by request. The account follows verbatim: (Dated May 23, 1936).

“On returning from——to——a request came to me to go to —— and pray for a woman that was demon possessed for a period of ten years. They had burned her with hot irons, beaten her etc., etc., but with no avail. I could never get away from that call. When Rev. —— and his wife came I spoke to him about the matter. We prayed about it and the result was that we four (Mrs. —— 4th party) went. They told us the history of the case and how a group would gather around in the evening when she would go under the influence of these evil spirits and talk with them, in audible voice. They said they wanted prayer in Jesus name. We decided to have a service. We sang one verse and half of the chorus of No. 1 Eg. and she was taken with great agony and we commanded them in Jesus name to speak. The information gained was that there were 16. They affirmed that they were stronger than Jesus but were told that they were liars and were forced in the name of Jesus to confess that Jesus was stronger. Four came out of her mouth with great suffering to her but she was brave and anxious to be free when she would come to herself. Later we asked how many there were and they said ten. With continued prayer and casting out in Jesus name they confessed that they were five, four, three, and two. After continued prayer without success we learned that she had three charms around her neck. They immediately took them off but refused to let us burn them. Finally a large group said, “What more evidence do you want that the Lord is working? Burn them.” They made a fire and we burned them. One was from the Greek Priest of ——, one from a Mos. Priest, one from Druze. We started again to pray and they told us there was still another charm. They searched for it and we burned it. The two remaining spirits talked a great deal. They were from the Nejed. If they went out they would kill her. The ministers should go back to their land and the Priest of —— was to be called. He spoke in broken Arabic, as an Armenian would speak and said he was not afraid of Arabic but feared

Turkish. They said their names were Mohammed and Alie king of old. After another season of prayer Mohammed left. It was then evening. Alie had been a familiar spirit with her for ten years and it was evident he was a stubborn case. We took the woman to —— and the believers stood with us in a remarkable way. She was now able to accept the Lord as her Savior also her husband: Each season of prayer she was greatly tormented. In the evening she fell over and went to sleep and we thought she was delivered. The next P. M. the same way. At the evening service she said she was going to her room to sleep. The church was packed and people outside. The entire town including some Druze soldiers. I was glad she was not there for fear she might not be delivered and cause a scene. I was intending to get up and explain that she was tired and decided not to come. But just as I decided she slipped off the seat on the floor and we rushed to her and demanded the spirit to come out in the name of Jesus. The spirit started to sing a love song to her and would not stop. He sang how beautiful she was when he (first came) to her but that because she was not content she had become worn and of poor health; if he had known that he would not have come to her. He would never go to a Christian woman again. I love you and your son, why do you want me to go? Etc. We prayed all night until three A.M. and fasted the next day. We decided not to pray with her until the Lord so led. After noon her sister came in and said Ghazallie wanted to pray with us. In the midst of her distress she was asked to speak the name of Jesus. This she did with great difficulty as she had never been able to say a word of her own will before. We prayed in her ear in the first person until she was able to repeat after us. Then the power started down from her head through her body but slowly. Then she began to sing about the Lord and salvation and was perfectly delivered. She was not able to walk for some time. All this time people were confessing their sins and accepting Christ as their Savior. Her husband came and we gave them in-

struction about prayer and Bible study. He came again on Sunday to go home with her on Monday. Needless to say we had some good meetings in —— and souls were saved.

“A man came from —— and asked us to come and pray for his sister. They say she has over a hundred evil spirits. She destroys every bit of clothing they put on her except a loin cloth. We have been praying for over a week about going. Pray much for those who have been delivered as they must go on with the Lord or it would be better to let them (remain) in their past state.”

In transcribing this document I have made no change in grammar, but have inserted in parentheses (first came) and (remain), which had evidently been omitted accidentally. The four persons who performed the exorcism were the two missionaries and their wives. It is of interest to note that four religions play a part in this strange story—Moslem, Druze, Greek Orthodox, and Protestant. The Moslem background is shown by the names of Mohammed and his adopted son Ali. The evil spirits are thought of as ghosts of the dead. The case involves some type of sexual aberration and Ali is the woman's lover. The *incubus* appears frequently in the literature of demon possession. The story of the girl Sarah in the book of Tobit is another example. But there are numerous illustrations from more recent times.⁸

The woman possessed by over a hundred demons is only briefly described with no attempt at exorcism. The first woman was delivered of sixteen demons. This multiplicity of possession is reminiscent of the New Testament stories of Mary Magdalene, from whom seven demons were cast out, and of the demoniac of Gerasa, from whom a legion went out into the herd of swine. The general similarity of these cases to those described in the Gospels, not to mention the geographical location, makes them sound like another chapter from Mark. That is why I have given them. Their authenticity which is beyond question ought to be a warning to anyone who is skeptical of Jesus' ex-

orcisms of the same type. The modern case of exorcism so fully described above is reported by an eye-witness who was in fact the chief exorcist. It is a firsthand report with no possibility whatever for folklore to have entered in.

It would be possible to give a large number of modern illustrations of these phenomena. One of the best collections from the Orient is the book by John L. Nevius: *Demon Possession and Allied Themes*, (New York, 1892). This author had been a missionary in China for forty years when he wrote his book.⁹ There is also much exorcism among the Moslems of Palestine and other sections of the Orient. The Dervishes are especially noted for it. But aside from the fact that they use Koran verses and Moslem terminology, their healings are the same in principle as the Christian.¹⁰

A New Testament Eye-Witness

Thus far we have presented eye-witness accounts from the ancient Christian fathers and also from modern sources which are similar to the stories of exorcism in the Gospels. This evidence makes the Gospel accounts look like reports of persons who saw the events take place. At the same time, we know that Mark, the oldest Gospel, was not written until about thirty or forty years after the healings are said to have occurred; and it is altogether probable that he has written down what he got from the church tradition rather than from personal observation. But it is unjustifiable to assume that tradition is unreliable. Tradition is not to be equated with legend; it may very well be an accurate record of what happened. Mark's record of Jesus' exorcisms may be eye-witness reports even if Mark himself was not the witness.

But there is beyond question one eye-witness report of an exorcism in the New Testament. That is the account of the exorcism of the Pythian spirit from the slave-girl at Philippi by Paul related in Acts 16:16-18. The Greek text says that this girl had *pneuma pythona*. Python was the name of the serpent in Greek mythology which guarded the oracle at Delphi, said to have been slain by Apollo

when he became the deity of the oracle. It was a divining spirit and the girl earned money for her owners by the practice of divination. In English the passage reads:

And it came to pass, as we were going to the place of prayer, that a certain maid having a spirit of divination met us, who brought her masters much gain by soothsaying. The same following after Paul and us cried out, saying, These men are servants of the Most High God who proclaim unto you the way of salvation. And this she did for many days. But Paul, being sore troubled, turned and said to the spirit, I charge thee in the name of Jesus Christ to come out of her. And it came out that very hour.

The striking feature of this exorcism in the present connection is that it is described by a person who saw it. At two points in the three verses the witness includes himself among those present. He says "...as *we* were going...the same following after Paul and *us*..." The observant reader will note that up to chapter 16, verse 10, of the Acts of Apostles, the story is told in the third person; that the writer speaks simply as the historian of what takes place; but that beginning with 16:10 and frequently to the end of the book, the narrative is told in the first person. It is obvious that the author of Acts was either himself present when this exorcism was performed or has used the memoirs of some one who was there. In either case, we have the firsthand report of a witness who was present when the event occurred. Whether we know his name or not, we have the story in his own words. The report has nothing to do with folklore or popular legend. It has not passed through an oral process. Here we have the memoirs of an eye-witness which have been so literally copied and incorporated in the larger work that the final author, whoever he was, has not even taken the trouble to remove the first personal pronouns from the original document. Here again the similarity to the exorcisms of Jesus is so striking that if the story were

told about Jesus instead of Paul it would be perfectly at home in the Gospel of Mark.

Real Legends

Above we have compared the exorcisms of Jesus with accounts which are beyond question the testimony of witnesses who were present and have reported what they saw. Let us now turn to some accounts which are just as obviously legendary. One of the best illustrations of this type is the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, which was written early in the third century by Philostratus. Apollonius was a Pythagorean sage who was born about the beginning of the Christian era at Tyana in Cappadocia. He traveled widely over much of the Roman empire, and on one occasion went as far as India, as a student, a public teacher and healer, and died during the reign of Nerva, who had shown him honor. Thus Apollonius was a contemporary of Jesus and of the first and second generations of Christians, although there is no indication that he ever met any of them. Philostratus wrote the biography more than a century after Apollonius died, but he claims to have based his work on the memoirs of Damis, the philosopher's traveling companion. But regardless of its sources, much of the book is only a collection of amusing legends. Let the contents speak for themselves.

On one occasion, Philostrates writes (IV. x), when a plague was raging in Ephesus, the distressed people sent for Apollonius to help them. As soon as he arrived the sage discerned the plague-demon distinguished as an old beggar. He commanded the people to stone the stranger to death. This they did with such vehemence that a heap of stones was raised on his body. Then Apollonius commanded them to remove the stones. Underneath they found the body of a dog as large as a lion.

A somewhat similar motif appears in the story of the *lamia*, or vampire, overcome by Apollonius at Corinth (IV. xxv). The vampire had assumed the form of a lovely woman in order to captivate and finally devour a handsome youth. There is another tale of how Apollonius

relieved a village of Ethiopia of a ghost which assumed the form of a satyr in order to insult their women (VI. xxvii). Apollonius compelled the spirit to become intoxicated with wine while he was still invisible; then later he pointed him out to the villagers lying asleep in a cave as a harmless satyr.

The book of Tobit, an old Jewish romance probably written in Egypt about B.C. 200, is another good illustration of what folklore does with stories of demon possession and exorcism. Here the angel Raphael appears in person to deliver the girl Sarah from the *incubus* Asmodeus, who had slain seven of her husbands one after another. The demon is routed and bound and the maiden given in worthy marriage.

What the Jewish historian Josephus has to say about demon possession also illustrates the legendary element. He was a native of Jerusalem who settled in Rome after the fall of Jerusalem and during the years A.D. 70-100 wrote his books under the patronage of emperors. Josephus gives a remarkable account of a strange plant which grew in the Baaras gorge near Macherus east of the Dead Sea. This deadly shrub could not be secured without danger unless woman's urine or menstrual blood had been first poured on it or a dog which immediately died had first been tied to it.¹¹ Then he tells the story of exorcisms performed by a Jew named Eleazar in the presence of the Roman generals and soldiers, who proved that the demons went out of their victims by requiring them to overturn basins of water while the spectators looked on.¹²

Lucian of Somosata, the well known sophist of the second century, gives one of the best collections of stories from folklore in his *Lover of Lies*, which may be read with much profit by one who desires to learn the difference between facts and legends. In discussing exorcism, one of the characters asserts that he saw a demon coming out of a possessed person black and smoky in color. One finds here numerous stories of spirits which became vis-

able, of dead who were called up, of statues which got down off their pedestals and walked about and other creations of ancient fancy.

Reliability of the Gospel Stories

The student who compares these obvious legends told by Philostratus, Tobit, Josephus, and Lucian with the simple accounts of Jesus' exorcisms will note the difference. The impression of credibility is overwhelmingly in favor of the Gospels. Most of the Gospel stories have no features at all which comparative folklore shows to be legendary. There is, however, possibly one exception. Mark's story of the legion of demons which entered into the herd of swine and caused them to plunge into the sea looks very much like a legend. This is the type of story which one finds in folklore the world over. The Jewish motif is evident. The demons as a desperate last resort fled into the unclean pigs for refuge, but even in this miserable abode they were outwitted when the animals destroyed themselves in the sea. At the same time, it is quite possible that the legend has an historical basis. It is only necessary to suppose that a herd of pigs frightened by the sudden commotion of the crowd did plunge into the sea; and that this was given the demonic interpretation. Otherwise, the New Testament stories of demon possession and exorcism have rational, historical and psychological explanations and are entitled to be regarded as fact. They look like the reports of eye-witnesses.

NOTES

1. Justin, *Apologia Secunda* vi; cf. v, viii; *Apologia* xxv; *Dialogus* lxxvi and lxxxv.
2. Tertullian, *Apologeticum* xxiii.
3. *Ad Haer.* II. xxxii. 4.
4. *Contra Celsum* I. vi; I. lxxviii; II. xxxiii; V. ii; VII. iv.
5. *Institutes Div.* II. xvi: V. xxii.
6. *Civitas Dei* XXII. viii.
7. T. K. Oesterreich, *Die Bessessenheit*. (Halle, 1931), Eng. Tran., *Possession, Demoniaccal and Other*, (New York, 1930); Louis Coulange, *The Life of the Devil*, (New York, 1930); John L. Nevius, *Demon Possession and Allied Themes*, (Chicago, 1894).

8. Cf. Louis Coulange, *Op cit.*, p. 173 f.
9. Still more recent reports from Korea and China may be found in Charles Allen Clark, *The Nevius Plan of Mission Work in Korea*, 1937, p. 112; and the *Penyang News*, Penyang, Korea, Sept., 1937, p. 2.
10. Cf. J. A. Jaussen, *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*, Vol. III, pp. 145-157, for a notable account of a Moslem Sheik.
11. *Bellum* vii. 178-185.
12. *Antiq.* VIII. ii. 5.

CHRISTIANITY AND CULTURAL EVOLUTION

By Shirley Jackson Case
Florida School of Religion
Lakeland, Florida

Today Christianity embraces a wide variety of organized societies, practicing a diversity of religious rites, using different rituals in worship, and professing distinctive creeds. From an early date this new religion had bred variations. By the close of the first century there were "Petrine," "Pauline" and "Johannine" congregations. In the course of the succeeding centuries eastern Christendom had produced independent Armenian, Syrian and Coptic branches, in addition to Orthodox Greek and Russian Churches. Passing westward one encounters the powerful Roman Church which while organically a unit, contains within itself different orders like the Franciscans and the Jesuits that might easily be treated as separate religious denominations. Among Protestants the possibility of diversity seems to have no limits. There are the Lutheran churches of Germany and the Scandinavian countries, the Reformed Church in Holland, the Established Church of England and the Presbyterian churches of Scotland. Branches of these have spread to all parts of the world. There are also Congregationalists and Baptists and Methodists and Disciples and Quakers and Unitarians and Mennonites and Latter-Day Saints and Christian Scientists and still other distinct groups too numerous to mention.

A visitor from Mars might wonder how it is possible to group all of these various religious movements under the single word Christianity. If he were to ask for an explanation of this diversity from representatives of each of these separate bodies, beginning with the oldest and most widely established and coming down to the most recent and smallest, he would be given a uniform answer. He would be told that one's own branch of the movement represents true Christianity while all others are pervers-

sions of the original. But this information would only add to the confusion of our visitor. He would now have to solve two problems instead of one. He would ask not only why there are so many separate Christian bodies, but also how it is possible that each of these branches of the movement can regard itself as the only genuine representative of the whole. He could scarcely fail to be impressed by the sincerity with which the claim to originality is made, and he might well suspect that if the adherents of one or another group should become disillusioned as to the genuineness of its particular branch of Christendom the result would be disastrous for the believer's peace of mind if not for his religious life itself.

How has it come about that the Christian movement exists today in so many diverse forms? To answer this question satisfactorily one must remember, in the first place, that the Christianity of today has behind it nineteen hundred years of history. This history has been made by a great variety of people living in different places over the face of the earth and representing very different types of personality and interest. If our hypothetical visitor would take the trouble to make himself familiar with the history of civilization, beginning back among the peoples who inhabited the lands about the Mediterranean Sea at the beginning of the Christian era, and would follow its course on down among the different European peoples of later times, and then would launch out across the ocean during the period of discovery and colonization in the new world, he would be in a much more favorable position to answer his inquiries. Then he would easily discover that Christianity throughout the centuries has been in a continual process of becoming, and that variations in the history of the movement are a consequence of conformity to the vital interests of one or another type of adherents involved in the course of an ever-changing cultural development. In the case of each of the different bodies of Christendom the form which the religious movement assumed was that best suited to the

needs of the members, hence their particular brand of Christianity quite properly seemed to them the one genuine type. The evolution of the movement throughout the whole course of its history is thus inseparably bound up with the process of cultural evolution among the different peoples who today represent one or another branch of this historic religion.

The gentleman from Mars should not fail to make a second observation. Indeed, it could hardly escape him. He would note that Christianity has always been a distinctively aggressive movement. Its adherents, even though sometimes differing widely from one another and existing as separate and rival organizations, have usually been dominated by the conviction that they were responsible for spreading a body of truth indispensable not only to their own welfare but to the well-being of humanity at large. Christians have always believed that they were in possession of a precious heritage from the past and that each new age could profit immensely by heeding the message of the Christian preacher and conforming to the standards of the Christian society.

Thus while time and social conditions have been constantly altering the historical form of Christianity, the movement itself has been a perpetually aggressive and creative factor in the history of civilization. From a very early date it has been a powerful organization making its influence felt over a wide range of social contacts. In the course of its career it has also been served by numerous individuals of a strongly creative temper, like Jesus, Paul, Augustine, Gregory the Great, Hildebrand, Luther, Calvin, John Knox, John Wesley and a host of others well worthy of note, who from time to time have contributed great vital energy to the progress of the cause.

The detailed story of Christianity's past has often been told and need not be repeated in the present connection. It will be our aim merely to indicate the chief stages of cultural development by which the Christian movement has been affected throughout the course of its expansion

and to appraise its significance as a shaping factor in the making of history. We shall be especially concerned to note the manner in which Christianity has met the different types of religious needs that have been most deeply felt by mankind, particularly within western civilization during the last nineteen hundred years.

I. *Christianity and Jewish Culture*

The religious movement that we now call Christianity arose within a highly developed Jewish civilization in Palestine about a hundred years after the Romans had come into possession of the country. Palestine was unhappily situated for any people who had an ambition to maintain political independence. It was, so to speak, at the crossroads of communication from east to west and north to south in that ancient world. On account of its strategic position this territory was coveted by every ancient regime that aspired to world power. Assyrians, Babylonians and Persians in turn possessed themselves of the land as their armies moved westward to the conquest of Egypt and the seaports on the Mediterranean. Then it fell a prey to Alexander the Great, and after his death it became a bone of contention between his successors who set up rival kingdoms in Egypt and in Syria. Scarcely had the Jews of Palestine shaken themselves loose from their Syrian overlords when the Romans appeared upon the scene and assumed responsibility for the administration of the government. Sometimes they intrusted the task to a local prince such as Herod the Great, while at other times a Roman official was placed in charge, as was the case in Judea when Jesus was crucified by Pontius Pilate.

Jewish civilization reared itself around the belief that the Hebrews were God's chosen people. Thus the political as well as the moral and spiritual interests of society were an integral part of religion. There was an inseparable unity between church and state; since both had the same divine origin, neither could be complete without the other. In Roman times the temple at Jerusalem with its elabor-

ate ceremonies, and the services in the synagogues where the scriptures were made available for the guidance of everyone, were of supreme religious worth. Yet the highest religious good remained unrealized while the foreign overlord, who policed the land, collected taxes from the people, maintained the supreme authority in the administration of justice, and filled the country with his idolatrous abominations, retained possession of the Holy Land. He must be driven out to make way for a new regime to be established by God himself, or by his representative called the Anointed One, the Messiah. The longing for deliverance from the yoke of the foreign oppressor was especially strong in the years immediately following the death of Herod the Great in 4 B.C., and it continued to increase in intensity until the outbreak of the great revolt of the Jews against the Romans in the year 66 A.D. For large numbers of Jews in Palestine during these restless years the most crucial religious problem of the hour was how and when the kingdom of God would be inaugurated.

The unrest that permeated Palestinian society in the opening decades of the present era invited the activity of adventurers and reformers with various proposals regarding the time and the manner in which God would effect the deliverance of his afflicted people. It seemed to many persons that the time had arrived for some momentous occurrence, but all were not agreed upon the means to be employed to drive out the Romans. Nor were all Jews of the same opinion as to the conditions to be fulfilled in order to bring about the divine intervention. Some advocated open revolution, declaring that if men would show a willingness to take up the sword on God's behalf he would give strength to their arms and insure their victory. Others were no less confident of ultimate triumph, but they were opposed to the policy of revolution and trusted completely in God to take the initiative and to accomplish the victory through a display of his almighty power. As they viewed the situation, the proper way to prepare for the coming of the new age was not to forge weapons and

train for war but to cultivate more assiduously the pious life as preparation for membership in a new society to be established in perfection when God himself, or his Messiah, should appear on earth to assemble the faithful in the restored kingdom.

It was in the interests of this second type of ideal that the Christian movement arose. It was in an attempt to prepare the Jewish people of Palestine for membership in the coming kingdom of God that the representatives of the movement sought to render their chief service to their fellows. John the Baptist had admonished his hearers to repent in preparation for the approaching day of judgment to precede the establishment of the new reign of God on earth. Jesus of Nazareth took up the message and spread it abroad more widely among the people. In the course of his activities he told his audience specifically what he thought to be the most worthy kind of life. He must have been well aware of the fact that the Jews were already equipped with an elaborate technique for guiding them in religious attainments, but in his experience he felt a recurrence of ancient prophetic fervor that gave him a sense of dissatisfaction, if not of impatience, with the conventional operations of the existing religious institutions. His own personal emotions prompted a fresh emphasis on closer and more direct contact with the Deity as the means of attaining to a new specialization in righteousness in preparation for membership in the coming kingdom of God.

Jesus and his friends thought to meet best the religious needs of their day by advocating a very simple but sincere manner of life. They stressed the cultivation of an attitude toward God like that of trustful children toward a loving father and the adoption of moral standards as high as those assumed for the conduct of God himself. Men were to be perfect as the Father in heaven is perfect. In their relations with their fellow-men the same simplicity and candor were to prevail. Their ideal was to love one's neighbor as one's self. If that neighbor happened to be a

violent person, as the Romans were, one was not to copy his bad example but to return him good for evil. As for the attitude toward the Roman government, taxes were to be paid to Caesar so long as God permitted Caesar to rule. Throughout the whole range of human thinking and action a simple honesty of motive and kindness of feeling were inculcated as the highest type of virtue by one who wished to prepare for membership in the kingdom of God. This was no easy-going attitude toward sin and sinners, nor was it an expression of indifference as to what political power should hold sway in Palestine. But those matters were entirely God's concern and consequently they would be taken care of more quickly and more adequately than could possibly be the case on any program of man's devising. The will of God was accepted, not in desperation or despair, but in confidence and in the full expectation of an early and satisfactory solution of their common problem.

Jesus threw himself into his work with zeal and abandon not unlike that of the ancient prophets who felt called by God to summon their contemporaries back to a life of renewed sincerity and heightened spiritual idealism in the midst of the distressing facts connected with the worldly society in which they were now living. Both the message of Jesus and his personal character made a forceful impression. Those who liked him were ardent in their admiration and those who disliked him were generous in their hatred. In contact with him his friends found an assurance of help for their unhappy situation as Jews of Palestine under Roman domination. But other persons, in fact the great majority of his contemporaries, were not favorably impressed with his activity and saw no promise for the future in discipleship to him. This outcome need not surprise us. A person who put himself forward as a religious guide in a society where the interests of religion had already been safeguarded by many carefully nourished institutions might well have expected just the sort of opposition that Jesus encountered. Professionally he

stood outside the established institutions. He could not claim to express their will even had he so desired, and he yielded his highest loyalty to an inner voice that might easily run counter to their decrees. Similarly the older prophets had stood without and above the institutions of their day, and in the name of an immediate and impelling religious conviction had set themselves to admonish princes or priests or any other formally constituted authority.

The friends of Jesus were doomed to disappointment. They expected the early establishment of God's new regime as a climax to the activities of their teacher, and his death was a tremendous shock to their hopes. The Romans were not driven from Palestine, but instead they nailed Jesus to a cross, just as they had of late been doing to hundreds of other Jews whom they thought a menace to the stability of their government. Now that its leader was gone the new movement was in a precarious condition. Its future looked exceedingly doubtful. The followers of Jesus, who apparently had been more concerned with the founding of a new political regime than with the religious values attaching to his message and personal example in living, could hardly imagine any reason for attempting to continue his work. As a matter of fact, when they did revive their activity their chief interest centered about a new phase of the hope of the coming kingdom. They now pictured Jesus raised to a position of authority at the right hand of God in heaven, whence he would presently descend to earth to redeem Palestine and gather together a new society of individuals from among his kinsmen worthy of membership in the kingdom of God. Christians went about preaching this doctrine among their fellow Jews, first in Palestine and then in the synagogues of the Dispersion around the Mediterranean, all the while striving to solve the age-old problem of realizing the political supremacy of the Hebrew God over the kings and emperors of earth.

In all of their missionary activity the Christian preachers attached chief importance to their announcement that

the crucified Jesus was the Jewish Messiah who would soon come from heaven to restore miraculously a theocratic kingdom in Palestine. It was still a long time before later generations of Jesus' disciples were to learn that the greatest abiding values connected with Jesus and his work lay primarily not in the political imagery of a new kingdom, so dear to the Jewish people when under Roman oppression, but in those more individual and personal religious attainments inspired by the words of Jesus regarding sincerity of motive and purity of heart in the daily relations of life.

In a strictly Jewish setting the Christian movement made but slight impression, perhaps because it was felt to meet no very pronounced need apart from its unfulfilled messianic promises. This political ideal soon proved false, and the disaster that overtook Jerusalem in the year 70 A.D., when the city and its temple were destroyed by the Romans, resulted in conditions still more unfavorable to the success of Christianity among the Jews. Later Christians learned by experience that the truest realization of the kingdom of God was not to be found in a political institution, but in the transformation of men's hearts and lives in conformity with Jesus' ideals of sincerity and purity. Yet even then the movement made no strong appeal to the Jews, who felt that they had other and more adequate means of cultivating these ideals. Christianity's future lay with the gentiles. In the opinion of the Jews it was no longer capable of rendering them any constructive and valuable service.

II. *Christianity and Gentile Culture*

When Christianity first entered the gentile field it was not with any intention of seeking a new and permanent home. On the contrary, its advocates, failing to win a satisfactory hearing among Jews of the Dispersion, conceived the idea of offering gentiles an opportunity to enter the new kingdom of God. Yet it was still to be essentially a Palestinian and Hebrew establishment. Jesus would return to Jerusalem and there set up the new

regime. Even so zealous a gentile missionary as Paul never imagined that the Christian movement would in future become a world-wide gentile enterprise severed completely from Judaism.

The gentile society of the Roman Empire proved to be a far more fertile soil for the growth of this new Oriental religion than even its most ardent advocates had at the outset anticipated. Already the syncretistic religions of the Empire were attempting to meet a demand that had been created through the rise of the new cosmopolitan society. Ultimately Christianity proved more effective than all of its rivals in the field. But its victory came only after years of growth in the Christian movement itself as its preaching and organization were shaped to suit the new environment. When it became the legal religion of the Roman state in the closing years of the fourth century it presented to the world a very different appearance from that which it had borne in the middle of the first century when it was introduced to gentiles by Paul and his companions.

Among the items in early Christian preaching that proved most attractive to gentiles was the invitation to believe in a prospective savior, a hero who had passed through the trials of an earthly career and ascended victoriously to heaven whence he would presently return to pass judgment upon the living and the dead and bestow on his followers the reward of eternal blessedness. By the first disciples of Jesus this figure had been portrayed in purely Jewish imagery, but in the gentile world it rapidly took on new characteristics. The gentiles were already thoroughly familiar with belief in heroic persons who by their labors on earth had rendered distinguished service to their fellow-men and had been rewarded by elevation to a position of dignity among the gods. The contemporary syncretistic faiths were permeated by this type of thinking and the Christian Jesus rapidly entered into this heritage. Gradually he lost his distinctive traits as a Jewish Messiah and, through the reverence paid him in the

rites of the Christian cult and in the speculations of the Christian theologians, he became the one all-sufficient mediator between God and man, fully divine and fully human. Consequently he was capable of guaranteeing a salvation that covered all the needs of mankind, while it was backed by the full power of the supreme Deity.

One very significant change had to be made in early Christian thinking about Jesus before he could meet a particular type of religious need then prevalent in the gentile world. In surveying the syncretistic religions of that age one is struck by the growth of individualism. Religions that men once thought adequate because they insured protection for a race or a local community were being rapidly superseded by another type of cult in which personal experience was the feature of central importance. By a voluntary act the worshiper attached himself to a particular god and in return for his action received a very realistic sense of the deity's interest in his personal welfare. The accompanying emotional experience signified for the new convert the cementing of a bond of union between himself and the god. The Jewish Messiah had never been pictured in any such personal role. He was the savior of a nation, or of a select group within the Jewish race, rather than of individual men. If the gentiles wanted his protection they must first join the Jewish race, else they could not hope to secure membership in the messianic community of the redeemed.

Already before the year 50 A.D. there were gentiles who had heard about Jesus from preachers like Paul and Barnabas and had attached themselves to him after the distinctly gentile manner of appropriating the benefits to be derived from the worship of a heroic savior. They were quite satisfied with the results of the new experience that had come to them through joining the Christian community. In the initiatory rite of baptism the new convert experienced a sense of union with the savior, and in the repeated observance of the Lord's Supper he renewed from time to time his awareness of the divine presence as he

partook of the sacred food. In the assemblies of the believers, as they prayed or prophesied or spoke with tongues, they felt the power of the new God in their midst. He healed the sick and drove demons out of those possessed. They could easily forget the Jewish pictures of a messianic salvation, since through personal experience they already felt the presence of the savior in their community.

This transformation from a messianic savior of Jews into a hero-savior fully available for any individual, Jew or gentile, whose personal faith fixed itself on him, created for Paul and other missionaries one of the most crucial problems that arose in the early history of the new movement. It was only natural that Palestinian disciples of Jesus should feel that the gentile convert who failed to join the Jewish society, which required the rite of circumcision, would find himself in a precarious situation when Jesus returned to set up the messianic kingdom in Jerusalem. But men of broader experience, such as Paul, knew very well that no religion could any longer serve effectively in the gentile world at large if it adhered to racial and national ideals and refused to place salvation upon a personal basis. Henceforth gentile Christianity was to be a religion of the personal type. Values were secured, not through membership in any racial unit, but by means of one's position in a new society of redeemed people who had each obtained a new experience of assurance that his life had been linked with God by suitable sacred rites. Thus Christianity was no longer a Jewish messianic movement, but was a new sacramental institution not unlike the mystery religions that were functioning in a similar manner.

Christianity contributed further to the making of gentile religion through the ethical heritage which it carried forward from Judaism and from the teaching of Jesus. In this respect it was unique as a religion among gentiles. In their world it had fallen to the lot of the philosopher rather than the priest to provide society with its formal

ethical instruction, while it was the more specific business of religion to deal with the supernatural. In Christianity these two very important services were now combined, and in this respect the new religion made one of its most significant contributions to the civilization of that day. It derived materials for moral instruction from the Jewish scriptures and from the collected teachings of Jesus. To these heritages it added also contributions from contemporary Stoic teachers, who were the great gentile moralists of the age. By these means it sought to insure purity of character and rectitude in conduct on the part of every member of the church. But one must remember that Christianity always presented itself as first a supernatural salvation, and secondarily and consequently an ideal ethics.

The success of Christianity in the Roman Empire was also due in no small measure to the attention which it gave to social welfare. The sense of brotherhood was very strong among its members. At first opposition and persecution had helped to weld the brotherhood more solidly together and had heightened the importance of its charitable activities. While its ministrations were directed principally toward the unfortunate members of its own group, they often extended to society at large. Amid the various guilds, brotherhoods and religious associations that marked the social life of the Roman Empire, the Christian church soon became the most conspicuous. It magnified the virtues of brotherly love and charity, and it so organized its activities as to make possible the effective application of its ideals.

While the Christian church opened wide its doors to every class of society, and proudly boasted that it could take the worst sinners and through its divine energy transform them into the purest of saints, there was still a rather marked exclusiveness about the group. Christians appeared to be a separate people, neither Jews nor gentiles, but a "third race." They were like Jews in stoutly refusing to pay allegiance to any of the pagan gods. But

as a matter of fact they appropriated a wide range of religious functions and values that gradually undermined the operations of their most formidable rivals. All other cults were declared to be satanically inspired while Christianity alone was said to represent the only true God. Its adherents refused to participate in any idolatrous ceremonies. They would worship neither the emperor nor the traditional gods of the Roman state. Thus they maintained their distinctive identity; they developed a strong sense of social solidarity; and they successfully withstood all opposition, even persecution by the Roman government.

By the middle of the third century the growing Christian organization seemed to the authorities a serious menace to the state. Here was a powerful institution which refused to worship the ancient gods who were assumed to be the protectors of the Roman government. The neglect of these deities was thought to be the cause of those calamities that now threatened the overthrow of the declining empire. Christianity must be eradicated if the state was to survive. But an institution so thoroughly rooted in society as Christianity had now become could not be suppressed by a government as feeble as was the imperial regime in the third and fourth centuries. This the emperors themselves presently discovered. They had long been accustomed to accept new gods whose growing popularity seemed likely to offer new supernatural assistance to the state. Similarly, the very fact of the church's prosperity and growth in the Roman world led to the natural conclusion that the Christian God might be a real power among the other deities of the universe. Thereupon emperors decided to seek his aid also in support of the state. At first Christianity was accepted on trial as one of the approved religions, but before the close of the fourth century it had become so well established that it was made the only legal religion of the state.

Christianity had already assumed guardianship over a wide range of Roman society's cultural interests and now it took under its wing even the political order. It ex-

plained impending calamities as due to the failure of the rulers to worship the true God. Henceforth this mistake was to be corrected. Officials of the Christian church became the most important personages in the state. Bishops were the agents of the emperor in the discharge of public duties and the disbursement of public funds appropriated to the service of religion. They were advisers of emperors and did not hesitate to call even the most powerful of them sharply to account when their conduct deviated from the standards of the church.

Christianity was now the guardian of the total cultural life. It was the patron of all legitimate art and literature. All philosophy became Christian theology. All social and political activities were subject to its supervision. Church and state fused and Christianity was on the way to becoming the City of God on earth.

III Christianity in Medieval Society

The Christian church had been accepted by the Roman government as its sole religious support just in time to witness the death agonies of the western empire. The barbarian peoples of the north swarmed into southern Europe in larger and larger numbers, bringing on a period of decadence that we are wont to call the Dark Ages. Perhaps the situation was not so utterly bad as it has sometimes been depicted, but it certainly was a time of extensive breakdown in the customary values of civilization. Its cities, its government, its industries, its commerce, its wealth, its entertainments, its intellectual and artistic creativity, and its cultural interests in general rapidly deteriorated. But collapse was accompanied by a slow process of reconstruction in which the church played an important part.

Christianity had become so thoroughly integrated with the Roman world at large that it participated both in the processes of decay and in those of revival. Like other institutions the new features that emerged within it were shaped in accordance with the tastes and capacities of the new peoples who were more or less ready to learn

from the past but who naturally enough made their activities conform in the main to the needs of the moment. A new generation of members and leaders in the church meant that even this ancient foundation should reflect in no slight degree the temper of the times. Yet no one of the older institutions carried over into the new state of affairs the same measure of momentum—or perhaps one should call it inertia—that characterized the church. Also the situation offered Christianity a new opportunity to show its efficiency in serving humanity at a time when a display of fresh religious energy was greatly to be desired.

Christianity was the only institution that furnished even the semblance of unity and common direction to the civilization of early medieval Europe. It dominated, or professed to dominate, every area of human interest whether pertaining to this world or to the world to come, and for several centuries no one ventured to question its authority. A thoroughly disorganized society demanded a new protector and no agency was at hand so competent as the church to assume responsibility for this task. In later times, when society had developed within itself new agencies for directing its interests and activities, it resented the aggressiveness of a church that by long habit had come to look upon itself as the sole authority over the whole of life. Then the church was charged with arrogating to itself privileges that were not its rightful possession and this criticism was read back into its earlier history. But this was not wholly correct. While it is true that the leaders of the church in the early medieval period were sometimes not averse to assuming unlimited responsibility for society's direction it must be admitted that in a very real sense they were not impertinent aggressors but were actual benefactors to the men of their day. If a Roman bishop headed a delegation to meet a barbarian invader it was not because the church was arrogantly inserting itself into politics but rather because its leader was the outstanding man of the community to whom the populace naturally looked for direction and help.

Christianity was called upon for a wide range of services extending from the simple needs of the humblest peasant to the more complex experiences of the medieval noble. There was no area in this whole range of interests where the church was unwilling to enter or where in fact its presence was not demanded. From peasant to prince the society of that day looked to Christianity for divine guidance. While the church accepted this responsibility not ungrudgingly, it did so with serious intent and a feeling of assurance that it was walking in the path of duty. When, later, men became convinced that they had better ways of access to the will of God, and when princes grew bolder in maintaining the divine right of a king independently of ecclesiastical authorization, it was not surprising that the representatives of the long established churchly institution should protest with all their might. It was inevitable that they should be distrustful of those new voices that people were hearing in later times and interpreting as the whisperings of the divine will.

As a supernatural instrument in the service of humanity, Christianity enabled early medieval society to reconstruct various areas of its shattered life with a large measure of satisfaction and assurance. The parish priest might be an illiterate person, and none too exacting in his morals, but those facts did not mar the satisfaction felt by the individual who, at one or another critical moment in life, needed the divine ministrations which the priest alone could render. The important thing was that the power of the divine church should be mediated, at birth, at marriage, at death, in times of sickness or pestilence or in any other significant act of life. In this way the welfare of both the individual and the community was supernaturally protected.

Even in what would now be called purely secular affairs the medieval church was inevitably involved. In a society inadequately equipped with courts of justice to try civil cases the church assumed a large measure of this responsibility. Had this justice been less arbitrarily di-

vine it might at times have been more generously tempered with mercy, yet one was sure to fare better in an ecclesiastical court than at the hands of a medieval brigand.

The influence of Christianity upon the political reconstruction of medieval society was of great importance. In an age of regnant supernaturalism neither a new king nor his subjects could feel entirely satisfied that his regime had been properly launched until the mark of heaven had been set upon his brow. But unfortunately there were two types of political ideal that rivaled one another for ultimate recognition in the new European society. One, taken over from Roman civilization and sponsored by the Bishop of Rome, exalted the notion of an all-pervading imperialism. But among the barbarian settlers there developed in the course of time a powerful trend in the direction of nationalism. While the church on occasion was willing to make kings it was never entirely happy in the thought that European society was to lose its imperial unity and be ruled by a number of independent monarchs. The ecclesiastical pattern called for an emperor who should be supreme among temporal powers and subject to the supremacy of the spiritual power represented by the pope. For centuries medieval thinking agonized over this issue but never arrived at a final solution.

In the realm of artistic production the Christianity of medieval times has left one of its most abiding contributions to civilization. In a more material age it would hardly have been conceivable that a none too pecunious society would contribute so large a proportion of its means for the building of those magnificent monuments that remain in the form of medieval cathedrals. But in a day when men fixed their gaze intently upon the life beyond they could gladly devote their time and substance to creations of the artists's ideal world. Medieval art is largely the expression in form and color of the extravagant supernaturalism that elicited the devotion of peasant, priest

and prince alike in their respective areas of activity. They lived in fleeting and transitory time, but they built for eternity.

Were we to choose a single word to indicate in general the type of influence exercised by Christianity over all spheres of life in the Middle Ages it would be the term authority. All human conduct and thinking were subjected to this ideal. For men of that day this order of things was not altogether an evil. It might provide no very strong incentive toward creative moral and intellectual attainments, but it had excellent disciplinary value. And that age was much in need of police supervision, all the more effective because exercised in the name of Heaven. In a day when as yet empirical and scientific observation had provided no tools for any other mental procedure, it could have meant only chaos had men attempted to think through the problems of life and history in any terms other than those of authority and revelation. Today we may not like the postulates on which Thomas Aquinas wrote his system of theology, any more than we accept the reality of the angels painted by Michelangelo, and yet we may admire the mental seriousness of Aquinas as well as the artistic feeling of Michelangelo.

IV. Christianity and Modern Culture

By constituting itself a supreme authority over every sphere of human interest Christianity had become the universally recognized guardian of medieval civilization. But ultimately there came a day when the needs of mankind began to change. First in one and then in another sphere of interest the ideal of authority began to break down. By the opening of the fifteenth century the spirit of liberty was already awakening and in succeeding centuries it rapidly gained momentum. The agitating influences were varied in character. From the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries new developments within medieval society had already begun to change the pattern of life and make inevitable the coming of a new age in cultural evolution.

The estate of a feudal noble could no longer remain the chief territorial unit. With the increase of population came the growth of trade and commerce. A new machinery of government had to be devised to stabilize larger geographical areas and to establish between these units more permanent and orderly relations. Thus began the interest in national and international affairs with which we are so familiar today. This movement in the direction of nationalism furnished the Christianity of the Middle Ages one of the most serious problems with which it had to deal. The ultimate consequences of this development necessitated on the part of the Christian movement a radical re-interpretation of its task in relation to the total processes of cultural evolution. Inevitably, different types of culture arose in different centers like England and France and Germany. A Christianity that had been adequate to the needs of a united medieval Europe, appealing to the pope of Rome as the highest source of authority over all of life's interests, could no longer be expected to serve competently the new world where separate and distinct nations were arising and prospering.

Even within the church itself there were indications of disintegration tending to weaken the power of the institution. It lacked a broad-visioned leader in the papal chair who could sense the spirit of the times. Once it had been possible for a pope to defy successfully a king or an emperor by threatening to withhold the church's ministrations from the subjects of the prince. But now that was no longer possible. In the opening of the fourteenth century the king of France took possession of the pope and removed his residence from Rome to Avignon. It was a century before his prestige began to recover itself in Europe at large. Then, too, the awakening moral sense of society was offended by the evidences of worldliness that were to be found in the church. Simony, the sale of indulgences, financial abuses, and even the charge of immorality against many of the clergy, no longer escaped attention. Even a series of general councils or

Christendom, held with the professed intention of accomplishing reformation within the church, proved incapable of satisfying the current demand.

The rising stream of new vital energy was fed by many tributaries. New values of both a spiritual and material sort were recognized. The business of feudal society had been conducted in a very simple manner. Men traded in goods and in services, and land was the chief form of property. Money was unknown; it had no current value. But with the increase of population more laborers were available and they produced more articles than could be used in a local medieval village. Thus trade with other villages arose and towns grew up as manufacturing and trading centers. Men's horizons began to expand as contacts with other localities enlarged. Previously society had taken account of only two principal classes, the nobles and the clergy. But now there appeared a prosperous middle class, the bourgeoisie, the so-called "third estate," with which both church and nobles had to learn to reckon.

The growing independence of a middle class was only one of the forces that menaced the authority of an established church. A new spirit of individualism was also awakened. Just as in the Roman Empire, the mingling of peoples together in the world at large and the rise of the individual's feeling of responsibility for his own welfare generated a new type of society, so now there was a great stimulus toward initiative on the part of aggressive persons. This urge might express itself in some new invention like that of printing or in a voyage of exploration that would open up new worlds, and every advancement added to the new sense of resources and power at the disposal of mankind. The accumulation of wealth meant more leisure for study and reflection, contacts with other peoples furnished new ideas and intellectual stimuli, and the invention of printing made possible the wider circulation of knowledge. Thus many interests and activities over which it had been the privilege of the church previously to preside now moved in channels of their own

making and with a force that could not be resisted even by this powerful institution.

Christianity itself was too closely integrated with these new cultural developments to remain unaffected by the awakening temper of the times. While there were indeed ample evidences of worldliness within the church itself, the spiritual interests of the period were not dormant. They found new expression in the exalted piety of the medieval mystics, who felt no conflict between themselves and the church, but who in reality had caught the vision of the new day that was about to dawn. At the same time there were others readier to break with, or at least to criticize sharply, the conventional operations of religion. One recalls such movements as were represented by the Albigenses and the Waldenses, or the activities of a Wyclif and a Huss, or the fiery preaching of a Savonarola. This swelling stream of revolt against the authority of the ecclesiastical institution finally overflowed its banks in the sixteenth century and rapidly permeated northern and central Europe. We usually call it the Protestant Reformation.

The Reformation, as a revolt against the authority of an ancient institution gave right of way to the new cultural interests of sixteenth-century Europe. But at this point it is easy to misread the mind of the reformers. They were still thinking of religion fundamentally in terms of an authority laid down in the past. They differed from the pope chiefly in denying authority to his office and claiming it instead for the ancient scriptures. In reality they were tremendously influenced by forces operating in their immediate environment, but when they attempted to rephrase the significance of the Christian movement for the civilization of their time they adopted the customary procedure of applying norms derived from antiquity. Fortunately, however, the bible was an ancient book whose original meaning was not always clear and therefore was capable of being adjusted to the require-

ments of a new age. Interpretation could quite unconsciously read new interests into the sacred text.

At the outset both Catholicism and Protestantism occupied common ground in offering to mankind the guidance of a supernatural authority. The former found this guidance in an ecclesiastical organization headed by the pope while the latter located it in the bible as interpreted by the authorized theologians of the church. Catholicism has maintained its original stand down to the present moment, while large numbers of Protestants still adhere to the biblical theory propounded by their ancestors in the sixteenth century. But once the Protestant principle had been established, that individuals or groups were at liberty to follow the dictates of conscience, the doctrine of an ultimate and infallible authority was virtually undermined for all time to come. The cultural situation of the individual now became determinative for his thinking, and a religious institution had to justify its existence in terms of its functional efficiency as an instrument for nourishing and perpetuating spiritual values.

Whether the effectiveness of Christianity in modern civilization has been increased or diminished in consequence of the diversity in the movement resulting from the application of the Protestant principle of liberty, is a question that different persons may answer in different ways. But what religion thus loses on the side of universal authority it gains in the realm of personal tastes and satisfactions. Where there is much variety in cultural attainments and personal inclinations, different religious activities and organizations are necessarily required in order to meet the total range of men's needs. Since Protestantism has made this variation possible it has really given a greater vitality to the Christian movement. Some observers predict the early demise of Protestantism on the ground of its diversity and lack of central authority. But this judgment implies the validity of a totalitarian rather than of a democratic philosophy of life. From the standpoint of democracy one might pre-

dict that a Christianity capable of expressing itself as diversely as are the characteristics of modern human culture would have the best of chances to endure.

Whatever the future may bring forth, at least one thing is clear. The highest service which Christianity renders to mankind no longer rests fundamentally upon the maintenance of an infallible church, but upon the power of religious ideals to make themselves effective in the lives of men. Since the dawn of the Reformation ecclesiastical establishments have gradually been forced to retire from various areas of culture. They no longer speak the final word in politics, in art, in literature, in philosophy, in science, in civic affairs, or for some of us even in the area of personal religious opinions. But if Christianity lacks formal authority in these spheres of modern civilization we are not to conclude that it therefore lacks function. To pervade all of these areas of culture, not by the utterances of an ecclesiastical fiat but by the inspiring leaven of high ideals, is still a worthy task for the Christian church.

Christianity cannot hope to endure if it interprets itself as something extraneous to normal cultural evolution. Its moral and spiritual ideals must find concrete embodiment in human activities and institutions. One sometimes asks whether Christianity can save our modern civilization. Certainly it cannot unless civilization is allowed to become the vehicle by which the Christian religion is carried forward in the concrete processes of cultural life.

NOTES and NEWS

THE FLORIDA SCHOOL OF RELIGION

So many inquiries have recently come to us about the Florida School of Religion that it would appear to be a matter of sufficiently general interest to justify a printed statement regarding its present work. The School is of comparatively recent origin and is thus far largely in the experimental stage. But after a little more than a year of operation its function is becoming more clearly definable and the need it has met is more fully appreciable.

Organization

The Florida School of Religion was established under a charter granted by the State of Florida on March 15, 1940. The charter empowered it to "conduct a religious institution of learning, possessing all the powers incident to such institutions, including the right to prescribe proper courses of study and confer proper degrees upon the completion thereof." Steps were promptly taken to carry out the provisions of the charter through the organization of a group of trustees composed of S. J. Case, E. E. Kelley, R. B. Gilbert, Robert Tolle, Dana Coman and L. H. Terry. The officers elected by the trustees were R. B. Gilbert, President; Dana Coman, Vice-President; Robert Tolle, Secretary-Treasurer. An executive Committee was appointed consisting of R. B. Gilbert, Chairman; Dana Coman, Robert Tolle and S. J. Case.

Faculty

The members of the faculty carrying on instruction at the present time are Shirley Jackson Case, Dean and Professor of Biblical and Doctrinal Studies; Charles T. Thrift, Jr., Secretary of the Faculty and Professor of Historical Studies; Charles Warren Hawkins, Professor of Linguistic and Educational Studies; and George Lee Tenney, Professor of Music. During one week in the year the School brings in a special lecturer for a series of addresses that subsequently appear in book form. The

first of these series was given in 1940 by Dean Willard Learoyd Sperry of Harvard Divinity School and they are now available in his volume on *What We Mean by Religion*. In 1941 Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam of Boston gave the lectures which have just appeared in his recent book, *The Ethical Ideals of Jesus in a Changing World*. At the same time the Dean of the School of Religion delivered a supplementary series of addresses that have also appeared in book form under the title *Christianity in a Changing World*. The lecturer for 1942 is to be Dean Lynn Harold Hough of Drew Theological Seminary.

Purpose

In general the purpose of the School of Religion is:

First, to meet the needs of those who desire to become intelligent about religion as an aspect of our total cultural heritage. In consequence of the American principle of separation between church and state, educational institutions supported by the state have found it difficult to make religion an essential part of their curricula. The result is that many educated persons are left without any intelligent awareness of the conspicuous place occupied by religion in our modern civilization. The School of Religion seeks to correct this defect.

Second, many students who expect to engage in secular callings desire at the same time to acquire an education that will enable them to participate actively and effectively in the life of the churches in their respective communities. The School of Religion aims to meet their needs by offering general courses of an untechnical and non-professional type portraying religion in its functional aspects in modern society.

Third, the School seeks to serve those students who may be preparing to enter the Christian ministry as a profession. They will be introduced to the various fields of study leading up to specializing in ministerial training. They will be given an understanding of the methods of study to be pursued, the scholarly approach to problems, and the tasks involved in the professional education of the preach-

er and pastor. This preparation should greatly enhance the value of their subsequent study in the theological seminary, but it is not intended as a substitute for such study.

Fourth, provision is also made for helping persons now in the active ministry to pursue further study in guided reading courses carried on by correspondence or by occasional conferences with instructors.

Degrees

The only degree for which provision has yet been made in the School of Religion is that of Master of Arts. The requirements for this degree are:

First, candidates must previously have obtained a Bachelor of Arts degree, or its academic equivalent, from an accredited college.

Second, a candidate must complete at least fifteen courses, each constituting the equivalent of three term hours, and secure an average of not less than B grade for his work in these courses.

Third, a final examination, oral or written as may be determined by circumstances, covering the entire area of work presented for the degree must be satisfactorily passed.

Fourth, an acceptable thesis on some topic connected with the student's special field of interest must be presented.

Courses of Instruction

The aim of the courses of instruction is to furnish a comprehensive understanding of the position and function of religion in the making of our modern civilization.

First, there is a historical survey of the evolution of the Hebrew and Christian religions from earliest times down to the present day. To this is added also a sketch of the various other religions that have survived to modern times in the Near East, India, China and Japan.

Second, attention is given to biblical studies designed to show how this body of religious literature arose, and to interpret the work of great creative personalities.

Third, the development of the Christian type of religious beliefs will be outlined from the beginnings down to the widely varied types of thinking current in modern times.

Fourth, students will be made acquainted with the operations of the Christian religion in the present-day world through educational activities, the organization of churches and denominations, and the adjustment of religious thinking to the various aspects of modern culture and social life.

Fifth, should a sufficient number of students desire to begin the study of Hebrew or New Testament Greek, instruction in these languages will be provided. A class in beginning Greek is now in operation.

Informal Courses

In addition to formal classroom instruction as announced in the class schedule each term, a series of so-called "informal" courses is made available for private study. These are designed to stimulate the student to cultivate habits of study on his own account and skill in reading the literature on the subject. In each course he is provided with a syllabus indicating the main lines to be pursued, the general method of study, the distinctive features of the several books to be read, the chief problems to engage his attention in the acquisition of knowledge, and the specific issues that invite his reflective thinking and judgment. There are periodic consultations, either in person or by correspondence, with the instructor as a means of checking up on the student's progress and furnishing such guidance as he may need in the pursuit of his work. No course will be completed until a final examination has been passed, and when completed each course will carry a credit of three term-hours.

All of the informally conducted courses are available at any time, according to the needs of the individual student, and may be completed quickly or leisurely as his time for study permits. These courses are grouped according to four main types, namely, historical, biblical,

doctrinal and practical. The letters after the course numbers (H, B, D, P) indicate respectively, each of these types and a student may choose any of these fields as his special interest.

These courses have apparently met a very definite need. Since they were inaugurated a little over a year ago 130 of them have been taken by 80 different students and the demand is constantly increasing. Following are the informal courses at present available:

201H. Christianity in Roman Society. The two textbooks prescribed are S. J. Case, *Social Origins of Christianity* and S. J. Case, *The Social Triumph of the Ancient Church*.

210H. Outline History of Christianity. The first text used is A. G. Baker (editor), *A Short History of Christianity*. This will be supplemented by some other book in line with the student's area of interest.

213H. Christianity in America. Text: W. W. Sweet, *The Story of Religion in America*.

302H. History of Methodism. Text: W. W. Sweet, *Methodism in American History*, supplemented by a second book chosen in line with the student's special interest.

332H. Non-Christian World Religions. Texts: C. S. Braden, *The World's Religions*, and a second book later to be determined.

201B. Modern Biblical Study. Texts: E. C. Colwell, *The Study of the Bible* and a second book in accordance with the student's preference.

203B. New Testament Beliefs. Text: E. W. Parsons, *The Religion of the New Testament*.

301B. Life and Religion of Jesus. Texts: S. J. Case, *Jesus, a New Biography*, and S. J. Case, *Jesus Through the Centuries*.

302B. Life and Religion of Paul. Text: B. W. Robinson,

- The Life of Paul*, and readings in the Pauline Epistles.
- 303B. Literature of the Old Testament. Texts: I. G. Matthews, *Old Testament Life and Literature* and J. A. Bewer, *The Literature of the Old Testament*.
- 304B. Literature of the New Testament. Text: E. F. Scott, *Literature of the New Testament*.
- 201D. Growth of Christian Ideas. Text: S. J. Case, *Highways of Christian Doctrine*, supplemented by a book in the ancient, medieval or modern field as the interest of the student may determine.
- 202D. The Nature of Christianity. Text: S. J. Case, *Christianity in a Changing World*.
- 304D. Modern Religious Philosophies. Text: E. A. Burt, *Types of Religious Philosophy*.
- 201P. The Work of the Minister. Texts: A. W. Palmer, *The Minister's Job*, and an additional book dealing with some special aspect of the minister's task that may be of special interest to the student.
- 202P. The Work of the Church. Text: W. C. Bower (editor), *The Church at Work in the Modern World*.
- 311P. Christianity and Modern Social Problems. Texts: selected pamphlets.

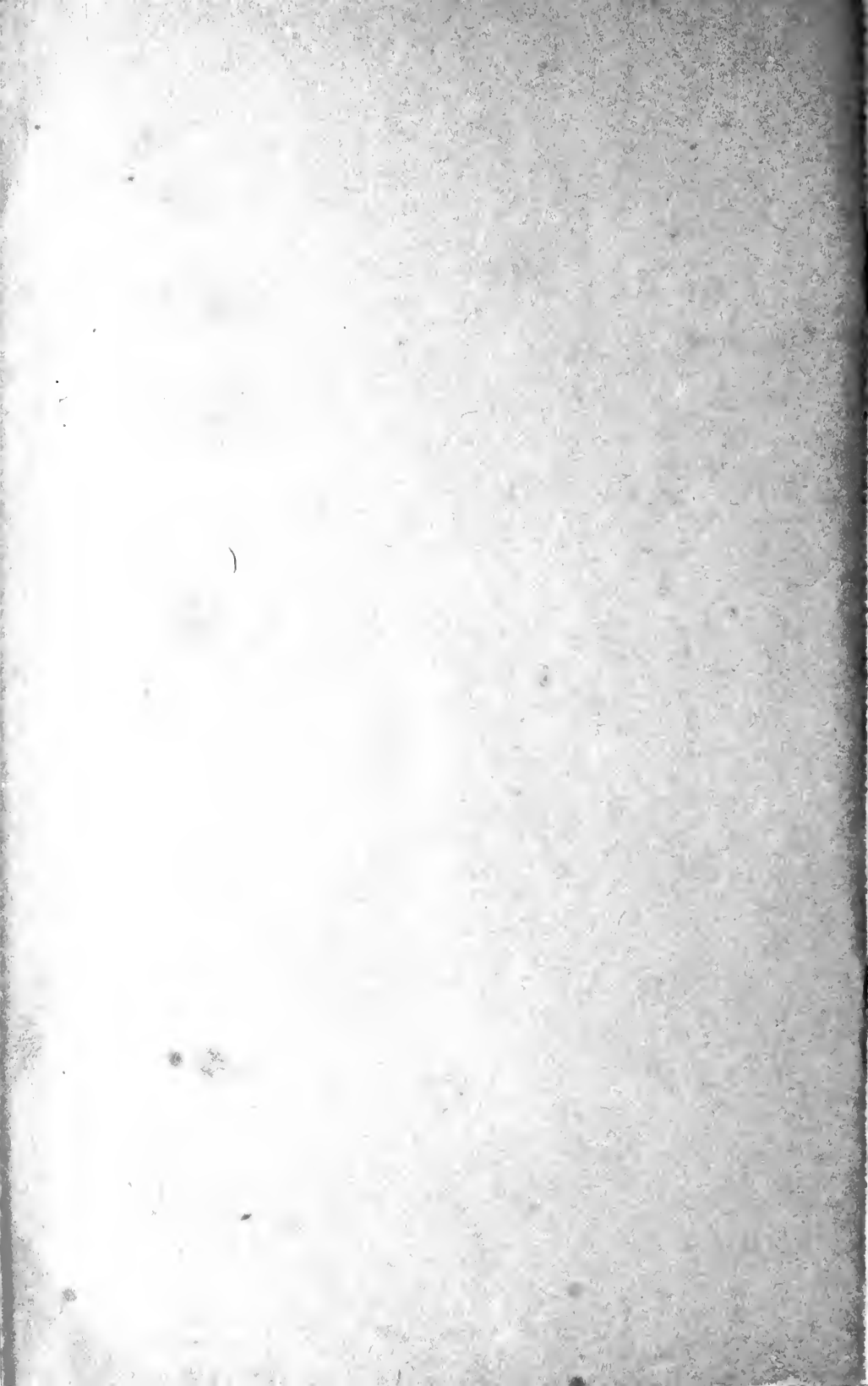
Fees

The charge for tuition is \$12.00 per course. This is the same for both formal and informal courses. Normally a student must purchase his own textbooks, but a rental library is gradually being accumulated for the informal courses. When a book is available it may be rented for from 35 cents to 50 cents per month, depending on the price of the book.

Information

For information address:
Shirley Jackson Case, Dean, Florida School of Religion,
Box 146, Florida Southern College, Lakeland, Florida.





RELIGION In The Making

VOLUME II

JANUARY, 1942

No. 2

KEEPING SANE IN A WORLD LIKE OURS

By Shailer Mathews

NAZIISM AND THE GERMAN CHURCH

By Gerald B. Switzer

SOME BASIC CONCEPTIONS OF CHRISTIAN
THOUGHT TO THE REFORMATION

By Ray C. Petry

THE LANGUAGE MISSIONS

By Roy H. Johnson

THE ATTITUDE OF JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES
TOWARD THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

By Herbert H. Stroup

FLORIDA SCHOOL OF RELIGION, LAKELAND, FLA.

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ANNOUNCEMENT

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OUR CONTRIBUTORS

SHAILER MATHEWS was, at the time of his death last October, Dean Emeritus of the Divinity School of the University of Chicago. He had been Professor of Historical Theology and Dean of the Divinity School for many years before his retirement in 1933. Dr. Mathews was associated in an editorial and executive capacity with many of the major religious organizations and movements in this country. He was president of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America from 1912 to 1916, and of the Northern Baptist Convention in 1915; trustee of the Church Peace Union from 1914, and Director of Religious Work at the Chautauqua Institution from 1912 to 1934. He wrote numerous books during the last half century, and did much to shape the social philosophy of American Christianity. His article published in this number was written about two weeks before his death and was the last to come from his pen.

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GERALD B. SWITZER is Professor of Church History in Union College of British Columbia, Vancouver, B. C. He holds the Ph. D. degree from the University of Chicago. Dr. Switzer has contributed a number of articles to the various religious publications in Canada.

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RAY C. PETRY is Assistant Professor of Church History in the Divinity School of Duke University. A native of Eaton, Ohio, he received his A. B. degree from Manchester College, his A. M. and Ph. D. degrees from the University of Chicago. He was formerly Assistant Professor of History in Manchester and McPherson Colleges, and Professor and Head of the Department of Religion in McPherson College. He has published numerous criti-

cal reviews and several articles in such leading scholarly journals as *Church History* and *The Journal of Religion*. He has recently published his volume on *Francis of Assisi: Apostle of Poverty*.

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ROY H. JOHNSON is Professor of History in Thiel College, Greenville, Pennsylvania. He received his Ph. D. degree at the University of Chicago in 1929. He has done considerable research on the subject he treats in his article on "The Language Missions," and has from time to time presented some of the results of his research to various learned societies.

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HERBERT H. STROUP is a graduate of Union Theological Seminary in New York City. He is now working on his Ph. D. degree at The New School for Social Research, and is planning to write his doctor's dissertation on the work of the Jehovah's Witnesses.

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KEEPING SANE IN A WORLD LIKE OURS

By Shailer Mathews
University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

Living in a world like ours is like being lost in a forest. No one who has had that experience wants to repeat it. If he is not a trained woodsman, when he finds himself off the trail in a forest, he wants to run. The more he runs, the more panic-stricken he becomes. Around camp fires guides will tell stories of lost men who threw away their guns and coats and tore through the woods bent on getting back to camp, but having no idea where the camp was. They paid no attention to landmarks; they climbed no trees to get a view of the terrain. Such panic-stricken people must be rescued, the guides say, within forty-eight hours, or they will grow insane and die from panic and exposure.

Anyone is liable to get lost in the woods, but a good woodsman knows what to do. He will sit down and take account of the situation. He may climb a tree to look for familiar landmarks. If the sun is hidden and he has no compass, he will study the bark of the trees, the flow of brooks, and other signs that indicate direction. Then, without panic, he goes on his way back to camp.

This parable is applicable to our present situation. The world which seemed so familiar looks strange and threatening. We are lost in the forest of propaganda, social change, international intrigues, economic struggle, racial enmities, religious and moral disillusion, war. If we want to keep our heads we need to use our common sense.

I am not at all sure that all people want to be sane in a world like ours. There is luxury in emotional excesses, whether they be those of optimism or pessimism. It is easy for one's logic to reach into all sorts of desirable and undesirable conclusions. In many cases this emotional release is camouflaged under a claim of moral sincerity. But sincerity is no test of wisdom. Too often conscience may become a combination of passions and obstinacy.

It may sound hopelessly Philistine to say that for the rank and file of us there is little to be gained from psychology. True, there are those sufficiently detached from life to be able to tell us why we are panic-stricken and point out the causes of our panic. They are physicians studying their patient. The difficulty is that most of us are the patient. Sociological diagnosis may disclose what is going on in the world, but such knowledge may simply add new problems to those we already face. We are sicker than we thought. A sense of futility seems a welcome an-aesthetic.

But there is a practical treatment of the condition which the social psychologist describes. The man who is lost in the woods may not know the geological history of the terrain he must cross, but if he keeps his head he knows that water runs downhill and the sun does not rise in the west. Common sense need not be unintelligent. For those who really want to maintain a sane attitude in the midst of the uncertainties of the present situation there are some considerations which have weight.

The first of these considerations is the fact that we are not living in an insane world but in a Titanic struggle between ideologies. The development of mass production and the unification of life by new methods of communication and transportation have inevitably resulted in different conceptions as to how group action, whether it be of economics or politics, shall be organized. There results more than a struggle between capitalism and its rivals. It is really a struggle as to the relative importance of the individual and the state. On the one side is a nationalism made supreme by coercion, and on the other side is an individualism adjusted to group action. When we realize that the confusion with which our day seems filled is not born of anarchy but is an aspect of the struggle between two rival conceptions as to how human life should be organized, we can see that action based upon intelligent choice is saner than lamentation and panic.

A second aid to sanity is the habit of criticizing or, as accountants would say, "breaking down" daily news and

propaganda. We need to remember that the news service is more or less perfunctory. Much of it, necessarily, is hardly more than gossip and guess work. If one were to compare the prophecies which many commentators have made during the past year, their mistakes and prejudices would be at once apparent. It is only common sense to treat them with skepticism. Foreign correspondents are under direct or indirect censorship, and stories which they send us can be treated as only approximately accurate. Certain cities are hotbeds of gossip and conjecture, and any statements that come from them are fair objects of suspicion. The nearest approach that we can get to facts is *post eventum* news. Even official communiques have to be taken with a very considerable caution. They are of the nature of propaganda and are not likely to give information which would be valuable to the enemy or discouraging to the nation they represent. It is easier to believe some communiques than others, but they all should be sifted to discover facts.

One must recognize also the technique of those who wish to stir the emotions by the use of slogans and descriptive terms. It is an elemental method to arouse prejudice and hostility by the use of terms which arouse passion. Every demagogue smears an opponent by some term which arouses passion and prejudice. That same critical attitude which leads one to distinguish facts from interpretation will keep us from letting vocabularies rule our sympathies.

It may be objected that such an attitude of skepticism or criticism will leave us in uncertainty as to actual situations. That is true. But the refusal to be gullible will keep one from being submerged in forebodings. And, on the whole, it is better to be uncertain than to be a prey to prophecies of doom too often based on ignorance of history and discernible propaganda.

But it is not impossible to discover enough facts to direct judgment. It is too much to say that all news is colored, and I do not mean to say that all propaganda is vicious, but it is easy to see that there are plenty of influences which would like to have the United States take

sides in European and Asiatic conflicts. In fact, one of the chief dangers which threaten our future is the tendency for European enmities to reappear in organized fashion among our own citizens. If one once realizes this fact, it will prevent one's being drawn into panic or partisanship. We may have our sympathies or we may have our uncertainties about the justice of other people's policies, but we can acquire the habit of allowing for self-interest on the part of those who want our support, and either because of policy or their own sympathy do not present the facts in a disinterested way.

But it is not enough to realize that we face an issue between warring ideologies rather than social insanity. We should also become historically minded. One of the chief enemies of mental balance is the habit of judging events as if they were independent situations unconditioned by the past and not subject to complicated influences. Some philosopher of long ago, when a difficult situation arose, was in the habit of saying, "This too will pass." Of course, such an attitude might in some cases mean mere passive submission to fate but it may also be a formula for calm judgment. For history is something more than a record of past events. It is a disclosure of trends and influences which are constantly repeating themselves and continuing in our present. If we could only break loose from the past and annihilate our memory of the injustices and enmities of the past, our progress might be more easy. But we can no more eliminate history from our present than we can eliminate the physical characteristics of our ancestors. And the tragedy is that men are so often swayed by their past national, economic, and racial conflicts which persist. Whoever would keep his head in our world ought to take all such facts into account and determine that, so far as he is concerned, he will not succumb to inheritance. He will look to the future. He will be an ancestor as well as a descendant.

But in today's conflicts historical mindedness, which comes from a realization of process, leads to a conviction which will keep one from panic or fanaticism. It is the con-

viction that we are living in an orderly universe in which human history is not a succession of chances; that it is possible to discover the conditions under which human welfare can be advanced. Thanks to our scientists, we have come to understand pretty well what we call the natural laws. We can foretell when the moon will rise, when eclipses will come. Even the most simple-minded among us know that day follows night and spring follows winter. Such understanding of the universe in which we live is, however, no more within our grasp than our ability to trace the operations of what we may call social laws in the course of human history.

In the interests of sane judgment Americans should realize that, while our democracy needs to be made efficient, it yet carries within itself something which the efficiency of dictatorship cannot endure. The struggle between ideologies is more than the conflict of tanks and airplanes. The success of nations that never were really democratic must not make us forget that the instruments and methods of dictatorships have been appropriated from the experimenting of democracies. Liberty means more than the freedom to follow our desires, or criticize or laugh at our government. It means an opportunity for men to develop their personal responsibility. That is revealed by historic process. We may have to recognize the fact that we are animals; but as human beings we are more than accidents. The conditions under which we can carry out our human development are set by the universe in which we live. The cooperation of persons for common good is something more than sentimentality. It is the extension of cosmic activity itself into human relations. It can no more be disregarded than any cosmic activity.

With such a belief we can face the world in which we live without the panic which is born of confusion. We will act as those who believe in the possibility of directing process towards greater human welfare. We steady ourselves by a belief that the orderly universe did not become anarchic when men appeared within it.

Such a point of view is sanely religious. It is by no means the same as saying that since God is on our side the outcome may be trusted to him. Such a faith may be hardly more than defeatism. The divine will works through human processes and is one of destruction as well as construction. A basic religious faith involves a conviction that any course of action hostile to the supremacy of personal worth of individuals in social relations will cause suffering. To oppose it is to conserve values worth conserving. There is in religious faith a heroic element which is more than a passive waiting for the divine action. It is a sacrificial social-mindedness that would express and cooperate with the personality-producing activities of the universe discoverable in society. Who directs that social mindedness with intelligence, to use the words of Jesus, builds his house upon the rock, and winds may blow and floods descend, but the house stands.

NAZIISM AND THE GERMAN CHURCH

By Gerald B. Switzer

Union College of British Columbia

Vancouver, B. C.

(This article was an address delivered at the annual convocation of Union College on April 29, 1941. But its interest and timeliness are such that we take pleasure in passing it on to our readers.—Editor)

A peculiar thing happened some time ago. About the close of the World War a young officer just thirty years of age received an unexpected invitation to join a political party which had no representatives in parliament and only six supporters. Out of curiosity he united with the group and was given the ticket of membership numbered "7". There was no one of prominence in the group, but the little coterie nevertheless decided to hold a public meeting. One of them rattled off a few invitations on the typewriter on slips of paper and the rest set to writing theirs by hand. The young army officer went out and delivered eighty of them himself. At the appointed time the seven hopefuls made preparations for the great public meeting and awaited eagerly the big event. The hour passed and no one appeared. Refusing to be beaten they decided to call another meeting and subscribed enough money to put an advertisement in the paper. This time one hundred and twenty-seven attended and offered a very considerable collection. One month later another meeting was called and two hundred persons attended; one month later, and four hundred attended. It was decided to call a great mass meeting. This time an audience of two thousand appeared. The young army officer, not thirty-one years of age then, in his story about it, says: "Ah, my heart nearly burst with joy! Two thousand people!" He rose up to speak to the great assembly, and lo, he discovered he was somewhat of an orator. When he spoke, people listened. Hope leapt within him.

A few years rolled by and the general election of 1928 was pending. The group decided to run a number of can-

didates for parliament. Twelve were elected. Two years later they again ran a number of candidates and one hundred and seven were elected. Two years later that young army officer, now forty-two years of age, decided to run for president and polled eleven million votes; a few months later in a run-off election, thirteen million; a year later seventeen million, and a few months after that over forty-one million votes. That young army officer, aged forty-four, turned to the nation south of his, mighty France, and coldly announced: "I would remind you that more people have voted for me—Herr Hitler—than your whole French nation has population." Since then all Europe and the world has been sitting on a powder keg and it has recently ignited.

As Professor of Church History, I thought that it would be as timely a thing as we could do in this field to spend the twenty-five minutes allotted to me in this Convocation Address in considering what Herr Hitler and his Nazi cohorts have sought to do with the Christian Church in Germany, taking as title, "Naziism and the German Church."

I think that no historian can seriously doubt that Adolph Hitler swept into power in Germany in 1933 with the overwhelming or at least a majority support of a joyous and expectant nation. After long years of post-war humiliation, economic depression, collapse of the monetary system, unemployment, and the ever-present threat of Communism hanging like a great pall over the nation, the long-awaited deliverer had arrived with his challenging slogans:

Away with the chains of Versailles!
Down with the demons of Capitalism!
Out with the sins of the fathers!
Away with slavery to interest!
Productive work for everybody!
Large industrial profits, not to the few,
but spread among the many!
Above all, Germany, unite!

"For," said the new Chancellor, "Germany was never defeated in the last war. She disintegrated from within because of a lack of unity. This shall not happen again!"

Is it any wonder that the hearts of a long disillusioned people leapt with anticipation? After years of misery and humiliation the new day was about to dawn, the great vindication. In many places pastors sprang to their pulpits to herald the new day of release. It was an hour of sensitive, almost morbid, patriotism.

If there is to be a wholly unified nation driving toward one end and one end only, every organization and person will have to conform. A totalitarian environment is a sorry place for minorities and dissenters.

To this supreme end of German unification, Hitler and the Nazi state bent every effort in as concerted and probably as ruthless a programme of regimentation as has appeared in our time. In five years they crushed all political opposition, including the powerful Social Democratic party which had formerly held office with one-third of the seats in a Reichstag of eight parties. They liquidated or wholly suppressed Communism, which had polled no less than six and a half million votes in an earlier election in Germany. They commandeered the Youth Movement to the Nazi banner. They regimented the one hundred and sixty-eight powerful and wealthy labor unions in Germany and an unknown number of employers' associations into a single labor front. They whipped the universities into humiliating compliance with their standards and aims. They succeeded in driving from the land an estimated one hundred thousand Jews, and banned Freemasonry, the League of Nations, Boy Scouting, Pacifism, Democracy; but for all their vigor there is one institution they have not wholly cowed—the Christian Church. As Albert Einstein has said recently,

"Being a lover of freedom, when the revolution came in Germany, I looked to the universities to defend it, knowing that they had always boasted of their devotion to the cause of truth; but, no, the universities immediately were silenced. Then I looked

to the great editors of the newspapers whose flaming editorials in days gone by had proclaimed their love of freedom; but they, like the universities, were silenced in a few short weeks. Then I looked to the individual writers, who, as literary guides of Germany, had written much and often concerning the place of freedom in modern life; but they, too, were mute. Only the Church stood squarely across the path of Hitler's campaign for suppressing truth. I never had any special interest in the Church before, but now I feel a great affection and admiration because the Church alone has had the courage and persistence to stand for intellectual truth and moral freedom. I am forced to confess that what I once despised I now praise unreservedly."*

Let us summarize the Church and State struggle through the years. When in 1933 Hitler swung into power he found in Germany twenty million nominal Catholics and a much larger group of Protestants—over twenty-seven million. This great Protestant edifice was regarded as a public or State institution. Unlike the voluntary system of maintenance in Canada, it was supported by obligatory taxes collected by the State, which voted large subsidies and paid the pastors' salaries. The clergy had the prestige of state officials and their office was regarded virtually as a wing of the civil service. There was not a single united Protestant organization throughout Germany, but rather there were more than twenty separate and virtually independent state churches in each state—Bavaria, Saxony, Wurtenburg, Prussia, and the like—as though here in Canada we were to have a United Church of British Columbia, a United Church of Alberta, another of Saskatchewan, and so on, independent of each other but supported by state taxes. Moreover, there were three bodies or denominations in each of these state or territorial churches: Lutheran, Reformed, and United, with different creeds but all having the same administration and state support. In addition there were some smaller free sects like the Methodist Episcopal, Baptist and Mennon-

ites, having only about eight hundred thousand members.

Obviously the Naziism that was swinging employers' associations, trade unions, universities and the Youth Movement into line would not rest easily until the great Protestant Church, the largest single organization outside the state itself, was brought into at least reasonable conformity.

There were several indications which might have led Hitler and his cohorts to imagine that the Church would readily align herself with the new Nazi renaissance.

(1) The Church was of Lutheran tradition and ever since Luther it had staunchly supported the State. After the war the majority of its leaders had favoured the return of the Kaiser and the old monarchical system and the clerical members of the Reichstag were of this persuasion. Why should not the Church continue to support the State which paid the ministers' salaries and subsidized its needs?

(2) A large number of the clergy saw in the rise of Hitler a spiritual rebirth of the German people. Up to this time even Martin Niemöller had consistently voted for Hitler. To be sure it would mean suppression of freedom for a time, but, said the average pastor, we must remember that this is a revolution. Such methods are only temporarily necessary and will not continue when things are restored to normal.

(3) The factor, however, which must have most encouraged the Nazi leaders was the appearance, a year before Hitler's elevation, of a new movement calling upon the Church to rally behind Hitler's so-called "positive Christianity" which urged all believers "to hold the race and folk heritage pure, to remain Germans and not become a bastard folk of Jewish-Aryan blood." It also inveighed against unchristian humanitarianism, pacifism, international Freemasonry, and the Christian world citizenship. Here was a movement the Nazis could sponsor. Fast growing, it seemed the logical centre for the unification of Protestantism into a single Protestant Reichs-church. Hitler named the movement the "German Chris-

tians" and recognized Rev. Hossenfelder as the spiritual leader of these new spiritual storm troopers.

As he was then a Roman Catholic, Herr Hitler was too discreet to act directly, but appointed Military Chaplain Ludwig Mueller as his delegated authority and representative in all questions concerning the Church. When Mueller, with all the prestige of the Nazi Chancellor behind him, came out whole-heartedly for the German Christian movement and put his signature to their declaration calling for a single unified German Protestant Church and a single Reichs-leader of that Church, and urging the repudiation of the democratic method of electing officials and absolute subscription to the Aryan myth, the Protestants of Germany awakened to see that this new movement of Rev. Hossenfelder was far more closely allied to the Nazi party programme than they had ever dreamed, and that it meant a subtle attempt to dictate Christian doctrine, Christian polity, and even the nature of Christian organization.

Hoping to forestall the rising storm of protests, the German Christians hastily announced that they nominated Chaplain Ludwig Mueller, Herr Hitler's friend and confidant, for the position of Reichsbishop of the great unified German Protestant Church about to be inaugurated; but the German Christians and Hitler and Mueller himself were all destined to disappointment for the plebiscite was held in all twenty-eight of the great state territorial church bodies and an overwhelming majority of votes were cast, not for Hitler's appointee and the German Christian nominee, but for a much beloved and respected Christian leader of opposing opinion by the name of Dr. von Bodelschwingh.

Nazis and German Christians were alarmed. Here was virtual defiance of the Nazi policy. The government acted quickly. It appointed a State Commissioner for the great Evangelical Church of Prussia, who promptly ordered the abolition of the consistories of that vast Church. In the Republic which had preceded Hitler's rule, the Protestant Church had built up a system of democratic

courts not unlike our United Church system of Church Boards, Presbyteries, Conferences and the General Council, and with one fell swoop this was ordered abolished by the state. Imagine our consternation here were the Ottawa government suddenly to order the abolition of the United Church courts. The action aroused a storm of opposition from loyal churchmen, some of whom organized the Young Reformation Movement to protest this assault upon the freedom of the Church to determine its innermost policies.

The Rev. Martin Niemöller, of the fashionable Dahlem Church of Berlin, and Dr. Von Bodelschwingh were leaders of the new movement. In protest against this autocratic state action Dr. Bodelschwingh resigned as Reichsbishop and the situation became so serious that the aged Hindenburg rushed a letter to Chancellor Hitler expressing his deep concern both as a Protestant and as President of the Reich, and urging that pacific means be adopted to bring together the two great wings of the new Church. Herr Hitler acted on the principle of the letter, but opposition grew. In retaliation a state order went out that all churches, rectories, parish houses, must fly the Nazi swastika flag and that all pastors must express thanksgiving for the Nazi revolution and pray divine blessing upon its continuance. Most pastors obeyed. Some refused.

Outspoken in opposition to Nazi methods in the Church was Dr. Karl Barth, Germany's leading theologian, who openly challenged the legitimacy of reforms forced upon the Church from without. He uncompromisingly opposed the German Christian doctrine that the German Reichs-church must be the Church of Christians of Aryan race only. His arguments might have had greater weight in Germany had he been a German rather than a Swiss who was steeped in the long tradition of Swiss democracy.

Meantime the German Christians, adopting Nazi methods of propaganda and intimidation, campaigned again for the election of Ludwig Mueller as Reichsbishop. On the eve of the election Chancellor Hitler appealed over

the radio for all Protestants to vote for nominees of the German Christian party because it was based primarily on the fact of the Nazi revolution and the new state required the unqualified support of a united church body. Result—Ludwig Mueller was elected Reichsbishop and the German Christians soon took possession of virtually every office from this supreme post down even to the membership of the individual parish boards. Jubilant over their success, they made plans for a great national Synod to be held at Wittenburg, centre of Luther's early ministry and birthplace of the Reformation. It met, confirmed Mueller's election, announced that the official policy of the Church from now on would be that of the German Christian party, with everything in strict conformity with the tenor of the new Nazi State. Rev. Martin Niemöller and two thousand protesting clergymen scattered protesting leaflets in the pews and walked out of the church.

However, the German Christians were running too fast. Determined to swing the whole of Protestantism into line with Nazi thinking, they called a rally of twenty thousand who packed the Sportspalast of Berlin. One Dr. Krause was chosen speaker. He declared in a violent address that the purpose of the new movement was to complete the racial mission of Martin Luther in the Second Reformation, of which three commandments were: "To love one's native land and stamp out anything un-German; to eliminate the Old Testament as a most questionable book about cattle-dealers and concubines; and to wipe out the teachings of Rabbi Paul, that Jew!"

Protests and resignation followed in such an avalanche that the Reichsbishop had to repudiate Dr. Krause and his speech and he was removed from office. As the storm seemed abating it was announced that all pastors must preach on the same text, and seven thousand rose in opposition.

In February, 1934, Reichsbishop Mueller spoke in the Berlin Sportspalast to another throng of twenty thousand, and warned, "The time will come when only Nazis will

conduct services and only Nazis will occupy the pews. We want one people, one State, one Church."

For all his virulence the Reichsbishop was failing to end opposition and in the autumn of 1935, he passed from the scene and the state took another great step in curtailing religious freedom. It appointed a Minister of Church Affairs, just as we have a Minister of Education or a Minister of Labor in British Columbia, and it empowered this Minister of Church Affairs to issue ordinances having binding force. Herr Kerrl, the new appointee, selected an efficient churchman named Dr. Zöllner to direct affairs, but a great wing of the Confessional group of the Church rose in opposition to state domination and in reprisal the state forbade lecturing, suppressed circular letters, closed their theological colleges, threatened and sometimes withheld state grants, forbade the collection of money and openly encouraged the German Christian minority and the Rosenberg pagan religion, confiscating Dr. Zöllner's journal. In despair, the doctor resigned and on February 12, 1937, Herr Kerrl, Nazi Minister of Church Affairs, furious, threatened dictatorial powers. "What Protestant Confessional Group leaders and the Roman Catholics want," he said in a public speech, "is the acknowledgment of the fact that Jesus is the Son of God, and that is absurd. There is now arising a new authority concerning what Christ and Christianity really is. This new authority is Adolf Hitler."

Alarmed, the Roman Catholics smuggled a Papal Encyclical into Germany on Palm Sunday and declared it was wrong to put any man on a level with Christ. There followed in retaliation the Nazi smuggling and immorality trials of priests and nuns.

The spear-head of Protestant opposition has been Rev. Martin Niemöller. In November of 1933, he had appeared in the Brown Synod in a grey suit. In the Wittenberg Synod he had distributed leaflets affirming the right of the church to religious freedom. In June of 1934, he had appealed to Hitler, saying that it was his concern for the Third Reich which made him oppose regimentation of the

Church, and Hitler had replied, "You can just leave concern for the Third Reich to me." As pastor of Berlin's aggressive Dahlem Church of ten thousand members, he had among his hearers three Nazi cabinet ministers, and until two months before his arrest, Dr. Schacht, the Nazi Minister of Finance, was one of his best supporters, sitting every Sunday with his wife and eight children in the front pew.

On June 7, 1937, however, Niemöller apparently committed the unpardonable sin. After a telling sermon on "Nations come and nations go, but the Church of God shall abide forever," he called for a collection for the Confessional Church Synod, and urged generosity. The Hitler Jugend burst into the church crying, "Cease collecting for this club!" The congregation rose and sang "A mighty fortress our God is still, a bulwark never failing." Four days later Niemöller was arrested for inciting to disobedience and for materially aiding the anti-German foreign press. (His church in summer was attended by many foreign tourists.) He was kept in jail awaiting trial for eight months and in February of 1938 his trial was conducted secretly against the open protest of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, with which our United Church of Canada is affiliated, the World Alliance for Friendship among Churches, and other bodies, which pled for old time German justice. The representatives of the press were excluded, an observer of the Confessional Church was refused admittance, and the Bishop of Chichester, who had come from England to attend on behalf of the World Alliance of Churches, was denied entry. Finally a small fine was imposed and seven months' imprisonment in a fortress, the lightest and most honorable form of imprisonment. As he had already served eight months, normally he would be released after paying the fine. Instead he was hurried to a concentration camp and at last accounts was still there. Whether Scandinavian reports that his mentality is breaking under the strain are dependable we do not know. In the Christmas of 1939 it is reported that eight hundred prominent laymen and

eighty naval officers signed petitions offering themselves as hostages for his return to confinement that he might be permitted to attend the golden anniversary of his parents. The petition was denied.

While Niemöller was awaiting trial Herr Kerrl, Nazi Minister of Church Affairs, took one more decisive step in secularizing church control. He announced that all state grants to the Confessional Church would be discontinued and that he had delegated dictatorial powers over Protestant Church affairs to Dr. Werner, a lawyer whose antagonism to Christianity is notorious.

It is difficult to locate reliable material on the subject covering the months just before the outbreak of war and during the war. The Readers' Index of Periodical Literature lists hardly more than twenty-five articles, most of them in the English "Spectator" and comparatively short.

However, certain facts appear to emerge at the present time. The Nazi attempt to regiment the Church into one unified Protestant body wholly sympathetic with its movement has been only partially successful. Rather the Church has split into three groups. Out of eighty thousand Protestant parishes in Germany,

(1) Two thousand may be termed of German Christian type, whole-heartedly backing Nazi rule and methods within the church. We might call them supporters.

(2) Sixty-six thousand accept the power and policy of the state but not ideology and try to build between Church and State a kind of theological bridge. We might call these compromisers.

(3) Approximately twelve thousand are of the Confessional group which is in turn divided into four groups, only one of which, it appears, is willing to go as far as Niemöller for conviction's sake.

Since the war the policy of the government seems to be to lessen the severity of its treatment of the Church, and Dr. Werner, Minister of Church Affairs, as a concession to Confessional scruples, has eliminated certain points in the oath required of pastors and many of the recalcitrant

clergy have acquiesced, feeling that they can now take it without violating their oath of ordination. Karl Barth, greatly disturbed, has written from Switzerland to urge the clergy to stand firm as the concessions are mere trifles. However, many of the old married ministers have children and families and are finding it extremely difficult to resist any longer. At last account nine hundred recently ordained young clergymen were standing firm, refusing to take the oath.

In conclusion, what shall we say about the German church situation?

(1) In fairness to the German government it must be acknowledged that the German Church is and has been for years a State Church. According to Nazi figures religious organizations own twenty-seven percent of all German land and church taxes amounting to two hundred million marks a year were collected by the State for church use, and an additional subsidy of one hundred million marks was divided between Protestant and Roman Catholic denominations in a ratio of three to two. Support of the theological seminaries and the salaries of army chaplains, was also furnished by the state. This is a wholly different situation from ours in Canada.

(2) Let us take warning from the present plight of German Protestantism over there. The reason the so-called German movement took so strong a hold on the allegiance of men and became the ready tool and running mate of the Nazi government was because in no small measure the Protestant Church was failing in her trust. The rank and file of ordinary folk had drifted from her in droves because, as was all too evident, she had lost touch with the real life of the people. Swamped with venerability, tradition and over-ecclesiasticism, she had suffered serious losses. Statistics show that several millions had left her in the space of a few years. Young people were little encouraged and the average age of the bishops was over sixty-four. This might be explained by the fact that thirty-six percent of German theological students were killed in the First World War. There was

allegedly a real danger of Protestantism dying altogether from lack of social vision and leadership. Any Church, in Germany, Canada, or anywhere else, that will not move on will eventually have to move off.

(3) Of one other thing, however, I feel we may be sure. Whatever the arbitrament of war, in the long, long last, Naziism cannot win her fight against the freedom of the Church. "The mills of God grind slowly"—but they grind. It may yet come to pass that the Rev. Martin Niemöller, suffering his Calvary as he looks out through the bars of cell number 448, may prove a greater force in human annals than Herr Hitler in his seat of power. In any case I cannot forget the reputed words of a dictator of an earlier age. As Napoleon Bonaparte stood one day where the waters laved the rocky shore of St. Helena's Isle, looking back over the ruins of the dreams of world empire for which he had sacrificed the lives of almost countless thousands, it is recorded that he was heard to say, "Alexander, Caesar, Charlemagne and myself have built great empires but upon what did the creations of our genius depend? Upon force. Jesus alone built His Kingdom upon love and to this day millions would die for Him."

*From "Metropolitan Church Life."

SOME BASIC CONCEPTIONS OF CHRISTIAN SOCIAL THOUGHT TO THE REFORMATION

By Ray C. Petry

The Divinity School

Duke University, Durham, N. C.

Christianity and Social Thought

There has been a growing interest, recently, in the social character of Christian thought from the Protestant Reformation to our own day. Our social problems as Christians are in inspiring continuity with those of our sixteenth-century forebears. But our social viewpoints owe their vitality not only to the Reformers but also to an unbroken line of spiritual ancestors stretching back fifteen hundred years farther to the very sources of Christian social theory.

From its very beginnings Christianity possessed a decided social sensitivity. Only gradually, however, did that which it sensed become conscious in its thought. Out of a growing awareness of common human needs and unique Christian resources, a few basic conceptions of social life gradually emerged. As the precipitate of unnumbered and often obscure minds, these were repeatedly emphasized by leading Christian writers from Jesus' day to that of Luther. The long process of development through which each conception passed, and the rich variety of interpretations supplied by the great thinkers of each succeeding era, cannot here be dealt with. But a brief survey of representative social views which predominated among Christians for a millennium and a half may be found instructive.

The Kingdom and Ultimate Sociality

The vitality of early Christianity did not issue from a consciously social passion to perpetuate and to reform existing society. Paradoxically enough, the motivation for Christian service to the temporal world was a prior loyalty to something which arose from without, and proceeded beyond, all human association.

The real heart of the earliest Christian community was Jesus. His fundamental dedication was not to any social project of our modern kind. It was religious commitment, unqualified and unyielding, to God and his kingdom. No human mind could devise that kingdom, and no mere organization of man's efforts, however noble, could bring it to completion. Christ himself could not create, though he would help to usher in, this consummation of the divine Father's will for his universal family. The royal sway of a loving God in the whole universe was the object of Christ's final dedication and the end to which he pledged every follower. He permitted no relativism in the loyalties of his disciples. He caused them to subordinate their temporal attachments and made them pilgrims to a fatherland beyond—to the *patria* of God.

This kingdom God alone could create. But it came to partial realization in every life which consecrated itself in Christ to the actualization of his ideals. Its full and ultimate realization, on earth as in heaven, was the objective for which he lived and died. For its preparation he rejoined the Father. In anticipation of it, he promised his disciples, at his departure, a full reunion with him and the Father upon his return. The continuation of his voluntary company was based on their belief in his own resurrection and imminent parousia. The reception and retention of his spirit in their midst was their assurance of his reappearing in the vanguard of God's universal rule.

The entire literature of the New Testament, and of the early Christian centuries, was woven about this faith in Christ's perpetuation and the Kingdom's ultimate victory. The synoptic gospels record Jesus's purported teachings as to the last days. The Son of Man would then come to punish disobedience, to claim his chosen for eternal fellowship with the Father, and to unify in him everything on earth and in heaven.

The early and medieval church continued to stress this belief in the imminent coming of Christ and the Great Day. The time was long deferred. The sense of immediacy was deadened. The belief, however, not only persisted but

functioned, also, as a living article of Christian faith.

But, it may be asked, what significance has this for social thought? Has not eschatology always been at farthest remove from social concern? It cannot be denied that in earliest Christianity there was little social focus of a conscious sort. There was then, and later, some rejection of the present for the future world. Such unsocial, or apparently antisocial, conceptions have never lacked spokesmen.

Nonetheless, the story of representative Christian thought is far otherwise. For the most striking thing about the kingdom as Christ taught it, and as both the ancient and the medieval church believed in it, was its social quality. The kingdom was not a private matter. It permitted the maximum in individual development because it was the ultimate in that spiritual community of life by which all true persons must be nurtured.

No impartial reader of the Christian sources—biblical and extra-canonical, ancient and medieval—can fail to be impressed by the mounting and versatile emphasis upon the kingdom as consummately social. Those elected to it were called to an eternal solidarity as God's heirs and the brethren of Christ. God himself invited them to that ultimate fellowship with his Son. All those repenting and seeking the kingdom were thus reclaimed from a condition of hopelessly dissipated unity to the status of God's own people. As such, they were anticipating already, in their earthly sojourn, the perfect community of the royal city yet to come. Theirs was a destiny of joyous companionship with Christ and his Father.

Not all the natural involvements of these men in the affairs of earth could obscure wholly the marks of their destined citizenship in the heavenly kingdom. No more could the pretensions to piety of those not so destined join them to God's special company. Any such earthly confusion would surely be dispelled when the true constituency of the royal family should be finally revealed.

In every era of the ancient and medieval church this societal character of the cosmic kingdom was stressed. However incomplete might be the fraternity of God's

chosen in their terrestrial pilgrimage, their ultimate society would be sanctified in peace and perfect unity. As the citizens of a free city, they would exemplify not the private love of self-seekers but the mutuality of a true community. No purely human association could even approach this social life of kingdom members .

In Augustine and in Thomas Aquinas, the emphasis was the same, The kingdom was primary. Its character was that of a society of men happy in the association of Christ, God, and each other. Theirs was a fatherland shared in perpetuity; a community of the elect, firm and tranquil; a reign with God, vital and eternal. How happy, indeed, as Hugo of St. Victor observed, and how indissoluble would be this solidarity of creatures with their creator, wherein the splendor which the creator possessed in all fullness would be given his creatures by their participation in his plenitude!

Therefore, surprisingly enough, Christianity was most social because it was most transcendent in its loyalties. Because Christians were called to an ultimate destiny which was most characteristically societal, they found it incumbent upon them to begin at once the cultivation of such sociality. The not fully realized, but already living, kingdom was to be the culmination of all communities. It therefore demanded, at once, a community action among its future constituents. The kingdom stimulated their sense of special vocation, their fellowship; it obligated them to invite repentant sinners from an ephemeral world to their pilgrim society. Last, and most gloriously, it showed them the necessity of challenging and transforming the whole of human society in accordance with the mandates of the kingdom which was already in operation.

Christianity and Temporal Solidarity

The final destiny of Christians thus evoked in them a temporal solidarity. Because early Christianity was dedicated to the ultimate of all fellowships, it was drawn together on earth in the mutuality of a common life.

Summing up the plea of twelve Christian centuries, Thomas Aquinas reminded his brethren that there should

be a union of affection among those who have a common end. Men, therefore, with their common end of eternal blessedness in God's companionship, owe each other the unity of mutual love.

In Paul, Clement of Rome, Hermas, the author of the Epistle to Diognetus, Augustine, Francis of Assisi, Bernard of Clairvaux, Thomas Aquinas, and countless others, the dominant note of Christian social thought was sustained. By every token of solidarity found in animals, among natural men, and, consummately, in Christ's brotherhood, Christians must bear in this world the first fruits of their royal association of love.

With cumulative emphasis, Christian homilists extolled the concord observable in the natural heavens, and the special regard of even the most ferocious beast for his own kind. One such writer even observed, with more picturesqueness than relevancy, that water fights fire but has peace with water. Not a few Christian writers cited ancient philosophers such as Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics, especially, as to the normal fraternity of natural man. As a social animal on his most fundamental bases of human existence, man could not but observe the mutual obligations and opportunities of his species.

But Christians were called to a spiritual fraternity transcending all such considerations. Though they were brethren by virtue of their humanity, how much more were they such by reason of their being Christians! As men they were sprung from one father, Adam, and one mother, Eve. But as Christians they had one father, God, and one mother, the church. Their brotherhood exceeded natural fraternity by the measure of their superior paternity. Their mother surpassed carnal motherhood to the extent that celestial heredity is better than a temporal one.

Most soul-moving and exemplary of all unitary forces was the heavenly love with which God gave his son for their salvation, out of which Christ gave his life for their reconciliation to God and each other, and by which the very angels joined in the work of human-divine con-

solidation. Thus, by the bonds of association, natural and spiritual, the Christian was strengthened in his love for other members of Christ's body and gradually dispatched on a mission of reclamation to all society. Not only in Augustine, though in few others so eloquently, did the claims of Christians upon each other, and of all men upon the brethren of Christ, come to repeated expression.

Endless was the reiteration of the sentiment, if not of the literary effectiveness, of the Epistle to Diognetus. Christians were to the world what soul is to the body. Though not of the world, they were in it for its redemption and sustenance. Elected to a perfect society of love, they gave themselves in a community of service to all humanity. Consequently, by reason of being men, Christ's brethren were drawn to each other and to all the world in common need. But by virtue of being Christians, they were united as those who answer a special call to ultimate glory through dispensing, to all, Christ's saving graces. Diverse in gifts, they were one in the greatest endowment, love. Empowered by the spirit, they were admonished to bear not only the burdens of their inner circle but also of sinners without. Chastened in spirit and body, they were prepared for the communal life of the kingdom. United in the faith and hope of a final beatitude, they might set no limits to the charity with which they served the whole world.

Social Continuity Between the Temporal and Eternal

Christians were exhorted to entertain no sense of actual separation between the community of the ultimate kingdom and the body of Christ's faithful on earth. Both were vigorously alive. The kingdom with its company of God, his Son, his angels, and his saints in heaven, was not yet consummated. But it was the pattern and the source of Christ's followers in the world. They had been formed because of the eliciting unity of its celestial citizens. Its invitation, its demands, and its spirit, were already upon them. Even while they were on a pilgrimage to it, they were servants of its life and the recipients of its benefactions. The community of God's elect on earth and in

heaven was regarded as being joined in one unbroken continuity. The city of God was "one both in heaven and on earth, though in part... militant on earth, and in part reigning in heaven."

God's sons were co-mingled for a time, in this world, with the unholy, turbulent, seditious, divisive, domineering supporters of evil. But his chosen were, even then, proving themselves holy, pacific, tranquil, social servants of the supernatural kingdom of God as well as the natural order of men. They were "moving forward, already, as those destined to be citizens of the heavenly Jerusalem." In this social continuum the Christian devoutly believed.

Christianity and Ecclesiastical Community

But how, according to Christian social thought, was this continuity between a supernatural community and an earthly society maintained? What agency preserved the social integrity of each in a common solidarity? The Christians' answer was: the church. Here was the foundation of God's dwelling among men. The church was conceived of as a fellowship evolving in history from the old Israel of the Jews. It was the *koinonia* elicited by Jesus, the new Israel receiving and perpetuating God's revelation in Christ.

This *ecclesia* was the community of those participating in him through mutual love. Its members gathered around him in his earthly career; they met after his death to hear his Word through the Spirit and to plan for his reappearing; they worked, loved, and worshiped as Christ's spiritual body. As such, the church shared mystically, while on earth, the heavenly society of God, Christ, and the angels.

Only a unity in duality could incorporate the men of Christ in the world with the victorious citizens of heaven. The church was that one in two. In it, two communities, earthly and heavenly, were destined to become wholly united in the transcendent kingdom. As a terrestrial, natural institution the church was thought of as being subject to the exigencies of time and circumstance. It grew, organized, and evolved symbols, traditions, a clergy, and a missionizing program. It challenged, advanced, re-

treated, compromised, sinned, and did penance. It was regarded, always, as a society, a community of faithful individuals, adapting, suffering, achieving, and responding to their own and other human needs. Within this fellowship there developed an *esprit de corps*, a reciprocating experience, a communicating love, and a common loyalty to Christ.

However, the growing social consciousness of this organizational church was felt, by representative Christians, to be derived from its divinely instituted resources. The Holy Spirit, the spirit of Christ, was its constitutive force; its reservoir of history-transcending and individual-transforming life, its soul of unity. The Spirit's voice was heard as Christ's own Word. By it there was created a supernatural organism in which each person was a member of Christ's mystical body. By the divine organism the human organization was engendered and sustained.

Christ and his church were thus one in their life. His saving graces were mediated through it, alone, to the world in which it now dwelt but to which it could never really belong. It was a community of transcendent origins and destiny. It would one day be perfected in its society of love.

But how were these two aspects of the one church reconciled? Undeniably, there were sin and error in the earthly church. Yet, its faithful members, who were humanly fallible to be sure, were alluded to, confidently, as saints by reason of their heavenly destiny and their participation in the redeeming grace of the church transcendent. The church might appear, at times, to be the prey of purely temporal forces. But it received from its communication with the living Christ a dignity and power which were more than temporal. The lack of the church terrestrial was compensated by the transforming power of the church transcendent.

Thus, the two aspects of the one church were thought of as being reconciled in immortal energy. According to such a conception, it was God's supernatural, heavenly community that gave life to the Christians' natural,

earthly society. Men might see a reflection, in history, of the celestial community that was later to be consummated, universally and eternally, in God's kingdom. In dedication to that kingdom the church of earth was born; in the full appearing of that kingdom, and its perfect community, the church of men would be purged and made fit for the ultimate society of the future.

The Church's Names and Definitions Socially Suggestive

This unity and solidarity of the two-fold church was reflected in the very names, definitions, and connotations associated with it by early and medieval writers. Over and over, almost monotonously, the social character of the one church in all of its empirical and transcendent aspects was asserted. It was the convocation of all men called out of the world, and the collection of all faithful. At times, it was designated as the "society of those joined in one body of religion by profession of doctrine and of the precepts of Christ under legitimate pastors, the Roman pontiff especially."

It was the assembly of the faithful, the city of God's own, a heavenly company set upon his mountain. Here was a congregation, universal and holy; the synagogue, tabernacle, and temple of God; the dwelling place of God's spirit among men. The church of Christ was a body—his body of which he was head—with his Holy Spirit as its soul and his faithful as its inter-communicating members. The church was his spouse and the mother of all Christians. Or, again, it was the society, the guild, the congregation of those believing in the Master. No more fully socialized body has ever been envisaged than this household of faith, this hostel of concord, this family of God, this brotherhood of man in Christ under the fatherhood of the Divine.

The Church's Social Characteristics Analyzed

In their analyses of the church's character Christian writers were even more explicit as to its sociality. This church, or congregation of the faithful, was one body with many members under the headship of Christ. Its cohesive-

ness was manifest under four conditions, namely: unity, sanctity, catholicity, and apostolic stability.

Unlike the heretics, the church was one. This unity was one of faith, subscribed to alike by all true members of Christ's body; of hope, common to those looking forward to eternal life; and of charity, interfused among all those serving humanity in God's name. Nothing must be permitted to rend the body of that one true church beyond which, like Noah's ark, there was no salvation. This was the unity for which Christ suffered, the inviolable oneness which his seamless robe signified, the force which led the world to faith, the sole abiding-place of God's pilgrim children on earth and of those reigning in heaven's glory.

In this true, catholic church reigned the peace and love common to one God, one Christ, one faith, and one people moulded in an indis severable corporateness by the cement of concord. Only thus, united about its shepherd, might the church hope to escape mutilation by the beasts of worldly dissension. In the church alone might a diversity of souls become one in Christ.

The church was holy. This was not by reason of any moral infallibility which its members gave it. Rather was it by virtue of God's supernatural graces conferred upon those receiving, together, the divine Word and Sacrament. Imperfect now, with evil in its midst, the church was, nevertheless, holy in its community of redemptive life. It would stand forth triumphant in the glorious future. This congregation of the faithful was washed in Christ's blood and anointed with his spirit. It was inhabited as God's temple and consecrated in the Lord's name. Its holiness was the communicating oneness of the divine society.

The church was, likewise, held to be catholic or universal. The emphasis of medieval Christians on this point was versatile and vigorous. It was universal, first, as regards place and extent. For as the faithful were diffused throughout the whole world so was the church ramified throughout the entire earth. This church, furthermore, was regarded as having three all-encompassing parts. One was on earth, another in heaven, and a third in purgatory.

Again, the church was universal with respect to the condition of men. From it none was cast out; neither master nor servant; neither male nor female. It was also universal as to time. The society of those believing in Christ was even antecedent to his nativity. It was from Abel to the end of the ages and to the judgment of the world by Christ. Not even then was it to cease, for it was to remain eternally. Its catholicity existed, furthermore, by reason of doctrine and the preservation of the faith. In it there was maintained the faith "believed everywhere, always, and by all." Its universality existed for the eternal salvation of souls, incapable of redemption outside it.

This church was stable and apostolic, firmly grounded in Christ. It was a city of twelve foundations, namely, the apostles and their doctrine, indestructible whether by persecution or error. Here rose a citadel of refuge for those contending against the devil. Against this church of Peter, grounded in the faith and delivered from fatal error, Satan might war, but the gates of hell should not prevail. Its stability was the firmness and stalwartness of God's own company.

The apostles had seen Christ and believed in this church whose greatest triumphs they had not beheld. Their spiritual descendants now viewed the growing church and believed in Christ whom they had not seen in the flesh. All were built into the time-defying edifice of God's beloved community.

The Social Character of the Church's Constituency

The corporateness of the church had been suggestively treated by Paul under the similitude of a human body. With endless variations and minor refinements, ancient and medieval writers discussed the church as a great, living organism in terms of head, body, and members. Christ was regarded as both head and body, for he and his church were "one flesh, one person, one Christ."

The soul of the church was the Holy Spirit, which vivified the faithful with saving grace. The elect, who were established in faith and charity, constituted the inner

church. Taken generally, the body of the church, in terms of its membership, comprised all men who were joined together by the profession of true faith and the proper use of the sacraments. Viewed according to their various states, these members were triply classified as those militant on earth, suffering in purgatory, or reigning as saints and angels in heaven. Thus the church's membership embraced not only those who entered it in the time of Christ or subsequently, but also those who, living before him, anticipated him in faith.

The members of the church militant were viewed as all those, of the Christian faith, whether good and holy or evil and reprobate, who were united by external profession, under the government of lawful pastors. This temporal mixture of evil and good would continue to exist together until the day of judgment, lest any earlier separation should occasion the disruption of the church. At the final reckoning, those who were in the church corporally, but outside it spiritually, would no longer be permitted to compromise its reciprocating unity.

Viewed in its truest light, the church was a cohesive unit, knit in a mystical solidarity. As such, its body of angels and men, past, present, and to come had at its head the one Christ, who communicated his divine life to all. In that sense of kinship close and indestructible, lay the heart of an associative loyalty never surpassed in the history of man's social consciousness.

And, although the similarity between spiritual organism and physical body was grievously overdrawn, the powerful suggestiveness of such a figure could not easily be ignored. For the mystical body of Christians was seen as no mere abstraction of thought but a vital, inter-communicating experience of the many in one. With a flexibility of appeal, and a descriptiveness of interdependency, truly amazing, Christian writers exhorted their brethren to that functional cooperation, in the body of Christ, the like of which makes the human organism sound and whole. With analogies based undeviatingly on Pauline prototypes,

they brought a varied homiletics into their emphasis upon Christian consociation.

Communicating in Christ's spirit, body, and blood, his brethren of all kinds and conditions cemented their fraternity of love. For though they were many, and Christ was one in his headship, they enjoyed a true unity; they participated with him in a genuine and enduring community. Whatever the needs and the griefs of the individual member, the resources of the whole body were his. Just as the spiritual sickness of each brought impairment to the whole, so the soundness of each member, in vital faith, preserved the common health. To that end, the church was the body of Christ vivified by one spirit, sanctified and united by one faith. What else, indeed, should it be but the whole body of faithful Christians breathing in Christ's spirit and feeding on his supernatural life!

The Church and the Communion of Saints

It is small wonder, therefore, that the spiritual solidarity of this mystical body with its faithful on earth, its souls in purgatory, and its saints in heaven, came to be their partaking of the fruits of redemption." The truest of communions was theirs as they shared with each other the fructifying unity of Christ's cosmic life.

Saints of the church militant knew what it meant to communicate with each other in the same faith, sacraments, and government, as well as by examples, prayers, and merits. Between them and their brethren in purgatory and heaven lay the vast inter-communicating vitality of suffrages, invocations, intercessions, and veneration. Thus, in a society not only of earth but also of heaven, was Christ's church represented as comprehending all that community of the saints from the beginning of time through the reaches of eternity. In this alone could there be perfect individuality, wherein all labors, merits, invocations, and intercessions were for all in common.

The saints were therefore all things to each other. Those of earth prayed for their brethren in purgatory and implored the efficacious intercession of saints and angels in heaven. "The universal church in heaven and

on earth was one single Temple of God." The very three-fold breaking of Christ's life-giving bread was the symbol of the three-fold church made one in him.

In every aspect of its existence the church was portrayed as joining the lives of men in a natural and supernatural unity. Its sacramental graces, mediated by its properly ordained priesthood, gave unitive purpose to the temporal existence of all Christians and provided the guarantee of their final beatitude in the society of God. Hierarchical ordering, however much it might employ erring men, was seen as the guardian of the common faith, hope, and love. In the middle ages, the supreme pontiff, the vicar of Christ, was accepted as the custodian of the church's unity and the co-ordinator of its participating membership.

Christian Social Thought, Historical and Contemporary

Medieval Christians had a deep-seated conviction that the unity of the Godhead itself was the pattern for all life, celestial and terrestrial. They sought to instill its socializing concepts into every phase of economic, political, and educational life. Whatever the disparity between the church's social theories and practices, its passion for the common life was sure. In the iconography of its cathedrals and in the mystery of its altars, man's ultimate solidarity was proclaimed. In the international corporateness of its universities and in the life of its cloisters, the common life was served. In its political philosophy and its theory of business, the role of communality held sway.

Despite their pointed criticisms of the church's deficiencies, the Protestant reformers appealed, with cause, to its best traditions of social life. The continuity, which they could not disavow, with the unifying heritage of the Christian ages, is ours to recognize and re-establish in our time. So that, in no servile obeisance to principles discredited, but in transhistoric fellowship with the true church of all eras, we may continue in its many vindicated traditions of practical social thought.

For, if ever a world pleaded for a social theory translatable into social action, that world is ours. And if ever a living tradition could claim an unsevered lifeline of social concern, that vital tradition belongs to the church. For Christianity, in its first fifteen hundred, as in its last four hundred, years was theoretically and actively social. Its basic conceptions were wrought into the very subconsciousness of the Reformation mind as they may well be reborn in the thought and experience of Christians today.

THE LANGUAGE MISSIONS

By Roy H. Johnson

Thiel College

Greenville, Pennsylvania

According to the 1920 census, just before the great torrent of foreign immigration had been reduced to a mere trickle by the quota laws, more than one third of the one hundred five million inhabitants of the United States were foreign born or children of foreign born parents. The assimilation of this polyglot army with such a varied racial, linguistic, political and religious heritage has continued to be the most important social problem confronting the nation since the Civil War. Catholic and Protestant churches and independent agencies of evangelization and reform early saw the portent of this mass immigration to the moral and spiritual life of America and shaped their programs to care for the new arrivals. The "language missions," as they are called, have conditioned the development of nearly every church auxiliary and have initiated and given impetus to federated efforts both within and among the denominations.

Significant changes in the national origin of the immigrants have called for frequent adjustments in the personnel and technique of evangelization. Before the Civil War Germany, England, and Ireland accounted for most of the newcomers. In the closing decades of the century the influx from southern Europe began, and it continued until the Great War closed the passenger lanes. Recent decades have seen the overflowing of the Mexican reservoir and the rise of Spanish speaking missions. Prior to the twentieth century most immigrants with Protestant or Catholic connections in Europe were responsive to evangelization. In contrast, the southern Europeans, although nominally Greek and Roman Catholic, were often indifferent or openly hostile to Christian missions.

For many of the immigrants, settling in America meant a simple transfer of church membership. Before the Roman Catholic or Lutheran adherents left the mother coun-

try harbor missionaries in the principal ports gave directions to pastors and churches in America. In New York, Philadelphia, and Boston immigrant homes made the strangers welcome. Traveling missionaries speaking the native languages of the settlers visited scattered communities and started parochial schools and regular preaching. The 1916 religious census revealed that three out of four Lutheran churches utilized the German or Scandinavian languages, two out of five Reformed congregations employed Dutch or German, and one out of three Roman Catholic churches was foreign speaking. Many of the above groups were entirely self-sufficing, forming independent synods and conferences. On the other hand, the English speaking Protestant bodies must redefine policies and train new leaders if converts were to be won among the new arrivals from continental Europe.

Two vital questions demanded immediate consideration. First of all, should the foreign influx be permitted to continue, or should Congress be petitioned to close the gates on the alien hordes? The early decades of the nineteenth century had witnessed a crusading nativist movement, anti-foreign and anti-Catholic, which had influenced national politics, and which a recent writer has dubbed, *The Protestant Crusade*.^v By the middle of the century the nativist movement, never officially supported by Protestant bodies, had declined. American Protestants with scarcely a dissenting voice welcomed the incoming multitudes and opposed the efforts of Congress to pass restrictive or prohibitory legislation. Christian leaders shared a strong faith in the redemptive qualities of the so-called inferior races, and approved such statements as that of a prominent Baptist leader calling for a Pentecostal revival "wherein the Chinaman on the Pacific coast, the Negro of the south, and the semi-atheistic German, the superstitious Celt, and the wild red man shall unite."² When, in the closing decades of the nineteenth century, Congress passed laws excluding Chinese immigrant labor, local and national bodies of Baptists, Congregationalists, Presbyterians and Methodists protested. Officials of twelve great mis-

sionary organizations of various denominations met and appointed a committee to work to secure the repeal of anti-Chinese legislation.³ At its 1924 convention the Methodist General Conference passed a resolution condemning the Japanese exclusion act and named a committee to present it to President Coolidge. Nearly every national Protestant body would endorse the Address of the Methodist Bishops, "We see no better way than to continue to guarantee all the benefits of our free institutions to all who seek an asylum and a home among us. . . .our sympathy is the same for all, whether they enter our land at the east or west gate, from heathen or from Christian lands."

A second important decision had to be made. Should the work be conducted in English or in the language familiar to the new settlers? Without an exception the major denominations decided to utilize native tongues. It was realized that adults would not respond to evangelization in English, and it was feared that their alien and subversive ideals, untouched by Christianity, would not only be inculcated in their children, but would destroy Christianity and democracy. It was reported to the Presbyterian General Assembly that foreign business men did not know such religious terms as faith, repentance, and justification in English, and the wives and mothers did not know even the language of business.⁴ Leaders must be trained in America for bilingual work. Ministers from Germany brought German views of Sabbath observance, temperance and the sacraments, out of harmony with their sister churches in America.

Denominational colleges and seminaries revised their curricula and added to their faculties in framing a training program. The German Presbyterian seminary at Dubuque, Iowa, was established about 1885 by the Reverend Adrian Van Vliet, who emigrated from Holland. A second seminary was instituted at Newark with four years in the preparatory and three years in the theological department. Instruction was in both German and English, and graduates were required to be "in full sympathy with our American Presbyterian life." The Methodists estab-

lished German colleges at Berea in Ohio, at Galena in Illinois, and at Mt. Pleasant in Iowa. Foreign language departments were organized at the leading Baptist seminaries, German at Rochester, French at Newton, and Scandinavian at Morgan Park. The report of the Chicago Theological Seminary in 1886 revealed German, Danish-Norwegian and Swedish departments. Training in Slavic was given at Oberlin. The concentration of foreign language work in a single seminary was denounced in a report to the National Council of Congregational Churches: "It is well for these brethren that they should know our American students, and it is well that our American students should know them. It will aid greatly in the work of the future if the prejudices of nationality can be broken down."⁵ Preaching in a foreign tongue was regarded as a temporary expedient. If prosecuted with some force, a Presbyterian committee reported in 1876, it might cease in half a century.

Various means have been employed to bridge over the transition period. According to the findings of a Methodist commission which made a careful study of the problem, English is usually first introduced in the Sunday school and young people's societies. These groups are then invited to attend an occasional English service in the evening. American born adherents soon come to outnumber the older members in most language missions, so that, after some years of alternate language sessions, all Sunday services are conducted in the language of the land. The foreign tongue continues to be used for prayer meetings, and in the ministry to older persons by means of pastoral work and special services.⁶

Americanization and evangelization were the two common objectives of all the language missions. The American Home Missionary Society informed the National Council of Congregational Churches of a significant change. For many years the missionary problem had been simple, merely to follow American families from New England and the middle states to the newer west. But, the report continued, "That problem today is a com-

pound one. It is not only to provide, for our own, the means of a Christian civilization, but also to absorb and assimilate a great mass of strange crude material, not our own, except by adoption.”⁷ The Standing Committee on Home Missions, in its report to the Presbyterian General Assembly in 1888, pointing to a prospective annual immigration total of 900,000, concentrated largely in the new west, warned that Christian civilization must assimilate those multitudes or be assimilated by them. In developing his theme, “What to do with the Foreigner,” before the Baptist Congress that same year, the Reverend D. C. Potter declared the aim was clear, “to make Americans in the shortest possible time by disclosing the character of our institutions.” A special committee on foreign language publications of the Methodist General Conference, after recommending a long list for missionary and evangelistic purposes, specified that such publications must “in each case contribute to the development and strengthening of American ideals.” The Bloomfield Seminary of the Presbyterian Church originally trained only Germans. By 1919 changes of population made it necessary to teach in five foreign languages, German, Italian, Hungarian, Russian and Ruthenian. It was expressly stipulated, however, that all students must learn to read, write, and speak the English language fluently so as “to absorb through it the learning, the culture, and the idealism of the true native born American.” The World War tended to accelerate the work of Americanization by placing foreign speaking groups under suspicion.

Following 1850 continental Europeans came in such numbers as to lead Protestants to believe that the Puritan foundations of America were crumbling. The new arrivals were sympathetic with political and industrial radicalism and had ideas of religion, especially of Sabbath observance, that differed widely from traditional American standards. Religious leaders rallied to defend cherished ideals and moral codes. Contemporary sources indicate that Teutonic nationals were among the first to give cause for general alarm. It has been estimated that by

1909 there were eighteen and a half million persons of German descent in the United States.⁸

Certain cultural practices of the Germans were held to be inimical to New Testament Christianity. The Germans believed in the continental Sunday, a day of general merry making. To American Christians of English or New England origins, this was a blow at the very foundation of the Republic-puritan morality. The denominational newspapers and quarterlies, the meetings of state and national organizations, and the pulpit became agencies of protest. Warnings were given that beer drinking, theatre going and Sabbath violations were leading to moral ruin. The editor of the *Baptist Standard*, under the caption "What are we coming to?" stated, "It has long been apparent that the infidels from Germany who are flooding our shores have entered upon a systematic crusade against the Sabbath. Their social habits are of that low, sordid, animal kind which tends to sink human nature lower and lower until it reaches a point alike disgusting and disgraceful."⁹ A special committee reported to the Presbyterian General Assembly in 1876 that the Germans were strongly organized and aimed "to overthrow the Sunday Civil law, the Church of God, the authority and inspiration of the Scriptures, and the foundations of belief in immortality and existence."

The controversy intensified as the Germans assumed the aggressive and won control in the larger cities. As A. B. Faust has pointed out, the more recent German immigrants were practically without exception "on the side of personal liberty."¹⁰ In July 1872 the Germans in Chicago dedicated their Turner Hall and boldly announced in the press that they were going to allow Chicago, "the honor and felicity of an European Sabbath." The religious press reported a perfect orgy of godlessness and drunkenness. A perusal of the official proceedings of religious conferences and conventions of the major denominations, state and local, together with a survey of press and pulpit utterances, reveals that no moral problem was stressed more than Sunday observance. Joint efforts

were made to secure Sunday closing of the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia and the Columbia Exposition at Chicago. Congress was petitioned to prevent the railroads from carrying mail on Sunday. The issue was clear cut; the choice lay between the continental Sunday and the American Sabbath. Let the former prevail and puritanism was doomed. Defeat, however, was inevitable. Urban-industrial America simply would not conform to the old standards. European godlessness took the blame.

As southern European immigrants came to America in large numbers, socialism, communism, and atheism were added to the list of imported ills. The Jubilee Volume of the Baptist Home Mission Society in 1882 told of the dangerous elements in the new immigration such as nihilists, boycotters, Molly McGuires, brigands, and lazzaroni of southern Italy. The immigrants who came to America in the latter half of the nineteenth century brought with them the radical political and social theories current on the continent. Advocates of the state socialism theories of Karl Marx, and of various forms of anarchy and communism endeavored to get an American hearing for their doctrines. Christian leaders were quick to sense the peril. The Illinois Federal Union in 1878 considered, "How to meet materialistic and rationalistic influence in this country." Communism was branded "a barbaric fag-end, a ragged, dirty, poisonous remnant of the barbarism which civilization is seeking to drive out of the world."

By 1890 over a million Bohemians had come to the United States and had settled in populous centers such as Cleveland, Pittsburgh, and Chicago. Militant atheism was now added to the list of perils. The Reverend H. A. Schauffler who labored for the Bohemian Mission Board of the National Council of Congregational churches made a survey of the forty-two Bohemian newspapers published in the United States. Seven were found to be religious (five Catholic and two Protestant); of the thirty-five secular papers, one was favorable, one was neutral, and the remaining thirty-three were all propagators of infidelity that heaped contempt on Christianity with a fanat-

ical intensity. He also reported that about two hundred Bohemian infidel Sunday schools had been established.¹¹ Valiant efforts were made to win the Poles and Bohemians to Christianity. Of the Protestant groups the Congregationalists were most successful. Bible study classes were formed in the Cleveland area, and a school for women Bible readers organized. A department at Oberlin Theological Seminary was devoted to the training of converted Bohemians.

Foreign immigration conditioned the development of urban Christianity. The phenomenal growth of American cities in the last half of the nineteenth century was largely due to the influx from continental Europe. At the turn of the century the Chicago school census revealed twenty-five nationalities represented, and the children born of German parents, numbering nearly a half a million, exceeded those born of native white parents. The resources and personnel of the home mission societies were inadequate in the face of unprecedented demands for evangelization and education, so the stronger city churches founded chapels, Sunday schools, and mission stations at strategic points. The North Star Mission, established by the First Baptist Church of Chicago in a German speaking area, within ten years had a Sunday school enrollment of more than thousand, an industrial school for girls, a reading room, a monthly paper *The North Star* and a full schedule of "sociables" and prayer meetings in the German language. Work was being done among the Welsh, the Swedes, and the Danes, and there were missions at the Stockyards, the Union Glass Works, the Rolling Mills, and the Bridgeport Iron works all financed and officered by the First Baptist Church.¹²

In cities where there were several strong churches of a given denomination efforts were generally pooled. Thirteen city and six suburban Congregational churches in the Chicago area united under a committee of Missionary Effort and hired a superintendent to work among the Bohemians, Welsh, Germans, and Swedes. Acting on a resolution of the Methodist General Conference of 1896 a Na-

tional City Evangelical Union was formed, composed of "representatives from all the local organizations or unions by whatever name known, in cities of the United States working for city evangelization in city church extension under the auspices of the Methodist Episcopal Church." In 1872 the Chicago Baptist Union was formed and a co-operative home mission program under a paid secretary inaugurated.

Soon there came to be the following six distinct types of city missions in the foreign speaking areas: the arm of a well established church, the independent mission backed by a wealthy individual, the neighborhood church, the institutional church with its provisions for domestic science and vocational training, and the regular denominational missions. In addition there were immigrant houses in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia.

Each denomination has developed an immigrant program peculiarly adapted to its organization, geographical distribution and resources. Baptists, Congregationalists, and Presbyterians have placed their main reliance on the home mission societies. Soon after the new settlers arrive colporteurs visit the homes distributing tracts. Later the home missionary calls urging attendance at meetings preparatory to the organization of mission congregations. The foreign speaking fields of the Methodists are first exploited by an established conference under presiding elders familiar with the language. As the language churches grow in numbers they are organized into distinct conferences. Although it is not the denominational practice to organize separate linguistic synods, German Presbyterians have formed two conventions, Western and Eastern, to foster work among their own class. The Swedish and German churches among the Baptists are formed into conferences. The Congregationalists have been particularly successful among the French of New England and the Germans, Scandinavians and Slovaks of the west and northwest. They have pioneered in Slavic work, establishing numerous Bohemian and Polish churches in the Cleveland area.

The demands of the language fields helped shape the policies and stimulated the growth of nearly all the established agencies of the churches. These organs of evangelization and education antedate the great immigrant invasion, but they have responded so well to the challenge of new fields that they have been transformed in the process. Fortunately by the middle of the nineteenth century the major denominations had home mission societies, Sunday school associations, publication boards, and colleges and seminaries organized on a regional and national basis. These have directed their energies to a common goal. Special and standing committees on the foreign population have been commissioned by the national bodies, and the pages of denominational journals are replete with hortatory and statistical articles.

While the work of home mission societies must be given due emphasis, the Sunday school associations were often the real pioneers. The report of the Sunday School Union in 1900 revealed that the Methodist Episcopal Church had schools among the Germans, Swedes, Norwegian, Danes, Bohemians, French, Italians, Portuguese, Chinese, and Japanese. A full time German Sunday school agent and a German editor for Sunday school publications were employed. The Presbyterians established a special missionary department of the Sunday school, and the Congregationalists sent out missionaries among the foreign language groups to establish schools under the auspices of the Sunday school and publication society.

The denominational publication societies produced large numbers of foreign language books and tracts. The Methodist Book Committee supervised the publication of a German hymn book and an official translation of the Discipline. German, Swedish and Bohemian weeklies are published by the Cincinnati publication house. Each year numerous books are published in languages other than English. The Sunday School and Publication Society of the Congregationalists publishes German, Norwegian, and Bohemian papers in Chicago, French in Springfield, and Italian in Boston.

Today with the gates closed to immigrants, the original impetus to language work has ceased, and the anglicization trend predicates an early end to the language missions. Perhaps this may be a propitious time to evaluate the effects of immigration on American Protestantism.

First and foremost, the work among foreign speaking groups has greatly furthered interdenominational cooperation. More than half a century ago, when the incoming tide was strongest, the New York State Christian Convention, representing eight denominations, proposed a union of evangelical Christians for home missions.¹³ Delegates to a convention of the American Home Missionary Society were urged to "unite about the largest nucleus of a Christian sect—Presbyterian, Congregationalist, or Methodist—whichever is strongest."¹⁴ The twelve member denominations of the Council of Reformed Churches in America early agreed to cooperate in work among foreign speaking people. Mention has already been made of the cooperative efforts of urban churches. Shortly after its formation in 1908 the Federal Council of Churches of Christ endorsed a plan of individual efforts under a federated council which provided that, "local federations in district, city, or state should survey the field, study conditions and plan the work to be undertaken, leaving its prosecution to the church or denomination assigned to that particular service, the council standing ready with counsel and encouragement to reinforce denominational enterprise." That this cooperative spirit continues is indicated by the fact that during the past year an interdenominational conference on "the Italian Church of Tomorrow" was held in New York City.¹⁵ Recently the Interdenominational Council on Spanish-speaking work made a survey that indicated that a quarter of a million Mexicans were in northern and eastern parts of the United States.

In a much broader field the emigration of members of the national communions has led to fraternal relations between kindred groups in the United States and continental Europe. Fraternal letters were exchanged between the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church and the

Bohemian Church of the Helvetic Confession in 1870, and the former body pledged its Sunday school and home missionary facilities for the work among Bohemians in America, and hailed the exchange of delegates as the beginning of a permanent union. The Swedish Mission churches or Mission Friends were greeted as subscribers to the same faith and practices "which our Congregational fathers founded through the blood of martyrs" by the National Council of Congregational Churches and were welcomed as "new-found sister churches in the Lord."¹⁶ It was agreed that Swedish churches, ministers and students should have perfect liberty to join the association of Mission Friends or of the Congregationalists or both as they might choose.

In various ways, as has been depicted above, concern for the foreign born and their children has enriched the activities of urban churches. The institutional church is a splendid example of the social gospel in action.

The infusion of new blood not only strengthened the native churches numerically, but the immigrants made valuable contributions to institutions, scholarship and evangelical fervor. The deaconess movement which has been sponsored by the Lutheran Church is an example. German Methodism developed a unique series of schools, hospitals, and homes in the city of Cincinnati. Just as immigrants rose to high positions in public life and private enterprise, so they became leaders in American Protestantism.

Foreign language work has been a main objective of all Protestant groups. Numerically, the results obtained are disappointing. The immigrants for the most part have continued the church affiliation, begun on the continent, with a kindred body in America or remained indifferent to a program of evangelization. The challenge of the unchurched millions, however, has been answered with a quickened zeal stimulating every agency of the church and broadening their activities. Although the determined efforts to perpetuate a puritan civilization have failed, neither have the Protestant churches been assimilated by an alien culture. Like objectives and the facing

of common dangers have developed a Protestant consciousness and have prepared the way for ultimate unity.

At present the Atlantic and Pacific gateways to the United States are closed, but the world conflict may be ended by a Christian peace ushering in an era of international good will. Once again there will be free migration of peoples. Then there will be a revival of the language missions. American Protestantism is ready. Home missionaries, publication boards, Sunday school associations, and colporteurs will greet the incoming masses, shelter them, evangelize them, and teach them the American way of life.

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1. Ray Allen Billington, (New York, 1938)
 2. *The Baptist Quarterly* (Vol. XI, 1880), p. 140.
 3. *Annual Report, American Baptist Home Missionary Society* (Vol. 61, 1893), p.11.
 4. *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. of A.* (1892), p.181.
 5. *Minutes of the National Council of Congregational Churches of the U. S.* (1886), p. 274.
 6. *Journal of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (1924), p. 1686.
 7. *National Council Minutes* (1886), p. 120. Cf. S. H. Doyle, *Presbyterian Home Missions* (New York, 1902).
 8. A. B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States* (New York, 1909), II, p. 23.
 9. July 18, 1868.
 10. *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 178.
 11. *National Council Minutes* (1901), pp. 277-284.
 12. *The Standard* (Jan. 21, 1869), p. 4.
 13. *Op. cit.* (July 12, 1878), p. 3.
 14. D. B. Coe, "Commity Between Denominations In the Home Field," *National Council Minutes* (1874), p. 59.
 15. *General Assembly Minutes* (1940), p. 156.
 16. *National Council Minutes*, (1889), p. 465. Cf. *General Assembly Minutes* (1870), p. 52.

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THE ATTITUDE OF THE JEHOVAH'S WITNESSES TOWARD THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

By Herbert H. Stroup

New York, N.Y.

The literature of the Jehovah's Witnesses indicates an intense antipathy toward the Roman Catholic Church. This feeling of hatred has developed increasingly in the last four or five years. The rise of the resentment is clearly revealed in the various books which have been written by the group's leader, Joseph Franklin Rutherford.

The year 1926 marks a decisive change in the purpose and organization of the Jehovah's Witnesses. Before 1926, the movement was confined in its missionary activity, and the leadership of Mr. Rutherford was not generally accepted. In this year the movement which had its start among the few followers of "Pastor" Charles T. Russell split. The Witnesses who had known Mr. Russell thought they had definitively expressed their religious obligations by attending group meetings, reading the Bible and the writings of Mr. Russell, praying for the Last Day, paying dues, feeling and being charitable. Mr. Rutherford, who assumed leadership in this year, following the death of Mr. Russell, thought that these duties comprised true faith, but he also added the greatest of all virtues (to the Witnesses): the systematic, persistent evangelization of the entire population of the earth. The Witnesses who believed that Mr. Russell was next to Saint Paul and Jesus in the estimation of Jehovah took issue with Mr. Rutherford and refused to aid him in his grandiose scheme. From that day the modern Jehovah's Witnesses were born.

This historical background is necessary in order that we may understand the attitude of the Jehovah's Witnesses, in this period of their development, toward the Roman Catholic Church. Since 1926 there has been an interesting change in the focus of the group's hatred. At first the hatred was in the generalized form of Satan, but gradually through the years that followed, it was levied more directly at such particular objects as the Roman Catholic Church and other religious organizations.

In 1926 Mr. Rutherford published a book, *Deliverance*, which attempts to give "a vivid description of the Divine Purpose particularly outlining God's progressive steps against wickedness and showing the final overthrow of the Devil and all of his wicked Institutions; the deliverance of the people; and the establishment of the religious government on earth." Over three million copies of this book have been distributed. The book tries to provide an "outline of history." Its first chapters are concerned with the creation of the earth by Jehovah, the rebellion of man against Jehovah, and man's subsequent afflictions under the various cruel kings supplied by Jehovah for man's salvation. The last chapters tell of the end of the world, when "the wicked ruling system, designated by the title 'beast' and made up of profiteers, politicians, and clergy, is taken." These evil ones will be cast into "the burning flames of everlasting destruction." Afterwards, a new world will be "established" in which the "reconstruction and restoration of man" and his social institutions will take place.

In this book Satan is the foremost opponent of the Witnesses. Satan is the rebellious archangel, Lucifer, who enjoyed all the privileges of the celestial realm until his pride led him to jealousy and finally to revolt against Jehovah. History records the effort of Satan to thwart Jehovah: Satan tried to kill David; he defied Jehovah through Pharaoh; he entered into Judas, the betrayer of Jesus; he sought to prevent the resurrection of Jesus and afterwards told the enemies of Jesus of it. Satan's influence has not lessened even today. He is the cause of and is responsible for all crime, all religious animosity, all war:

"Now it is due time for the people to see and to understand the truth; and particularly to see that all the warfare amongst themselves, the conflicts between religious systems, and the crimes and wickedness that stalk about in the earth, all these unrighteous things originated with Satan who has used these agencies to turn the minds of the people away from God."

Satan's strength is unlimited and often it seems to the

pious Witness that Jehovah is overwhelmed and defeated. In our times three factors in society are inspired by Satan; the commercial, the political, and the ecclesiastical:

“At times it might have seemed that the power of wickedness had completely overwhelmed and defeated the God of righteousness. But not so. The Almighty has permitted Satan and his angels to pursue a course of wickedness without let or hindrance until such time as he sees it good, and therefore necessary, to interfere and manifest his power, that the people might not entirely forget his name. In all these world powers the three elements mentioned, to wit, commercial, political and ecclesiastical, have appeared prominently. In these latter times the three elements, under the supervision of the Devil, have united in forming the most subtle and wicked world power of all time. They operate under the title of ‘Christendom’, which is a fraudulent and blasphemous assumption that they constituted Christ’s kingdom on earth.”

The Roman Catholic Church, according to Mr. Rutherford’s judgment in *Deliverance*, is an expression of Satan, but, generally speaking, the metaphysical conception of evil consumed the major interest and energy of the Witnesses. The Roman Catholic Church is not attacked with any special significance except as it is the most unified and dominant conception of Satanic influence. It is Satan’s policy to work in an organized manner. This assumption underlies the idea which the Witnesses possess of all social organization. Organization is evil because it is organization. Nowhere is this more true to the Witnessess than in the area of religion:

“It seems quite clear that this (Genesis 4:26) was a scheme of Satan to have men call themselves by the name of the Lord and yet pursue a course in opposition to God, thereby to ridicule God and hold up his name in scorn. These men were tools of Satan, the Devil, and were therefore hypocrites. This discloses a scheme of Satan which he has ever followed since; namely, TO HAVE HIS SYSTEM OF GOVERN-

MENT AN ORGANIZED RELIGION BY WHICH MEANS HE COULD DECEIVE THE PEOPLE AND RIDICULE JEHOVAH GOD. This is mentioned here because it discloses the fixed policy on the part of the Devil to use religion as a part of his deceptive and fraudulent schemes."

From *Deliverance* one gets the idea that the Roman Catholic Church is a wicked institution. But it is only one of many historic and present evil institutions. It is an expression of Satan, not Satan himself.

The relationship between Satan and the Roman Catholic Church is shown in its historical perspective by Mr. Rutherford in *Deliverance*. Beginning with the life of Jesus, he traces the efforts of Satan to thwart Jehovah through the successive stages of the history of western Christianity. The following survey is introductory to an understanding of the attitude toward the Roman Catholic Church today.

Ninety-five pages of the book, *Deliverance*, are concerned with Satan's efforts to meet Jehovah's challenge in the form of the life of Jesus. Satan heard the angel announce the coming birth of Jesus; he sought to have the infant Jesus killed by Herod; he tried to seduce Jesus from serving Jehovah; he used the Pharisees to oppose the witness of Jesus; he blinded the Jews and many Gentiles to the significance of Jesus; he conspired to kill Jesus; he killed Jesus; he rejoiced over the death of Jesus.

According to Mr. Rutherford's interpretation, the death of Jesus was followed by a period of rather pure religion. We must not conclude, however, that Satan was not familiar with the wonder-working power of the fresh faith or that he did not try to impede its progress. "It is reasonable to presume that he (Satan) was familiar with the instructions given by the inspired apostles to those of the church." This being the nature of the situation with which Satan was faced "he realized that he must do something to counteract the influence and power of those who were being brought to Christ, if he would thwart the divine

purpose." Very cleverly, Satan devised a plan to defeat the early Christians at the point of their greatest strength.

"Satan saw that it would be profitable to his scheme to have the Christians become more popular; therefore the Christian religion became ostensibly the religion of his wicked world. The Devil thereafter planted amongst the Christians ambitious men, those who had a desire to shine amongst themselves and who in the course of time had themselves appointed or elected to the positions of bishops and chief elders; and in due time there was established a clergy class, as distinguished from the laity or the common people. The clergy thus organized introduced into the church false doctrines taught by heathen philosophers, which of course were the Devil's own doctrines. These were used to corrupt the message of the Lord God. The clergy and the rulers in the church then established theological schools wherein men were trained for the clergy for the purpose of carrying on the work of their system already organized and in operation. In due course statements of belief, or creeds, were formulated and presented to the professed Christians, and anyone who taught contrary to these creeds was considered a heretic and was dealt with accordingly. False doctrines were freely introduced and substituted for the truth. Amongst these were and are the doctrines of the trinity, immortality of all souls, eternal torture of the wicked, the divine right of the clergy, and the divine right of the kings to rule. In the course of time, Mary the mother of the child Jesus, was deified; and the people were called upon to worship her as the mother of God. Satan's purpose in all this, of course, was to turn the minds of the people away from Jehovah. Crucifixes were erected, and the worship of the people was turned to these rather than to let them intelligently worship the Lord Jehovah and the Lord Jesus Christ. Beads, so-called 'holy water', and like things were used and are still used, to blind the people. Gradually, seduc-

tively, subtly and wickedly the Devil, through willing instruments, corrupted those who called themselves Christians."

This, then, is the simple story of the rise of the Roman Catholic Church, according to Mr. Rutherford. It was at this point that the original Christian message was corrupted. Christ was converted to the antichrist. Satan was worshipped as God. This, to the Witnesses, is the supreme achievement of Satan. This interpretation of the rise of the Roman Catholic Church is basic to any understanding of the nature of the early antipathy of the Jehovah's Witnesses. The important item to remember is not that the Witnesses hated the Roman Church as much as Satan, but that Satan was the chief opponent to true religion and that Satan's present and historical expression is the Roman Catholic Church.

The systematizing of the Christian religion took place at Rome where its bishop was recognized to be the temporal representative of Jehovah. Thus Christianity was secularized. The position of the Roman pope is particularly obnoxious to the early Witnesses of "the second dispensation."

"Satan the enemy was at all times in control of Pagan Rome. The religion of that world power was the Devil's own religion; he now adopted hypocritically the Christian religion; his world power took on the name of Papal Rome, having a visible representative of the Lord Jesus Christ but who in fact was the representative of the Devil, whether he knew it or not. Millions of good people were deceived by this hypocritical move. Probably many of the clergy were deceived, but some of them were not deceived. The pope presumptuously assumed to rule as the visible representative of Christ."

The effects of the rule of the popes were not admirable to the Jehovah's Witnesses. Indeed, "there have been some of the blackest crimes of history committed in the name of and by that system."

But, the evils of the Roman Catholic Church brought revolts against its authority. Wycliff, Huss, and Luther made open warfare against the papacy. This rebellion against the Roman Church led to the Protestant Reformation and the Protestant denominations. This protest sought to restore the purity of the ancient faith, and it succeeded for a time. The denominations contained many God-fearing men, but "it was only a matter of time until Satan overreached these." The Protestant systems have organized themselves into real "political companies." Mr. Rutherford points out the Methodist Church as being "one of the strongest political organizations in the world."

The idea that Satan was able to overreach various social organizations is well-known to the Witnesses, even today. Actually it expresses a powerful criticism of the persistent misuse of power which is characteristic of all social leadership. In one of the chapters of *Deliverance*, Mr. Rutherford shows how Satan was able to "overreach" the courts at the time of Jesus, thus making the agency of law the tool of evil.

So it is that the greatest pretense covers the greatest evil and all reforming attempts become evil when power is gained. Man's highest expression of his aspirations in religion are the result of demonic force outside both himself and nature which controls the world. Jehovah does not dominate the human scene; sometimes he attempts to edge his way into human life—then only to give men the assurance that he is yet responsible for the forces which can defeat evil and restore man to his original goodness. This is the form of evil which Jehovah's Witnesses hated in 1926. They hated evil in high places; they fought with principalities, power, and spiritual darkness.

Following the year 1926, the movement grew and made more enemies than it had in its earlier stages. Persecution of true believers is mentioned in *Deliverance*, but only in the usual manner of religious groups, namely, that a believing person should not be popular with the world and should expect to suffer for the sake of the truth. Gradually the Enemy became less and less Satan and more and

more Roman Catholic Church or the Roman Catholic Hierarchy. A survey of the Indices of the books written by Mr. Rutherford during the years 1926-1940 indicates that merely in the number of references given to Satan and the Roman Catholic Church the matter is now quite the reverse of the situation then. *Jehovah*, written by Mr. Rutherford in 1934, reveals how concrete the enemy had become by that time:

"This (the desire on the part of the Roman Catholic hierarchy to destroy the movement) was particularly made manifest by the recent actions of the Roman Catholic hierarchy and their public press, and further at Plainfield, New Jersey, when their 'strong-armed squad' appeared on the scene at a public meeting of Jehovah's Witnesses, armed to the teeth, when there was no danger to anyone except those who could be hurt by the plain proclamation of the truth. That strong-armed squad was doubtless there at the instance of cruel Catholic priests, and to this day members of that strong-armed squad cannot understand why they did not commit murder."

Mr. Rutherford's book *Riches*, published in 1936, is of significance because it contains the first expression of another attitude toward the Roman Catholic Church. In this book Mr. Rutherford uses a propaganda technique which is familiar, namely, to "drive a wedge" between the governed and the governing. He still insists that the Roman Catholic Church is a Satanic expression. Yet there is a qualification. The common people that comprise the Roman Catholic Church are not to be condemned overly much. They are unfortunates, intellectually ignorant, politically docile, spiritually subservient. As such they are to be excused from responsibility for the wickedness of the Roman Catholic Church. The real responsibility lies, so says Mr. Rutherford, with the priesthood. The hierarchy is evil. "The Roman Catholic Hierarchy is the strongest visible foe on earth of Jehovah's Witnesses and that organization is fighting desperately to keep the people in ignorance." With a subtle, half-pleading tone, Mr. Ruth-

erford seeks the confidence of the Roman Catholic laity:

“Nothing is here written for the purpose of offending or holding up persons to ridicule because of their religion or for any other reason. The sole purpose is to call to the attention of the people the truth of God’s Word, to the end that those who desire to be enlightened may have that blessing. There are millions of sincere persons on the earth who are designated ‘Catholic population’ and who are entitled to hold their views. Those persons are not at all responsible for the false doctrines held forth by the Catholic organization known as ‘the Hierarchy.’”

The common people which comprise the Roman Catholic laity are not responsible for the teachings of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy. The Hierarchy proceeds “upon the theory that there are just two general classes of people, to wit, Communists and Roman Catholics, and that all who do not line up with the Roman Catholic side are therefore necessarily to be classed as Communists.” It is interesting to note that although 121 references are made in the Index to Riches to the Roman Catholic HIERARCHY, not one is listed of the Roman Catholic CHURCH.

In 1937 Mr. Rutherford thought that the importance of the corruptness of religion had not received sufficient attention. In that year he wrote a book, *Enemies*, in which he sought to show that the Witnesses have many enemies, but none more powerful or hated than organized religion of any description. Throughout the book he uses the word “religionist” with a particularly bad connotation. He generally means by “religionist” a person who is a “superstitionist” or a “traditionalist.”

It was in this year (1937) that the Witnesses coined a phrase which they have used ever since; “religion is a racket.”

“Put aside now preconceived opinions, and with an unbiased mind examine the facts concerning the greatest of all rackets that has ever been practiced under the sun, to understand the truth of which is for your personal welfare.... The most dangerous and

destructive kind of racketeering is that which has the appearance of honesty but which is operated in such a subtle, deceptive manner as to blind people to the real truth. . . . The greatest racket ever invented and practiced is that of religion. . . . There are numerous systems of religion, but the most subtle, fraudulent and injurious to mankind is that which is generally labelled the 'Christian religion,' because it has the appearance of a worshipful devotion to the Supreme Being, and thereby easily misleads many honest and sincere persons. Strange as it may seem, the two words 'Christian' and 'religion' are diametrically opposed to each other. . . . Religion labelled 'the Christian religion' is a racket invented by the Devil to defame the name of Almighty God and is practiced by men, some of whom are honest and practice it because they have been induced to believe it is right, while others know that they are wrong and are working a fraud upon the people."

Religion *per se* is evil. Each world political power has adopted a religion whereby it has been able to command the respect of the masses. Religion, murder and war are associates. Religion was not originated by primitive people who feared their natural environments, but it is the eternal means by which Satan seeks to deceive and reproach Jehovah. Religion does not give depth and scope to human aspirations for security and perfection; it degenerates the individual wherever its scrofulous touch is felt. Religion is one of a triad of evils (commercialism, politics, religion) which with their combined force have enslaved men from the first.

Although Mr. Rutherford nursed his new-found hatred of all religion until it became a rallying-point for his followers ever since, he still did not diminish his special hatred of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy. "The chief visible enemy of God and therefore the greatest and worst public enemy, is the Roman Catholic religious organization. . . . The day of the wicked organizations must come to an end." The Roman Catholic Hierarchy is to be destroyed before

commerce and politics in the Day of Armageddon. Mr. Rutherford thought in 1937 that the Roman Catholic Church was in a political alliance with the rulers and business men of the world to take over the control of the whole earth.

“The Roman Catholic Hierarchy is a selfish and devilish organization, operating under the misleading title of ‘Christian religion,’ and desperately attempting to gain control over all the peoples of the earth in order to satisfy its selfish and ambitious desires.” This is a theme which recurs throughout *Enemies*.

Mr. Rutherford’s last book, *Religion*, was published in the summer of 1940. In it he gives more attention than in previous years to the intense persecution which the Witnesses have undergone. This persecution is presented as a hydra-headed monster completely under the control of the Roman Catholic Church. Satan has fallen into the background, but is still recognized as being the ultimate source of affliction (only five references to Satan in the Index to *Religion*). Communism, atheism, Protestantism, Roman Catholicism, are the tools of the devil:

“The Devil practices all manner of fraud and deception. He organized the chief religious systems on earth, now under the Roman Catholic Hierarchy, and falsely designates that as ‘the Christian religion.’ Even the so-called ‘Protestant’ systems of religion claimed to be opposed to Romanism, but, in fact, they all work together. The Devil then organizes and brings into action Communism, which openly fights the so-called ‘Christian religion’ and also true Christianity. He uses atheists likewise to fight against those who serve God, and thus the Devil uses all these means and organizations to fight against God and against God’s faithful servants on the earth, and to deceive men.”

Mr. Rutherford claims that the leaders of “Christendom” howl and declare that the Jehovah’s Witnesses are communistic and that they have seditious aspirations. This talk, however, he feels comes straight from the “papa” in the Vatican, who realizes that the communist cry will be

a very effective means of dispersing the Witnesses. But, the Jehovah's Witnesses are not communists because they will have nothing to do with any political system. They are entirely separated from all political parties, giving all of their devotion to the one, true Jehovah.

Religion in general and without definition is a snare and a racket. This doctrine which came into the Witnesses' literature in 1937 is one of their most popular beliefs in 1940. Christianity is directly opposed to all religion and in itself is not a religion:

"Christianity and religion are two separate and distinct things, and the two are in complete opposition to each other. Those who practice religion are numerous; those who truly are Christians are few."

All religion will be completely destroyed at the Day of Armageddon; indeed, "the end of all religion has come" in the year 1941. What we today think of as religion is merely a faked substitute which the rulers need to enforce their wicked ways.

Since the beginnings of the present war, a new factor is combined with the evil triad of Satanic forces, namely, the military. War is evil to the Witnesses and definitely is contrary to the will of Jehovah. Therefore, the present war is regarded in parts of the literature as a further expression of the efforts of the Roman Catholic Church to destroy the Witnesses. In the book, *Religion*, war is thought to be of such a destructive character in itself that it is classified as a fourth fundamental evil.

According to Mr. Rutherford, everyone now recognizes the need for "more and more religion," but not for the truth which the Witnesses teach.

"Religion, politics and commerce, the three elements visibly ruling this world, step to the fore and with one accord proclaim to the people, 'We must have more religion, else our civilization will perish.'"

The cry for "more religion" is an effort on the part of the rulers of the world to avoid the discovery by the common people of the evil nature and effects of their rule. The rulers require the Witnesses to salute the national

flag against their consciences because the rulers need some scapegoat to divert the attention of the populace from their failures. The clergy cry for more religion because many people have already realized the demonic character of religion. Their cry is an attempt to camouflage their evil.

In *Religion*, as in previous books, the Roman Catholic Church is an evil institution, originating in Satan. The Roman Catholic religion is a modern form of an ancient demonism. To worship man-created idols is pagan; thus the Roman Catholic Church breaks one of the essential commandments of Jehovah in worshipping saints, pictures, and statues. The conception of purgatory in Roman Catholic theology is incorrect and wicked simply because it has pagan origins. Purgatory is based upon the unscriptural pagan belief involving the immortality of the human soul. The Bible, according to all true Witnesses, denies the immortality of the soul.

“The doctrines and practices of the Catholic religious organizations are specifically constructed by the Bible. That is particularly true with reference to ‘purgatory;’ to the primacy of the pope; to the dead as being more alive than ever, and prayers for the dead; to the doctrine and the claim that the church of God is founded upon Peter; to holy water; to images and the veneration of saints; and to many other doctrines; and these prove that the Catholic religion is demonism; and by the practice of demonism the people are led fully into the snare of the Devil and ultimately into destruction.”

It is this demonic influence which makes deluded religionists stubbornly resist the truth of God’s Word.

The Roman Catholic Church is seeking world domination. It uses many means for the attainment of this end. All movements, such as the Witnesses, that oppose the totalitarian claims of the Roman Church are declared evil by it. The Roman Catholic persecutes all those who tell the truth. Furthermore, it has aligned itself with the totalitarian forces in politics. In fact, the Roman Catholic

Church uses the various dictators in its plot to rule the world.

"Cruelly and subtly the totalitarian or dictator schemes move forward, and now the dictators have become bold and arrogant and have formed a bloc of nations, including Germany, Italy, Japan and other states, and on top of which bloc or combine the so-called 'spiritual' Roman Catholic Hierarchy sits in state and struts her stuff, administering supposed doses of soothing remedy in a studied effort to make Satan's rule or wine of this world appear a sweet wine."

In another passage which tells of the plan of the totalitarian nations to place the whole world at the feet of the pope at Rome, Communism is given equal mention with Fascism and Nazism. It would seem that the final victory over the Roman Church will be effected by "the radical elements." They will rush in (after the dictators and the Roman Catholic Hierarchy have finished robbing the Jews) and pillage the Vatican of its fabulous riches:

"The dictators now permit the Roman Catholic Hierarchy to work with them, and all together they engage in robbing the Jews, who have been prosperous in commercial things and otherwise in obtaining money and property. When that radical and deluded element have finished with exploiting and robbing the Jews, it appears, then they will give their attention to the big religionists. It is said that Vatican City has stored up more gold and other riches than any other nation or organization. It may be expected that the various deluded radical elements will swoop down on the Vatican and Hierarchy after they have finished off the Jews."

The dictators support the Roman Catholic Hierarchy principally because they too hate Jehovah's law and wish to supplant Jehovah. The religious leaders have not told the political leaders how Jehovah will destroy them in the Last Day. This is because they are both ignorant of the ways of Jehovah:

“The religious leaders, particularly the Roman Catholic Hierarchy, have failed to tell the political rulers anything concerning God’s purpose to destroy them, and this manifestly because the religionists are allies of the political rulers, and being under the influence and power of the demons, are blind to God’s purpose. All of the dictators of the world have their religious advisors. The ruler of Germany is a Catholic and is constantly advised by the Vatican. He also freely consults the demons through their visible representatives. Other political rulers follow a similar course. Even in the democracies, the chief politicians do the same thing; and this shows that all such are in the darkness and hence blind to God’s purpose and are induced to abuse and persecute the servants of God, who bring to them the message of truth.”

This view explains to the Witnesses why both religious and political leaders are persecuting the movement.

Today “Catholic Action” is extremely vicious in persecuting the Witnesses. “The Roman Catholic-Nazi combine, in their bitter oppositon to the Theocracy, make war upon Jehovah’s Witnesses.” The Hierarchy gets itself praised by the newspapers through threats to commercial dealers.

“The clergy send out the vicious young Nazi element to commit assaults upon Jehovah’s Witnesses. The real criminals, guilty of such vicious assaults, are the higher-ups of the Hierarchy.”

The Witnesses are opposed by a “world-wide conspiracy” headed by the Roman Church. This “conspiracy” does not obey the laws of God; in fact, it obeys only those laws which make for its strength and security.

The Witnesses are not altogether defenseless against the onslaughts of the Roman Catholic Church. They believe that it is proper and necessary to repel attacks with physical force. In *Religion* the example of the Witnesses on the 25th of June, 1939, at Madison Square Garden is given:

“Persons (Roman Catholic) who oppose God’s kingdom had repeatedly made threats that they would

break up that assembly, and these threats had been brought to the attention of the Lord's people. Even the police officers had been notified of such threats. On the day of the meeting several hundred of such wicked ones entered Madison Square Garden meeting after the program had begun, and made a violent attempt to 'break-up' that meeting. Ushers, whose assigned duty was to keep order, commanded the disturbers to stop their disturbance or else leave the building. Instead of complying with that request the disturbers violently assaulted the ushers. Some of the ushers in their God-given and lawful rights resisted such assaults and used reasonable and necessary force to repel such wrongful assaults. In doing so the ushers acted strictly within their rights and in the performance of their duty and certainly have the approval of the Lord in so doing. The ushers were not using carnal weapons in order to preach the gospel, but they were using force to compel the enemy to desist in efforts to prevent the preaching of gospel."

The Witnesses are advised never to act hastily and always with the highest motives in using physical force. They are reminded that Christian always obey the law. The Christian should use other methods of meeting evil, if such are available, before resorting to physical force. The Christian should never purposely seek physical combat.

Moreover, the Witnesses are not alone in defending their rights. Jehovah is not blind to the sacrifices which the Witnesses are making to the truth. He will not forget those who now persecute them. The Witnesses look forward with great expectation to the Last Day, the Day of Armageddon, at which time Jehovah will utterly destroy all those who at present persecute the Witnesses. "The battle of that great day of God Almighty will forever put AN END TO RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS PERSECUTORS." "The enemy, the religionists and their allies, have repeatedly shed blood of the innocents, and for that they shall be fully paid by the Executioner of Jehovah."

NOTES and NEWS

FLORIDA MINISTERS' WEEK

The third annual Florida Ministers' Week will be held at Florida Southern College, Lakeland, Florida, January 11-15, 1942. Dean Lynn Harold Hough, of Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, New Jersey, will deliver the main lectures of the week. Dean Hough has announced his general theme as "Intellectual Patterns." Dr. Elmer T. Clark, editor of the *World Outlook*, will lecture on "The Small Sects in America." President Ludd M. Spivey, Dean S. J. Case, and Roy L. Smith, editor of the *Christian Advocate*, are among the other lecturers announced for the week. Some of the lectures will be published in full in the next issue of *RELIGION IN THE MAKING*.

Dean Willard L. Sperry was the lecturer for Ministers' Week in 1940. Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, of Boston, and Dean S. J. Case, of the Florida School of Religion, were the lecturers during Ministers' Week in 1941. These lectures have now been published.

THE FLORIDA RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION

The fourth annual meeting of the Florida Religious Association will be held at Florida Southern College, Lakeland, April 20-21, 1942. This association is rapidly becoming the chief medium for inter-faith religious activity in Florida. At an earlier session, the Association defined its purpose to be:

(1.) The promotion of fellowship among persons who are interested in religious studies and activity.

(2.) The gathering of information on the history of religious movements in Florida.

(3.) The consideration of religious education in educational institutions, churches, synagogues and other community groups.

We expect to carry a brief transcript of the proceedings of the annual meeting in a later issue. The following statement about the Florida Religious Association has come to our attention, and we take pleasure in publishing it for our readers, especially those in Florida.

Our Inquiring Reporter, having heard of the Florida Religious Association, called upon its President, Professor Anna Forbes Liddell, of the Florida State College for Women.

"Dr. Liddell, the name of your organization is very general. What is the object of the Association?"

"To provide for fellowship and interchange of views among men and women of all faiths, and to engage in such religious research as may from time to time seem practicable."

"Is the Association trying to promote or 'put over' something?"

"Not a thing, unless it be fellowship and good will. We are not trying to spread any particular religious beliefs or practice. The fact that our membership includes Protestants, Catholics and Jews is a guaranty that propoganda is utterly foreign to our aims."

"But can a group of such diversity have much in common?"

"Oh yes. We may never fully understand one another, but we realize that we are all children of God and that we are all trying to serve Him, each in his own way. Moreover, the problems we encounter in our work—for example, in religious education, are basically similar, and so we find that we have something to learn from one another's experiences. We also seek to cultivate that all inclusive good-will which is the only defense against the rising tide of Anti-Semitism and other prejudices in this country."

"Where does the Association hold its meetings?"

"Our first meeting was held in Winter Park, the second at Florida Southern College, Lakeland, and the

third at John B. Stetson University, DeLand. Next April we are to meet again at Florida Southern. Thus far we have met only once a year, but as our membership grows in numbers and territorial extent one or more regional meetings each year will become desirable."

"What has been the nature of your programs?"

"We usually concentrate on some religious or educational problem. For instance, at the DeLand meeting we considered the question of religious education in the public schools. Professor Harrison S. Elliott, of Union Theological Seminary, was our discussion leader. The year before, our theme was 'Religion in Relation to Security of Life.' The program of our next meeting will probably deal with character education."

"Thank you, Dr. Liddell."

"You are very welcome. Here is a copy of our constitution. You might mention that our Secretary, Miss Janet Daugherty, of Winter Park, is glad to receive applications for membership accompanied by one dollar in payment of dues for one year from the date of payment."

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BOOKS REVIEWED

CHRISTIAN REALISM. By John C. Bennett. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941. 198 pages. \$2.00.

The word "realism" in this title is used primarily in the practical rather than the philosophical sense. The author seeks to steer a middle course between the extremes of optimism and pessimism in the interpretation of the Christian task. He finds reality most truly in the actual facts of immediate experience, although he is enough of an idealist to allow reason to operate upon the given elements in experience. Accordingly, in the early part of the book he vividly portrays the evils of the modern situation before proposing a program for their alleviation.

The present is a time of great perplexity for the religious thinker. All of his ideals seem to have been shattered, particularly by recent events in Europe that also cast shadows upon the American scene. These happenings tend to shake our former faith in both man and God. One might infer that men are hopelessly evil and that God is indifferent to their perversity. But Professor Bennett cannot accept this deduction of the pessimists. He is keenly awake to the fact of evil but he believes that there are still redemptive possibilities resident in human nature and capable of realization through divine assistance. The major portion of his book deals with the program of Christians in society and the scheme of redemption represented by Christ and the Church. The key to success is believed to be a more complete recognition of the necessity of a social rather than a merely individual salvation.

Yet one must not suppose that it will be sufficient to identify Christianity with particular social programs and enterprises. The individual Christian must become socially minded before the movement itself can become socially effective. Evidences that this procedure is in process of growth are seen in the developing recognition that justice and moral integrity should characterize any social order,

and that every man regardless of race or status should share equally in privileges. There is also a helpful recognition among modern men that their own favored groups are not free from the sins which they so readily ascribe to their rivals. And a broader outlook upon history enables one to see the total historical scene as the arena of God's activity. In spite of temporary darkness one is still able to perceive that the most powerful forces in the world are in line with God's intention.

Thus faith in the forces of redemption can be revived even in a period of gravest discouragement. Hope still centers in Christ and the church. The author is somewhat less emphatic than he was in his earlier book on *Social Salvation* in affirming that the teaching of Jesus provides an explicit program for modern salvation, but he still believes that Jesus and the place he has held in the historic Christian faith are the source of our best social insights and inspirations. And the church is believed to be the institution that gives greatest promise of success in realizing the ideals of the social gospel. Admittedly this institution has many defects and deserves much frank criticism. But by and large it is still our most dependable basis for the hope of a better world in the future. Reforms are needed but evidences of their coming are already apparent. These are seen, first, in the fact that the church, especially in Russia and Germany, is still capable of standing up against persecution. Moreover, within recent decades a much keener social conscience has manifested itself within large sections of the church. A third indication of revival is seen in the new interest in theological questions that has grown up since the first World War. Still other hopeful aspects of the situation are the trends toward unity among the different branches of Christendom and the awakening of an ecumenical consciousness.

Such are Professor Bennett's reasons for believing that, notwithstanding the dark hours through which we are now passing, there is light ahead. It will come by a more persistent pursuit of the ideals of the social gospel. In this

respect he stands sharply opposed to the advocates of the now much-heralded Barthian type of theological speculation that expostulates vociferously against social activity, derides human capacity to aid in setting up the kingdom of God upon earth, and denies the ability of the rational man to apprehend and pursue the divine will.

PHILOSOPHICAL FOUNDATIONS OF FAITH. By Marion J. Bradshaw. New York: Columbia University Press. 254 pages. \$2.50.

This is a descriptive treatment of the attitude toward Christianity of six seventeenth century philosophers. After an introductory essay commenting upon the present situation and delineating some features of seventeenth century society, each philosopher is presented largely in language from his own works, but under sectional headings designed to display his significance. To each name is also attached a distinguishing epithet. Descartes is "the great dualist," Hobbes "the great materialist," Locke "the great empiricist," Pascal "the great mystic," Spinoza "the great rationalist," Leibniz "the great individualist." The treatment throughout is highly appreciative. There is no disposition to "debunk" these characters and each is found to possess some distinctive element of greatness.

The interest of these philosophers in Christianity is thought to have been much more extensive and vital than has commonly been assumed. In fact, Professor Bradshaw would have us believe that they were all staunch defenders of the Christian faith. But even his persuasive words may not prove universally convincing. And that the faith of these thinkers was founded in their respective philosophies seems still more doubtful. Is it not more likely that they derived their faith from heritage and environment and pursued their philosophical speculations as a supplement to, or independently of, their traditional inheritance of Christian or Jewish beliefs? Even Pascal, who was the most religious of them all, really felt it necessary to renounce his philosophy in the interests of religion. The others were not ready openly to renounce re-

ligion in favor of philosophy, but they made no very serious effort to reconstruct a new system of Christian theology in accordance with their philosophical postulates. Even Locke, rigid empiricist that he is, was not willing to trust explicitly to reason for religious truth and turned to biblical revelation as the ultimate source of knowledge. We might call these thinkers, or some of them, philosophical apologists for the faith of their day, but it is stretching the point to call them philosophical "founders" of the faith. That task had been performed much more thoroughly by the schoolmen than by the later rationalists.

Of course much depends upon what one means by "faith." If it means the acceptance of a definite form of belief, or is only a vague attitude of reverence for that which lies beyond the ken of human wisdom, different answers might be given to the question of how far any man kept the faith. If it is meant only in the latter sense, as Professor Bradshaw seems to use it in his final chapter, then it will be true of every person, however rigid his thinking, who faces the mystery of the cosmos. We follow reason as far as it leads, and thereafter we walk by faith. But this is what multitudes of Christians, according to their several lights, have done all through the ages. In this respect the seventeenth century philosopher, like the present-day theologian, was running true to type.

GOD AND PHILOSOPHY. By Etienne Gilson. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press. 147 pages. \$2.00.

In the modern age, where the concrete happenings of daily life smite us with great severity, only a few men have the inclination or the leisure to indulge in metaphysical speculation. The physical world of daily experience impinges so mightily upon our consciousness that we have no time to theorize about the laws or principles that operate in those areas of the cosmos that are beyond our immediate perception. But in recent years several Roman Catholic philosophers and theologians have re-

vived interest in metaphysical problems, and Professor Gilson is one of their most distinguished representatives.

Christians have usually taken for granted the reality of both a visible and an invisible world, but have trusted to revelation for their knowledge of the latter and confined the operations of human reason to the observable phenomena of experience. Not until the thirteenth century, with the appearance of Thomas Aquinas, did a Christian thinker attempt to show that certain items of metaphysical wisdom formerly ascertained through revelation only were also capable of demonstration by the processes of human reason even without resort to revelation. Thus Aristotelian concern with metaphysics was baptized into Christianity and is being vigorously refurbished by present-day Roman Catholic writers. This is the instrument employed by Professor Gilson in expounding the relation which obtains between our notion of God and the demonstration of his existence.

The book contains four lectures delivered at Indiana University. Greek thinking about the gods is the subject of the first lecture. After sketching the evolution of Greek notions from Thales to Aristotle, the lecturer concluded that to Aristotle must be given credit for stating in his metaphysical conception of a prime mover, a principle that makes possible a correct conception of God. But this god could have no concern with the world of human affairs and hence could not sponsor a religion. Christian philosophy, adopting the living God of Hebrew religion, adequately supplemented Greek speculation. From being "something" God now became "somebody." The philosophical problem now became not simply "What is nature?" but "What is being?" But Christian philosophy was slow to perceive that concern with God's essence, rather than pure belief in his existence, was a fatal bondage to pagan Greek thinking. This limitation still attached even to Augustine and Christian thinking did not obtain deliverance until Thomas Aquinas appropriated the speculation of Aristotle.

Later Christian philosophy, beginning with Descartes, was deflected from its true course by failure to view God

in his absolute self-sufficient perfection. Instead, it made him essentially the object of religious faith, and thus gave him only those attributes that accounted for the existence of the world. Instead of being "He who is" God became the "author of nature." This has been a tendency in modern philosophy that our author would correct by restoring the metaphysics of Thomas Aquinas. Science seeks a rational explanation of what the world actually is but metaphysics is concerned with why it is. This latter question involves a religious, as distinct from a scientific, interpretation of nature, and it can be answered only by the light of a metaphysical principle. Thought, being the only principle of order known to us in experience, requires us to point to the existence of a purposeful God to account for purposive intelligibility in the Universe. Thus God is not a scientific probability, as some scientists might affirm, but a metaphysical necessity. Yet religion requires one step beyond metaphysics. The religious man recognizes that the "He who is" of the philosophers is He who is the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.

One who finds it difficult to pursue the close-knit argument of this book will do well to remember that the task of comprehension is futile without a clear apprehension of the postulates which it holds to be axiomatic. These are the Thomist doctrines of metaphysical truth attainable by reason yet in perfect accord with the traditional truth of revelation.

CAN WE KEEP THE FAITH. By James Bissett Pratt. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941. 216 pages. \$2.75.

In this book a philosopher speaks in defense of a liberal type of Christian belief. As a teacher of philosophy for the last thirty-five years at Williams College, he has reflected long and deeply upon the subject under discussion. He has written several earlier works, notably the *Psychology of Religious Belief* (1907) and *The Religious Consciousness* (1920), that indicated the trend of his mind. More recently his *Personal Realism* (1937) and *Naturalism* (1939) have expressed the further maturity of his think-

ing, and now he sums up the results of his reflections upon the valid content of Christian faith. He restates not only the content of this faith, but forecasts the prospects for its endurance in the future. He is not interested in defending the tenets of any particular Christian denomination, but writes as a sympathetic observer who would sift the wheat from the chaff over the total range of Christian beliefs and practices.

The book is addressed to a particular type of person, namely the intelligent man who reveres human rationality, accepts without reserve the discoveries of modern science, and yet is genuinely religious and appreciative of the main body of Christian tradition. The author fears that this heritage is in great danger of being lost amid the confusion and diversity of thinking that have overtaken the present world. He laments the lack of interest in religion that marks the younger generation of today and the decline of stress upon religious instruction in modern times. He sees a danger that historical criticism of the Bible, the trends in naturalistic science and philosophy, and the political situation in large parts of Europe and the far East may threaten the collapse of Christianity. This calamity he would avert by providing a deeper insight into the real nature of Christianity and a keener appreciation of its essential values.

Professor Pratt is careful to state at the outset what he means by "Christianity." In the last analysis he finds it to be neither a creed, nor an institution, nor a body of moral precepts, but a movement in the spiritual life of the race. Yet this movement has been marked by certain distinguishing and decisive characteristics in the sphere of experience, activity and belief. Its adherents have an experience of love for God and for man, its typical activity is an outgoing expression of that love in service for others, and its beliefs are distinguished by a spiritual interpretation of the universe. Although the specific forms of these beliefs may be altered with time and varying conditions, their essential nature is thought to be constant.

Changes are the mark of true vitality while life itself remains the same throughout all variations.

The author recognizes that Christianity in its historic expression has not only sponsored certain beliefs but has employed many symbols that have acquired high emotional value. Familiar credal formulas, scriptural verses, long-used hymns, stained glass windows, the bread and wine of the sacrament, and all other liturgical acts or forms, have behind them a meaning which may change or be completely lost in the course of time. The meaning of the symbol may escape logical definition, yet the symbol itself may retain its power to stimulate the imagination and move the will for the good of the individual and society. This aspect of Christianity has a survival value for the enrichment of religious feeling that can never be completely supplanted by any redefinition of ethical or theological tenets.

The greatest menace to the continuity of Christianity is found, not in the perpetuation of its possibly outworn symbolism, but in two types of present-day dogmatic assertion. The first of these is materialistic naturalism that limits reality to physical existence and the operations of natural law. This position is vigorously attacked on the ground that it fails to recognize the reality of mind and ignores the spiritual side of the existential universe. So long as one does not lose sight of the supra-material aspects of existence there will be room for the essential truth of the Christian faith however extensively specific items in that faith may have to undergo revision in the interests of rational accuracy and scientific evidence. Beyond the range of observable material phenomena there will always be the wider regions of spiritual reality accessible to faith but impervious to empirical observation. And Christian faith is not demonstrable knowledge but a belief about that which lies beyond demonstrability. It must be rationally consistent and must not deny the established facts of science, but it reaches into the wider areas of the unknown where it claims no finality but only a balance of probability. Ultimately, it is faith rather than

knowledge, but a faith that does not insult the intelligence of the educated man who allows a place in this thinking for the reality of the spiritual world.

The second type of dogmatism, thought to be a more dangerous foe to the survival of Christianity, is the appeal to authority represented both by Fundamentalism and by the theological movement connected with the name of Karl Barth. To deny, as the Barthians do, the worth of human reason as an instrument of religious knowledge, and to refuse to recognize the imminence of God in a world that he has created, will in the opinion of Professor Pratt mean ultimate suicide for Christianity. One of the most incisive sections of his book is directed against this recent attempt of the Barthian theologians to revive the supremacy of supernaturalism and irrationalism as the essential aspects of genuine Christianity.

If the Christian faith is to survive it must be perpetuated by religious people who do not lose sight of spiritual reality while at the same time they admit the full rights of human reason and scientific knowledge in the area of religion. They need not doubt the divine transcendence but they will also find God most realistically in the realm of their own experience as they live in a universe where matter and spirit are both believed to be essential realities. And since men are creatures of free will, whether or not they keep the faith rests with them. The author is not too optimistic yet he is hopeful that the faith will be kept, and anyone who gives his book a careful reading will find it an exceedingly helpful medicine for the perplexed in these troubled times.

METHODISM AND THE FRONTIER: INDIANA PROVING GROUND. By Elizabeth K. Nottingham. New York: Columbia University Press, 1941. 231 pages. \$2.50.

Here is a volume that intermingles the general with the particular without doing injustice to either phase. The story of the rise of Methodism in America is carefully intermixed with the rise of Methodism in the southeast portion of Indiana. Methodism in America has of course been

modified constantly by its environment but thorough-going studies of how divergences of environment affected the subsequent development of the denomination have not been made. This lack of local studies is true not only of the Methodists but of practically all denominations. Miss Nottingham's study of a portion of Indiana should serve as an inspiration and a model for similar studies of other areas of the United States.

The author points out that she is only passingly concerned with how Methodism was Americanized but specifically with how it has "frontierized." It is in development of this theme that she draws her illustrative material from southeast Indiana. Three of her ten chapters are devoted almost exclusively to a consideration of what frontier Indiana did to Methodism. These three chapters constitute the major contribution that the volume makes to the history of Christianity in America. The frontier, for example, profoundly influenced the hymnody of the church. The stately hymns sung in the churches along the eastern seaboard gave way to "rough and ready words set to rousing popular tunes." Hymnals still in use bear testimony to the survival of this influence.

In the more general chapters interest centers largely in the way in which Methodism of the Wesley pattern was altered in America by factors of geography, communication, occupation, tradition, habits, and ideas.

THE CHURCH OF OUR FATHERS. By Roland H. Bainton. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941. 248 pages. \$2.50.

This is an unusual book. Here is a one-volume history of Christianity for children written by an outstanding historian. One-volume histories of Christianity are in themselves generally unsatisfactory; likewise, the few previous efforts to present the history of Christianity to children have not been altogether satisfactory. In this volume Professor Bainton, of the Yale Divinity School, does the unusual by writing a book that is satisfactory in each of these areas. Of course the book has its limitations

for it is not a compendium of church history, but such it was not intended to be. Used within the range for which it was intended, the book has no equal. Not only will the children for whom it was written find it interesting but so will many adults who have never been initiated into the great history of the Christian church.

The illustrations are copious and usual. Nearly all of them are drawn from contemporary sources—from miniatures in manuscripts, from carvings, from old woodcuts. These, reduced to line drawings, are not only decorative but illustrative. Here, for example, are the church's early symbols as painted on the walls of the catacombs and carved on tablets and sarcophagi in honor of the dead. The influence of the church on architecture is shown through numerous drawings. One not only reads that "Gothic architecture grew out of the Romanesque by making the vault pointed and by setting supports for the pillars a little distance away with arms called flying buttresses reaching across," but he sees exactly what the author means by this in an illustration placed alongside the text. The whole pageant of popes, monks, saints, crusaders, preachers, kings, peasants, and reformers unfolds alongside the text of the volume.

The author has done far more than collect interesting and colorful episodes and string them together. He has written an authentic history which is at the same time a book of wonderful stories. As a means of giving children some knowledge of their Christian heritage and of the processes by which it has come to them, and of cultivating in them a receptive attitude toward it, this book is recommended without qualification.

LANDMARKS FOR BEGINNERS IN PHILOSOPHY.

By Irwin Edman and Herbert W. Schneider. Cornwall, New York: The Cornwall Press, 1941. 1008 pages.

This is the type of book that every teacher would like to have available for the use of his students in every area of historical investigation. There is no tool more useful than one that makes accessible the original sources of in-

formation in any field of inquiry. But ordinarily these sources are so vast in scope and so widely scattered that it becomes practically impossible to introduce them to the student in the initial stages of his education. An adequate source-book, such as is here supplied for students of philosophy, seems to be the best answer to the problem.

The task of selection was an arduous one where only a single volume of a thousand pages was permitted. There had to be large omissions and some users of the book may regret the absence of names that stand high in their esteem. The editors were not unaware of this possibility. But they adopted as a principle for guidance those philosophers who could most truly be regarded as "landmarks" representative of the total range of the main problems of philosophy. Thus they represent not merely high points in the history of philosophical thinking but landmarks in the permanent landscape. The selections are believed to represent perennial issues and recurrent problems in western philosophy and to be eminent for clarity and cogency. Whenever possible, complete works, or at least continuous portions, have been printed, thus avoiding the atomistic character of many source-books. An explanatory introduction is prefixed to each author but this is always brief and is no substitute for the perusal of the original text.

Following are the contents. Plato's "Protagoras" and "Symposium" are reprinted in full. Aristotle is represented by selections from his "Physics" and his "Nicomachean Ethics." There are selections from Augustine's "Enchiridion" and his "City of God." Thomas Aquinas is represented by selections from *Summa contra gentiles*. Descartes "Discourse on Method," Parts I-IV, is given in full. Selections are made again from Hobbes' "Elements of Philosophy" and his "Leviathan," from Berkeley's "Of the Principles of Human Knowledge," and from Hume's "Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding" and "Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals." Kant's "Fundamental Principles of the Metaphysic of Morals" and Hegel's "Introduction to the Philosophy of History" are

given in full. Schopenhauer's "The World as Will and Idea" has been handled more freely and is presented in a compilation of extracts. Essays I and II of Nietzsche's "Genealogy of Morals;" portions from "The Sentiment of Rationality," "Reflex Action and Theism," and "Pragmatism" by William James; and chapter I of Bergson's "Two Sources of Morality and Religion" complete the volume. And its value is further enhanced by an excellent topical index.

CONCLUDING UNSCIENTIFIC POSTSCRIPT. By Soren Kierkegaard. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1941. 579 pages. \$6.00.

In the May issue of *Religion in the Making* Walter Lowrie's translation of Kierkegaard's *Stages on Life's Way* was reviewed. There mention was made of this Danish author's situation and point of view. Previously Professor Swenson had published an English translation of Kierkegaard's *Philosophical Fragments* and now the rendering of the *Postscript*, begun by Professor Swenson and completed by Dr. Lowrie, makes available for English readers a fairly complete presentation of Kierkegaard's type of philosophical thinking. He is the father of the so-called "existential" philosophy that has been revived today to interpret the disrupted status of the modern world. In the first instance it was put forth as a protest against the Hegelian absolute idealism that fitted all phenomena into a unified system free from all contradictions and diversities. On the contrary, the existential type of thinking accepts as ultimate reality "the mess we are in" without endeavoring to eliminate its contradictions by the arbitrary methods of a unifying logic. A dialectic of opposites rather than a close-knit system of logical uniformities is thought to be the proper technique of discussion. It is the philosopher's task to take the world as it is and to deal with its diversities without any ambition to construct a uniform system of thought that would eliminate conflicting variations. The outcome is pessimism rather than optimism, and the latter is thought to represent the only true picture of reality.

PAUL BECOMES A LITERARY INFLUENCE. By Albert E. Barnett. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1941. 277 pages. \$2.50.

The author has undertaken a laborious task which he has performed with unremitting diligence and painstaking accuracy. He has examined with microscopic care all of the extant Christian writings to about the middle of the second century with a view to ascertaining the extent of their acquaintance with the letters of Paul. The conclusions reached are to the effect that Paul's letters attained popularity as a collection during the last decade of the first century, but lost their popularity during the first quarter of the second century, because of the use made of them by heretics. During the next quarter-century, however, they recovered their prestige and thus became an integral part of the New Testament canon of scripture. This general conclusion, which might be apparent even to the casual observer, has now been given a scientific demonstration that will be heartily welcomed by all scholars interested in the subject.

Dr. Barnett has had a more specific purpose in mind. He aims to marshal his data in support of the special thesis of his former teacher, Edgar J. Goodspeed, under whose direction he pursued this study in candidacy for the Ph. D. degree. This hypothesis assumes that the publication of Luke-Acts awakened a fresh interest in Paul and led to a collection of his letters for which the collector composed Ephesians as a general introduction. Thereafter the Pauline corpus became an influential body of writings acquaintance with which is more or less evident in the subsequent literature. This supposition is readily conceded when an author makes specific reference to Paul but that phenomenon rarely occurs. Hence the argument for dependence has to rest upon the discovery in the later writings of words, phrases or ideas that appear also in one or another of Paul's letters. Of course, under these circumstances one can never be quite sure that actual literary dependence has to be assumed. There is always the possibility, perhaps even the more likely probability, that

this language had become the current oral phraseology of many churches after Paul's day and had survived not as literature but as the habitual language of one or another type of Christian thinking. And, as usually happens, when a writer shows acquaintance with the terminology and ideas of only a limited number of Pauline letters it might seem more likely that he derived his knowledge from the oral tradition of some specific locality than from the perusal of a complete Pauline collection of epistles. Dr. Barnett is too good a scholar to be unaware of the tentative character of his findings. With admirable caution he concludes that sometimes literary dependences seem "practically certain," but more often he is content to maintain only a "high degree" or a "reasonable degree" of probability. In both method and temper this book is a model of exact scholarship.

WORSHIP. By J. O. Dobson. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1941. 190 pages. \$1.25.

Worship is here interpreted from the Anglican point of view. Hence the book is marked by insights and appreciations that are especially characteristic of that communion. The basal elements in worship are said to be two-fold. Each act represents an offering to God on the part of man and a receiving of God's grace. There is a two-way process. The media of expression are prayer, symbol and sacrament, and the Holy Communion. Hence the importance of liturgy which provides not only a means by which man approaches Deity but a mechanism by which God communicates himself to the devotee. Thus the book is less well suited to the purposes of the non-liturgical communions, but the information it exhibits is thoroughly reliable and the attitude of the author is one of fair-minded objectivity.

The discussion opens with two edifying chapters on the necessity and nature of worship. These are followed by a historically descriptive account of worship as it has developed within Christianity. There is an informative though rather sketchy chapter on the manner of worship

as it was variously displayed from early Christian times down to the sixteenth century. The use of art in worship and the function of the sermon are considered, although the latter is assigned a relatively unimportant place. This must necessarily be so when ritualistic ceremony is thought to be primary. The author recognizes that worship has fallen into some disrepute in modern times but he still has faith in its future notwithstanding present decline in church-going. He concedes that changes in form and phrasing may become necessary under altered conditions if worship is to maintain a functional reality. This is particularly true of the younger churches established on the mission fields. It is unwise to transplant from the west rigid liturgical forms upon this foreign soil. The new churches ought rather to learn to express their Christian life in forms that are of their native heritage.

A final chapter on the fulfilment of worship enjoins the necessity of carrying over into practical life the vision of God and the knowledge of his will derived from the experience of worship. The Christian life should be one of self-forgetting social service, but this must be constantly purified and inspired by renewed acts of worship.

THE ETHICAL IDEALS OF JESUS IN A CHANGING WORLD. By G. Bromley Oxnam. Nashville: The Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1941. 135 pages. \$1.00.

The lectures given by Bishop Oxnam during Ministers' Week at Florida Southern College in January, 1941, are here presented in print. A summary of their contents appeared in the January issue of *Religion in the Making* and this need not be repeated. But the privilege of reading the lectures in full, and at one's leisure, provides an opportunity for a most gratifying experience. The charming style in which this wealth of practical wisdom is phrased, the lecturer's firm intellectual grasp of moral and social problems, the clarity of his spiritual vision, and the force with which he drives home his message,

hold one's undivided attention from the first to the last page. Everyone who heard the lectures will want to read the book and those who were not privileged to hear the lectures will find it indispensable. It is a fresh attack upon modern social, industrial and international problems by one who brings to his task an abiding conviction that the ethical ideals of Jesus are still pertinent to the crucial moral and spiritual issues than constantly re-emerge in our changing world.

SOCIAL WELFARE IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH. By Marguerite T. Boylan. New York: The Columbia University Press, 1941. 363 pages. \$3.00.

We have here an intensive study of the social welfare program of the Roman Catholic church. The book is not concerned with theories or schemes for social reform. Rather, it is descriptive of the work of Catholic charities, particularly as they have been operating during the last decade. The author is herself Executive Secretary of Catholic charities in the diocese of Brooklyn which she draws upon for much of her illustrative material. But she is also widely familiar with the development of other diocesan bureaus that have been organized extensively by Roman Catholics since the year 1900. She shows how the bureaus have developed in line with the needs of different localities and under diverse conditions in accordance with size of population, economic and social status, and the general character of a diocese. The book is packed with information, carefully selected and sometimes tabulated or charted, that is of first-rate importance for social workers, whether or not they happen to be connected with the Roman Catholic Church. Social work under religious auspices is not thought to eliminate the need for lay workers. There are many types of activity that can best be performed by them, such as social case work, probation and parole. But the ultimate goal of effort should be a spiritual motivation derived from the Christian philosophy of life that elevates love and human brotherhood above the hatred, intolerance, violence and persecution so conspicuous in our present civilization.

COMPREHENSIVE CONCORDANCE TO THE HOLY SCRIPTURES. By J. B. R. Walker. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1941. 957 pages. \$2.00.

This useful concordance to the Bible was first published half a century ago. It has been frequently republished and is now reissued at a moderate price that makes it available for a wider circle of ministers and biblical students. Although it is based upon the King James version of the English Bible, it has not yet been superseded by any more recent book. It is still an indispensable tool for those who wish to locate specific words and passages of scripture.

THE RETURN TO RELIGION. By Henry C. Link. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1941. 181 pages. \$1.00.

This has been a widely read book since it was first published in the year 1936. It is now reissued at a reduced price in the hope of reaching a still larger circle of readers. Religion is here conceived of primarily as a therapeutic for the sick minds. For people whose lives are enslaved by their temporary mental aberrations, the ways of thinking and acting prescribed by the Christian religion are believed to offer the surest relief from mental distress and the most helpful guide for conduct.

ARE WE IMMORTAL? By Winifred Kirkland. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1941. 43 pages. \$.90.

This brief literary essay defends faith in the immortality of the human soul. At least to live now as if we were to endure hereafter, and to have faith in that about which exact present knowledge is impossible, is thought to make life most worth living. ..

NOW WE MUST CHOOSE. By Henry N. Wieman. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941. 245 pages. \$2.00.

This is an attempt to undergird our tottering democracy with a redefinition of its real nature and a program of procedure that will insure its survival. It seeks to make clear the manner in which true democracy is to be con-

ceived, and by choosing or refusing to accept this philosophy of democracy we determine its fate in the future. The temper of the discussion is throughout expository rather than dogmatic. Readers already familiar with Professor Wieman's type of thinking will still find him the same tolerant person, who is almost reverential toward those with whom he disagrees while at the same time he advocates his distinctive opinions with persuasive zeal and conviction.

A large part of the book consists in analyzing the forces that have operated to defeat the democratic process. It tends to lose its dynamic when the united energies of the people are channeled into the plans of a dictator. This means death to democracy since it smothers the generative forces that make possible further democratic growth. This distinctive principle applies not only in politics but over the total range of organized society's operations. Whenever individuals rise to power in the economic, industrial, educational or religious areas of life they trend to establish a disruptive independence that militates against a fully operative democratic way of life. Stress upon the independence of individuals, the pursuits of absolute idealism, and centralization of control in business and industry are thought to be the dangers of the hour in modern times. What is needed to checkmate this menace is not the suppression of individualism but a larger recognition of the inevitability of conflict and a determination to practice mutual consideration for conflicting interests and points of view.

Accordingly, the author proposes two rules for the attainment of true democracy. These are "creative interaction" and the "compounding of perspectives." This is only the philosopher's way of saying that human beings of all classes, races and types need to learn to live together cooperatively and peaceably while working out as best they can procedures that will permit them to realize for all concerned the highest measure of common good. More attention should be given to the purpose than to the mechanisms of the democratic operations. The only coercion

to be permitted is an inherent drive emanating from one's sense of belonging to the common human family and constituting a "functional member of a sensitive, responsive, creative community of other human beings." This is the faith that will save democracy; otherwise we shall lapse into the tyranny of dictatorship.

Underlying Professor Wieman's thesis is a faith in the ordinary run of people that may seem to some of his readers almost naive. At times he appears to entertain an almost romantic confidence in the virtues of humanity in the raw, and would trust our salvation to the creative activity of human beings on the level of primitivity. At such moments he might be classed as a disciple of Rousseau or of Gerald Heard. But this would be to do him a grave injustice. He is keenly conscious of the fact that society must have effective and intelligent leadership. What he is pleading for is a realistic appreciation of the elemental human factors that must enter into the creation of a genuine democracy and an attitude of wider toleration and deeper comprehension on the part of leaders who give themselves to the task of helping to bring in a new day for the democratic way of life. The book does not attempt to prescribe detailed agenda. Rather, it aims to clarify purposes and sensitize minds to the task in hand. As such it has a distinctly therapeutic value.

CHRISTIAN ROOTS OF DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA.
By Arthur E. Holt. New York: Friendship Press, 1941.
187 pages. \$1.00.

"It is the contention of this book that . . . when we establish churches, we are saving democracy from within." The reference is to Protestant churches, for "Democracy in political life and democracy in religious life reinforce each other or die together." This forthright thesis the author maintains first by a novel analysis of the democratic ideal which pervades biblical literature, and second by an inquiry into the relationship of religious concepts and democratic philosophy at crucial moments in American history. The author concludes that while democracy and

Christianity in this country have never equated, each in its present form owes a vital debt to the other.

This symbiotic relationship of democracy and Protestantism in America is now threatened by the growth of organized prejudice, by the concentration of economic power, and by world imperialism. Will it survive? The author believes it depends on "whether or not democracy can maintain its central core of values. . . . Even though Germany and Italy should be beaten into the ground, the basic problem of democracy would not have been settled."

This is an interesting book. Its style is discursive rather than expository, and the relevance of some of its pages to the main theme is difficult to discover. But it is suggestive, fresh and realistic.

MAKING THE MOST OF THE REST OF LIFE. By Karl Ruff Stolz. New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press. 416 pages. 1941. \$1.50.

This book is intended to tell middle-aged people or "those of riper years and experience" "how to live gracefully and wholesomely during the second half of life." The period of adolescence has long been recognized as one of stress and strain with physical changes, new mental horizons and spiritual urges that affect all of later life. Doctors, lawyers and some preachers have also recognized that a similar period of adjustment faces mature men and women. We have talked, some of us, about the "foolish forties," the "fatal fifties," and some have referred to the "sexy or senile sixties," but there has not been much understanding of early middle age nor have ministers had much material to put in the hands of people facing the beginning of the second half of life. Dr. Stolz's most recent book faces in frank and interesting fashion many of the problems of middle life and old age.

A husband and wife had returned home from a party given by elderly friends. The hostess had retained much of her youthful beauty which was crowned not only with eyes alight, but with a beauty of character and sweetness of disposition that endeared her not only to the members

of her family, but to friends and casual acquaintances. The young wife said to her husband, "I wouldn't mind growing old if I could be as beautiful and gracious as Mrs. So and So." To which the husband replied, "You can be, but if you are to have a beautiful old age, you must begin now."

This book is an excellent one to put in the hands of men and women who are disturbed by certain physical and other changes they begin to meet in the forties. Such ordinary affairs as money, rules of health, rest, exercise are among the topics interestingly discussed. Second marriages, adult education, the making of new friends and solitude are also included. The author is insisting that success in the second half of life depends on recognition of those elements that will make life normal. He says: "Basic activities and interests make and keep an individual normal. First, the normal man is usefully if not gainfully employed. Second, he is wholesomely related to other people. Third, he is honest and capable enough to examine and improve himself. Fourth, he has a sympathetic understanding of the situations others face. Fifth, he cultivates a tension reducer in the form of an avocation or hobby. Sixth, and finally, he has a sound philosophy of life which gives meaning to his world and support to his conduct. These six competencies and developments are not luxuries without which a man can live normally, but indispensabilities. Furthermore, they interpenetrate. The first five are regulated and controlled by the sixth." Along with this there is a deep undertone in this book rising out of the definite assurance that "life can be good," with all the deep significance that can be read into the term.

THE SHAKER ADVENTURE, an Experiment in Contented Living. By Marguerite Fellows Melcher. Princeton, N. J.: The Princeton University Press, 1941. 319 pages. \$3.00.

This account of the Shakers is a well documented, sympathetic narrative of the origins, doctrines, economy, arts and fate of the Shaker communities in America. The

author uses mostly Shaker sources and omits some of the critical material available on Mother Ann and the early history. But the story is none the less as authentic as any account of the Shakers is ever apt to be, and gains much from the author's personal acquaintance with the communities.

The theme of "adventure" is emphasized for a double reason: to bring out the element of pioneering adventure in the Shaker faith, and to point out that when this love of adventure ceased, and the new members sought rather security, the life went out of the movement. The history of the Shaker movement is indicative of this loss of life: at first the dances were vigorous sublimations of energy and sex; then they became curiosities for the entertainment of "the world;" and lastly they became lifeless rituals. The author regards the whole experiment as an adventurous but persistent pursuit of a perfect life, perfection implying the devotion of the member to the group (family) and of the body to the spirit. The author points out convincingly that a real perfection was attained in their agriculture, architecture, and handicrafts, but that the Shakers had a different conception of "spirit" than the spirit of art implies, and that instead of continuing to adapt their economy and arts to a changing world, they adhered steadfastly to prophetic spiritualism.

Spiritualism and the hope of Christ's coming were both the inspiration and the cause of failure. Irresponsible spirit messages and teachings sowed the seed of distrust. One of the most curious and instructive episodes in the narrative is the enthusiasm for a decade or more in outdoor worship (and dances) on "holy hills."

The list of sources and the information regarding the present state of Shaker properties are valuable features of the book.

GOD'S BACK PASTURE. By Arthur Wentworth Hewitt. Chicago: Willett, Clark and Company, 1941. \$1.50.

Those who read *Highland Shepherds*, published two years ago, will be eager to share further in the author's

experience as he discusses other phases of the rural ministry in his new book, *God's Back Pasture*. The former book dealt with the rural pastor's "professional" work; this one discusses his sociological parish responsibilities.

For the title of the book, Mr. Hewitt uses an expression of scorn for the rural parish that is made by some who have ambitions elsewhere—"the back pasture"—and he turns to good account as he explains that the back pasture is the one high up on the mountain from which the widest landscape is seen. This book is another testimony of the conviction that the pastor who serves in the rural section is really privileged of God.

Mr. Hewitt describes the conditions and problems that are present in the rural parish and indicates what the Church can do to Christianize the situation. Why the Church does so little about it he summarizes under six headings: Invincible ignorance, ecclesiastical manslaughter, fantastic pessimism, pious immorality, economic stringency, and the fact that the Church is a "colony" instead of a "state."

Continuing, Mr. Hewitt discusses with characteristic wit and wisdom the arrangement and management of the sanctuary as a place for the worship of God. He gives attention to the parish house, rural church finance, the educational work of the Church, and rural philosophy.

The great value of the book lies in the fact that the author shares with his readers the principles that have made his long ministry in the rural parish conspicuously fruitful. The volume will tend to develop within the reader a wholesome attitude toward and respect for the rural parish as a field for a significant life work. This is one of the really important books about this field, and should be in the library of every rural pastor.

CREATIVE FACTORS IN SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH.

A Social Psychology of Scientific Knowledge Studying the Interplay of Psychological and Cultural Factors in Science with Emphasis on Imagination. By Austin L.

Porterfield. Durham: Duke University Press, 1941. 282 pages. \$3.50.

This is an orderly, logical, concise, concrete critique of scientific methods, useful to social scientists in every field, and not without interest to biologists and physical scientists. It should be particularly useful as a reference book in all classes in social research.

The study develops a social psychology of scientific endeavor by studying the interplay of psychological and cultural factors in the development of science. It shows how the assumptions of the scientists are related to his cultural backgrounds and demonstrates the dependence of his techniques upon his methodological assumptions; indicates "that culture itself is the product of creative insight, and requires the same mental processes for its study and interpretation as were originally required for its origination and development;" emphasizes the fact that "the dynamic factor in research consists in the creative control of observation, experimentation, and reasoning." It illuminates its principles by drawing them out of and applying them to concrete materials.

LIVING UNDER TENSION. By Harry Emerson Fosdick. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1941. 253 pages. \$1.50.

The public has come to expect something of unusual value whenever a new book or collection of sermons by Harry Emerson Fosdick is announced. There will be no disappointment with reference to his latest volume *Living Under Tension*, between the covers of which may be found twenty-five of the recent sermons by one of the most popular preachers of modern times.

The subject of the first sermon in the volume furnishes the title of the book, which is appropriate, since most of the sermons reproduced here were prepared and preached in the atmosphere of the days of stress and strain in which we are still living. However, Dr. Fosdick has preferred to deal with eternal principles rather than with

temporary issues. Yet, he has not avoided current situations, and again and again he reaffirms briefly his well-known convictions regarding the futility of war, its evil consequences, and the impossibility of getting peace by unpeaceful methods, or democracy by undemocratic methods, or liberty by illiberal methods.

One could not even characterize each of the twenty-five sermons in an ordinary review. It is enough to say that they are up to Dr. Fosdick's recognized standard of excellence and will richly repay an unhurried reading, perhaps one at a time on Sunday afternoons. To this reviewer the following sermons were especially impressive: "How to Stand Up and Take It," "What Does the Divinity of Jesus Mean?" "The Cross, an Amazing Paradox," "A Great Year for Easter."

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RELIGION In The Making

VOLUME II

MARCH, 1942

No. 3

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THE REFORMATION'S DEBT TO THE RENAISSANCE

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"LOVE" AS AN ECCLESIASTICAL TERM IN
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FLORIDA SCHOOL OF RELIGION, LAKELAND, FLA.

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Shirley Jackson Case, Editor

Religion in the Making is published four times a year, in May, November, January and March. It is sponsored by the Florida School of Religion and edited by the dean of the School.

The subscription price is \$2.00 per year, or sixty cents per single issue. Remittances should be made by postal or express money orders or by check and made payable to the Florida School of Religion.

All communications, including business correspondence, manuscripts, exchanges, and books submitted for review, should be addressed to Shirley Jackson Case, Editor, Florida School of Religion, Lakeland, Fla.

Published by the Florida School of Religion, Box 146 Florida Southern College, Lakeland, Florida, four times a year, May 15, November 15, January 15, and March 15. Entered as second class matter at the Post Office, Lakeland, Florida.

RELIGION IN THE MAKING

Shirley Jackson Case, Editor

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OUR CONTRIBUTORS

M. C. Otto is Professor of Philosophy at the University of Wisconsin, where he received the Ph.D. degree in 1911, having joined the faculty the previous year. He has been a frequent contributor to scholarly periodicals, and among his published books are *Things and Ideals*, *Natural Laws and Human Hopes*, and *The Human Enterprise: An Attempt to Relate Philosophy to Life*.

* * * * *

Frederick M. Derwacter is well known to scholars through his book, *Preparing the Way for Paul*, published a decade ago. He is at present Professor of Greek in William Jewell College and holds the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Chicago.

* * * * *

Elmer T. Clark has for many years been engaged in educational and literary activity in the service of the Methodist Church. As an editor and author he has been responsible for a score of books, one of the most recent being *The Small Sects in America*. He received his education at Vanderbilt and Temple Universities and holds an honorary LL.D. from Southern College.

* * * * *

John T. McNeill is Professor of European Christianity in the Divinity School of the University of Chicago. He is also the author of several learned volumes and numerous articles in the standard religious periodicals. He holds degrees from McGill University, Westminster Hall, and the University of Chicago.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Martin Rist, who occupies the New Testament chair at the Iliff School of Theology, received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Chicago a few years ago. He has already written a number of scholarly papers that have been published in different journals.

* * * * *

William Henry Bernhardt has already been introduced to our readers by the article he contributed to these pages in the issue of January, 1941. We heartily welcome a second product of his pen.

* * * * *

RELIGION IN OUR TIMES

By M. C. Otto

University of Wisconsin

Madison, Wisconsin

Religion is nearly as old as man. It came out of pre-history with aspiring wonder in its eyes and the blood of innocent victims on its garments. The spirit of brotherhood has attended it down the centuries; so have hardness of heart and narrowness of mind. Moral integrity has been its watchword and moral compromise its frequent practice. Sometimes it has deserved to be called an "opiate of the people"; nevertheless it has persistently aimed to arouse and strengthen the best in human beings. Although it has become stiff with tradition, it still embodies the ageless hope of a better life in a better world. Because of this history, this involvement in humanity's struggle, we may safely assume that some form of religion will survive as long as man—man the creature who initiated devotion to ideals as a function of life.

But ours is a critical time for religion. Deflection from religious institutions, enforced by state authority, has been advertised for the world to see. In Europe and in America religion is on the defensive. In the eastern hemisphere where oriental religions have for almost two thousand years withstood Christian dogma and latterly Christian guns, religious conceptions are suffering from the impact of secular events. This is true even among the isolated, backward peoples who have managed to adhere most closely to primitive beliefs and practices. They are being enticed into the ways and views of more sophisticated races. Everywhere religion is in a crucial state, and no religion will come out of this crisis unscathed.

A phenomenon of such magnitude and one that in certain important features has no historical parallel is not to be comprehended in all its fullness. It can however be well enough understood to leave no doubt that profound religious changes are going on and that further changes of a similar nature are

inevitable. Moreover, we can perhaps select from the immense complexity of the causal factors the one that is most dynamic.

What is this factor? To this question not everyone will give the same answer. For my part I find it to be the attractiveness of the life-economy produced by the union of inventive genius and a highly perfected scientific technique. Radios, automobiles, devices of birth control, large scale commercial products, gadgets of applied science—such things as these are finding their way to every part of the globe. From this life-economy no one plans seriously to be free, in spite of its admitted and deplored shortcomings. Its comforts and opportunities are wanted for what they are, and they are looked upon almost universally as necessities of civilized existence. The result is that habits, customs, desires, and ideas which were foreign to those who gave shape to our inherited religions are taking commanding place in the lives of contemporary men and women.

This vital and inescapable situation has created the problem which religion has to solve in the human interest. Religion must willingly enter into the growing togetherness of men in what they seek and the ways and means of their seeking. It must willingly become part of the active, daily, normal business of living, and on this basis work for the best and noblest in human nature. That is to say, religion is challenged to transform itself; so to transform itself that the inherited distinction between the secular and the religious will disappear, and all life, rather than a detached part of it only, may be thought sacred; so transform itself that to be religious will mean that the entire man, whatever his race or social status, or however he makes his living, may be engaged in advancing the dignity and happiness of mankind.

To make this ideal more specific let us consult two passages of New Testament scripture, one in the Gospel of John, the other in the Epistle of James. Not that these passages are to be taken as final authorities, or that we are to confine our hopes to their original interpretation. On the contrary, we are to transcend their earlier import and search them for suggestions relevant to the present religious exigency.

John omits some of the most familiar and best-liked portions of the gospel account. He says nothing of the Good Samaritan, the Prodigal Son, the Rich Young Ruler, the drama of Gethsemane, or the principles of conduct enunciated in the Sermon on the Mount. But he does tell of events to which no other writer refers. Among these is the story of a man prominent among the Jews, who came to Jesus for a personal interview, and who came by night, probably not wishing to have his visit noised about while he was still uncertain what to think of the religious innovation called the Good News. There in a dimly lighted room where big shadows moved and gestured as the two talked, Jesus spoke the words that have found their way into all languages: "Ye must be born again."

Nicodemus was baffled by what he heard. The proposal struck him as fantastic. But Jesus was insistent. The wind blows, he said, but you do not know where it started nor where it is going. So is everyone who is born from above. His life, from the viewpoint of the uninitiated, is an insoluble mystery. Yet its demand in the way of practice is clear. You are not asked to begin again the life you have lived, the life in which success is failure and victory defeat; you are asked to enter upon a new life which you have never yet begun to live and which, if you lose, you have lost everything, no matter what you seem to have won. "Marvel not that I said unto thee, Ye must be born again."

In line with this admonition we may draw a preliminary conclusion. Religion is a life; a life so different in moral disposition from the commonly prevailing ambitions and purposes that to enter upon it amounts to a new birth. Jesus stressed the unbridgable difference in a memorable sentence: "That which is born of the flesh is flesh; and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit."

We cannot make sure what Jesus himself had in mind, but the saying was soon given an interpretation which for most people it has carried ever since. According to this interpretation body and soul are two entities absolutely distinct in origin and destiny: the one is composed of natural elements doomed to fall apart again into dust; the other is a simple, indivisible substance

forever indestructible. And religion consists in caring for the eternal "wellbeing" of that soul.

Today we are under no necessity to accept the traditional interpretation. Indeed, in the light of modern knowledge this would be difficult to do. We need not think of the soul as a thing. We need not regard it as the spiritual double of the physical body. We may think of soul as an attitude in living, as the essential personal element refined in the laboratory of daily action and daily relations. But in any case the religious life is in some sense a life of the spirit. It is the antithesis of the conventional materialistic life. In that respect the words spoken to Nicodemus are still authentic: "Marvel not that I said unto thee, Ye must be born again."

So far, so good. Religion implies interests diametrically opposed to those ordinarily pursued. Its aims and rewards are utterly different from the aims and rewards of the unreligious life. Stated in these terms, however, the ideal is still too general or even abstract. It must be rendered more specific and concrete. The Epistle of James will take us a step in that direction. James had little respect for religion in the abstract. He judged a man's religion by the specific things it led him to value and to do. "Pure religion," he declared in a well-known passage, "and undefiled before God and the Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the world."

If it were our task to determine precisely what James meant by this definition, a number of words would give us trouble: pure, undefiled, God, Father, world. And in each case we should have to decide whether James thought of religion as primarily a natural or a 'supernatural allegiance. But we happen to be interested in his particular usage only in so far as it may aid in clarifying the meaning of religion for our own time and situation. Examined with this intention, the quoted passage sets forth two requirements: responsiveness to human need and avoidance of degrading influences. Fatherless and widows in affliction—what is this but a symbol of distress? Spotted by the world—what is this but a metaphor depicting

the blotting out of a man's finer nature in the contacts of day to day living?

Two requirements: but so intimately and inseparably related that as we think about them they fuse into one. Sensitiveness to human need will not survive in a personality surrendered to dehumanizing impulses, and a personality genuinely humane will resist surrender to those impulses. Hence, uniting the two requirements, we may say that religion is active devotion to the common welfare and, at the same time, active opposition to every tendency that would coarsen men's motives and harden their hearts.

A great mystery could be made of this definition by those who are more keenly interested in conceptual refinements than in the refinement of life. Others will not be much puzzled. They know without being told what it means to be helpful where help is needed. They are aware of degrading aspects of their environment without having them labeled. But we cannot stop with the close at hand or the familiar. Religious opportunity and obligation reach beyond the nearer into the wider environment, reach into "the world" which is after all the context of every man's doing and being. The proposal must therefore be sufficiently particularized to indicate where, in that broader sphere, the religious issue is most acute.

Foremost among these particulars is resistance to increasing moral cynicism. Various reasons have been assigned for its increase among us. Science has been blamed for it. Intensified competition for material gain has been blamed. So has the successful ruthlessness of the dictators. But whatever the cause may be, the effect is unmistakable. Moral conviction has weakened; moral energy has decreased.

Is this really so? The air seems full of moral invective. Blame, if not praise, is handed out with a bountiful hand. Nor are we slow to punish what we regard as crimes. If a man throws a brick through a store window he is put in jail. If he robs a bank he goes to the penitentiary. If he kills a man with malicious intent he is hanged, electrocuted, or incarcerated for years or for life. It is, however, just as true that a man may destroy, rob, counterfeit, kill in the moral

realm, in the realm of truth, justice, beauty, ordinary decency, and go scot free. He may exploit the intellectual and moral resources of his fellow men, leaving the area of his exploitation spiritually arid, and not only escape all social penalty, but be honored, extolled, called to positions of trust, elected to public office with improved opportunity to repeat the progress on a larger scale.

Let us look more closely at this disturbing issue. Every home, every school, every church in the land is expected to train the young in elevated practice. Parents, teachers, ministers of religion are to inculcate principles of fair-dealing and honesty, of unselfishness, chastity, devotion to country and God. But no such responsibility operates on the men and women who set the current standards of practical success. Day by day we learn what is done by business leaders, industrialists, bankers, newspaper owners, men in political office, and the composite picture is not engaging. The idealism which homes and schools and churches are to nurture is blandly ignored. Not merely ignored, but betrayed, derided, ridiculed, made to appear futile and childish. A stream of moral poison thus flows into every community from sources which most of us are tempted to look up to with respect.

The religious person will avoid this contaminating stream. That is one thing it means to keep himself unspotted from the world. And it means another thing. The religious person will refuse to succumb to an even more obstructive trend of contemporary life—the glorification of might and might-philosophy.

The might-pattern of life goes back to those ages when the lower animals competed for animal supremacy; yes, it goes back to the still remoter times when inorganic forces were building the stage on which the animal contest was later acted out. Human beings appeared on the scene with the heritage of those aeons of struggle in their bones. They had something else in them, too, the derivation of which remains unexplained, something that gradually lifted them above the struggle for sheer physical survival. Slowly they acquired enough mastery of their environment to discard the rawer brut-

ish instincts. They learned to respond to ideals of conduct in opposition to those which had dominated their earlier career.

From then on human nature was a battle ground of two vital attractions, savagery and civilization. Here and there in the span of history a moral and aesthetic level was reached which almost seemed to indicate that the savage past had been outgrown. And again and again upsurgings of barbarism wiped out great achievements of civilizing effort and at times threatened to make an end of civilization altogether. By this zigzag road we have come to where we are.

No one needs to be informed that the will to might is once more on the march, and that it is armed with weapons of destruction never approximated in the bloody conflict of the past. "Blessed are the powerful," its champions declare: "Blessed are the powerful, for they shall inherit the earth." Let it be so for the moment. They will not *keep* the earth they inherit, not even the *earth*, since it is inherent in the principle of might that the fruits of victory shall presently be snatched away by a new might, a stronger or a cleverer might. And what is gained by inheriting the earth and losing the values of life that make the inheritance blessed?

Considering the philosophy of might, all of us naturally think of dictators and of war. Many of us think no further, as if its exemplifications were confined to these. Of course it is not. War and dictators are spectacular eruptions of a fighting will that is always at the eruptive point in some area of our social order. Indeed reliance upon might regardless of consequences beyond those immediately aimed at is an outstanding characteristic of our scheme of life. Pressure-group tactics pervade our economic and political activities. All over our country individuals are united in militant groups to advance their own welfare in defiance of the welfare of anyone else. Even persons engaged in pursuits ostensibly far removed from the battle for material success act as if might were right, differing from comrades in ruthlessness solely in the art of self-deception or public disguise.

Religious men and women can have nothing in common with this morally devastating attitude. They are unalterably

opposed not only to wars of aggression and to dictators and all their works, but to the wide-spread and deep-seated vice from which war and dictators arise—ordinary, day to day unspectacular might-philosophy and might-behavior. Open opposition to these ingrained habits and customs will cost a price. To be religious implies a readiness to pay that price; to pay it in money, in social standing, or intellectual reputation, in anything and everything it takes to reject might as an individual or social principle of living.

To these qualities of religion—repudiation of moral cynicism and resistance to the infatuation exerted by physical might—must be added the quality of feeling which was given first place in the definition we have chosen. Religion implies outgoing good will. It means warmth of heart, quickness of sympathy, willingness to lend a hand where needed. But good will has two sides, an inner and an outer side. It combines disposition and act. *Mere* good will is the ghost of a reality. *Actual* good will lives in the body of a deed, a process, a program.

Now if we follow this clue into society we see the necessity of incorporating good will in social instruments. Many people are so situated that aspiration can scarcely rise above the hope of caring for bare physical needs. These people and these situations are of direct concern to religion, especially to a religion which refuses to be put off by promise of compensating satisfaction in the hereafter. It is therefore a primary religious obligation to help incorporate good will in social institutions, to take an active part in the establishment of a social order which, in the words of Alice James, is "the embodiment of a huge chance for hemmed-in humanity."

But social machinery left to itself will not establish or maintain a beneficent social order. There happens to be no substitute for good will in public affairs, as there is none for thoughtfulness and affection in personal relations. And the very multiplication of statutes, regulations, and bureaus tends to withdraw attention from the critical appraisal of their moral function. Therefore in our time, when we are prone to meet new problems by multiplying such devices, it must be a pri-

mary obligation of religion to infuse social mechanisms with good will. True as the warning was when the citizens of Corinth were advised of it in terms of their day, true as it has been throughout history, so it is true for us in terms of our world. Though we talk with the tongues of worldly wisdom and understand the mystery of all knowledge and all machinery, and have not good will, we are become as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. Though we distribute jobs to the unemployed and give our bodies to be shattered by bombs, and have not good will, it profits us nothing. For worldly wisdom will fail, and machines will cease running, and knowledge will vanish away. It is good will alone that is made to abide, and abiding can give rise to better instruments and designs of human happiness. We have knowledge, machinery, good will, these three; and the greatest of these is good will. The greatest but greatest among equals, and powerless alone. And because it will take yet a long while to bring the three into balanced working unity, religion has plenty of work to do.

We in the United States and all mankind are now inescapably involved in the most momentous crisis that has so far threatened the human venture on this planet. We are engaged in bloody conflict compared with which all previous wars seem provincial struggles. As we give ourselves with determination and fortitude and loyalty to the trial of might which we have been unable to avoid, we can still hope and work to achieve, even out of the stress and strain and suffering of the present tragedy, a better social order and a more rational and humane way of living together as peoples and races. If to be religious does not mean at least this, it will not mean much that a reflective person will bother about.

In a time of great national danger and confusion Abraham Lincoln sent a message to his countrymen. "The dogmas of the quiet past," he wrote, "are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new, so we must think and act anew. We must disenthrall ourselves."

We must disenthrall ourselves—this is the final message of religion in our time as it has always been the message of

religion at its best. We must disenthral ourselves as a people; free ourselves from the low, the cheap, the false, the brutal, the ugly in our environment, and draw upon the inner resources of the human spirit, release its latent powers of intelligence and good will, to build a happier and nobler world. And we must disenthral ourselves individually, live as we can in the world we would build, whatever we can or cannot do with the world about us.

The occasion is piled high with difficulty. We cannot circumvent or run away from that difficulty. Our case is new, and we must think and act anew. But if we think and act as our times require we shall reestablish, in a form indigenous to our age, the religious motivation characteristic of great civilizations in the past, before men had been misled into setting up religion as a separate and specialized commitment antagonistic to the interests and occupations of life as a whole. So doing, we shall heal the deepest wound from which modern civilization has suffered and suffers—the rift between the actual and the ideal. And healing that wound we shall set the feet of man, woman, and child on a new pathway toward happiness and worth.

THE REFORMATION'S DEBT TO THE RENAISSANCE

By John T. McNeill

University of Chicago

Chicago, Illinois

The use of the word "debt" in our title suggests the limits within which we are to treat the intricate relationships of these two movements. The Reformation has been represented as the religious aspect of the Renaissance, and, on the contrary, it has been described as a reaction against it. Both these characterizations are so oversimplified as to express more error than truth. There were individuals who moved easily from the Renaissance to the Reformation, and some who were participants in both movements at once. But in certain realms of discussion controversy arose between the protagonists of the one movement and those of the other. Much of the Renaissance was indifferent to Christianity, while the Reformation was primarily concerned with the church, the Christian life, and theology. These divergences may not be examined here; nor are we now concerned with anything the Reformation or the counter-Reformation may have done to the later Renaissance. The question to engage our attention is briefly this: In what ways did the Renaissance help to make the Reformation possible and to determine its nature and its course?

Perhaps the most obvious point of indebtedness has to do with the linguistic basis of Bible study. The Renaissance attention to the Hebrew and Greek scriptures was first definitely advanced by Gianozzo Manetti and Lorenzo Valla, under the patronage of Pope Nicholas V. Nicholas, indeed, appointed Manetti to translate the whole Bible into Italian, but the pope's death (1455) brought the project to an end. The reformers, from the beginning, sounded the appeal to Scripture, and to Scripture in the original tongues. Luther's notes on Lombard's *Sentences*, written at the outset of his lectures in theology (1509-1511), already show some awareness of the importance of Greek and Hebrew. He had procured a copy of Reuchlin's *Rudimenta* which contained in three volumes the Hebrew Lexi-

con and Grammar, shortly after its publication in 1506. His student friend, Johann Lang, now like Luther, an Augustinian, was to assist his study of Reuchlin and to encourage the beginnings of his work in Greek.

It is not suggested that Luther became a reformer because he read the Bible in the original tongues. The reverse is nearer the truth. His effective use of Greek and Hebrew came only after his new opinions were well advanced. In his translation of the *Seven Penitential Psalms*, April, 1517, he made only limited use of Reuchlin's *Septem psalmi poenitentiales*, which appeared in 1512. Similarly in his lectures on the Psalms, 1515-1516, he shows an elementary knowledge of Hebrew and the Septuagint Greek. Lang's edition of the *Psalter* in Hebrew, 1516, may have stimulated his Hebrew studies. His expositions of the Psalms began to appear in print in 1519, and at the Leipzig Disputation in that year he gave to a professor of classics the impression of a competent knowledge of both Hebrew and Greek. He based his later studies on the Psalms definitely upon the Hebrew text.

Luther labored on with both languages for years thereafter. In 1518, under Melanchthon's instruction, he renewed his efforts in Greek; Homer swam into his ken, and so captured his interest as to sprinkle his writings with a fair number of Homeric words, phrases, and allusions. Lorenzo Valla's *Annotations* had been published by Erasmus in 1505. In the early years of Luther's revolt the works of Valla and Erasmus, of Reuchlin and Lang led him to regard the Vulgate as an unsafe translation, and to form the habit of appealing from it to the original languages.

In the actual work of translation Luther used in the Wartburg Erasmus' Greek text of the New Testament. His use of the second edition of the work is probable, since it is known that Luther had already made its acquaintance at Wittenberg. Before this translation appeared, Melanchthon, a much better Grecian than Luther, cooperated in its revision, no doubt with full use of the up-to-date textual apparatus.

When, in early March, 1522, Luther was on his way back from the Wartburg to Wittenberg, some Swiss students en-

countered him at the Black Boar tavern, Jena, in the attire of a knight, poring over a Hebrew psalter. The Old Testament was soon to follow the New into German. In this difficult task Luther had the assistance of Melanchthon, Mathew Aurogallus, the new professor of Hebrew at Wittenberg, and others. Though he himself did much of the hard labor, the translation profited by the cooperation of abler Hebraists than himself. The main textual basis for the Old Testament was the Brescia Bible of 1494, which Gershom, son of Rabbi Moses, had printed in small octavo "so that it may be with every man night and day to study therein." A copy of this Hebrew Bible with Luther's autograph is in the Royal Library, Berlin.

Luther's Bible appeared in complete form only in 1534. The text incorporated revisions of previously published sections. Incidentally, the book was a printer's masterpiece. A number of revised editions followed in Luther's lifetime. The revisions were determined on by the Wittenberg scholars in conference, Luther taking the lead. The German Bible of the Reformation was linguistically fortified by adequate mastery of the original languages of the Scripture on Luther's own part, and by the labors of men of sound humanistic learning.

But the first complete Protestant German Bible was not Luther's. It was prepared by Zwinglian scholars of Zurich, and published at Worms in 1529. It made free use of Luther's earlier translations but employed the German-Swiss dialect. Zwingli and Leo Jud brought out a second Swiss Bible in 1530, published by Froschauer in Zurich. It was called *The Entire Bible According to the Greek and Hebrew*. Under Conrad Celtes in Vienna and Thomas Wytttenbach in Basel, Zwingli had become a humanist. Wytttenbach had led him to Bible study, and with him Leo Jud and Wolfgang Capito, who also became Protestant scholars. Zwingli calls Wytttenbach "my patron and very dear preceptor." But for Zwingli the study ripened under the influence of Erasmus, of which more later. He made a copy with his own hands of Erasmus' Greek text of the Pauline Epistles, 1517. Prior to coming to Zurich, January 1, 1519, he had been engaged in close study of the Greek New Testament, and he came, as he said, resolved "to preach Christ from the fountain."

Tyndale, the English translator, probably began Greek in Oxford, where for more than a generation before his student days, that language had been taught by men who had studied it in Italy. The competent humanists, William Grocyn, William Lilly, William Latimer, Thomas Linacre, and John Colet had returned from Italy as respectable students of Greek. Their religious interests had not been weakened by contact with the Italian Renaissance, but rather strengthened and redirected through the influence of Pico, Ficino, and probably, in Colet's case, of Savonarola. There is some reason to think that William Latimer may have been Tyndale's instructor and that he was that "ancient doctor" to whom Tyndale went for counsel when intent upon his translation in 1523, and who then confided to Tyndale his belief that the Pope is antichrist. Now William Latimer had assisted Erasmus' labors on the Greek Testament. There is no evidence that Tyndale met Erasmus; he went to Cambridge some years after Erasmus had there written most of his New Testament. But while in Gloucestershire, before his translation of the New Testament, Tyndale translated Erasmus' *Enchiridion*. About this time he hotly replied to one who in a learned company objected to his zeal for the Scriptures: "If God spare my life ere many years I will cause that a boy that driveth the plow shall know more of the Scripture than thou dost." This outburst reveals the fact that Tyndale had been reflecting upon the pregnant language of Erasmus' preface to his New Testament of 1516, as will appear from this familiar passage of the latter:

"Christ wishes his mysteries to be published as widely as possible. I would wish even all women to read the gospels and the epistles of St. Paul, and I wish that they were translated into all languages of all Christian people, that they might be read and known, not only by the Scotch and the Irish, but even by the Turks and the Saracens. I wish that the husbandman might sing parts of them at his plow, and that the weaver might warble them at his shuttle, that the traveller might with their narratives beguile the weariness of the way."

For the New Testament Tyndale had the use of the third edition of Erasmus and of the third edition of Luther's German

version. His latest biographer, J. F. Mozely, says: "By the level of his day Tyndale was a good Greek scholar, fully as good as Erasmus or Luther." He was deeply indebted to both.

The records of Tyndale's hunted life do not permit his biographers to determine the means by which he learned Hebrew, but the fact that he learned it for his translation of the Pentateuch is now placed beyond dispute. The evidence does not rest upon the affirmation of a chance acquaintance, the humanist Hermann von dem Busche, though that may be quoted for what it is worth. Spalatin, secretary of Frederick the Wise, says that at a supper on August 11, 1526, von dem Busche stated that he had met at Worms the Englishman who was having the New Testament printed there, and that this scholar had such familiarity with "Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Spanish, English, and French that whichever he speaks you would think it his native tongue." The evidence for Tyndale's scholarship rests rather upon the numerous passages in his translation in which he departs from both the Latin and the German versions at his disposal. Many of these are of superior accuracy, and have been utilized in the authorized and revised versions familiar to us.

Linguistically John Calvin was well equipped before he became a Protestant. From early childhood he was fortunate in his teachers and he early became an exceptionally good Latinist. For Greek he was first indebted to Melchior Wolmar, and later to Pierre Danes. A Latin rhyme was circulated that affirmed Danes to be superior to the great French Grecian, Guillaume Bude himself. Calvin learned Hebrew probably from Francois Vatable, who shared with Danes a post in the Royal College instituted by Francis I in 1530. Both these scholars were charged with heresy before the *Parlement* of Paris in 1533, but there is no evidence that they were affected by Protestantism.

Calvin was a friend of the Cop family in Paris; the senior Cop, the King's physician, was on friendly terms with Reuchlin and Erasmus. Beyond his immediate circle Calvin felt with other young humanists the stimulus of the deep and accurate scholarship of Bude, respected the scriptural learning of Lefevre,

some of whose pupils were his friends; and responded to the less immediate but no less challenging voice of the prince of humanists, Erasmus.

As a full-blown humanist Calvin wrote his Seneca commentary in 1532. It was suggested by Erasmus' 1529 edition of Seneca, and was something of a defense of Seneca's moral philosophy against the severe judgment of Erasmus. The author's conversion to Protestantism followed perhaps two years later. Calvin's cousin, Pierre Robert Olivetan, may have aided his language studies. By 1535 Calvin had assisted Olivetan in the translation of the Bible for the Waldenses published at Neuchatel in that year.

A graduate from humanism, Calvin remained a meticulous student of words. This is best seen in his commentaries, where an interest in words combines, one might perhaps say, contends, with an interest in theology. In dealing with Greek words he has a consciousness of mastery, and is free to agree or disagree with Erasmus to whom he often refers. Thus he commends Erasmus' rendering *sermo*, speech, instead of Vulgate *verbum*, word, for the Greek *logos* in John 1, 1, but in, John 3, 3, he says Erasmus was clearly wrong in rendering *another*, "from above." It must mean "again," else Nicodemus' question that follows does not make sense. "The Greek word, I admit," he notes, "is ambiguous; but we know that Christ conversed with Nicodemus in the Hebrew language." Again I Corinthians 8, 4, he disagrees with Erasmus in favor of the Vulgate rendering, "An idol is nothing." As a reader of Greek Calvin travelled under his own power, thanks to his earlier humanist studies.

These facts must suffice to illustrate our first point—that the Reformation demand for the recognition of the authority of the Scripture was supported by the fullest use of the linguistic tools provided by humanism. This involved changes in the meaning of the text of Scripture at many points where the Vulgate rendering had been used to support doctrines abandoned by the Reformers. There can be no reasonable doubt that the illumination of the meaning of Scripture by humanist study was an indispensable factor in clarifying the doctrine of the

Reformation and in giving the power of conviction to its propaganda. Renaissance scholarship was at this point essential to the success of the Reformation.

II

More complicated is the problem of indebtedness in actual content of thought. The Platonic, anti-Aristotelian and anti-scholastic trend of the Renaissance corresponds to the Reformation Augustinianism and repudiation of scholastic theology. Luther's distaste for Aristotle dates from notes made on Augustine's works as early as 1509. He was then lecturing on Aristotle, very unsympathetically. By 1510, he calls Aristotle "a rancid philosopher." By 1515 he can speak of the scholastics as "pig-theologians." At times, it is true, Luther pays tribute to Aristotle's *Metaphysics* and *Physics*, but he is inconsistent here, and in general he deplors the use of Aristotle for the support of theology. "Aristotle," he observes, "knows nothing of the soul, of God and of immortality, and Cicero far excels him in these subjects." Here Luther is not far from the Occamism in which he was nurtured, which drew a clear line between philosophic and revealed truth and made the latter the province of theology. Luther is never so vehement against Aristotle as when referring to the use made of Aristotle's conception of substance and accidents in the doctrine of the Eucharist. "What shall we say when Aristotle and the doctrines of men are made to be the arbiters in these divine matters? . . . The Holy Spirit is greater than Aristotle." (*Babylonish Captivity*).

Luther was no Platonist or Neo-Platonist, but he was not militant against Renaissance Platonism. His ardent and early study of Augustine must have given him a favorable slant on Platonism. Mutianus Rufus, who led the humanists of Erfurt, was an admirer of Pico della Mirandola and a pronounced Neo-Platonist. Pico's ideas were remarkably widespread and influential and Luther felt their influence through German friends like Lang and by direct study of Pico's works. H. Boehmer, in listing the authors familiar to Luther, remarks that he "had gone very thoroughly into the humanistic theology of Lefevre, Erasmus and Pico della Mirandola."

It is difficult to say which of these three had most influence upon Luther. From time to time there have appeared animated discussions of his debt to Erasmus. For instance, G. Ritter and J. Haller have contended over the matter in a series of contributions to the *Zeitschrift fuer Kirchengeschichte*. Haller is accused by Ritter of having represented Luther, as merely setting the match to explosives prepared by Erasmus. Haller had actually said: "Martin Luther was held by many a disciple of Erasmus, and Zwingli himself for one. And this was no misunderstanding. Erasmus himself at first treated Luther as his spoilt pupil." In moderate restatement he contends that Luther, like most of the learned and many of the educated of the time, was much influenced by Erasmus and learned much from him. This seems a justifiable position, though Luther would not have admitted so much. In asserting that "faith is the only door that leads to Christ" (*Enchiridion*) and in his condemnation and ridicule of scholasticism, superstitious ceremonies and obscurantist beliefs, Erasmus certainly anticipated Luther, and may have influenced him more than the younger man realized. But it is not surprising that Luther and Erasmus fell into contention. Erasmus did not like Luther's urgency and clamour, and Luther did not like Erasmus' complacency and laughter. Melanchthon vainly tried to reconcile them. The nature and the limit of the debt to Erasmus that Luther was willing to admit is expressed in words uttered in 1533: "Erasmus has fulfilled the mission to which he has been called. He has introduced the classical languages and withdrawn us from Godless studies." In Luther's *Table Talk* we find his pointed characterization of four men:

Matter and words, Melanchthon;
 Words without matter, Erasmus;
 Matter without words, Luther;
 Neither words nor matter, Carlstadt.

One must be on one's guard against asserting an intellectual debt where one has proof only of an anticipation in thought. A case in point is Luther's recognition of the fact that Wessel Gansfort, who died when Luther was six years old, had been thinking his thoughts before him. Wessel, he said, was "truly taught of the Lord." "If I had read his works earlier," he

adds, "my enemies might think that I had absorbed everything from Wessel: his spirit is so in accord with mine." What follows in the preface of Luther to Gansfort's Letters (1522) from which these words are quoted, makes it clear that Luther was encouraged by his late discovery of Wessel to firmer belief that he himself was right. Erasmus saw the difference between Wessel and Luther as that between a gentle and a violent spirit. They were both saying the same things. Wessel was a well-trained humanist whose Greek and Hebrew studies had been begun in the fifties of the fifteenth century, and in theology he was a Protestant before Protestantism. His books aided the propaganda of the Reformation, but imparted none of the content to Luther's theology. It is unsafe, too, to relate such Neo-Platonic elements as are found in Luther entirely to the revival of Neo-Platonism in the Renaissance. Some of them may have been imparted to Luther from the persistent Neo-Platonism of the Middle Ages through the writings of the mystics which he read.

However, Luther's limited, but very real, indebtedness to Guillaume Lefevre d'Etaples is not in doubt. The subject has been amply investigated by Fritz Hahn (1938). He shows Lefevre's theology to have been molded on Neo-platonic ideas under the influence of Pico and Nicholas of Cusa. In Lefevre's statement, "By the faith of Christ alone justification is infused," there is a Thomist conception of the infusion of grace but an un-Thomist absence of the sacramental in justification. God takes the initiative in justification, which is caused by his benignity and righteousness, not by merit. For Lefevre good works indeed precede justification, not however, as its cause, but as the opening of the eyes precedes seeing. They likewise follow justification: and he wants to harmonize St. Paul and St. James by the explanation that James is speaking of the works that follow justification, Paul of those that precede it. Moving on from Neo-platonic allegorization, Lefevre pointed to a "literal-spiritual" sense of Scripture, as distinct from the allegorical, and likewise from what he called the 'literal-carnal' sense; and here Luther followed him. He definitely anticipated Luther, too, in the doctrine that the spirit of God alone can rightly interpret the Scripture and that the Bible

is brought to life by men activated by the Spirit of God.

Here it may be remarked that apart from borrowings in matter, the peculiar attention given to St. Paul by Ficino, Pico, Colet, and Lefevre undoubtedly prepared the way for Luther's concentration on the Pauline Epistles. Lefevre's edition of the Epistles of St. Paul with notes appeared in 1512. His edition of the Psalter in five Latin versions, including his own, had already appeared in 1509. Luther made industrious use of both these works, less as a textual aid than as an aid to interpretation.

Zwingli was educated outside the cloister, and was a natural humanist. During his pre-Zurich period he fell under the influence of Pico and Erasmus. While at Basel he shared Pico's views in some of the thirteen theses which Innocent VIII condemned, out of the 900 which Pico ambitiously propounded in Rome (1587). Pico in these statements confuted the Thomist doctrine of transubstantiation, and this may have had its effect on Zwingli's mind. Zwingli possessed a number of Pico's books. But Zwingli was only ten years old when Pico died (1494). Erasmus was his older contemporary. A poem of Erasmus in which Jesus is made to expostulate with men for their neglect of him, led Zwingli to question belief in the supplication of saints. In a spirit of exultant admiration he visited Erasmus in the spring of 1516, and later wrote him a letter full of superlative, but probably sincere compliments. It is notable that the thing which he most praised in Erasmus was his humanist service to scriptural learning. Wytttenbach had already given him a zeal for the Scripture, and Erasmus weaned him quite away from scholasticism. Indeed in his early pastorates he drew sermon illustrations from classical authors. And he read, no doubt gleefully, a copy of the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum* sent him by Glareanus, distinguished Swiss humanist, who also shared the favor of Erasmus.

Zwingli informed Melancthon that he was indebted to Erasmus for his doctrine of the Lord's Supper, but his doctrine is not identical with that of Erasmus; and perhaps what Zwingli principally meant in his ascription of it to Erasmus was that Erasmus had started him thinking on the subject. In his

Notes on the New Testament Erasmus compiled a list of changes introduced by the Papacy since the days of primitive Christianity, and asked of the popes concerned: "Were they justified in so doing?" The list includes transubstantiation. If Zwingli at any time held the vague spiritual view of the Eucharist to be derived from Erasmus' writing (the consecrated bread is "living and confers true life") he moved on from this by stages in which he felt the influence of Carlstadt and Hoen to the position which W. Kohler has called *Fiducials-Praesenz*, that is, presence-to-faith. Lefevre seems to have leaned to the memorial view which is also an element in Zwingli's thought.

When at Zurich through varying experiences and responsibilities his religious life deepened, Zwingli remained an unreconstructed humanist in his ceaseless reading of the Greek and Latin classics, and in his efforts to improve his Greek. That he read humanist criticisms of the papacy is evident from his note entitled "Christ's Defense of Martin Luther," written in 1520 (after the Papal bull *Exsurge Domine*) in which he mentions the warnings of Petrarch, Richard Pace, Pico, Platina the historian, and others. His close friend Leo Jud translated Erasmus' *Complaint of Peace* (1521) and Zwingli was indebted to this pacifist work in his *Solemn Warning* against the traffic in mercenary troops, in which, by the way, he quotes Euripides, Cicero, Caesar, Livy, and Homer. Zwingli held Plato worthy "to be numbered among the great prophets," and thought possible the salvation of good pagans like Socrates. A direct influence of Plato on Zwingli has been recognized by scholars in the method of his dialectic, in his sharp antithesis of spirit and sense, and in his political theory. But he has no hesitation in using Aristotelian terms and concepts. Perhaps he owed more to Stoicism, as represented by Cicero, Pliny, and Seneca, than to Plato. He calls Seneca "Animarum agricola," the husbandman of souls. Yet he criticizes the materialistic basis of the Stoic philosophy; and his zeal for getting things done in the world was out of accord with Stoic apathy. Of poets, he seems to have liked best Pindar and Horace. Zwingli was, in fact, nobody's intellectual disciple, but he sharpened his wits

and replenished his arsenal of controversy by wide humanistic reading.

Calvin's "sudden conversion" about 1534 changed his relation to humanism. The classics yielded to the Scriptures. But Calvin did not repent of humanism, he only graduated from it. We have already noted that the new studies were pursued with the language equipment gained in his humanist days. This extends to his own Latin style, one of the aids to the European success of his books. He may have owed a special debt here to Maturin Cordier, an inspired grammarian. But in any language Calvin would have been eloquent. Not merely did he write the best Latin of his time; he wrought in unintended association with Rabelais to bring to effectiveness a literary French. His French prose has been acclaimed by a chorus of modern critics. I hesitate to add that in the College de Montaigue the use of French was prohibited in Calvin's undergraduate days.

Calvin's devotion to biblical theology never quenched his humanism. Quirinus Breen, in *John Calvin, a Study in French Humanism*, refers to the "precipitate" of humanism in Calvin's later work. Precipitate, perhaps, but we might call it a ferment. It was something active and activating. Breen refers to aspects of the revival of Stoicism in the Renaissance, and shows the influence of Stoic writers on Calvin. In the *Seneca Commentary* Calvin links Stoic and Christian ideals and dwells upon the Stoic emphasis on conscience; yet he points out the polarity between Stoic apathy and Christian sympathy. Certainly Seneca and other Stoic writers quickened Calvin's awareness of universal moral ideas which have validity independently of ecclesiastical structures. Some sections of the *Institutes* abound with references to the classical writers. Sometimes these are used to point an argument by objection; e. g. "I agree not with Cicero," (I, iii, 3); "that frigid dogma of Aristotle." (I, v, 5). Even Plato is not always right, though he is "the most religious and judicious of them all." But often Calvin uses the ancients in direct support. He affirms the strength of man's "sense of the deity" and that "to know God is man's chief end. Of this the heathen philosophers themselves were not ignorant. This was Plato's meaning when he taught that

the chief good of the soul consists in similitude to God." It is not in their teachings about deity that Calvin is most appreciative of the writers of antiquity. Yet his point of view here is not that they were wholly wrong, but that they missed a higher truth. Calvin freely adopts the Stoic-Patristic doctrine of natural law and equity. "The law of God which we call the moral law is no other than a declaration of natural law, and of that conscience which has been engraven by God in the minds of men" (IV, xx, 16). State laws may vary but to this natural law they must conform. For checks on royal absolutism Calvin refers to the institutions of Sparta, Athens, and Rome—the ephori, the demarchi and the consuls.

Of the schools of the ancients only the Epicureans are condemned without qualification by Calvin, both for their do-nothing gods and their hedonistic morals. Probably Valla's *Elegantiae* and *De voluptate* had occasioned this emphasis in Calvin. Valla's edition of Livy was known to Calvin, as well as his critical works on the New Testament and the Donation of Constantine. He cites Valla, Lefevre and Erasmus against the Council of Trent's decision to make the Vulgate the authoritative text. Calvin was a great admirer of William Bude, a scholar of greater achievement than reputation, who in Calvin's eyes gave France the palm for erudition. The real greatness of Bude is known to students of the Renaissance. Calvin used his celebrated work on coinage (*de Asse*) to explain references to money in the Scripture commentaries. (Not Bude, but his widow and children, became Calvinists.)

I referred above to Calvin's close attention to words in his commentaries on the Bible as a product of humanistic study. He occasionally lights up Scripture passages by citations of Greek and Roman literature. Thus on Exodus 21:18, "If men strive together, etc." he cannot refrain from using Aulus Gellius' yarn about Lucius Veratius who behaved like the modern nursery child's "Bad Sir Brian Botany" and went about cuffing people's ears. On Deut. 21:1, he shrewdly reports, apparently from Aristotle, the reply of Theopompus to his wife who lamented the reduction of her husband's power by the appointment of the Ephori: he would have less power but it would last longer. And on Lev. 25:39, he cites the view

of heathen philosophers (Seneca?) that masters ought to treat their slaves as if they were hired servants.

III

We have examined only a little of the large body of available evidence on the debt of the Reformation to the Renaissance. The subject is at once more complicated and more far-reaching than these illustrations suggest. We have not discussed, for example, the broad historical question of the revolutionary leaven and psychological preparation for the fall of the medieval church that lay in the Renaissance literary work of a century and a half before Luther. In particular the satires of Boccaccio, of Chaucer, of David Lyndsay, of Erasmus, and of Hutten have to be considered in that light.

A certain number of humanists besides Zwingli and Melanchthon, committed themselves to the Reformation. Numerous second line leaders, like Bucer, Justus Jonas, Capito, Peter Martyr, a Lasco, Oecolampadius, Bibliander, Bullinger, Beza, are entitled to be called humanist scholars. To attempt to show how far such men retained the intellectual liberalism of humanism would prove a long task. The divisions in religion left disciples of Erasmus in all camps, and a liberal indifference to the dividing confessions of faith took various forms. This liberalism is discernable in many efforts to reunite the severed churches through the subsequent period. It also finds expression in Lutheran Syncretism, in the Arminian phase of Calvinism, in Cambridge Platonism and Latitudinarianism, not to mention its later manifestations. So far as England was concerned, her Reformers never broke from the humanist as Luther did. They habitually mention Erasmus with favor and respect.

We cannot here examine the science of the Renaissance and its reception by the Reformers. They were about as slow as the professional scientists in accepting the teachings of Copernicus, although it was a Lutheran theologian, Osiander, who wrote the preface to his book.

Pierre de la Primaudaye was a French Protestant of the second generation who wrote a book saturated with Platonism

entitled *The French Academy*, 1582; it was translated by "T. B. C." into English in 1586. In the "Epistle Dedicatorie" we read, appropriately, the following quotation from Augustine's *De Doctrina*:

"As for those that are called philosophers, if they have uttered anything agreeable to our faith and doctrine (especially the Platonists) we are not only not to feare it but rather to challenge it from them as unjust possessors thereof So the doctrine of the Gentiles hath not only counterfeit and superstitious forgeries and heavy packs of nedeles labour but also liberal arts meete to set forth the truth by, and certain profitable precepts of manners, yea, some true points . . . concerning the worship of the one onely God."

This quotation from Augustine accords well with the words of Calvin (*Institutes* II, ii, 15) which give a clue to his own use of the *litterae humaniores*:

"Whenever, therefore, we meet with heathen writers let us learn from that light of truth which is admirably displayed in their works, that the human mind, fallen as it is, . . . is yet invested and adorned by God with excellent talents. If we believe that the Spirit of God is the only fountain of truth, we can neither reject nor despise the truth itself, wherever it appear, unless we wish to insult the Spirit of God."

If the bringing together of these two quotations suggests that the attitude of the Reformation to Renaissance classical learning was much like that of the church fathers to Hellenistic thought, the impression will not be erroneous. The Reformers did not seek out every flower in the humanist meadow, but selected blossoms laden with the honey of "liberal arts meete to set forth the truth by," and "profitable precepts of manners.

"LOVE" AS AN ECCLESIASTICAL TERM IN I CLEMENT

By Martin Rist

The Iliff School of Theology

Denver, Colorado

In his book *Agape and Eros* Nygren regrets the failure of writers in general to pay adequate attention to the actual meaning of the word "love" as used by Christians from early times to the present, "as though the meaning and structure of the Christian idea of love were clear and self-evident; as though it were only necessary to mention the word 'love' for its meaning to be perfectly understood." In 1930, the year in which the Swedish edition of Nygren's work appeared, Moffatt made a similar observation concerning the vagueness with which the term is used by Christians in his book, *Love in the New Testament*: "Men speak of Christianity as the religion of love, commonly without any need of examining their terms. Yet the phrase may become inaccurate and even misleading by its very vagueness. 'Love' is a great dictionary word, and in the religious vocabulary of the world Christianity has been identified with it so loosely that it is well to ask what this definition or description really means, and how far it is true."

Both Nygren and Moffatt are correct in their observation that Christians have used the word "love" so loosely and vaguely that its true meaning can with difficulty be ascertained. It is, perhaps, unnecessary to devote much attention to Nygren's attempt to remove the ambiguities by differentiating between *eros* and *agape*, the former assertedly representative of the Greek and Platonic concept of salvation in which man seeks the Divine, the latter the Christian and Pauline whereby God seeks man; nor is it certain that this distinction, in so far as the early Christian sources are concerned, is valid. Indeed, it would appear that the Lutheran doctrine of unmerited grace, which Nygren practically equates with *agape*, has controlled his conclusions to too great an extent.

Moffatt's detailed study of the meaning of "love" in the various books of the New Testament deserves more attention than can be accorded it here. Although he finds considerable variation in usage, with no small amount of vagueness and ambiguity, nevertheless he observes that in the main the New Testament use of the term comprises three mutually interdependent relationships: God's (or Christ's) love for man; man's love for God (or Christ); and man's love for his fellow man.

Since Moffatt's investigation was confined almost exclusively to the New Testament, this study of the usage of "love" in I Clement, which is contemporary with a number of the canonical writings, may serve to clarify still further the meaning of this important concept for the early Christians. It will be preceded by a brief consideration of its meaning for Ignatius, the ecclesiastically-minded bishop of Antioch who suffered martyrdom early in the second century. As Richardson has shown in his recent monograph, *The Christianity of Ignatius of Antioch*, this early bishop of the church attached an institutional, ecclesiastical, meaning to the term.

A summary of the Ignatian usage, agreeing in general with Richardson's conclusions, will serve as a background for the discussion of I Clement which is to form the main portion of this paper. It will be remembered that Ignatius wrote the extant letters bearing his name to promote Christian uniformity in practice and belief under the leadership of the divinely appointed officials, and, as a necessary corollary, to circumvent those heretics and schismatics who were threatening the institutional unity which he held so dear. In fact, he is rightly considered to be one of the important architects of that imposing edifice of Christian unity and uniformity, the highly organized Catholic Church of the early centuries.

In consequence we are not surprised to find Ignatius using the term "love" to denote the complete unity and harmony of all believers in doctrine, liturgy, and worship in submission to God and Christ and to their representatives on earth, the bishops, together with the presbyters and deacons, of the several churches. Although "love" is at times coupled with "faith," i. e., correct belief, when used alone it quite logically includes the second

term, for unity and submission to the bishop of necessity involve doctrinal conformity. Moreover, just as the members of a given church are united to one another through "love," likewise the bishops (and their churches) are joined together by this same bond. Although Ignatius seldom mentions deeds of benevolence, philanthropy, and charity, he no doubt was practical enough to realize that the care of the needy, the widow, the orphan, and the prisoner for the faith would serve to tighten the bonds of "love."

The mystical relationships embodied in the concept "love" are renewed if indeed they do not originate in the celebration of the eucharist. Both "faith" and "love" are in fact closely associated with this sacrament through which the believers are united with the divine and with each other in one body, "faith" being indentedified with the flesh and "love" with the blood of Christ. Significantly enough, in one passage the term *agape* is explicitly applied to the eucharist. Not only are "faith" and "love" associated with the sacrament; they are, it would seem, sacramental in their own nature; for like baptism and the eucharist they are indispensable ways to salvation; without them there is no salvation. There is, of course, no "love" for heretics and schismatics, none for those outside of the Christian fold.

Thus, for Ignatius, Christianity is a divine community, a theocracy, pervaded and held together by a mystical, sacramental "love" by which all believers are harmoniously united in obedience to God and Christ and to their representatives and deputies, the duly appointed bishops and their assistants. It is this institutional, ecclesiastical concept of "love" which in general differentiates the Ignatian usage from that of the New Testament; although as Moffatt has observed in passing, there are a few passages in Paul and in the so-called Johannine writings in which "love" is used to denote Christian unity characterized by a harmony devoid of internal strife and disunity.

With this resume of the Ignatian usage in mind, let us turn to a contemporary Christian source, I Clement, in which the term "love" is employed in a similar manner. This epistle, it is generally conceded, was composed in the last decade of the first century. Tradition assigns its actual composition to a

certain Clement, one of the Roman college of bishops. Whether or not this is a correct ascription, it is certain that the latter was written in the name of the Roman church to the church at Corinth to persuade the members of the latter to compose their internal differences and strife and to reinstate certain presbyters (equivalent in rank to the Roman bishops) who had been deposed in a factional dispute. A single theme, that of “love” as defined in the summary of the Ignatian letters, runs through the entire epistle, although the actual word itself is seldom used in the first part of the document. This conclusion can best be demonstrated by a running commentary of the text.

Following the customary opening salutation, the writer, who will be called Clement for the sake of convenience, expresses deep regret that a few self-willed and rash individuals have created an abominable and impious schism in the Corinthian church, thereby slandering its good name which had been held in love by all men. He recalls that the Corinthians had been noted for the steadfastness of their faith, for their piety, hospitality, *gnosis*, blameless conduct, humility, good works, and hatred of all rebellion and schism. Indeed, the ordinances and commandments of the Lord had once been inscribed upon their hearts. Now, in tragic contrast, through jealousy they were divided by dissension and schism and were no longer walking in the divine ordinances and commandments. It was through such conduct, he warns, that death had come into the world (i-iii). In the lengthy section that follows he cites examples of the dire results of jealousy, and summons the offenders to repent, as others had done, and to abandon the strife and jealousy which lead to death, becoming humble and obedient in imitation of Christ and other noble souls (iv-xix.1).

To be sure, there are no explicit references to “love” such as occur later on in the letter. However, the qualities which are praised, humility, peace, unity, harmony, steadfastness in faith, and obedience to their leaders and to the ordinances of God, are all comprised not only in the Ignatian concept of “love,” but are also included in the Clementine usage, as will be shown in the proper place.

In keeping with his main theme Clement next exhorts the Corinthians to hasten on towards the goal of peace provided from the beginning, looking steadfastly upon the Father and Creator of the entire universe in contemplation of his long-suffering purposes and his freedom from wrath towards all his creatures (xix.2-3). Next he introduces a liturgical passage which combines Old Testament phraseology with Stoic concepts of the general order in the cosmos: The heavens move at God's direction and are subject to him in peace. The earth brings forth its produce at the appointed time without changing God's decrees. The unfathomable realms of the lower world are held fast by the same divine ordinances. The sea remains as it was created without passing its appointed bounds. Spring, summer, fall, and winter succeed each other in peace, while the winds blow and the perennial springs flow without fail. Further, even the smallest of living creatures live together in concord. For the Creator of the universe ordained that all creation should exist in peace and concord, most especially those who have sought refuge in his mercies through the Lord Jesus Christ (xx).

It is important to note that this liturgical section has been identified as a free rendering of the eucharistic anaphora of the early Roman church. It has not been casually introduced into the epistle; nor is it a digression as some have maintained. Quite on the contrary, it forms an integral part of the main argument in that it gives a divine sanction to the writer's plea for unity and harmony in Corinth: just as the entire cosmos exists in peace and concord in obedience to the divine ordinances, so much the more should Christians who have sought refuge in his mercies live peaceably and harmoniously with one another in obedience to God's commands (which, as will be shown, include the commands of the divinely appointed officials of the church). Not only are Christian unity, harmony, and obedience given cosmic and divine sanction through the introduction of this liturgical passage, but in addition they are related to the celebration of the sacrament of the eucharist, if the identification with the Roman eucharistic liturgy is indeed valid. This association with the sacrament will be more evident later on.

Clement next proceeds to utter a dire warning to the disobedient schismatics: "Take heed, beloved, lest his many good works toward us become a judgment on us, if we do not good and virtuous deeds before him in concord, and be worthy citizens of him" (xxi). Further admonitions to fear God and to obey him in holiness and humility (with a passing reference to the power of pure "love") are reinforced by additional threats of a future judgment for wrong-doers in marked contrast to the promise of a blessed resurrection for those who serve him in holiness (xxi-xxvIII). This inclusion of the resurrection hope, which Clement attempts to prove by relating the strange tale of the fabulous Phoenix which rises from its own ashes, is not a deviation from his theme as some suppose. Instead, Clement has introduced the doctrine of future punishment and rewards to give a solemn sanction to his exhortation to live harmoniously together in submission to God.

This same theme of Christian unity, harmony, and obedience is pursued in the ensuing section (xxix-xxxvi), which is pervaded with liturgical phraseology. Indeed, it begins with a formal call to worship, as if Clement were actually conducting the worship service in Corinth: "Let us then approach him with holiness of soul, lifting up holy and undefiled hands to him, loving our gentle and merciful Father who made us his chosen portion" (xxix). After reminding the Corinthians that they are required to perform deeds pertaining to holiness, avoiding certain vices which he names, Clement alludes again to the schism by exhorting them to cleave to those to whom grace had been given by God (i.e., in all probability, to their presbyters), and to put on concord, being humble-minded, self-controlled, and free from all gossip and backbiting (xxx). To be sure, justification is by faith (xxxii), but if they are to imitate God, whose beneficent cosmic activity in ordering the universe is cited once more, they will not be slow to perform these good works, they will not cease from "love" (xxxiii). Here, for the first time, Clement specifically equates "love" with concord, humility, and other attributes which further Christian unity.

He next proceeds to relate "concord" to the eucharist as

he includes himself with the Corinthians as they are about to partake of the sacrament. Just as myriads of angels worship God singing "Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Sabbaoth, the whole creation is full of his glory," so we too, he continues, "must gather together in concord in our conscience and cry earnestly to him, as it were with one mouth, that we may share in his great and glorious promises" (xxxiv). Following a hortatory digression, the liturgy resumes and reaches a climax in a High Priestly passage:

This is the way, beloved, in which we find our salvation, Jesus Christ the High Priest of our offerings, the defender and helper of our weakness. Through him we fix our gaze on the heights of heaven, through him we see the reflection of his faultless and lofty countenance, through him the eyes of our hearts are opened, through him our foolish and darkened understanding blossoms towards the light, through him the Master wills that we should taste the immortal *gnosis* (xxxvi.1-2).

Although it is generally assumed that Clement has derived this High Priestly passage from the Epistle to the Hebrews, Knopf, following Drews, believes that Clement and the writer of Hebrews are both using a common liturgical tradition. At any rate, its eucharistic character cannot be seriously questioned, for the phrases "that we should taste the immortal *gnosis*" is all but an explicit reference to the immortality that results from partaking of the sacred elements of the sacrament (cf. Ignatius, Ephesians xx.2; Hebrews vi.4-6a; John vi.27; and especially the eucharistic prayer in the Didache ix.1-4; cf. x.2). Further, the "offering" mentioned in the first sentence may include not only the prayers of the worshippers but also the eucharistic gifts which were a part of the celebration of the sacrament, as Lightfoot has observed.

Clement's inclusion of this liturgy of eucharist in his plea for Christian unity is quite understandable; for since Paul's time, at least, it was through this sacrament in which the worshipers actually partook of the body, of the flesh and blood of Christ, that they became mystically united with him (and God) and with one another, becoming one body in Christ. Clement

illustrates this unity with a military analogy, in which he calls attention to the discipline, submission, and readiness of all ranks in an army to obey the commands of who in turn obey the commands of the king, their supreme commander (xxxvi.1-4). The application to the Corinthian situation is obvious: in the Christian army, the church, all members must be disciplined like soldiers in an army, obeying their officials who are carrying out the will of God, their king and supreme leader.

Next, in an allusion to I Corinthians xii, which no doubt was well-known to his readers, he shifts the figure by comparing the Christian community to a human body: "Let us take our body; the head is nothing without the feet, likewise the feet are nothing without the head, the smallest members of our body are necessary and valuable to the whole body, but all work together and are united in a common subjection to preserve the whole body" (xxxvii.5). The mystical, if not sacramental, nature of this union is stressed in the next sentence "Let, therefore, our body be preserved in Christ Jesus and let each be subject to his neighbor, as also he was placed by his spiritual gift" (xxxviii.3). This is followed by one of the few passages in which Clement relates Christian unity (i.e., "love") to philanthropic and charitable deeds.

Focusing attention upon the schismatics once more, he warns them, using quotations from Job to strengthen his admonitions, that no mortal man in his conceit can withstand the power and might of God (xxxix). He continues his appeal to these leaders of factional strife by insisting upon the divine origin of the organization and sacramental practices of the church, fortifying his argument with Old Testament prototypes. For just as God had appointed the priesthood and laity of Israel, with provision for sacrifices at stated times under the direction of the priests, in like manner he had appointed the bishops (presbyters) and deacons, through regular succession from the apostles and Jesus Christ himself, to be in charge of the Christian liturgies at stated times and places (xl-xliv). Accordingly, everyone must be well-pleasing to God (or, to follow a variant reading, must join the eucharist to God) in his own rank, not transgressing the prescribed rules of the liturgy (xli.1). As those in Israel who transgressed the ordi-

nances were punishable by death, so Christians, who have been entrusted with a greater *gnosis*, run even greater risks (xli.3). For they are guilty of dividing the body of Christ with their strife, causing it to be torn asunder (xlvi.7). Clement, therefore, is clearly warning the dissidents, who have displaced their divinely ordained leaders and are apparently celebrating the eucharist without proper supervision, that they are actually opposing God himself and may be provoking him to punish them with death itself for dividing the church, the body of Christ.

By now Clement has developed his argument, step by step, to the place where he is ready to introduce the term "love" (normally he uses *agape* but on occasion *philadelphia*, brotherly love) as the equivalent of his institutional ideal of Christian unity and obedience with sacramental connotations. For up to now, with but a single exception noted above, he has studiously avoided this ecclesiastical use of "love" while developing the concept itself: but in the section to follow (xlvii-1), which is actually the climax of his letter, he freely introduces the term "love" with little deviation from the Ignatian usage.

Accordingly, referring his readers to I Corinthians once more, he reminds them that the blessed apostle Paul had once rebuked the Corinthian church for an earlier dissension. But this factional dispute was less reprehensible than the present one, for the partisans of Paul's day had at least been followers of apostles of high reputation. The current schism, lacking any apostolic sanction, was a deplorable evil which was diminishing their reputation for "brotherly love" (*philadelphia*). Not only were they blaspheming the name of God by their actions, but they were also creating no little danger for themselves (xlvii).

While Clement does not explicitly define "brotherly love" in this passage, nevertheless it is clear that since the "love" of the Corinthians has been decreased by their disunity and disobediences, there must be some vital connection between "love" and Clement's concept of Christian unity, concord, and obedience, if indeed they are not identical in meaning. Further, since the Corinthians by diminishing their "love" through

their dissension and disobedience are inviting divine punishment, it would appear that a supernatural, almost sacramental, power is also included in the concept.

With this threatened danger confronting them, Clement urges the dissenters to repent, to become reconciled to the rest of the church, and to restore "the holy and seemly practice of 'brotherly love' (*philadelphia*).". For this "brotherly love," in marked contrast to the current dissension, "is the open gate of righteousness leading to life, i.e., immortality" (xlvi.2). In a further allusion to Paul's letter he admonishes: "Let a man be faithful, let him have the power to utter *guosis*, let him be wise in the discernment of arguments, let him be pure in deeds; for the more he appears to be great, the more he ought to be humble-minded and to seek the common good of all and not his own benefit" (xlvi.5-6). The implications of this echo of Paul's teaching are obvious; when dissensions and disunity exist, not even the possession of those highly prized spiritual gifts which he has mentioned can be substituted for "love."

This introduces a eulogy on "love" which is deliberately reminiscent of Paul's celebrated hymn in I Corinthians xiii:

"Let him who has 'love' (*agape*) in Christ perform the commandments of Christ. Who is able to explain the bond of the 'love' of God? Who is sufficient to tell of the greatness of its beauty? The height to which 'love' lifts us is not to be expressed. 'Love unites us to God. 'Love' covers a multitude of sins. 'Love' bears all things, is long-suffering in all things. There is nothing base, nothing haughty, in 'love.' 'Love' admits no schism, 'love' makes no sedition, 'love' does all things in concord. In 'love' were all the elect of God made perfect. Without 'love' is nothing well-pleasing to God. In 'love' did the Master receive us; for the sake of the 'love' which he had towards us, did Jesus Christ our Lord give his blood by the will of God for us, and his flesh for our flesh, and his soul for our souls" (xlix).

This panegyric on "love" is almost self-explanatory, in view of the theme which Clement has been developing. Obviously, those who possess "love" will obey the commands of

Christ, that is, the commands of those appointed by him. "Love" unites the Christian to God, and is a way of salvation, since it covers a multitude of sins. "Love" admits of no sedition, no schism; quite on the contrary, it leads to concord. While this is less clear, the mention of the "blood" and "flesh" of Christ in the last sentence may be a reference to the eucharist. If so, in Clement as in Ignatius, "love" is explicitly associated with the eucharist, if indeed it does not possess sacramental efficacy of itself.

Clement repeats some of these emphases in the next chapter (1). "Love," he asserts, is great and glorious; there is no adequate way to express its perfection. He prays that we may be found in "love" without partisanship, without blame. He points out that "love" is an assurance of the resurrection; for all men since Adam have passed away, save those who have been perfected in "love" through the grace of God. These are now dwelling in the abode of the pious and will become manifested (i.e., resurrected) at the coming of the Kingdom of God. Accordingly, he asserts, we are blessed "if we perform the commandments of God in concord of 'love' that through 'love' our sins may be forgiven."

Thus, in this section (xlvi-1), which forms the climax of his entire argument, Clement, citing Paul rather than the Old Testament as his authority, equates "love" with his theocratic concept of Christian unity, concord, and harmony in submission and obedience to God and to the duly constituted officials of the church. Whereas disunity, schism, and disobedience result in divine retribution and punishment, "love," which unites the believers to God through Christ and to each other in a mystical body as in the eucharist, leads to forgiveness of sin, to salvation, and to the resurrection. Unlike Ignatius, Clement does not explicitly couple "love" with "faith" or correct belief; however, since "love" includes obedience to the church officials it of necessity involves adherence to doctrines and those only, approved by them. Furthermore, while Clement does not stress brotherly affection, charity, and philanthropy in connection with "love," no doubt he considered these a natural result of this Christian attitude. It should be noted that Clement has introduced no new idea in this section

on "love"; instead he has merely given a label to all those factors which contribute to ecclesiastical concord and unity. Accordingly, in his use of "love" he differs but little from his contemporary, the bishop of Antioch.

What is more, his special usage may have originated with Paul, whose "first" letter to the Corinthians he quotes so effectively. It will be recalled that I Corinthians is an extremely practical letter, dealing with social and institutional problems and written in part to promote harmony, good order, and unity in Corinth. Certainly the letter gives evidence of factions, jealousies, and disorders which had developed in the church. While he deplors the existence of factions which claimed to be following Apollos, Cephas, and himself respectively, and insists that they were all one in Christ, nevertheless Paul does not hesitate to press his claims as a divinely elected apostle and as their founder and legitimate leader. They are to follow him as he follows Christ. Since sexual freedom on the one side and asceticism on the other were causing dissension, he gives his opinion on sexual conduct and marriage. Likewise, he urges discretion in the eating of meat sacrificed to idols lest the more scrupulous become offended. He also requests that members of the group refrain from suing each other in the pagan courts. In the interests of solidarity they should place their case before the brethren, or better yet, suffer wrong or injury rather than sue each other.

Towards the end of the letter he shows his concern about certain abuses in connection with the church worship and the celebration of the Lord's supper. In his discussion he presents his basic view that they had all become united to Christ and God and to each other in one mystical body, the church, through the sacraments, especially through the eucharist. Those who were disloyal to Christ and the church by participating in the sacramental meals of pagan deities as they did of the Lord's supper are threatened with punishment by a jealous God. Likewise, others who profane the sacrament through cliques, selfishness, and other disorders (including, perhaps, the use of an incorrect liturgical formula) are warned that they too may suffer sickness or death as a result of their temerity. Women have caused offense by attending the church service with un-

covered heads and by assuming too prominent a part in the worship. Jealousy may have been created by those who claimed superior spiritual gifts. At any rate, the excessive practice of glossolalia and other forms of ecstatic speech had created disorder during the worship service. Paul, accordingly, gives directions concerning the dress and conduct of women in church, the proper exercise of spiritual gifts, and the conduct of public worship, including the correct formula to be used in celebrating the eucharist.

In the midst of this discussion he introduces his celebrated panegyric on "love." Is this to be treated as a digression with no vital relationship to these pressing institutional problems which have engaged Paul's earnest attention? Or is Clement correct in considering Paul's concept of "love" in this connection as a mystical, sacramental bond which preserves the church, the body of Christ in unity and harmony in obedience to him, their divinely appointed apostolic leader, with divine punishment, even death, for the disobedient. If so, then the origin of both the Clementine and Ignatian use of "love" as a sacramental, ecclesiastical concept can be traced to this letter of Paul's to the Corinthians.

To return to I Clement, the rest of the letter is largely an anticlimax. Clement again urges the leaders of the schism to repent, confessing their transgressions, since those who harden their hearts will be punished (li). In keeping with an early practice, he may have intended this confession to take place during the celebration of the eucharist. He goes so far as to suggest that those on whose account the schism had arisen should leave the Christian church that it might enjoy peace under its presbyters (liv). He urges the schismatics to submit themselves both to God (lvi.1) and the presbyters (lvii.1), in keeping with his view that obedience to God involves obedience to the officers of the church. Clement, who now claims that God is speaking through him, (lix.1), promises that the obedient will be saved, but warns that the disobedient are placing themselves in danger.

All the commentators agree that the long liturgical prayer which follows (lix.2-lxi.3) preserves the actual phraseology

of the intercessory prayer of the eucharistic liturgy of the early Roman church. Up to now Clement has presented forceful arguments and warnings to the trouble-makers at Corinth. They may refuse to heed his words; nevertheless, as he had promised before (cf. lvi.1) he will pray earnestly to God in their behalf. Through his use of this eucharistic prayer at this juncture he once more gives a sacramental sanction to his concept of "love."

This prayer is followed by a brief summary of the epistle which is worth quoting, since it practically confirms the interpretation presented in this paper:

For we have touched on every aspect of faith and repentance and true "love" and self-control and sobriety and patience, and reminded you that you are bound to please Almighty God with holiness in righteousness and truth and long-suffering, and to live in "concord," bearing no malice, in "love" and peace with eager gentleness, even as our fathers, whose examples we quoted, were well-pleasing in their humility towards God, the Father and Creator of all men (lxii).

A final plea that the sedition come to an end is reinforced by his claim for a second time that he is writing through divine inspiration (lxiii.2). He highly recommends the Roman delegation that is to take his message to Corinth, and expresses the hope that they will speedily return with a final benediction and doxology (lxv.2). Since we learn from a letter written toward the end of the second century by Dinoysius, at that time the bishop of Corinth, that the Corinthian church of his day treasured and read Clement's letter, it is fair to assume that it was effective in restoring peace, harmony, unity, and obedience, or, in a word, "love" in the ecclesiastical and sacramental meaning of the term, to the church at Corinth in keeping with Clement's fondest expectations.

THE SAMARITAN IN THE NEW TESTAMENT TRADITION

By Frederick M. Derwacter

William Jewell College

Liberty, Missouri

Nothing is more striking as one studies the developing literature of the early Christian movement than the broadening racial and national attitude of the followers of Jesus. Assuming as probable that the tone of the picture of Christianity found in the various writers is congenial with the circle within which it arose and for which it was first of all intended, we may trace with some degree of assurance the changes that took place from time to time. Since the attitude of Jesus himself is represented with some difference by the early writers, we must assume that each writer selected his material and interpreted it as he understood it and had the mind and heart to appreciate it; or, what amounts to much the same thing, that such selection had taken place along the avenues by which the material had come to him. In this paper it is my purpose to examine as one aspect of this development the attitude of early Christians toward the Samaritan.

When did Samaria and the Samaritans enter into the gospel tradition? What were the circumstances and motives of this development? These questions impress one as he reads the records of the first century of Christianity. These records betray an increasing interest in the people of Samaria, a growth in sympathy with them, as they furnish us a constantly increasing amount of material dealing with them.

In the earliest Christian literature extant, that is, the Pauline epistles, there is no mention of Samaria or Samaritans. This may be of no great significance, however, as there is no mention of Galilee or Galileans. In fact Pauline references even to Judea are rare indeed. All these references (Rom. 15:31; II Cor. 1:16; Gal. 1:22; I Thess. 2:14) are subject to question as to whether Paul refers to the Roman province, or to Palestine as a whole. He does not anywhere clearly indicate geographical

divisions in the land of the Jews. In the letters, as is true also in the Acts, Paul's work is seen as lying outside Palestine, and his visits, like the references indicated, are casual and incidental. Even travel to Jerusalem gives us no detail (Gal. 1:18; 2:1). We do not know from Paul himself what routes he took in Palestine. Jerusalem is the sole point of interest.

The Gospel of Mark, by common consent the earliest, is like the Pauline epistles in having no mention whatever of Samaria or Samaritans. This, however, is of more concern to us. For Mark tells the story of the work of Jesus, whose life, unlike Paul's, was spent in Palestine, and whose work is by other writers described as including contact with and ministry to Samaritans. The Source Q or Logia is likewise silent in regard to this phase of Jesus' ministry, unless the passage discussed in the following paragraph be derived from it.

The earliest references to Samaria or Samaritans in the New Testament and the only one in Matthew's Gospel occurs in the commission to the Twelve, a passage having no parallel in the other Gospels. It is noteworthy because of its typically exclusive Jewish tone. In his own words Jesus limits the ministry of the disciples strictly to Jews and along with the Gentiles expressly eliminates the Samaritans: "Go not into any way of the Gentiles and *enter not into any city of the Samaritans* but go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." (Matt. 10:5; see also 15:24). It is difficult to imagine any motive for the invention of this passage. On the other hand its omission from the Gospel of Luke may not indicate that it is unknown to the writer or not a genuine passage from Q. It is out of harmony with the universal tone of Luke's Gospel. But it is quite in keeping with a stage of Jesus' ministry when limitations in the disciples' viewpoint had to be taken into account.

The Gospel of Luke has three passages peculiar to it regarding Samaritans and these passages are taken here in an ascending scale with reference to their appreciation of the people of Samaria. All occur in the so-called Perea section which contains so much material peculiar to this gospel. In the first (9:51-56), we read that when Jesus planned his last journey

to Jerusalem he sent messengers ahead to prepare a place for him to lodge in a Samaritan village. "And they did not receive him because his face was as though he were going to Jerusalem." This represents the Samaritans in an unfriendly light. But the Samaritan rejection and the outburst of James and John, "Lord, wilt thou that we bid fire to come down from heaven and consume them?" simply represent the traditional attitude of Jews and Samaritans toward each other. The point particularly worth noting here is that Jesus' rebuke of the two disciples is the first passage in the New Testament in which a different attitude is suggested.

In a second passage in Luke (17:11-19) Jesus, travelling with his disciples along the border between Samaria and Galilee, meets a band of ten lepers, of whom one at least was a Samaritan. Upon their cry for help, Jesus heals them all, but one turns back to praise God and to thank Jesus, "and he was a Samaritan." Jesus in turn singles out for a special word of commendation "this stranger" who alone "returned to give glory to God," and who thus in his opinion surpassed in piety the other nine, who presumably were Jews. Not only is it suggested here that discrimination against the Samaritan is out of place, but also that the Samaritans even prove more responsive to Jesus' ministry than the Jews themselves.

The other passage to be considered is the familiar Parable of the Good Samaritan (10:30-37). The Samaritan in the Parable stands out in sharp contrast to the Jewish religious leaders. He has no official rank like a "priest" or a "Levite," but he is set up as the ideal in kind and generous conduct, as the one who best obeys the law "thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

These three passages in Luke reveal in the teaching of Jesus a new attitude toward the Samaritan. First, the Samaritan's inhospitality is not to be taken as an excuse for summoning divine wrath. Second, the Samaritan's faith and gratitude are to be recognized, even in contrast with many Jews. Third, the Samaritan's attitude toward the Law may be more human and more pleasing to God than that of many Jewish religious leaders. It should be noted that the contacts of Jesus and his

disciples with Samaritans in the Gospel of Luke are casual meetings on the way from Galilee to Jerusalem.

The Gospel of John presents a still higher development. In the fourth chapter, we find that Jesus and his disciples are going through Samaria on their way from Judea to Galilee. Stopping to rest beside a well, Jesus talks freely with a Samaritan woman, even accepting a drink of water from her, and finally spends two days teaching his gospel in a Samaritan village. A number of the people become his disciples. Imbedded in this passage and setting it in greater relief is the observation of the author or editor, for the benefit no doubt of a Gentile public unacquainted with Palestinian customs: "For Jews have no dealings with Samaritans."

The only other reference in this gospel to Samaria or Samaritans is the passage in which the Jews hurl at Jesus in the heat of controversy the stinging words: "Say we not well that thou art a Samaritan and hast a demon?" (8:48). Again appears the traditional attitude of Jews toward Samaritans: the very word Samaritan is a term of opprobrium. From its appearance here, however, we may infer that at the time of writing and in the mind of its readers, this is no longer true. On the contrary the Gentile Christian may find comfort in the fact that Jesus himself had been assigned his place outside the Jewish circle.

Thus, from the complete silence of Paul and of Mark, from the practical silence or unfriendly reference of Matthew (or Q), advance is made through recognition and appreciation of the Samaritans in Luke to evangelization in John. It is interesting to note that this last stage continues in the Acts, where it reaches its highest point.

There are a number of references in Acts to Samaria merely as a territory, in expressions where it is joined with other geographical names: (a) Judea and Samaria as places to which the disciples, in striking contrast with Matt. 10:5, were enjoined to carry their message (1:8); (b) Judea and Samaria as places to which the disciples were scattered after the death of Stephen (8:1); (c) Judea and Galilee and Samaria as places where believers lived (1:31); (d) Phoenicia and Samaria as places

through which Paul and Barnabas and others passed on their way from Antioch to Jerusalem (15:3).

The other references in the Acts are all in the eighth chapter and have to do with the visit of Philip at Samaria for the purpose of evangelization, the subsequent "follow up" visit of Peter and John, and the encounters the disciples had with Simon Magus. These represent Samaria as one of the earliest missionary objectives and Christianity as successfully planted among the Samaritans. It should be noted also that while in the Gospel of John Jesus was simply passing through Samaria when he met the woman at Sychar and turned aside for a few days teaching in her village, in the Acts the city of Samaria is the center of deliberate evangelistic effort.

The conclusion of this study must be that the farther we get from the earliest records the more common is the reference to Samaritans; that the earlier references reflect the traditional hostility of Jew and Samaritan; that Luke's Gospel first breaks this down with records of Jesus' expressions of appreciation and praise; that first in the Gospel of John do we find any efforts at evangelization, efforts of Jesus himself which have their later counterpart in the early chapters of Acts in the disciples' extended missionary labors in Samaria.

Obviously Christian tradition as seen in the New Testament went through a process of emancipation from Jewish narrowness. If we set aside for a moment the Gospel of Luke and the Acts and look carefully at the rest, we begin to realize how much we owe to one man's record and its influence. Is it possible that Luke in the research which he made in preparation for his writings (Luke 1:3) discovered, perhaps in Palestine, some valuable traditions congenial to a disciple of Paul but long buried under national and racial prejudices? At any rate, the Samaritan interest, if a little late, found through the writings of Luke and the Fourth Gospel a secure place in the New Testament. And a generation laboring in the spirit of Paul for the universal gospel and the Gentile mission no doubt welcomed this new light, thanked God and took courage.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SMALL SECTS

By Elmer T. Clark

New York, N. Y.

The problem of small sects is "home mission problem number one." There are approximately 300 little denominations in the United States and the number is increasing rapidly. The religious census of 1936 located 58 new groups which had not been in existence ten years before. The actual membership of these bodies is not over two or three million, but there are probably ten or twelve million people in the country who receive all the religious guidance they ever receive from sects so obscure that most informed people never heard of them. In every community in America these groups are reaching the people which the great churches are failing to reach, and they are flourishing in the communities, in the very buildings, which the Methodists and other denominations have abandoned. The problem of evangelism, the problem of the country church, and the problem of the industrial community are all bound up with the psychology of the small sects.

I

Many of these groups are very peculiar. Most of us are familiar with the "Holy Rollers," who shout and talk in unknown tongues, and the Saints, who handle rattle snakes and hot lamp chimneys, but there are many other types with which we are not so familiar.

More than one Negro denomination insists that the colored people are really Jews and descendents of the lost tribes. The Church of God and Saints of Christ take this so seriously that to the customary Christian observances they add the old Jewish rites. They circumcise as well as baptize. They sprinkle blood all over the place at Passover and lay all their earthly goods at the feet of the apostles, represented by Bishop William H. Plummer, G. F. A., which means Grand Father Abraham. The Church of the Living God, Christian Workers for Fellowship, insists that the prophets of Israel, the apostles of the early

church, and all other biblical characters were black; Jesus was certainly a negro, for he was the son of David, who confessed his color in a Psalm: "I became as a bottle in the smoke."

The Amish Mennonites do not wear buttons, neckties, or coats with lapels, neither do they have telephones, radios, top buggies, carpets, pictures, or other worldly items: they choose their preachers by lot and hold their services in barns. The Dukhobors are always wandering around to meet Christ somewhere, and not infrequently they go entirely nude in order to meet him in pristine purity. The River Brethren split over the momentous issue of whether in the footwashing ceremony the same person should both wash and dry or whether two saints should perform the two operations; whereupon we have the One-Mode and the Two-Mode Brethren. Mennonites and some others make the women cover their hair and the House of David will not allow men to cut their hair, and the two groups justify the divergent customs by the same passage of Scripture. Paul said it was a shame for the head of the woman to be uncovered, wherefore women must wear the covering; but Paul also said the head of the woman is the man, so that he really meant it is a shame for the head of the man to be uncovered.

Two Mennonite denominations split over a horse trade, and two more originated because an enthusiastic brother insisted on holding revivals. Some of the Brethren groups broke up over the issue of baptism: one holds it can be performed only in running water, another that it must be performed indoors, several others insist on dipping three times face forward. There have been schisms over the communion meal and the elements of the sacrament; one sect thinks the meal and the elements should be placed on the table together, another that the elements must be prepared after the meal, still another that the elements should be ready in the room during the meal but on a separate table. Intrumental music, the use of modern hymns, the acceptance of a missionary subsidy, the state of the dead, and even the cut of a preacher's coat have disrupted churches and given birth to new denominations.

II

Studied from the standpoint of beliefs and practices and the types of mind attracted by them, and speaking quite generally, there are six different types of small sects in this country.

1. Communistic sects draw apart from the world and organize self-contained socialistic colonies in which they practice community of goods and sometimes community of women and children. In the course of our history there have been large numbers of such colonies, most of them religious, but few have been able to survive. Among those still in existence are the Amana Society or the Society of True Inspiration, the House of David, the recently defunct Llano Colony, Church of God and Saints of Christ, the Church Triumphant, and the expiring remnant of the Shakers.

2. Esoteric-sects possess deep dark secrets of mystic nature into which the elect must be initiated. Many of these are offshoots of Hinduism. Among this class may be mentioned the Rosicrucians, Theosophists, and Spiritualists.

3. Egocentric sects cater to the physical body and offer comfort, personal exhilaration, peace of mind, freedom from pain and disease, and prosperity as the goals of existence. Among such are the Christian Scientists, the Great I Am, Divine Scientists, New Thought devotees, and the followers of the Unity School of Christianity.

Pessimistic sects are those who despair of social processes and expect God to intervene in the world-order and shape things to his liking by a cosmic cataclysm. These are the premillennial or second-coming sects, such as the Adventists, Jehovah's Witnesses and the various groups of the so-called Fundamentalists. These rely upon apocalyptic literature, especially the books of Daniel and Revelation, and find prophecies of coming events in the strange figures and cryptic references with which the persecuted Jews in the days of Antiochus Epihanes and Christians in the early centuries hid their meanings from their enemies and strengthened the faithful by assurances that their persecutors would be overthrown.

5. There is a large number of Perfectionist sects. These

are the people who seek after holiness, freedom from temptation, a satisfactory inner state, and various personal experiences and blessings. The Perfectionists claim that in addition to justification and regeneration there is a second work of grace or sanctification and that without this none can be a perfect Christian. Such a work is always accomplished by God alone and is attested by a personal experience of an emotional character. Practically all of these are offshoots of Methodism directly or indirectly. The word that best describes them is subjective. The point on which they lay supreme emphasis is personal religious experience.

There are right wing and left wing Perfectionists. The right wing is represented by the moderate second blessing holiness people like the Church of the Nazarenes. The left wing is the Tongue-talking "Holy Rollers" who indulge in extreme emotional excesses and are found in nearly every rural and mountainous community on this continent.

The left wing Perfectionists are the charismatic sects, so characterized because of their insistence on divine gifts, or charismata. They are found throughout the nation. They seek spiritual blessings and enduements of various kinds. Spirit guidance is fundamental to them and this is sometimes carried to absurd extremes. In Kentucky a few years ago a woman was murdered by her own son as a human sacrifice in obedience to the promptings of the spirit. The almost universal charism of this group, however, is that of the glossolalia, or the gift of tongues. The phenomenon of tongues is a most peculiar motor exercise which has been discussed by many persons who have written on the psychology of religion. Several sects insist upon it as the sign and seal of Christian perfection. Among these are the Catholic Apostolic Church, the Assemblies of God, Pentecostal Holiness Church, International Church of the Foursquare Gospel, the Pentecostal Assemblies of the World, several varieties of Churches of God, and such negro sects as the Apostolic Overcoming Holy Church of God, House of Prayer, and many others.

6. The other group of sects I have called Legalistic. If the word *subjective* characterizes the Perfectionist group, then

the word *objective* describes those now under consideration. The characteristic element is the presence of some observance to which the people cling. They do not care much about spirituality, as understood by the Perfectionists. What they desire is something definite which they can see, handle, do, or oppose, and which is made the test of religious regularity. Sometimes this craving for objectivity takes the negative form and the people find satisfaction in opposing something which other people utilize.

The craving for objectivity is seen in the attachment of certain Baptist groups to baptism and peculiar modes of administering the same, which is so important that it becomes the mark of the true Christian Church. Others satisfy the same craving by covering the heads of the women, letting their hair grow long, wearing clothes of peculiar cut or pattern, anointing each other with oil, foot washing, and similar observances. Negatively, it finds expression in opposition to church organs, hymn books, missionary and other Church organizations, and the Puritan type of morality which opposes tobacco, theatre going, novel reading, wearing gold and costly apparel, dancing, and other worldly practices.

In setting up these objective things to do or to refrain from doing, these sects persuade themselves that they are reviving primitive Christianity. None of them regards the things it does or refuses to do as aids to worship, but as actual and necessary elements of the Christian faith. No primitive Baptist would contend that he washes his brother's feet because it uplifts the soul or creates an atmosphere conducive to holy meditation. He performs the rite because it is a part of the Christian system as revealed in the Bible, and the omission of which would constitute a denial of the faith. Members of the churches of Christ do not think the absence of the organ produces a more beautiful service or conduces to a more spiritual state of mind. They hold to the theory "we speak where the Bible speaks and are silent where the Bible is silent." They hold that what God in the Bible has not expressly commanded, he has expressly forbidden, and since they do not find anything in the New Testament about having organs in churches, therefore this silence is proof that God has no ear for organ music, and

the presence of an organ in a church dedicated to his service is displeasing to him.

It appears, however, that it is the psychological craving for objectivity, rather than reverence for holy writ, that is the crux of the whole matter. This is seen in the very interesting fact that no sect practices all of the observances mentioned in the Bible, and none of them, of course, opposes all the things the Bible does not mention. All of them profess to do so, however. As a matter of fact, they pick out two or three things which satisfy the peculiar bent of their minds and ignore all the others though they are equally plain.

Baptist sects baptize in various ways and wash each other's feet, but they do not cover the heads of their women, anoint with oil, or greet each other with a holy kiss. Mennonites use the head covering but do not commonly wash feet. The Bible has no more to say about tuning forks than about organs, but the Churches of Christ use the one and despise the other. While professing to speak where the Bible speaks, they do not wash feet, anoint with oil, or cover the heads, nor do they pay any attention to the silences of the Bible except in the matter of organs and missionary societies. So it is with all these sects. Professing to follow the Bible thoroughly and accurately, they proceed to pick out two or three observances or oppositions that are congenial to them. This satisfies their craving for an objective something to which they can cling, so they calmly ignore a hundred things quite as plain as those they adopt.

III

In America, however, we have witnessed a peculiar exception to the early universal rule that sects are the refuges of the poor and the ignorant. Here we have produced several groups which are the refuges of prosperous middle-age people who are afraid of growing old and who desire to escape the inevitable hard realities of this life without waiting for a heaven beyond the grave. Such are the egocentric sects, Christian Science, Unity, The Great I Am, New Thought, and the various "new psychology" groups. We seem to have contributed these to the world, since practically all of them originated here, and most of them

flourish here and nowhere else. They are products of our prosperity, and the philosophy and manner of life engendered by it. These, however, cut such a small figure in the general religious pattern that only a mention of them is necessary here.

IV

Let us now turn to a consideration of a few psychological and theological factors that are basic among the sects, and which may throw some light on the religious problem they present.

The Sects are strongest at these points of doctrine and practice where the denominations are weakest. They flourish by taking up the things which the great churches drop. An analysis of their outstanding characteristics reveals the fact that all of them were once characteristic of the greatest religious bodies in this country but have now been neglected or discarded. This is a fact of the utmost importance, signifying as it does that the churches are growing away from multiplied millions of our population and gradually widening the breach between themselves and the plain people. Time and again it has been necessary for great religious leaders like John Wesley to lead a revolt against the helpless, conventionalized religion of the day on the part of the submerged millions. It is probable that the stage is being prepared in this country for another such movement. Should a prophet appear who should be able to bring together and organize the religious discontent in the nearly two hundred small sects of his country, he would immediately have at his disposal a body larger than the greatest Protestant denomination and a message suited to the psychological and spiritual needs of the plain people. He would be able to dominate the religious life of the country.

1. The most flourishing sects employ the method of the mass movement which has been so effective in this country and which the great churches have practically abandoned. The revival technique is characteristic of nearly all those groups which are experiencing any large growth. They are able to use this device effectively because of their small size, the simple faith which they preach, the devotion to their cause which is characteristic of new religious movements, the like-mindedness of their

people, and the intellectual and social status of the people with whom they deal.

At this point it may be well to point out the historical fact that there has never been any religious ingathering above the normal increase of the population except in connection with some kind of mass movement which influences the public psychology. Usually it has been a far-flung evangelistic movement, such as the early revivals of Edwards, Whitefield, the Tennants, the Methodist circuit riders, the camp-meeting revivals of the first years of the nineteenth century, the revivals of the Civil War period, and the campaigns of Moody. The increase in church membership went above the norm in connection with all of these. But religious mass movement of an altogether different nature may produce the same results, as was the case during the Parliament of Religions at the Chicago World's Fair, and the Methodist Centenary, the Presbyterian New Era, the Baptist Seventy-Five Million, and the other great financial campaigns after the close of the World War in 1918. It would appear, therefore, that any social movement which focuses public attention on religion and creates a favorable public psychology is likely to result in a supernormal increase in church membership.

2. The sects place supreme emphasis upon the supernatural, and the gospel they preach is entirely other-worldly. This note has all but disappeared from the great denominations, but it flares up with great intensity among the small sects. God is intensely real and intensely active. Prayer has objective physical results. The devil exists as a personal figure close to every man at all times. There is a definite heaven. Conversion, which is always insisted upon, is a real miracle.

Here again the small sect capitalizes the lack of emphasis on the supernatural which is characteristic of the large churches at the present time. The plain man expects from the church a word which is definite and authoritative upon spiritual questions. He wants to know how to be saved from sin, to secure inner peace and a sense of security, to know what will happen to him when he dies. He will desert any religious leader who cannot give him definite and certain information about these

subjects. He will go to the Labor Union, the ballot box, or the W. P. A. for an improvement of his material life, but he will not listen to the preacher who offers him social benefit or fails to offer him a sure hope of heaven.

In view of the fact that the sects thrive mainly among the disinherited, it seems strange that not one of them makes any attempt to ameliorate the physical condition of its adherents. The modern social gospel is entirely alien to them. In fact, it is resented as proof that the churches preaching it have forsaken the true gospel. None has any program of social reform except frugality, industry, temperance and opposition to the liquor traffic. Some of the sects even forbid their members to vote or hold public office, and regard the Constitution of the United States as an atheistic document because it does not recognize the kingship of Jesus Christ. The modern social gospel as preached by the great and progressive denominations of Americans is a product of those who do not need it. It is preached almost exclusively by persons quite well placed who have tasted the fruits of mammon and found them good. But it makes no appeal to the disinherited who really need it. It seems plain that the millions of the world cannot be won by a gospel which offers them an improvement of economic status. Their God looks with high favor upon poverty.

3. The small sects lay great emphasis upon the feeling element in religion. These churches are the refuges of the emotionally starved. They are in large measure denied the activities through which the prosperous find outlets for their emotions. They have not established rational control over their feelings. Yet being emotionally inclined and having no other outlet, these people revel in their religious experiences. Most of the great Protestant bodies hold in some indefinite way that the seat of authority in religion is experience, but after reading their learned books on the subject the average person is likely to remain in doubt as to the exact meaning of this doctrine. There is no such doubt among the small sects. Most of them believe that personal experience constitutes a certain and only touch with God, and personal experience with them always means emotion. John Wesley declared that he wanted a faith that none could have without knowing that he

had it, and he once declared that feeling was the test of religious truth. "I know because I feel."

That is exactly where the small sects stand. Hence they covet blessings, gifts, and outpourings of the Spirit. They have developed an elaborate technique of stirring the emotions and inducing these blessings, and lacking the control which comes with mental culture they not infrequently run to terrible extremes of frenzy. These need not be described here, but they can be witnessed in extreme forms at any of the conventions held by the Church of God in Cleveland or Chattanooga, Tennessee, or Bishop Grace's House of Prayer at Augusta, Georgia, Bishop Phillip's Apostolic Overcoming Holy Church of God in Mobile, or Father Divine's "Heaven" in Harlem.

Here again the sects are strong where the great churches are weak. The feeling element has all but passed out of American denominational life to the great detriment of the churches, I am afraid. It has been seized upon by the sects and made the instrument of their power over the masses.

4. The sectarian mind demands definiteness in religion. It must have a note of absolute certainty and an authority that is infallible. This is found among all the sects. Among the Perfectionists, it is a certainty of an inner assurance. With the Legalists, it lies in the belief that if certain objective physical acts are performed, God will be pleased and the devotee will be in the right relations with him.

Here again the great denominations are weak where the sects are strong. We are no longer as certain as we once were as to where authority resides, the exact nature and implications of the inspiration of the Bible, the nature of God, immortality and the future life, the meaning, nature and method of salvation, and what it means to be lost. But the ordinary religious mind demands an authoritative word on these things and the sects give it to one. They know exactly what they mean when they use the words lost and saved, and they can tell a penitent without a moment's hesitation exactly what he should do to be saved. Herein is the secret of the strong hold which the small sects have on the minds and hearts of the plain people.

V

In summary and conclusion, it may be said that the psychology of the small sect is characterized by four deep human hungers.

1. There is a craving for the direct intervention of God to correct the ills and inequalities of his world. This is marked among the Pessimistic or Adventist groups, who despair of social processes.

2. There is a craving for the supernatural and for a salvation which man cannot achieve and which this world cannot provide.

3. There is a craving for an emotional outlet and a direct touch with God.

4. There is a craving for definiteness, for objectivity, for a real act which man can do, the doing of which will be pleasing to God, and a word of dogmatic certainty on spiritual and eternal subjects.

These are the four strong points of the small sects in America. They are the four weak points, if we may use that term, of the large denominations, and the weakening of the emphasis at these points on the part of the big churches in large measure explains the fact that they are losing the masses of the plain people of the churches. It is worthy of note that the Roman Catholic Church has suffered little from the sectarian spirit and it may be that the explanation is in the fact that this church has not weakened at either of the four points mentioned. Catholicism has laid no great stress on the modern social gospel. Its pageantry is as tawdry as the plainest of the plain people could desire, and it provides a considerable emotional feature. It certainly stresses the supernatural, and is exceedingly other-worldly, and it satisfies the craving for definiteness, objectivity, and a certain word of authority on religious matters. If these points give us insight into the reason for the sectarian revolt in this country, probably they also afford a view as to what the great denominations should do to halt that revolt and win back the ordinary people they are so rapidly losing.

AN ANALYTIC APPROACH TO THE GOD-CONCEPT

By William H. Bernhardt

Iliff School of Theology

Denver, Colorado

Discussions of the God-concept are normally confined to one or more of the following questions: (i) What is the nature of God? (ii) Does God-as-defined exist? (iii) What is the relation of God-as-defined to man and the world? Occasionally some one will attempt to dismiss one or more of these questions as irrelevant or unanswerable. Professor Wieman, in one of his earlier works (*Religious Experience and Scientific Method*, 1926) sought to eliminate the third question listed above. He defined God as that "Something upon which human life is most dependent for its security, welfare and increasing abundance," and stated that the existence of "Something" was not open to question. In his next volume, however, (*The Wrestle of Religion with Truth*, 1927) he defined the God-concept more specifically. When he did this, however, he faced the necessity of 'testing' the concept. This 'testing' consisted in attempting to prove that God-as-defined actually existed. It may be stated categorically that whenever one defines God in specific terms he faces the question: Does God so defined exist? To the present, then, it appears to be impossible to evade the three-fold question of nature-existence-relation when one considers the problem of God.

There is a preliminary question, however, which must be answered before one is in position intelligently to consider these three related questions. What is the fundamental category or general class to which all entities named Deity belong? Or, to what class of realities does Deity belong? An analogy from physics may clarify the meaning of this question. When the physicist is asked about the nature of his basic problem, he may answer in the words of J. Arthur Thomson that "physics is mainly the science of the transformations of Energy (Energetics)." (*An Introduction to Science*, New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1911, p. 105). The physicist, in other words, has

selected some phase of the universe about him and subjects it to critical examination. He confines his attention to motion, and attempts to answer the questions which emerge from its consideration. He does not ask whether or not there is Motion, spelled with an upper case M. He begins with common-sense experiences of motion and subjects them to progressively refined and complex analyses. The other sciences follow a similar procedure: they select given areas or phases of the world about them, and investigate these areas as thoroughly as possible.

The religious thinker has no such clearly defined field. He may not assume that the object of his study exists: no other inference may be drawn from the fact that he must prove its existence. Furthermore, religious thinkers are not in agreement as to the category to which God-as-reality belongs. Some contemporary thinkers believe Deity belongs to the class of essentially and absolutely non-sensible or imperceptible realities (as does C. E. M. Joad, *Matter, Life and Value*, Oxford, 1929); others believe Deity belongs to the category of perceptible objects, and to that specific group which includes those of highest value (as does H. N. Wieman in several of his books); others view Deity as the Dominant Phase of all reality (as does F. S. C. Northrop, in *Science and First Principles*, Macmillan, 1931). Each of these thinkers has selected a different category for the entity or being designated by the term God. God is Subsistent Value (Joad), Existent Value (Wieman), or Determinant Power or Control (Northrop).

The various schools of theological thought with their widely divergent conceptions of Deity are normal consequences of the selection of different categories for Deity. If one believes that the realm of subsistent objects contains all that is needed in the way of information concerning Deity, he has, by that choice, determined in advance the general character of any God-concept he may develop. Likewise, if he selects for observation and examination that which probably represents the dominant or controlling phase or phases of reality, he has by that selection predetermined the basic character of the God-concept which will emerge from his investigations.

The answer which one makes to the preliminary question of general class or category to which all God-concepts belong is thus of major importance in any attempt to define God. The specific significance of such choice will become more evident as we analyze two such categories. This preliminary analysis should throw some light upon the whole set of problems which cluster about the problem of God.

I. *Agathonic Realism*

The term 'agathonic' is derived from the Greek expression to *agathon*, which means "good in its kind." Agathonic is defined to mean whatever may be of use and (or) enjoyment to human beings. The term Realism is used in its normal philosophical meaning to denote that which has independent existence or subsistence; that which is not dependent for its being upon either human or divine experience or thought. Agathonic Realists, then, are those who believe that God belongs to the category of value, defined in terms of what is of use and (or) enjoyment to humanity. The data accepted as admissible by Agathonic Realists in the derivation and validation of theories concerning the nature of God consists in behaviors, events or entities (existent or subsistent) which are believed to support and (or) enhance human values.

This approach found an early exponent in Plato. He stated that God as creator had created only that which is good, and that he himself was perfect and changeless in character (*The Republic*, bk. II, 380,381). Plato, as one may recall, viewed all changing, observable entities as quite deficient in reality. When he defined God as a perfect, changeless reality, he discarded the world of perceptible entities from all serious consideration. One of Plato's numerous successors in this tendency is C. E. M. Joad. In an important volume, *Matter, Life and Value* (Oxford, 1929), he presented his theory of reality. Reality consists in three levels. The first and lowest is matter. Matter is defined as an entity devoid of life or mind and exhaustively explicable in physico-chemical terms. The second level is Life, described as an indefinable principle which appeared in matter in some mysterious way at an unknown time. Life is characterized as a Protean thrust or im-

pulsion (*Ibid.*, pp. 138 f.). The third level, and the only one to which Joad appears to apply the term *reality*, is value. He characterizes it in Platonic terms as permanent, perfect and changeless. It contains all that may be designated at its lowest levels by the terms truth, beauty and goodness. The term God may be used to symbolize this realm of value when it is conceived of as one and individuated. (Cf. his *Present and Future of Christianity*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1930, p. 287).

Knowledge of value or God is not to be obtained by examination or experience of either matter or life. Knowledge as such is always a matter of awareness. Awareness is defined as the directional activity of living beings accompanied by the feeling of immediate certainty. All forms of knowing are thus forms of awareness: awareness of matter is called sensation; awareness of subsistent objects (such as thoughts) is called thinking (*Matter, Life and Value*, p. 378). At its highest level, awareness is called mysticism, or the vision of God or Value. It is still a form of awareness, but a much higher and rarer form. Those who possess it may be called 'sports', and their vision may become the means whereby lesser folk grope their own way closer to the light. (*Ibid.*, p. 363 ff).

It may be possible for some folk to catch indirect and fleeting glimpses of value (God) in the esthetic experience. However, the chief source of information is and must remain the mystic vision. This means that the primary source of information, the basic data for determining the nature of God, is mysticism or awareness of the Third Level of 'Reality'. No information is attainable, directly, through sensation or thinking. To all intent and purposes, the whole spatio-temporal continuum is irrelevant to the quest for knowledge of God.

Professor Wieman adheres to the Agathonic category. Like Plato, he insists that God did not and does not create the 'mechanical' universe. In his debate with R. L. Calhoun, he specifically denied that God created mechanisms. He defined a mechanism as whatever "has its parts externally related to one another," or as that in which "the natures of the several parts are not determined by their relations to one another." (Cf.

Wieman, "Faith and Knowledge," *Christendom*, I (Autumn 1936), p. 774). God may use mechanisms in the realization of values, but he is not responsible for them as such. This implies, if we understand Mr. Wieman, that when one seeks information concerning the nature of God, he may safely disregard the study of the astronomical universe as pure fact, or in its existential dimension. Such an investigator will have all of the data admissible if he confines his observation to values and the value-making or value-increasing aspects or phases of reality.

The Agathonic Realists, in terms of this preliminary analysis, believe that the term God refers to that in one's total medium of existence, or his Existential Medium, which is of use and enjoyment to human beings (Wieman), or which, according to Joad, is of no practical use to us but which serves as the highest object of appreciation and contemplation. Their theories concerning the nature of Deity are thus dependent upon data selected from what is of use and (or) enjoyment and appreciation.

II. Pure Realism

The term 'pure realism' is used to designate that approach to Deity which agrees with agathonic realism in its acceptance of the independent existence or subsistence of the Existential Medium viewed either as a whole or as a multiplicity of entities, events or behaviors, but which disagrees with it in its principle of selectivity. Agathonic realism accepts as admissible data only those facts (entities, events, behaviours) which are of use and (or) enjoyment and appreciation to persons. Pure realism accepts as admissible data whatever may aid one to determine what is dominant or controlling in the Existential Medium without considering (at first) whether or not this may be of value or significance to human beings. The category or general class to which all God-concepts belong, for the Pure Realist, is that of Dominant Phase or Determinate Behavior Pattern of the Existential Medium as a whole. The term Deity, in other words, refers to "the Determiner of Destiny" in Pratt's phraseology, without implying that this destiny must be desirable to

man. The data admissible in determining the nature of God for the Pure Realist is thus inclusive. Whatever may provide information concerning the cosmos is acceptable as data relevant to the attempt to discover what, if anything, is dominant or controlling in it.

The term 'pure' in the name Pure Realist may require a word of explanation. It is used here to denote an attitude on the part of the investigator, an attitude of disinterested search for the most valid understanding of Dominance in the Universe. The term 'pure' has as one of its numerous meanings that which is "taken in its essential character and apart from relations and applications." It is precisely this meaning—the meaning of the adjective in Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*—which is meant here. One who approaches the problem of God from the point of view of Pure Realism must put aside resolutely all questions of personal or human interest in his attempt to understand the nature of God categorized as Dominant Phase of the Total Existential Medium. He must be nonpragmatic in his primary approach to God. Once he has reached his conclusions concerning the nature of God, then the question of the relation of God as defined to human values becomes relevant.

This approach is by no means novel. From the point of view of category or general class, it is probably true that this represents the earliest attitude of primitive or savage peoples. Thus the Melanesians who used the term *mana* had reference to a non-physical power or influence of unusual nature which conditioned human existence and which had to be considered seriously if one wished safety and power. It was an extranatural power which could be used for either good or ill. According to E. Durkheim (*The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, Macmillan, 1915, Eng. trans. by J. W. Swain, pp. 192 ff), whose conclusions rest primarily upon observation of Australian peoples, *mana* designated every power which affected man and in harmony with which he must learn to live. From primitive or savage levels of culture to those of the contemporary west, there have always been those who thought of God in terms of Dominant Phase of the Existential Medium, or of some aspect of it.

Aristotle, seeking an explanation of the world in which he lived, believed the concept *motion* to be the starting point for any thorough analysis. He concluded that motion implied change or movement; that movement implied both a 'moved' (i. e., a something that is in motion or in process of change). and a 'mover,' that is, the source of movement. The distinction between motion and source of motion involved him in a process of infinite regress. He broke this apparently interminable cause-effect sequence by positing an ultimate Unmoved Mover as the final source of all movement. (Cf. his *Physics*, bks. vii and viii). He then identified God with this Unmoved Mover whose existence was made necessary by this analysis of motion in the world of immediate experience.

Building a new structure, but with Aristotle's theory as foundation, F. S. C. Northrop has recently developed the theory of God as Macroscopic Atom. Northrop believes that the facts educed by modern physics and the theories in which these facts have been generalized compel us to posit the existence of a macroscopic Atom, perfectly spherical in form, which encloses the microscopic atoms within itself, and impresses upon them the order, intelligibility and other qualities which they exhibit. (*Science and First Principles*, Macmillan, 1931, pp. 120 ff., and 249 ff). The Macroscopic Atom is then identified as God. God is thus dominant or determinant phase—atomic in character—of one's total Existential Medium. He is responsible for the character of the behavior of the microscopic atoms individually and in their various, if temporary, forms of structuralized relationships.

The pure Realist, from Aristotle to Northrop and others, approaches his task, ideally, with the attitude of the 'pure' scientist. He identifies God with what is dominant or controlling in reality, and then seeks to determine as precisely as possible the nature of this dominant or controlling phase. Only after this has been done, is he prepared to investigate the possible significance of God as defined for religious values.

III. Corollaries

Several corollaries suggest themselves at once. The first is related to the admissibility of data. For the agathonic realist,

the world-as-valued, or the world-as-experienced-as-value constitutes the primary source of data. This may be a very large or a very small part of the world-as-known. Whatever it is, this is accepted as the source of data. All else is more or less irrelevant. For the pure realist, it is the world-as-experienced or the world-as-known which constitutes the source of data. He may not impose any value criterion as test of admissibility. His task is that of determining the nature of the dominant or determinate phase of the Existential Medium as a whole. Consequently, his basic presupposition will not permit him to exclude from consideration as possible data any fact which presents itself. The only limits to his primary source of data are the boundaries which may mark the limits of experiential entities.

Both positions are subject to criticism at this point. The Agathonic Realist is accused of being too highly selective in his choice of data. The criticism levelled by Lippman in his *Preface to Morals* (pp. 136 ff) at Kant and the Kantians is relevant here. Kant failed to find a basis for belief in God in his analysis of experience by means of 'pure' reason. He adopted man's moral experience as absolute in order to find what appeared to him to be an adequate basis. The modern Agathonic Realist modifies Kant's principle of selectivity somewhat, but the practical consequences are almost the same. Kant confined himself to man's moral needs; the contemporary Agathonic Realist confines himself to man's value experiences. Both represent highly selective bodies of data.

The Pure Realist faces precisely the opposite criticism. He must include such a vast body of data in his quest that his attempts to find order or determinateness may be wholly futile. This is the criticism which H. E. Barnes (*The Twilight of Christianity*, Richard R. Smith, 1931, pp. 249 ff) directs at all such attempts. To the present, at least, both of these criticisms have not been refuted. Much more critical consideration will have to be devoted to them to determine whether or not they can be met.

The second corollary bears more directly upon religious values. The traditional attributes of God may be divided into

two general groups: (i) the moral-personal, and (i) the absolute or existential. (Cf. W. Adams Brown, *An Outline of Christian Theology*, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906, pp. 102 ff). The first are those which belong to the general realm of the good, of value, of character. The second are those which belong to the realm of power, structure, being, existence. It is obvious, as pointed out above, (cf. p. 254), that the attributes of Deity which will emerge from the Agathonic approach will belong to the moral-personal group. God will be so characterized as to make him the most valuable object of human aspiration or contemplation. There can be no question concerning this. When one places God in the class of the most worthwhile objects known or knowable to man, the only data which will be given consideration are those which define God in terms highly satisfactory to human beings. Thus God is for Wieman that which is most worthwhile or of highest value; thus God for Joad is that level or realm of reality whose contemplation represents the goal of all human striving.

The attributes of Deity which emerge from the approach of pure realism are more existential or absolute in character. God as dominant phase or determinate behavior pattern of the total environing medium may not possess the list of agathonic attributes so characteristic of the other approach. Analysis may prove that God possesses some or all of the moral-personal attributes. If this happens to be the case, the conclusion will be accepted gratefully. If, on the other hand, the facts which emerge from observation lead one to conclude that human values are relatively unimportant (to indulge for the moment in understatement), this conclusion may also have to be accepted. It will then be necessary for the contemporary to adjust himself to a rigorous theology, a theology such as served John Calvin and his day. There is a vast difference in the agathonic character of early Calvinism and that of contemporary Agathonic realists. It is worth remembering, however, that religious values have been found in both.

The third corollary is epistemological in character. The selection of one's basic category for Deity determines, in the main, the methodology which must be used in the investigation

The prolonged discussion of the possible relevance of empirical of the precise character of the object one proposes to call God. methodology to philosophy of religion loses much of its relevance in the light of the preceding analysis. If the category to which all God-concepts belong, or if God as object of possible investigation is said to belong to the realm of perceptible entities, then he is subject to investigation by empirical methods. The precise empirical method which may be used will have to be determined by further analysis of dimensional factors involved, but the relevance of empiricism as method is no longer in question. If, on the other hand, one accepts Joad's category for Deity—as generalized name for an absolutely non-perceptible Realm—then empiricism as method is impossible. The basic choice concerning the general class of entities to which God as object of investigation belongs may thus preclude all reference to empirical methodology and the perceptive process upon which it rests. (Some of the commentators who participated in the debate precipitated by E. R. Walker's article, "Can Philosophy of Religion Be Empirical?" which appeared in the columns of *The Journal of Religion*, April, 1939, saw this point, but failed to take full advantage of it. It is obvious, of course, that if one accepts Walker's basic category for Deity, the debate becomes irrelevant).

IV. *The Derivation of Categories*

Thus far we have stated two approaches to the basic character of Deity and examined a few of the corollaries to which they give rise. We now face the question of fact: To which of these two categories does God (or gods) belong? As soon as this question is raised, however, a curious fact emerges. There appears to be no way whereby one may justify, *directly*, the areas of actual or possible experience, mediate or immediate, which he selects as relevant to the quest for knowledge of God. In other words, there is nothing in a given experience which compels one to call it a God-experience, *except tradition*. Those who have been reared in the Platonic tradition, as has Joad, will think of God in Platonic terms. Those, on the other hand, who have been reared in the atmosphere of western pragmatism will probably think of God in more immediate agathonic

terms, as does Wieman and the school of younger men he has gathered about him. Those reared in other traditions will doubtless select other experiences to be labelled divine.

This is oversimplified, of course. The utilization of tradition as a determinant of categories is more indirect than is implied in the preceding paragraph. Technically, the process may be reduced to the following operations: (i) One recognizes that the term God belongs within a given universe of discourse, i. e., a given group of related concepts and symbols employed in the exploration and communication of a given form of behavior traditionally called religious. (ii). The next step consists in the determination of the extension of the term religion, the setting of boundaries to the area or areas to be included within the denotation and connotation of this term. (iii). Having defined the limits of the term religion, one next determines the function of the God-concept within these areas. If one decides that religion has been and is an attempt to find supernatural support in the quest for values, the nature and function of Deity are readily discerned. God is the supernatural, in whole or in part, upon which individuals and groups may rely for support. If, *per contra*, one decides that religious behaviour is concerned with the discovery of ethico-social ideals of high order and with the motivation of individuals and groups in the pursuit of these ideals, then God belongs to the realm of the ideal, to the realm of high and moving goals which have lured the human race on from quest to conquest, from glorious feat to equally glorious defeat. It is possible, but highly impossible, that the God of the supernaturalist and that of the ethico-social idealist will be identical; in most cases they are different beings and belong to quite different orders of reality.

This method is formally correct. The category Deity is deduced or derived from preceding conclusions. It is a necessary consequent of a given definition of the nature and function of religion. It is thus a useless procedure to debate the relative validity of the Agathonic or the Pure Realistic approach to the God-concept. If a given conception of religion is proved to be valid, Agathonic realism is a necessary consequence. If a different theory of religion proves to be valid, pure realism may be the inevitable corollary. This merely means that all fruitful

discussions of God depend upon prior work in the philosophy of religion. Once this prior work has been done, then an effective approach to the God-concept is possible.

V. Summary

The results of this preliminary analysis may be summarized very briefly. (i) All significant discussions of the God-concept presuppose clarification of the basic category or general class to which all entities termed Deity belong. Categories constitute a form of definition in that they circumscribe the extension of given terms. Until one has circumscribed the extension of the term God, he has no basic data-determinant, no way whereby he may decide what may be admitted as data for the fuller understanding of God. (ii). Once this basic category has been determined, many puzzling problems become irrelevant or may be resolved by deduction. Problems in the field of methodology may be cited as illustrative of this. (iii). The preceding analysis indicates that religious problems are closely interrelated and that this interrelatedness must not be forgotten no matter what problem in the field confronts one. It is obvious that basic categories for Deity depend upon prior work in defining the extension of the term religion. Similar analysis will indicate that analogous conditions prevail with respect to religious techniques, i. e., the whole realm of overt behaviors employed to achieve and conserve religious values.

NOTES and NEWS

FLORIDA MINISTERS' WEEK

Florida Southern College held its third annual Ministers' week January 11-15, 1942. More than one hundred ministers were in attendance during the week. Two courses of lectures were offered, one by Dean Lynn Harold Hough of Drew Theological Seminary, and the other by Dr. Elmer T. Clark, editor of the *World Outlook*. Dean Hough also preached the sermon at the college church on Sunday morning. Dr. Clark lectured each afternoon and Dean Hough each evening. In addition to the afternoon and evening lecturers various guests spoke each morning. Dean Hough's general subject was "Intellectual Patterns." We had planned to publish a summary of these lectures in this issue. However, the fact that the lectures are to be published shortly by Harper and Brothers makes this unnecessary. Dr. Clark lectured on the general subject of "The Small Sects in America." Instead of summarizing his lectures, we are publishing one of them in full in this issue.

On Monday morning Dr. P. M. Boyd, Superintendent of the Tampa District of the Methodist Church spoke on the subject "Adjustment to a New World." The lecturer for Tuesday morning was Dr. Glenn C. James, pastor of The White Temple, Miami, Florida. Dr. James' subject was "The World We Would Like to Live In." Following is a brief summary of his lecture:

Life is challenging; the world is not beautiful, and yet how glad we are that we are alive. All worthwhile people do not ask for life on a silver platter. We may not do all that we set out to do, but it is worthwhile to set out to do something. Too many of us want all the privileges of our world, and none of the responsibilities.

Where are you going? Are you a bit of driftwood? Or have you decided to consecrate yourself to something that is really worthwhile? You may not have the kind of world

you want, but you can work on it. Abraham was the first man of whom we have record who objected to his kind of world, and set out to do something about it. He did not know "how far" or "where to," but he knew "where from." He believed that the God who planted within him a divine dissatisfaction would show him the way. We need this same divine dissatisfaction. Youth has not faced in the last generations the great opportunities they face now, if they are able, or the great perils, if they are not able.

Man's life has been a succession of upheavals—why? Because the patterns were not right; a world that refused to sacrifice is now called upon to suffer. The war we call the "unnecessary necessity." The world that we would like to have, which we may not see, but which we can work on and try to have some part in, is the world that God intends. It has not yet been realized, but we can work on it. We do not know "where to," we do not know "how far," but we do know "where from." We want to get up into a world that is dictated by the will of God, a world that has foundations that God has made. First we must have hope; then we must have faith to give substance to that hope. We must visualize God's world first, then have a faith that will put foundations under it. Truth is the foundation that God gives us for a world—a world where truth is believed to be something more than an impossible ideal; a world of cooperation, not isolation; a world where there are no barriers, where there is love among all people; a world where all eyes are fixed on Jesus Christ. Let us build on a foundation that can not be shaken. We can not escape Jesus because the universe is back of Him, God is with Him, He is the foundation of the world that God intends.

Dr. J. E. Anderson, pastor of the Methodist Church in Tallahassee, spoke on Wednesday morning, and used as his text "Stir up the gift of God that lies in you." The following is a brief summary of his sermon:

Although we are all tired of hearing about the war,

whatever we say in this hour that is significant in the lives of people today must bring in the war. The world is disintegrating before our eyes. Why? War brings out all that is bad in humanity. We now realize how un-Christian certain areas of our lives were; it is no wonder that we are where we are today. It gives a challenge to the churches and the Christian people of today—to create a life that is worthy of the name Christian. We regret all that the war brings, but we shall rise from our knees to create a better way of life. We shall have a difficult time, but remember that Christianity grew in a time just as bad as today. We shall not thank God for this war, but we shall thank him for the courage to build a better world. It is only in the case of emergency that we find the power to do the things that have to be done, the development of latent powers—the gift of God which we have not yet begun to realize.

Set before you a goal which will consume all the energy and all the powers of your life. There are two types of people—those who sit down when they meet a hard situation and those who go on and overcome that situation. There is in us a divine discontent which is not only the beginning of all wisdom but also the beginning of all art. We realize that we can never grasp that which is unsurpassed, but we can reach for it. How we ought to be ashamed of ourselves, how we ought to stir up the gift of God which lies in us, how we ought to meet the situation of the world today and rise above it. What is this God-given gift? The gift of intelligence; the gift of understanding; the ability to choose—to take the good and leave the bad; to go until you reach the best. But more important is the gift of love. All other bases for building life today have been tried; structural, organic bases for society will not do. This world can be rid of war. It is the will to have power and force over people that is not Christian, however it may be achieved. We are trying to obey God and man at the same time. When a person says "I am living in the Kingdom of God," he finds that his allegiance is to God and not to man. His

citizenship is in heaven. Let us stir up the gift of God which lies in us.

Following the sermon of Dr. Anderson, Dr. Charles T. Thrift, Jr., of the Florida School of Religion, spoke on the subject of "Church History in Florida." He pointed out the necessity for preserving the history of Christianity in Florida, and outlined several research projects now under way in the Florida School of Religion.

There were three speakers on Thursday; Dr. R. E. Wicker, pastor of the First Methodist Church of Jacksonville; Dr. J. Wallace Hamilton, pastor of the Pasadena Methodist Church; and Dr. Roy L. Smith, editor of the *Christian Advocate*. Dr. Wicker's subject was "Light in Darkness." The following is a summary of his lecture:

This is a dark morning in the history of the world; it is involved in war. We are in this war, and we are in it to win this war. We have one great danger in appreciating the place which we occupy in this darkness—we are tempted to believe that winning the war is the only thing before us, and that winning is the only thing necessary.

We are called upon as Christians to dispel the darkness of the world; and the only thing that dissipates darkness is light. We will have to supplement the victory we expect as a nation with the victory of God's business of bringing light into the world. We have two battles to fight. One is to win the war; the other is the battle that God wages to bring light into the world. This is the only kind of victory that will endure. We need to remember this. Jesus says, "I am the light of the world," and if the war victory is to count, we must bring the light of Jesus to it. We must keep the principles of Jesus alive and shining in the midst of a great war, if we are to have a victory that is worthwhile.

We must put our hearts into the war—then the little difficulties do not amount to anything. God operates like that. The only way this world will ever have peace is to harmonize with God as he speaks to it. God

uses our difficulties, sorrows, troubles, sometimes, and keeps working on us until we get our hearts and lives into harmony with Him. We must keep our religious fires burning to reach the victory that we want. We must keep the light of Christ shining if we are to dissipate the darkness. We are also the light of the world and God has said, "Let your light shine." The early work of the Christian Church was done in a warring world; this did not stop them. They felt they had to keep the light of Christ shining. We must keep alive the feeling of missions in God's Kingdom as well as keep our loyalty to our country.

We are called upon for two strong loyalties where some people only have one. It is our portion to reflect the light of Christ in this dark day. We must be faithful as Christians to the Christian Church to keep our souls. If we will just let our light shine, when the war is over it will have its effect in the peace of the world.

Dr. Hamilton preached on the subject "The Half-way Place," and used as his text "Terah died in Haran." The following is a brief summary of his sermon:

Too many men receive salvation and die in the "half-way place." Isn't this what we are facing today? Are we going to expand our democracy to meet the present needs, or are we going to see it die in the "half-way place"? Democracy grew out of the belief that God made man in His own image. We have now reached the place of decision. Will we die in the "half-way place," or move on to perfect the dream? We have been thinking of democracy as a status rather than a process. It is not a status; it is a process. Democracy is a growing thing—it is a strong thing; we have it, but we have it to get, also. We have it in certain spots; we have yet to achieve it in other spots. That is our fight. Social, economic, international democracy. We must go on or go under.

The "half-way place" is dangerous; we are neither good enough to make a good world, nor evil enough to protect ourselves in a bad world. We can not be de-

brutalized unless we are ready to go and become Christianized. The failure of today indicates that in the world of tomorrow democracy must take a purer form. The Treaty of Versailles was neither harsh enough nor too harsh. Wars never settle anything; they only provide the chance to settle things. Wars never decide who is right; they only decide who is left. For awhile we will have to go back before we can go forward again. The war has us in the situation where we have to fight, and we will pray for strength to win. But by no stretch of the imagination can we call it Christian. We have to see to it that the right people are left to carry on to the Promised Land. There must come a revolution in our thinking today. War is an absolute waste unless at its end, we can march out of it, leaving the past behind, with the vision of the Promised Land in our hands and hearts.

Dr. Roy L. Smith spoke on the subject "The Temptations of the Church," and a brief summary follows:

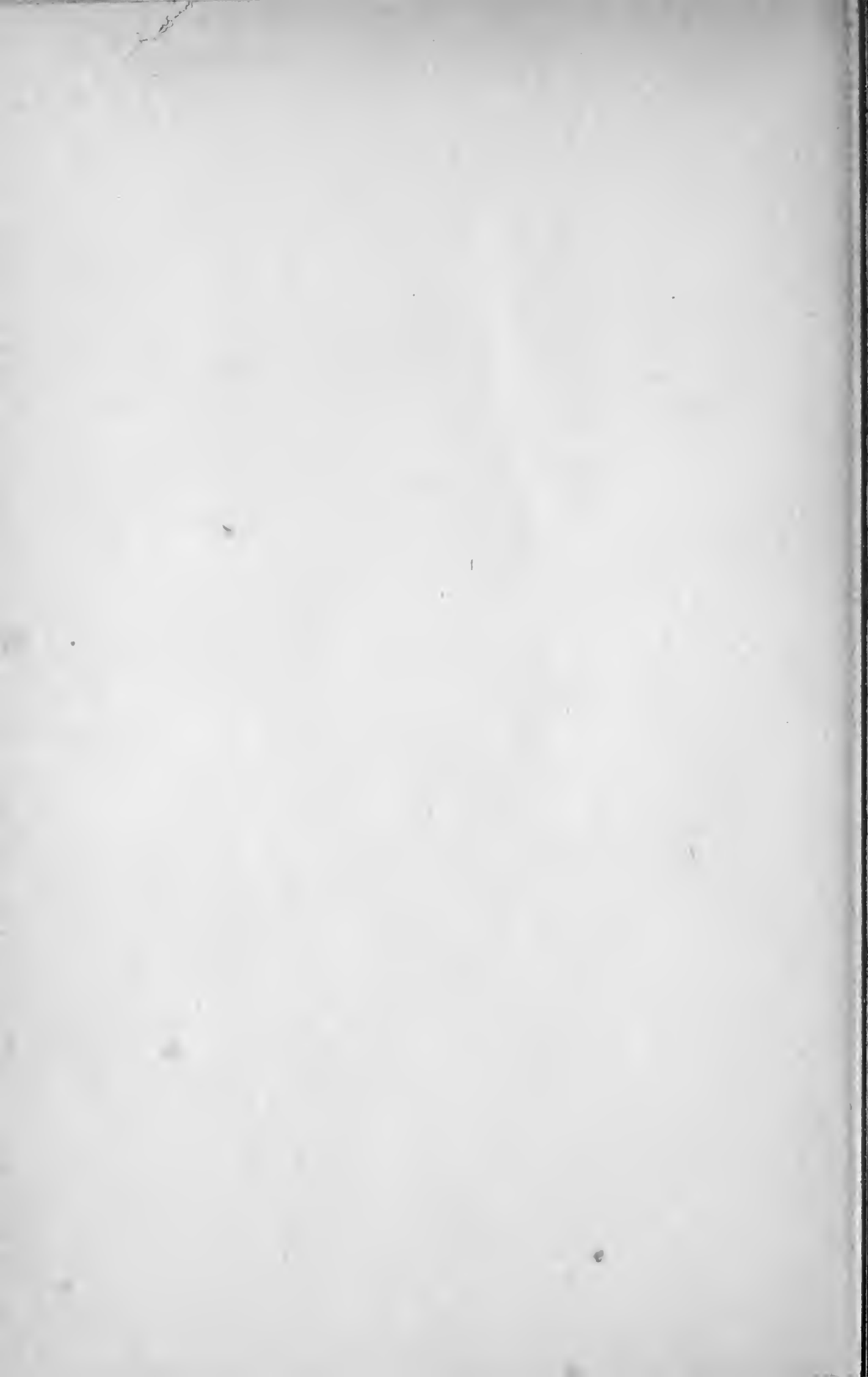
The church could have the world today, if the church wanted it on evil's terms. The pulpit of the church of Christ is not the place to preach hatred. The church could be popular if it endorsed the right people and parties. The only way by which the church can redeem the world is by the doctrine of brotherhood according to the principles of Jesus Christ. Unless this war brings about a world in which brotherhood can have a chance, it will have been fought in vain.

We could have all the world if we would follow the techniques of the dictators and the politicians. We must realize that there are things more important than material products, or we will not have solved our problem. If we sink to the level of our enemy, what have we won? It means that the Japanese way is right—that we have learned how to work their way. We are living in a moral universe. It did not come about by whim or accident. It is your Fifth Column: The government sells the soldiers whiskey with which to get drunk. The stones turned to bread—we save ourselves at the expense of the cost.

We can save ourselves many times by keeping still, but the church of God must speak out against wrongs. The desperate need of the Church today is a right spirit and a right heart.

Some of us are all the time looking for a miracle. There are people all over the world who are saying that God will solve the problem. Jesus said, "You are my witnesses." The need of this world is for usefulness of the powers we already have, not praying for more power. When men and women become infatuated with the idea that God's way is the only way, then the miracle will have come. A group of Christians getting together ought to throw the fear of God into evil somewhere. In these days of stress and strain the Church of God is only going to overcome when it has discovered its own weaknesses.









RELIGION In The Making

VOLUME II

MAY, 1942

No. 4

THE NEW LANGUAGE IN RELIGION

By Bernard Eugene Meland

THE JEWISH SETTING IN WHICH

CHRISTIANITY AROSE

By Floy S. Hyde

BETRAYAL OF YOUTH

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FLORIDA SCHOOL OF RELIGION, LAKE LAND, FLA.

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Shirley Jackson Case, Editor

Religion in the Making is published four times a year, in May, November, January and March. It is sponsored by the Florida School of Religion and edited by the dean of the School.

The subscription price is \$2.00 per year, or sixty cents per single issue. Remittances should be made by postal or express money orders or by check and made payable to the Florida School of Religion.

All communications, including business correspondence, manuscripts, exchanges, and books submitted for review, should be addressed to Shirley Jackson Case, Editor, Florida School of Religion, Lakeland, Fla.

Published by the Florida School of Religion, Box 146 Florida Southern College, Lakeland, Florida, four times a year, May 15, November 15, January 15, and March 15. Entered as second class matter at the Post Office, Lakeland, Florida.

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OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Bernard Eugene Meland is head of the department of religion in Pomona College, Claremont, California. He is a Ph. D. of the University of Chicago and the author of several books including *Modern Man's Worship*, *Write Your Own Ten Commandments*, and *The Church and Adult Education*. He has also written a number of significant articles for religious and philosophical journals.

Floy S. Hyde is a teacher of English in Florida Southern College. During the past year she has been a graduate student and an assistant in the Florida School of Religion.

William S. Minor is Professor of religion on the Westminster Foundation in the Bible College of Missouri, which is the School of Religion at the University of Missouri. He pursued graduate studies at the University of Chicago where until 1935 he served two years as an associate to Dean Charles W. Gilkey of the University of Chicago Chapel.

Mary E. Andrews is head of the department of religion in Goucher College. She holds the Doctor's degree from the University of Chicago, and she is the author of a volume on *The Ethical Teaching of Paul*, as well as of various articles in scholarly journals.



THE NEW LANGUAGE IN RELIGION

By *Bernard Eugene Meland*

Pomona College

Claremont, California

Much that is being written in philosophy of religion today is unintelligible to the lay reader. He may think it is because his mind does not follow deep thought readily. He may be right in his case; but not all of the difficulty is with him. Part of it arises from the radical change of meaning in the fundamental concepts of religion. For in its contemporary philosophical form, religion speaks a new language. It is the language of dynamic process. Its vocabulary is filled with words and phrases such as *interaction, creativity, environing activities, adjustment, flux of experience, empirical reality, growth, fulfilment*, etc. In this language, man's chief end is to grow and to fulfil his life upon the earth.

This was not the language of the *old time religion*. Our fathers spoke of change, but they mentioned the word with proud lips. "Change and decay in all around I see," they sang, "but Thou who changest not, abide with me." In this world of thought, man sought escape from the world of change, not fulfilment through its process. God, rather than being a reality in the creative process, was a being above and beyond the temporal scene of change.

I.

The preference for a static deity is a very old habit of thought in western philosophy. It goes back at least to Plato. Plato developed a theory of the universe in which the contrast between rest and motion became focal. Constancy and flux characterized for him two diverse realms. On the one hand, there was the world of every-day experience in which change and perishing were dominant tendencies: on the other was the realm of eternal forms or ideas which were changeless and fixed.

This changing character of the world of experience was for Plato evidence of its unreality. The changeless quality of the world of ideas was a guarantee of its genuine reality. In this view of the universe, Plato portrays God as an intermediary Being who rescues man's rational soul from the life of flux by influencing him to aspire to association with the static world of eternal forms.

Aristotle removed the stigma of unreality from the world of common experience, but he failed to give it genuine significance; for he identified God with Plato's Supreme Good, which remained, as in Plato's thought, distantly removed from these common scenes of flux and change. In Plotinus this separation was made more complete by a view of intelligence and a view of deity which could only lead to the conclusion that the divine realm was inaccessible to human intelligence. Augustine struggled to meliorate this estrangement by introducing into the Neo-platonic picture the Hebrew conception of a personal God of history, a deity with whom men might commune in person, provided they came within the orbit of His being. But the orbit of God was a static order above the world of change; and man attained identification with it at the price of becoming alienated from the world of experience.

We are accustomed to saying that in the time of Thomas Aquinas, when medieval theology discovered Aristotle, there was a sharp turning away from the Platonic tradition which had dominated Christian thought since Augustine; but we should not let this assertion obscure the fact that the revival of Aristotle in the philosophy of Aquinas did not eliminate Platonic elements which had persisted in the thought of Aristotle. One of these elements was the concept of a static deity, operating above the realm of change. To be sure, Aristotle's doctrine of *teleology*, which reappears in Aquinas, brought the world of flux and the eternal order into more intimate association than had ever occurred in the Platonic universe; but this did not alter the basic pattern of thought which placed deity outside the world of change.

The age of mathematical rationalism which produced the systems of Descartes and Spinoza returned the conception of deity to a static nature nearer to the mathematical pattern of Plato. For Spinoza, in fact, God was the mathematical order of the universe. "Whatever the difference between his God and the God tradition," writes H. A. Wolfson in *the Philosophy of Spinoza*, "Spinoza seems to say at the beginning of this new chapter in the *Ethics* that his God does not differ from the traditional God in the matter of eternity." It is true that Spinoza used the word *eternal* in at least three senses, but when applied to God, he, himself, said "Eternal" can mean only immutable.

Despite their differences, then, the generations of thinkers from Plato to Spinoza were influenced in their thinking upon God, and upon other matters pertaining to religious concerns, by one underlying assumption: That assumption was that the basic reality of the world was a mathematical reality. Until fairly recent times, all philosophic thought in the west subscribed to this mathematical picture of reality, and was therefore shaped by it. Hence the portrayals of ultimate reality have represented God as a static being, and the things of supreme value, as static, unchanging realities. The result has been, as Whitehead has said in *Modes of Thought*, that "the most evident characteristic of our experience has been dismissed into a subordinate role in metaphysical construction." Whitehead continues:

"We live in a world of turmoil. Philosophy and religion, as influenced by orthodox philosophic thought, dismiss turmoil. Such dismissal is the outcome of tired decadence. We should beware of philosophies which express the dominant emotions of periods of slow social decay. Our inheritance of philosophic thought is infected with the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, and with the decadence of eastern civilizations. It expresses the exhaustion following upon the first three thousand years of advancing civilization. A better balance is required. For civilizations rise as well as fall. We require philosophy to

explain the rise of types of order, the transitions from type to type, and the mixture of good and bad involved in the universe as it stands self-evident in our experience."

The key to modern metaphysics is to be found in this concluding sentence of Whitehead's. The modern philosopher is concerned with the story of *emergents* and *transitions* and *fulfillments*. In short, with the story of process. And he is concerned with understanding the deep-lying spiritual problem that is raised by the inescapable inseparableness of good and evil discerned in a world in process. Hence the thought-climate of philosophy and religion has changed. Instead of a God who "changest not," the modern philosopher has come to know a God who makes all things new. And in that incessant creativity, he seeks to find the meaning of his own existence, and the meaning of all that is.

II.

This *temporalizing of the Chain of Being*, as Professor Lovejoy puts it, was one of the principal happenings in eighteenth century thought. Seeds of a new view of deity in the role of a Creative Power, he suggests, are to be found in the writings of Leibniz, Kant, Robinet, and Schelling. But they are only seeds. The new orientation of deity as a creative working in the temporal-spatial world was to develop increasingly in the nineteenth century, and to emerge as a great ground-swell in our own day.

Yet this development was to be overshadowed throughout the nineteenth century and the early years of the present one by a venture in philosophy in which basic reality was conceived neither as a static being nor as a creative participant in the world process. Between the era initiated by Plato and concluded, shall we say, by Spinoza, when deity was viewed as static being, and the very recent era, stands the Great Interlude—Idealism. The prophetic voice of this Great Interlude was Immanuel Kant. His *Critique of Pure Reason* cut through the steel strands that held together the mighty structures of the rational era. The falling of these rational towers of Babel rendered the objective

and the subjective worlds apart. Man was left with his own consciousness. The *thing-in-itself* hovered over him as a mysterious unknown, now become unknowable.

The agnosticism and subjectivism of subsequent years took its rise, there can be no doubt, in this decisive critique by Kant. But there was to rise from it also a most amazing development in quite an opposite direction. When Kant intimated that "the mysterious unknown, concealed behind the phenomena of sense, might possibly be identical with the unknown in ourselves," he opened up a path of thinking that was to lead to enormous speculative consequences. This was to lead to Absolute Idealism. Although Kant failed to carry out the implication of this seed idea, other German idealists, especially Fichte, and later Schelling and Hegel, were to make it the basis for their impressive systems of thought. Here the human ego became the key to understanding the Absolute Ego. In Fichte and Schelling the Absolute is still transcendent; but in Hegel, deity becomes completely immanent. As one contemporary writer states it, "If we mean by God the being transcending human reason, then Hegel is the most atheistic of philosophers since no one is more emphatic in affirming the immanency and perfect knowableness of the absolute." (Weber and Perry, *History of Philosophy*)

While Absolute Idealism may appear to be a further stage in "temporalizing the Chain of Being" it was not really so. Rather, it represents a departure from that tendency. One might even go so far as to say that when all things are considered, the world of deity swallows up the world of temporal existence in the philosophy of Absolute Idealism. All is resolved in the Absolute Ego; hence existences have no reality of their own, really. Every existent thing is but a facet of the Absolute.

One recognizes in the philosophy of both Royce and Hocking an earnest attempt to bring a more empirical content into the concept of the Absolute. This applies more particularly to the later stages of Royce's thought. Hocking's view of God as the Absolute Knower known directly through sense experience

whose character gives reality to all social experience and to nature, brings Absolute Idealism to the threshold of Empiricism. It is the nearest, in fact, that any Absolute philosophy comes to a recognition of the empirical datum.

It would be an interesting study to trace through the turns of thought in philosophies which have reacted against Absolute Idealism in the sense of denying the Absolute Ego. What one would find, I am sure, is that in these instances, there was little more than a reduction of capital letters to small case letters all along the line, leaving the human ego the substitute for deity with accompanying postulates of Idealism concerning the human consciousness remaining. Is it possible that the religious humanism arising out of pragmatism and, for that matter, the humanistic emphasis that has always been manifested in the Instrumentalism of John Dewey, are but reactions against the concept of the Absolute Ego, without, however, any fundamental modification of the primary premise of Absolute Idealism? Instead of speaking of Religious Humanism as a *truncated supernaturalism*, we might rather speak of it as a truncated Absolute Idealism. This at least would get at the philosophical peculiarities of this position, and throw some light, I am sure, upon issues that now divide The Religious Humanists and the New Theists of the naturalistic group.

III.

Returning, now, to the main argument of our survey, if the seeds of the new orientation of deity were evident in eighteenth century philosophies, the forthright expression of this identification of deity with the temporal passage of events occurs for the first time in the writings of Bergson, and becomes full-blown as a naturalistic theism in the organismic philosophy of the British group, including Whitehead, C. Lloyd Morgan, Jan Smuts, and S. Alexander. In this country, development toward a naturalistic theism has come to fruition in the writings of Henry Nelson Wieman. A more detailed analysis of the rise of this new naturalism and its general outlook may now be given.

Prior to the nineteenth century, naturalism was hardly anything more than a protest against the supernatural in the name of reason; or, in its sentimental form, a romantic effort to soften the shock of rationalism through emotional rapport with the world of nature. The turn toward a genuine naturalism began with the writings of Lamarck, but did not significantly shape philosophical conceptions until the publication of Darwin's *Origin of the Species* in 1859. During the decades immediately following this event, philosophical pictures of the world, based upon the evolutionary theory, began to take shape. These early naturalistic philosophies could not possibly go beyond the agnosticism of Herbert Spencer, for they were premature generalizations upon the newly discovered facts of the physical sciences. The decade of the eighteen seventies might well, in fact, be regarded as the peak of the materialistic era.

The philosophical beginnings of the new naturalism, as Whitehead has pointed out in *Science and the Modern World*, date back to the closing decades of the nineteenth century when "the notion of mass was losing its unique preeminence as being the one permanent quantity." Energy displaced matter as the fundamental concept. Mass became a name for "a quantity of energy considered in relation to some of its dynamical effects." At the close of the century, orthodox materialism, which up to that time had reigned supreme, was being rapidly undermined.

Whitehead attributes to William James the inauguration of the new stage in philosophy in the publication of his essay, "Does Consciousness Exist?", which first appeared in 1904 in *The Journal of Philosophy, Psychology, and Scientific Methods*. In this essay, James denied that the word "consciousness" stands for an entity and insisted that it connotes a *function*. In so doing, says Whitehead, James was challenging a conception of the mind which had been initiated by Descartes in his *Discourse on Method*, published in 1637, thus bringing to an end a philosophical period which had undergirded scientific materialism for two hundred and fifty years. The full import of this decisive step away from materialistic naturalism becomes

clearer when one realizes that with James, philosophy moved beyond the habit of thinking in terms of physical notions and entered upon an era in which physiology was to provide its basic language.

While James must be credited with initiating the method of thinking that was to create the new naturalism, the introduction of the physiological language into philosophy must be attributed to Bergson, whose memorable volume *Creative Evolution*, published in 1911, stands as the pioneer work in evolutionary naturalism. How close James and Bergson were in their pioneering thrusts in this direction can be appreciated best by perusing their exchange of letters. Bergson and James both reacted against the mathematical view of the world in favor of a philosophy drawn from concrete experience. Their differences doubtless arose, as Professor Perry has suggested in his *The Thought and Character of William James*, from the fact that James took Darwin as his scientific guide, while Bergson preferred to follow Lamarck. Bergson chose Lamarck rather than Darwin on the grounds that the former's view of evolution provided an explanation of the adaptation of organisms, enabling different parts and different combinations of causes to effect similar results. The explanation of this convergence of effects he found in an inner directing principle which the Lamarckian interpretation admitted, and which the Darwinian view did not. This no doubt accounts for the more subjective and mystical character of Bergson's thought, as compared with James' radical empiricism.

Bergson is best remembered for his exciting doctrine of the *elan vital*, and perhaps for his theory of the intellect, which made of mind little more than a candid camera; but more important than either of these, and more lasting in its impression upon modern philosophical and religious thought, was his concept of time, for which he used the term *duration*. It is common to amplify Bergson's meaning of duration by saying that he conceived of time as indivisible and thereby unmeasurable; but a more positive way of stating it is to say he viewed time as organic, a rich medium of multiple experience in which

life spans were moving toward fulfilment, in which events of creation and dissolution were forever happening, and in which seasons changed, tides turned, and civilizations rose and fell with the imperceptibility of growth itself. In fact, the term *growth* has come to replace Bergson's term *duration*, and rightly so; for it gives to this concept the dynamic and creative character which Bergson really intended.

The full import of this amplified view of time as duration and growth has not, it seems to me, been sufficiently recognized. Having become so accustomed to the pragmatists' dismissal of metaphysical reality in the empirical dictum, *reality is what it is experienced as*, which brings to mind a truncated view of reality, we are inclined to look upon every naturalistic theory of life as another form of truncation. Naturalism means ignoring the superstructure, so we assume. Or one says, empiricism is empiricism, however differently dressed. But this is not true. The empiricism of pure experience which arbitrarily ascribes boundaries to reality for philosophical purposes, as was done in pragmatism, is bound to lead to a humanistic basis for religious thought, in which the reality *experienced* becomes, in fact, *human* reality, specified as the concourse of human minds, or the social environment. Dissatisfied with this humanly circumscribed reality in its truncated form, one might, as did James, hold open the possibility that the higher human phase of experience is "coterminous and continuous with a MORE of the same quality, which is operative in the universe outside of him, and which he can keep in working touch with, and in a fashion get on board of and save himself when all his lower being has gone to pieces" (*Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 508). Or he may proceed to enlarge the meaning and importance of the human environment, to give it heroic dimensions, and to cherish it as a rare and precious spiritual fruition of earth forces in the vast and desolate spaces of cosmic wastelands. Empiricism in this truncated form has always led back to some compromised theory of dualism, or to a more rash relinquishment of superhuman meaning in the universe.

The empiricism which stems from Bergson's view of dura-

tion, and which finds formulation in the new philosophic amplification of growth, has abandoned this truncation view once and for all. It has always seemed to me that the chief significance of Wieman's work, especially in his book, *Religious Experience and Scientific Method*, lay in his giving decisive and clear expression to this turn of thought in empiricism. He cut through the rather insulated view of pragmatism and came to terms, head on, with the issue dividing naturalistic and supernaturalistic thought. One way of stating it is to say that he let go of supernaturalism in a way that enabled him to embrace a full-orbed naturalism. Hence, the tendency to shunt off metaphysical problems, with its truncating effects, so evident in pragmatism and humanism, has given way in Wieman's thought to a fresh and forthright empirical approach to the whole of objective reality as it impinges upon man's world. I think this comes out most clearly in passages in his *Religious Experience and Scientific Method* where he attempts to move beyond the position of William James. To the suggestion that in order to have access to the spiritual world we must turn away from the material world, Wieman exclaims, "No! That is the pitiful blunder that always leads to confusion—the path that leads out into the morass where nothing but dreams and will-o'-the-wisps can be found. . . . If the spiritual is to be found at all," he insists, "it must be found in and through the material. The same senses that reveal the material must also reveal the spiritual. And, in fact, is that not very plainly the way in which we become cognizant of, say, other human minds which are spiritual entities, if the word spiritual has any significance at all."

One should not infer from this statement that Wieman's religious naturalism stems from the philosophy of Bergson. His religious thought may best be described as the confluence of the two streams of empiricism, issuing from Bergson, through the organic philosophies of Whitehead and others, and the empiricism of William and John Dewey. His repudiation of Bergson's anti-intellectualism indicates a fundamental divergence from his view; yet this should not blind one to affinities between Bergson's concept of duration and Wieman's use of

the term growth. Both men see in the events of experience operations that carry mystical overtones, beyond the biological concept. While Bergson was content to leave the matter with a modified vitalistic explanation, Wieman is concerned to give the concept growth more definitive meaning in terms of sub-human and human operations, and operations that go beyond both these areas. But the pattern of thinking, in each case, remains the same, as distinct from that which underlies the philosophy of Dewey, Ames, and other pragmatists.

This observation may throw light upon differences that divide Wieman and Ames. Many noted a kinship between their views; yet each of these two men is aware that their positions do differ. Wieman senses in Ames a humanistic bent; Ames sees in Wieman's view a survival of the habit of spatializing deity. Both men are justified. For Ames' thought is essentially grounded in the humanistic soil of pragmatism, though he has sought to go beyond humanism, employing the conceptualist method for defining his theistic position. This has given him a concept of God which gives focus to recognized social values that have religious import, but a God that has conceptual meaning only, not existential implications; although, of course, the values so idealized do exist and genuinely affect the course of things. Wieman, on the other hand, as we have said, holds to the conception of a deity that is designative, a reality whose operations, in a minimum way, can be specified and recognized. Thus, while many of their terms are alike, and, in so far as fundamental human values are concerned, their religious interests converge, their philosophic positions differ markedly.

The spiritual, then, if, as Wieman says, it is to have any meaning at all, becomes the rich-fullness of experience that is ever potential with new meaning and new actualization as human life yields to the creativity that shapes it toward yet-unrealized ends.

This is close to the humanistic theism expressed in Dewey's *A Common Faith*, but it differs at the point where religious naturalism goes beyond pragmatism, namely, in the recognition

of operations in this flux of experience, making for the actualization of value, which are more-than-human functionings, more than man's purposes, more than the fruits of human imagination. In *The Growth of Religion* (pp. 327-28), Wieman writes:

"Growth which is creative synthesis is superhuman. The outcome of creative synthesis can never be foreseen by the human mind until after instances of the same kind of synthesis have been observed. It is never the work of human mind. It occurs spontaneously when the required conditions are present. All growth is of this sort. It is superhuman although men can and often do provide the conditions which are required for the miracle to occur."

Man's part in growth, according to Wieman, is to provide the required conditions under which growth might occur. Then, as a gardener, he waits in wonder to watch the miracle happen.

IV.

In a philosophy of Religion in which God and growth have become inseparable and indistinguishable, the language of religion not only takes on new words, but gives to old words new meaning. Religious naturalists have argued among themselves as to whether religious thinking is served better or worse by attempts to salvage old terms that have become freighted with precious meaning; or, whether religion would not be better served by striking out boldly, in the interest of clarity, to fashion a new language altogether. It is clear that they cannot avoid creating new terms. With what has the old religion to do with words like *concretion*, *creativity*, *the growth of connections*? One can find their counterpart in terms like *incarnation*, *creator*, *the work of love*, or *the Holy Spirit*; but what worlds apart in meaning! Much that is not meant becomes implied; much that is meant, is uncommunicated.

Similar objection may be made to clinging to old terms even where comparable meanings are more evident, as in the terms *God*, *sin*, *salvation*, and *prayer*. Wieman has argued for

their continued use with some persuasion, saying that we are doing no differently here than we have done as a matter of course in other areas of thought. Have we abandoned the word Earth because we came upon the discovery that it is spherical instead of the flat disc the ancients thought it was? Have we ceased speaking of the Sun because, with the vanishing of solar faiths, we no longer ascribe powers of deity to it? No, we have continued to use these terms, adjusting our understanding of them to the meanings we now know them to have. So with these ancient words of the religious vocabulary: There must still be a word to designate that Reality upon which man and all life depends for its maximum support and growth. Whether or not we ascribe to it all that the ancients attributed to it, we may still call it *God*, says Wieman. There must still be a word to express that hideous and dark vein in man's nature that makes him recalcitrant and resistant to the growth of good. We may not wish to bring into our meaning the mythology of ancient lore, but we may still call this tendency by the age-old word, *Sin*. Likewise, there must still be a word to describe what takes place when this recalcitrance and resistance is overcome, so that men yield to the working of that creativity which is God, becoming transformed in character and purpose, and empowered with capacity to embrace a new life of meaning and value. It would be a mistake to suggest that by this experience one has become uprooted from the world of sense, and destined toward another world of spirit, as was thought in ancient times; yet the world *Salvation*, divested of this ancient meaning, may still express this new birth that transforms life and makes it new.

This is not the place to raise the question whether or not this procedure in religious naturalism is justified or sound. We are interested here merely to record the fact that while the new orientation of religious thought has given rise to a new language in religion, there is strong insistence in the direction of retaining old terms, enlarging their meaning, through explanation where possible, but more important, by associating them with activities and habits that accomplish the religious end that is sought.

Where this is accomplished satisfactorily, however, we have

a new language, whether we use the same words or not. That is to say, we communicate meanings that differ from the meanings of the older faith. Commitment to God, for example, becomes identification with an operation in this world of sense, superhuman though it may be, not disdain for these earthly hills. Being *saved*, yes, being *saved through grace*, implies being released to participate with fuller sensory powers in this wide, wide planetary life, not being rescued from this earthly pilgrimage.

If, then, the result of our communication, when intelligently and satisfactorily achieved, conveys new meaning and accomplishes a new orientation for pursuing a significant life, the question arises, is anything really gained, or is something probably lost, by this conscientious effort to speak in a familiar tongue?

What is gained, obviously, is that it renders this new meaning communicable to masses of people for whom the new language would be utterly unintelligible. And this points to a familiar process, one that has generally followed upon the work of new prophets in religion where fresh insight has been disclosed: namely, the process of accommodation. In such adaptation, the new has been absorbed into the old in such a way that it ceases to be new, and becomes only a fresh and different exposition of the familiar theme. This has occurred over and over again in religious movements. It is what occurred in the rise of popular adaptations of religious innovations that resulted in Mahayana Buddhism, in popular Hinduism, and in the Catholic Christianity of common men. In all these instances, the fresh insight of a religious movement was accommodated to a social mind which could not, or would not, respond to innovation.

It would seem that wherever there is innovation in religious thinking, periods of accommodation follow in which new insights become clothed in a familiar language. There is some evidence that religious empiricism, in the new form that it is taking among theistic naturalists, is entering upon the early stage of such a period of accommodation. If this process con-

tinues, rapprochement between Christianity and the new naturalism might very well develop, and a new chapter in the growth of popular Christianity will have been written. The disturbing question that follows upon this suggestion is, Can the new language which has temporarily arisen, and which gives zest to creative thinking in religion, survive this accommodation? It has not done so in historic faiths. And this may indicate that language cannot continue or develop in any permanent way, even as tools of inquiry, apart from a cultus or some organizational group. Yet, if freshness of insight is to survive accommodation, if a sharp edge of inquiry is to persist so as to continue exploration along the new frontier of faith, the new language in religion must be kept alive. For in its defined meaning, and only through use of its clarified concepts, can a growing edge of religious truth be maintained.

THE JEWISH SETTING IN WHICH CHRISTIANITY AROSE

By Floy S. Hyde

Florida Southern College

Lakeland, Florida

In Palestine

Probably no part of the Roman empire showed less promise, or gave smaller hope of large outpourings, than did the little land of Palestine. Crowded into a hilly, although fruitful, strip of land at the eastern end of the Mediterranean, with Syria and Phoenicia to the north and west and Arabia and the great desert to the south and east, its total territory was not more than one hundred and fifty miles in length or more than ten thousand square miles in area. With no seacoast in its permanent possession, only the Lake of Galilee and the Dead Sea, with the river of Jordan flowing from the life of one to the death of the other, afforded the inhabitants of the land any sort of waterway or fishing grounds.

Far from being the land of peace and plenty envisioned by the hardy wayfarers from the desert, Palestine had proved to their descendants only a pawn of the empires, passed back and forth among them with little regard to the rights or wishes of the persons involved. Small wonder that the Jews at the time of Jesus regarded their situation as desperate and looked with eager eyes for the day of deliverance which they felt must surely be at hand.

Historical Background

From the kingship of David early in the tenth century, B. C., a time of relative attainment of the great ideal, to the first part of the second century, B. C., when the Maccabean revolution had once more given the little nation temporary political independence, the years had been a succession of war, exile, hardship, and broken hope.

But, from 135-104 B. C., under the leadership of one John Hyrcanus, the little land of Judea was able to extend its borders and its distinctively Jewish mode of life with rather comforting success. Idumea on the south, and Samaria and Galilee on the north, were gradually taken over, although only in the latter were the Jews and their rites of worship ever given any real reception. However, the territory of Perea, just east of the Jordan and in the southern portion, became predominantly Jewish. These three units—Judea, Galilee, and Perea—made up the Holy Land proper; the allegiance of all adjoining territories was a political acknowledgment only and without lasting intention.

Even this somewhat qualified theocracy was not for long. While the period had been the nearest approach to the greatly anticipated Kingdom of God since the time of David, internal disloyalty and strife soon took the inevitable toll, and in 63 B. C. Palestine fell into the hands of the Romans. After a three months' siege the wall of the city of Jerusalem was broken; on the very Day of Atonement Pompey and his legions rushed into the temple, slaughtering even the priests at the altar. It is said that twelve thousand Jews fell in the attack and that large numbers of captives were carried off to the capital at Rome, where they unwittingly raised the Jewish colony to great importance for the days to come. Pompey stripped Judea of most of its territory and made the remainder subject to his representative in Syria, Scaurus.

However, with the death of Pompey and the coming to power of Caesar, many of the privileges were restored to the Jews. They were freed from supporting Roman soldiers or furnishing auxiliaries; their tribute was reduced during the sabbatical year; the possession of Joppa was restored to them; the walls of Jerusalem were rebuilt; religious customs were fully guaranteed, not alone in Judea, but in Alexandria and elsewhere; and the Jews were termed "confederates" of the Romans.

It was no ordinary man who came to the throne in the person of Herod the Great (37-4 B. C.). He was an astute ruler, able to keep in check a headstrong people and at the same

time maintain the friendship of Augustus; he was a builder of cities, a Roman man of the world, and the fearless guardian of the Arabian frontier. He considerably increased the boundaries of his Kingdom, and in the management of his foreign affairs he proved little short of genius itself. Only Cleopatra of Egypt remained an enemy whom he failed either to overcome or to placate. During his regime Hellenism increased rapidly; Jerusalem itself had its theater, amphitheater, and games, although all pious Jews held themselves rigidly aloof from these pagan accoutrements. While Herod was tireless in promoting the development of his seaports, his cities, his temples, his castles, his military operations, he did not fail to protect the Jews in their religious independence. Even his enemies could plead little against him beyond severity in the interests of order.

However, with his death the rule passed to three of his sons, and the period of at least partial national unity was ended. Archelaus came into authority over Judea, which was separated from its sister states of Perea and Galilee and joined to two with which it had little sympathy, Samaria and Idumea. His rule was so completely unsatisfactory that he was ultimately deposed and the territory given over to a Roman procurator. Galilee and Perea were more fortunate in their ruler, Antipas, who on the whole did a very creditable piece of work, although regarded with the highest disdain by the Jews over whom he had been put in authority.

Political Situation

The province of Judea, with its three districts—Judea, Samaria, and Idumea—was designated as an imperial province of the second rank, governed by a procurator who was primarily a fiscal agent whose office naturally kept him at the head of the administration of the taxes and the customs. The taxes were collected by imperial officials, but the customs were "farmed." They were of wide variety indeed—export duties, salt—and the privilege of collecting same was sold to the highest bidder. The man who actually did the collecting was the hated import duties, bridge and harbor duties, market taxes, tax on

publican of the New Testament, cordially despised for his very general practise of extortion and misrepresentation.

The procurator also had military and judicial duties which easily placed him in actual control of all his territory. In the latter he had the power of life and death, except when formal protest was made to the Emperor in case of a Roman citizen. But it is unlikely that he exercised the authority to any great extent, as most cases of importance were doubtless settled in the great Jewish Sanhedrin at Jerusalem. Of all the procurators, Pontius Pilate is probably the best known, not merely from the gospels but from Philo and Josephus. Although described by the former as of an "unbending and recklessly hard character," the fact that Tiberius, who was especially attentive to the provinces, left him in office for ten years is distinctly in his favor.

Societal Conditions

Josephus estimates that in his time there was three walled cities and two hundred and four villages in Galilee alone. The Galileans, although thorough Jews in their devotion to the Law and the Temple, were without any of the fanaticism of the Judeans. A sturdy, impulsive people, largely farmers and fishermen, their normal life and concepts were surprisingly healthy: as a people, they were given to considerable idealism and were unusually ready to accept the Messianic claims of the Judeans. But they were in more constant relations with Greek and Roman civilization, and therefore evinced a much freer and broader life than their kinsfolk to the south of them.

It is certain that Palestinian Jews were to a considerable degree conversant with the Greek language, and that Hellenism exerted a very real liberalizing influence throughout the land, especially in the fields of literature, art, music, and general modes of thought and ethics. But the result was only to tighten the requirements and increase the zeal of the loyal Jew, so that he might be constantly on guard against the threat to his religious integrity. If the heathen possessed the land politically, there was no slightest danger of any weakening in Juda-

ism, which awaited only God's good time for the establishment of His kingdom among them. The Messianic hope grew increasingly brighter and more urgent.

Although the outer picture can be quite easily recovered, the inner life of the people cannot be so readily reclaimed. Palestine was a land crowded with city upon city, bringing the Jew and the Greek closely together, even if unwillingly. Every bit of tillable soil was made to bear its crop; the hills were covered with flocks; and the Sea of Galilee was teeming with fishermen, and presumably with fish. Roman rule had the political situation well in hand, although always sharply on the lookout for incipient rebellions within its borders and intermittent raids from without. But it is evident that the great majority of the Jews did not give as complete allegiance to their laws as did the Pharisees. Many were poor people of the land, who had no time or money with which to meet the exceedingly taxing demands of the temple service. There were doubtless also many among them who waited with quiet piety for the coming of the Kingdom without all the obtrusive arrogance of the Pharisee or the Sadducee. But the legalistic spirit had been too great an element in Jewish life to be anything but revered; and despite its excesses, Pharisaism impressed indelibly every Jewish person with a sense of moral distinction and responsibility not thinkable under any other jurisdiction. However, the burden was great, and life became more and more a seemingly hopeless requirement of infinitesimal tasks and less and less a direct service of love to the father Jehovah.

The Kingdom of God

But the Kingdom which He would establish among them became increasingly the focal point of their future. For centuries they had looked forward with varying concepts to the time when God should deliver them from their oppressors; their idea of a specific leader was at first not clear, but later such seemed a necessity to a fulfillment of their dreams. He must be a man sent from God himself, a man of the branch of David; and of his Kingdom there was to be no end. The Messianic

hope was no philosophy; it was born of a national spirit, and while the property of all, was the especial possession of the Pharisees, the Essenes, and the Zealots. The Sadducees alone seem not to have been concerned.

The actual advent of the Kingdom of God was to be preceded by a period of intense suffering throughout the land and with sincere repentance and a real return to righteousness. After awesome manifestations of the physical universe, the Messiah was suddenly to appear, from whence no one knew, although some said from Bethlehem, some from Jerusalem, some from Rome itself. Then would begin a final war and judgment, from which God and his angels would emerge triumphant for all time. This judgment would mark the end of that age and the beginning of the "Age to come," with Jerusalem, perhaps even a new Jerusalem from heaven, as its center. Peace would prevail, the righteous dead would be raised, and God's glorious Kingdom would become an actuality on earth.

In most cases the Messiah was evidently thought of as a human king, especially chosen and fitted by God for the establishment of his Kingdom; in the early days he was seldom connected with the divine, and only once or twice is he described as having pre-existence with God himself.

But all ethical and philosophical views were confined largely to the literary and the refined; the conception of the masses was quite different. They little considered the matter of repentance or righteousness; they looked for a warrior, perhaps a Christ who would work miracles, but only when he had summoned the Jews to arms and rebellion. And it is in this aspect of the religious development of the Jews that we find a basis for an understanding of their first conception of Jesus of Nazareth—in the role of the Jewish Messiah who would lead by force out of present difficulties into a new day.

Ultimately the Jewish people came to cherish two ideals for the Kingdom: on one hand, an earthly military manifestation such as envisioned by the average Jew; on the other hand, a Kingdom attainable only through moral and spiritual regeneration. In the latter case the Prince of Peace would return speed-

ily, at a moment when they knew not, to establish the true Messianic Kingdom with Jerusalem as its center.

*Conflicting Ideas Regarding the Attainment
of the Kingdom*

It is scarcely to be supposed that there could be any real agreement among people so diversified in their occupations and customs as were the inhabitants of Palestine. A very large number of persons were tillers of the soil, giving themselves entirely to the production of the surprisingly large number of products which the fertile land and mild climate made possible. The countryside was thickly planted with olive and palm trees; honey was produced in large quantities; grapes, corn, and dairy products were abundant. Galilee was especially rich in the quality of its soil; only Perea was largely unproductive, although even there vineyards were not unusual.

Difficult as it would have been to induce the rich owner of fertile fields to agree with his menial farm-hand upon a common program for the establishment of the new order, it would have been even more of a problem to bring city-dwellers into any sort of concord. Even the smallest of the villages of Galilee is reported as having from ten to fifteen thousand in population. Sepphoris, a prosperous business center, was the capital of Galilee in the time of Jesus, and was second in importance in Palestine only to Jerusalem of Judea. The fact that it was only an easy hour's walk from Jesus' home in Nazareth makes it of especial interest to present-day students. Capernaum was the most important city on the Sea of Galilee, although many other names have become familiar—among them Bethsaida, Magdala, Gamala, and Chorazin. Every type of urban interest was doubtless represented in these flourishing centers, and the extremes of wealth and position represented by the high official and the wretched slave could hardly be made compatible in idea or requirement.

In addition to the Jewish elements of Palestine, both rural and urban, there was a very considerable foreign population. The ten cities known as Decapolis were the direct outgrowth

of Greek colonization efforts following Alexander the Great. While subject to Rome, they retained their Greek characteristics in every particular. And the Roman, although in Jewish territory for the first purpose of taking care of governmental affairs, nevertheless exerted an exceedingly wide influence through his customs, language, forms of entertainment, and certainly his religion. Graeco-Roman influences were to be seen on every hand: no greater evidence could be given than the effort to offset such by those purists of the Jewish faith who ever increased their restrictions and their requirements for the faithful among them. But even so, there was at least one Synagogue in Jerusalem, perhaps more, where the service was conducted in Greek for the special benefit of those Jews who had lived in foreign lands so long as to be unable to return to a free use of their native tongue, Aramaic. These Jews of the Diaspora were a natural and easy link between Palestine and the Gentile world and doubtless served in a certain levelling process of which they were quite unaware.

So it is not greatly to be wondered at that no common method or conception could be agreed upon regarding the Kingdom which was to come. But armed revolt against Rome was certainly not one of the methods upon which there was full concord. The Jewish life of Palestine, especially in business and cultural circles, had become too permeated with outward influence to be wholly antagonistic to the power which in many ways gave prosperity and protection.

Religious Sects

Of all the sects in Palestine, the Pharisees and the Sadducees were the most prominent. The former stressed particularly the observance of all forms and rites and looked upon the worldly features introduced by the king and his government as highly offensive. The Pharisees were interested in the sword only in defense of the faith; the real emphasis lay in complete devotion to God and the absolute observance of his law as set forth in the sacred writings. They believed that it was God's prerogative to elevate his people in his own good time. An association of purists, they stood out severely against the mixture of mo-

tives as evidenced in many of the other groups. As zealous students of the scriptures, they were popular among the faithful, whose well-being they considered their first responsibility. The Pharisees, all in all, were the largest and most important single group in the entire Palestinian world of religion.

The Sadducees gave their best attention to the courting of favor from the foreign powers or the governing authority. They did not over-exert themselves in observing the religious rites; they were wealthy priests and aristocrats, unpopular with the masses, and especially bent upon making themselves of assistance in the administration of the government.

In an earnest attempt to live in a manner pleasing to God, both as individuals and as a nation, various other groups came to have considerable significance. The "Zadokite sect" was passionately devoted to the law of Moses; its followers felt that their more specialized righteousness was highly superior to the observances of the Pharisees, and that the condition of Israel was due to its failure to keep God's requirements properly. They preached repentance and the adoption of a stricter mode of living, declaring that only through such could there ever come into being the order for which they lent every effort. The hostility between the Zadokites and the Pharisees was open and bitter.

The Essenes made up another considerable group in the religious life of Palestine in the first century A. D. Living in large groups outside the cities, which they considered unbearably wicked, they held all things in common and followed a life of restraint in every respect, practising fasting, frequent bathing, and the extreme of self-discipline. They revered Moses next to God and endured any kind of punishment rather than to violate their sacred Law. Although they would condescend to carry weapons while on a journey, the Essenes were definitely pacifists in their attitude toward other nations and governmental affairs.

General Unrest

The spirit of discontent throughout Palestine brought forth periodic attempts to force the issue with Rome. "Simon" of

Jericho and a certain "Judas" of Sepphoris were active leaders of the mob over a considerable period of years. The times of great religious festivals at Jerusalem were especially perilous; after one revolt from a great gathering, Roman authorities deemed it necessary to crucify at least two thousand persons suspected of having an active leadership in the affair. Many earnest Jews believed that God could not be expected to come to their assistance unless they themselves were willing to fight, and die if need be, for their own freedom. The youthful element of the nation was especially impatient for results and joined itself easily to any one of the various groups which promised the method of procedure most in keeping with its ideas. It was quite the usual thing for a John the Baptist to come preaching repentance and calling the righteous to follow him; and there was also nothing unusual about a Jesus of Nazareth offering a somewhat different "ology" as the proper panacea. The day was one of division, a multiplicity of parties and groups, each one with its own theories and its own plan of endeavor. It was perilous business to become actively attached to any of them, and one who dared to inaugurate or lead such a group hazarded his very life for his ideals.

A Sense of Security in the Temple

The public welfare in general could not be seriously disturbed by these semi-political groups so long as the Jewish religion maintained its ancient and honored customs, unified and embodied in the great temple at Jerusalem, which in the time of Jesus was easily one of the most splendid edifices in the Mediterranean world. Situated in a conspicuous position on the eastern hill of the city, its rectangular area was surrounded on all sides by thick, high walls. The outer court was open to the general public, but the inner court might be entered only by Jews. Closer still to the holy house itself, only male Jews could approach; only priests, or an Israelite about to make his own offering, could proceed any further. The temple itself stood on even higher ground, and only priests were permitted to enter. The altar of incense with the seven-branched candlestick and the table of shew-bread occupied the first chamber.

The "Holy of Holies" at the rear had once contained the Ark of the Covenant and was regarded by every Jew as the most sacred spot on earth.

Elaborate services were conducted morning and evening by richly apparelled priests and Levites; sacrifices were offered according to the ancient instructions; formal prayers were recited, incense burned, and a perpetual veneration offered the God of Israel. Even for the Jew who could not himself observe many of the ritualistic requirements, it was a very real satisfaction to know that others were meeting the responsibility at the sacred altar and that his offerings were making possible the continuance of the observances so vital to his well-being.

The supreme authority in both the civil and the religious affairs of the Jewish nation rested in the body of the seventy elders known as the Sanhedrin, whose place of meeting was situated on the south side of the temple area and known as the "Hall of Hewn Stone." Composed of gentlemen supposedly representing the height of legal knowledge and wisdom, with a president who might or might not be the high priest, the Sanhedrin pronounced judgments from which there was no possible appeal. Should the Roman procurator attempt to exalt himself by force above the Sanhedrin, the Jewish people only looked upon the effort as a burst of arrogance and fruitless display.

Three great yearly festivals drew to Jerusalem every Jew who could possibly make the trip. The greatest was the Feast of the Passover, celebrated in the spring on the fifteenth of the month Nisan, to commemorate the deliverance of the Hebrews from the bondage of Egypt. The elaborate observance, repeated exactly from year to year, held also a strong meaning as the symbol of God's continued favor toward his chosen people.

The support of any institution so elaborate and all-embracing as was the Temple necessarily placed a considerable burden upon every Jew. But it was a burden joyously borne, and the various and sundry requirements were met with the utmost in faithfulness. Every male twenty or more years of age was

required to pay a year's tax of half a shekel, regardless of whether he lived in Palestine itself or in the Diaspora. A "tithe," or tenth, of everything grown was paid as a regular fee, while one-fiftieth of the yield of certain other agricultural products was presented regularly to the priests.

Altogether the Temple represented a vital and very precious reality to the Jewish people, a concrete symbol of the link between the Jew and his God. Quite naturally it was looked upon as the probable spot which God would select in his own good time from which to restore his Kingdom and bring to his people the long-expected deliverance.

The Synagogue

Even closer than the Temple to the life of the common people throughout the land were the local synagogues, at least one of which was located in every village. Here prayers were offered and a hearing given to whoever might prove himself worthy to speak. The local council of elders met at the Synagogue to discharge their civic duties; criminals were tried and punishment administered, whether it meant scourging, excommunication, or even death. Young children were instructed for a period of time before attending the school proper; funds were collected; and alms were distributed to the poor. The Synagogue was in every sense the very center of small-community life.

The Law

Before any of these institutions had come into being, the sacred writings of the Jewish people had been regarded as the direct word of God himself, and throughout the centuries this reverence had been maintained. Moses was looked upon as having received the Law, which embraced the first five books of the Old Testament, directly through divine revelation. The Prophets and the Writings were only a little less revered. It is not surprising that the correct interpretation of God's word for his people should become a matter of exceeding moment. Professional interpreters known as scribes, largely the product

of the sect of the Pharisees, devoted themselves assiduously to the task. Their word was regarded as authoritative for the rendering of decisions on either civil or religious questions. The sacred book was the basis of all instruction, and even the most learned Jewish scholars who studied at foreign universities were not disposed to find any real wisdom outside of their own inherited body of literature.

In addition to the written documents, there was a large body of oral tradition, nearly as binding in its authority as the writings. In all matters in which the scriptures were not specific enough to meet the needs of current times, it became the province of the scribe to study diligently and to interpret faithfully the meaning of the law as he saw it.

Jesus and the Kingdom

Only the political area remained beyond the direct and complete control of the Jewish Law. But within their rigid and all embracing institutionalism, the Jews felt they could adequately meet any requirement of Jehovah, were their devotion only sufficiently sincere. Any reformer arising among them had a difficult road ahead if he tried to deviate in any material degree from the established procedure. It was only through appeal to his contemporaries and the winning of their approval for his ideals that he could hope for any real accomplishment.

So it was that Jesus went first to his own people with his message—a new interpretation of the meaning of the Kingdom; and so it was that he was rejected and despised as a dangerous dissenter, one wholly unworthy of his Hebrew heritage.

In the Dispersion

There is abundant evidence of Jewish population in most of the Roman provinces, but their numbers were doubtless greatest in Syria, then in Egypt, in Rome, and in Asia Minor. All around the Mediterranean—along the coast-line of Egypt, in southern Gaul, and in Spain—their influence was strongly

felt. Although exact figures do not exist, reliable estimates place one million as the probable number of Jews in Egypt. Allowing about seven hundred thousand for Palestine, and more than a million for Syria, there is no doubt that the total throughout the Empire numbered at least four and one-half million, or about seven percent of the total population under Augustus.

Individuality Maintained

Regardless of numbers or position, Jewish racialism and religion inevitably maintained itself. Wherever Jew met Jew, he regarded him as brother. Although Jewish communities existed in every large city under the protection of the ruling power, nevertheless the real loyalty and passion was toward Jerusalem and its temple. While Jews of the Dispersion were necessarily separated from the Temple and the sacrificial system in its entirety and were unable to fulfill a portion of its precepts as regarded the keeping of the Law, there was never any lessening of moral requirements. While many of their features—circumcision, Sabbath observance, the prohibition of swine's flesh—might appear to the populace as highly offensive, the masses could not fail to be impressed with the Jews' worship, without any of the accoutrements of the pagan faiths, of a deeply spiritual God.

Proselytism Developed

When one considers the intense nationalism of the race and the wall of partition which it erected between itself and all other religions, one finds it difficult to reconcile acceptably the peculiar missionary impulse which existed so clearly. The Jew felt beyond all doubt that he was intimately acquainted with the finest religion conceivable and that it was his duty and privilege to promote it wherever he went. Throughout the empire he proclaimed the one and only true God, his high moral law, and his righteous judgment. And it was only a step for Judaism to enter the ranks of philosophy and present

itself most acceptably to the Greeks as the best revealed and the most ancient of religions.

The evidence for proselyting activity dates from 139 B. C. to the early Christian empire. In fact, the rabbinic traditions and imperial laws reflect its existence well into the fourth century. We may feel assured that Judaism did not spread through natural increase of numbers within itself, or through inevitable accretion from near-by individuals or groups, but through active promotion by zealous adherents.

Naturally, groups of Jews living precariously in a foreign land had to build up a defense, inasmuch as they were resident among the Gentiles only by special privilege and as their practices ran counter to the laws of nearly every community in which they lived. It was their first duty to bind their groups together, and second, to draw as many as possible of the influential and powerful of the community into their circle, thereby softening the shock of the inevitable clashes between the various interests of the factions represented.

In every Jewish community there were, first, the Jews who were racially bound to the group with all its customs. Next there were proselytes, who are described by Philo as those who had "come over to a new and God-fearing constitution, learning to disregard the fabulous inventions of other nations and clinging to unalloyed truth." These proselytes were individuals who had "granted to them the same favors that were bestowed on the native Jews, an equal share in all their laws, and privileges and immunities." Finally, there were those known as "God-fearers"—Gentiles with varying degrees of devotion to Jewish ideas and customs. They were welcomed to the synagogues as sincere persons breaking away from paganism and were exhorted to forsake their idols and worship the one true God of the Jews, adopting at the same time the strenuous moral life required of all true followers. Incidentally, they gave substantially to the treasury. While probably relatively few Gentiles became actual proselytes, submitting to circumcision and all the requirements, it is certain that large numbers fell into the category of the "God-fearers," and that it was in this group

that Christianity found such a ready hearing.

From a religious standpoint, the Jew realized that peaceful penetration could be a most effective weapon in hastening the Kingdom of God. The legalists were naturally not in favor of lowering their standards, but as for the rest, a convert of one kind was one more trophy for Israel.

Means Employed

For all Jews in their residence abroad, as in the home land, the synagogue was the center of life. It preserved not only the unity of the Jews themselves but served as a definite evidence to all the community of the unwavering fidelity of the race, inviting Gentiles through their curiosity or earnestness to seek the one true God and the righteousness of the law of Moses. The language of instruction was the Greek, commonly understood by all Gentiles and the many Jews who had lost touch with their original Hebrew tongue.

An interesting item found in the legal notices of the first century A. D., pertaining to a transaction in the synagogue of Crimea, recounts the decree liberating certain slaves. But a condition under which the Synagogue became witness and guarantor of the freedom was that the freed men should give faithful adherence to the services of the Jewish faith. Evidently the freedom was often granted merely as a means to proselytism.

Inasmuch as the number of Gentiles who could actually attend services in the synagogues was relatively small, the Jews resorted to a literary propaganda directed to larger and more influential circles. Jewish scripture in the hands of the Gentiles came to be taken entirely for granted. Josephus represents Cyrus as engaged in reading the prophet Isaiah, and Luke's picture of the eunuch returning home from a trip to Jerusalem, reading from the prophets, is doubtless drawn from a situation which he had frequently observed.

In addition to the synagogues and the literary material there were doubtless many travelling propagandists. They may not have been actually great in numbers, but there is every reason

to believe that the method of itinerant teaching and preaching was a common phenomenon of the time, adhered to alike by the Jews of the propagandist spirit, by the pagans, and by Christians of later days.

Success Attained

While these combined efforts doubtless reached large numbers of people in all classes, it is altogether likely that the greatest success was met among the lower groups. To be a Jew meant complete separation from all other cults and the usual worldly affairs; and not many persons of importance could be expected to ostracise themselves so thoroughly from the life of which they had become part and parcel over a long period of years.

Nevertheless, the Jews of the Diaspora were frequently a powerful minority, controlling, through their religious channels, a very considerable wealth, enjoying connections of some dignity with Jerusalem, and receiving the favor of the powerful Romans. Therefore, Judaism did offer to its proselytes the prestige of its position as an influential, clearly marked and privileged social group, which must have offset in part the disadvantages of racialism and the badge of nationality which it always put upon its converts. Those without Roman citizenship doubtless found in the Jewish sect a considerable protection not obtainable elsewhere, especially the possibility of escape from military service. In order to intermarry, certain individuals of royal blood and real wealth doubtless came over frequently to the Jewish demands. Or a fortune-hunter might often have made himself acceptable in order to win a certain rich Jewess whom he admired. Superstitious fear, or fear of the very real power of the group, may have been contributing factors in other cases.

But all these were purely minor. Judaism's great success as a propagandist faith can be ascribed to little else but its moral and spiritual elements, the very real satisfactions which it had to offer in the religious world.

Harnack points out that Christianity is largely indebted to the phenomenal success of the Jewish mission which preceded it. Judaism provided a field tilled all over the empire, religious communities already formed everywhere in the towns, the "help of materials" furnished by the preliminary knowledge of the Old Testament, the habit of regular worship and a control of private life, an impressive apologetic on behalf of monotheism, and finally, the feeling that self-diffusion was a duty.

Proselytism Declines

But the very success of the Jews contained the seeds of their decline. Outsiders as they were, they could not be popular with the people among whom they lived, so long as their religious and social exclusiveness led them to take no part in the common life. Excused from military duty because of the danger of breaking the laws of the Sabbath, permitted to meet freely and to send to Jerusalem large sums of gold, regardless of local economic interests, enjoying the privileges of their own local government while getting Roman aid when needed against their fellow-townsmen, claiming their nation to be the favorite of heaven and to hold the future of the world in their hands, it is no wonder they excited the jealousy and suspicion of the rest of the world.

Above all, the Christian movement, coming out from but repudiating Judaism, contained all the elements necessary to make itself instantly popular in the pagan world. Its condemnation of Judaism for the crucifixion of Jesus was a most serious indictment. Altogether the anti-Jewish gospel tradition synchronized with the political rebellions of the Jews. Restrictive legislation put heavy handicaps upon proselyting activities. The tendency in the ancient world was away from intellectualism and high ethical demands to the more mystical and vicarious conceptions of morality: and Christianity supplied all these demands.

Hence, because of its rigid inadaptability, Judaism failed to reap the harvest of its own sowing, and Christianity entered eagerly into the field so richly prepared.

BETRAYAL OF YOUTH

By William S. Minor

The Bible College of Missouri

Columbia, Missouri

It is difficult to face the charge that we have betrayed youth by giving it a society in which collegiate clothes, cars, recreation, and education followed by normal marriage, happy family life, and constructive work are displaced by military uniforms, planes, tanks, trucks, maneuvers, and battle in a background of delayed or hasty marriage with enforced separation. It is even more difficult to accept the fact that in this society the moral values of honesty, trustworthiness, personal cleanliness, integrity, and love are increasingly displaced by legalized and commonly accepted deception, lying, stealing, prostitution, exploitation, personal and social disintegration, and hatred. It is most difficult to realize that these displacements are mere symptoms of a deeper displacement which produces these symptoms. This deeper displacement is the development and maintenance of public school systems including colleges and universities, which displace study of the existence and nature of God as the core of the curriculum by study of other values less than God as the core of the curriculum. In this profound displacement we discover our basic betrayal of youth.

Some most outstanding educators, statesmen, and religious leaders sense this betrayal and are trying to eliminate it. President Robert Maynard Hutchins, of The University of Chicago holds that the valid core of the curriculum in the modern university is natural theology. (Preface to *The Case for Theology in the University*, by William Adams Brown, Chicago, 1938). Our Honorable Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, is especially anxious concerning the present status of religion. In a recent address he said: "Humanity desperately needs today a moral and spiritual re-birth—a revitalization of religion." Thoughtful religious leaders are increasingly aware that revitalization of religion is dependent upon critical and systematic study of it,

especially at the level of higher education. Churches may afford excellent services for the worship of God, but if youth and older people as well do not have sufficient *understanding* of God, gained by disciplined study of the history, literature, and philosophy of religion, to appreciate the depth, richness, and supremacy of value discoverable in God, they will see no reason for including worship services in their way of living. The most intelligent support which the church receives from both young and old comes from those who have made most thorough study of religion. Foundations for this study can and should be laid in elementary, and secondary education, but the deeper issues of religious living found in its history, literature, and philosophy, can be studied most effectively and can be appreciated most deeply at the level of higher education as found in the college or university.

Judging merely by labels, we find almost all college and university curricula seem to imply that the world's history, literature, and philosophy are studied in all their beauty, profundity, and comprehensiveness, but thorough analyses yield startling facts. Dr. William Warren Sweet, a professor of history in The University of Chicago, has summarized (Address delivered in the University of Chicago Chapel) his findings with regard to the amount of space devoted to religion in our school histories. He has pointed out that neglect of religion is characteristic of the great American histories including the *Chronicles of America Series* in fifty volumes; McMaster's eight volumes entitled the *History of the People of the United States*; seven volumes on the slavery controversy, the Civil War, and the Reconstruction periods by James Ford Rhodes; and Oberholtzer's *History of the United States since the Civil War*. Even though religion was a main aspect of many of the issues dealt with, he shows that in none of these works has it been given adequate attention, and in some practically no attention whatever. His examination of the most widely used texts on American history revealed this same neglect. Most of them made no mention of George Whitefield or Jonathan Edwards even though Whitefield was one of the greatest of the inter-colonial leaders and Edwards was America's first great phil-

osopher, who is even yet classed by some as the greatest mind that America has produced. Professor Sweet has given the evidence showing that in main sources, in high school and in college texts, the historians have not done full justice to the part played by religion in American life. On the basis of this evidence we are forced to conclude that most departments of history are not teaching the subject profoundly and comprehensively. Therefore, youth is betrayed.

As to the study of literature, after ten years of work with university students in the field of religion, I believe that a large majority of them at graduation are not only uninformed as to the existence and nature of the seven great Bibles produced by the religions of mankind, but that they have little, if any, specific knowledge of the Bible of Christianity. Even though church supported colleges stress study of the Christian Bible more than any other area in the field of religion, many institutions of higher learning have failed to provide effective means for study and appreciation of the world's most sacred literature. When young people learn that the Christian Bible is ever the world's best-seller, that it has been translated into a thousand tongues, and that it is an incomparable anthology of living religious literature loaded with rare insights and precious meanings, they will study it if the necessary means are provided for doing so. Failure to provide these means is a betrayal of youth.

There is now a tragic need for systematic study of philosophy of religion. The traditional systems of religious belief passed on to us no longer bring to the modern mind the wealth of meaning which they brought to our ancestors. Traditional patterns of theology, like the blueprints for our grandfathers' houses, are now obsolete. The discipline of systematic study necessary for the development of modern theology is philosophy of religion. Some refer to it as philosophical theology. According to Alfred North Whitehead,

"It is the business of philosophical theology to provide a rational understanding of the rise of civilization, and of the tenderness of mere life itself, in a world which superficially is founded upon the clashings of senseless compulsion

"The task of Theology is to show how the World is founded on something beyond mere transient fact, and how it issues in something beyond the perishing of occasions. The temporal World is the stage of finite accomplishment. We ask of Theology to express that element in perishing lives which is undying by reason of its expression of perfections proper to our finite natures. In this way we shall understand how life includes a mode of satisfaction deeper than joy or sorrow." (*Adventures of Ideas*, New York, 1933, pages 218 and 221.)

In this task of theology we discover the *basic reason* for education. Theology is therefore, rightly, the core of the curriculum. The complexity of this task demands most thorough treatment by the most critical and disciplined minds. Every layman's life is dependent upon it if he is to emerge beyond the mere brute urge to live. The history and literature of religion are illuminated by it. To evade it or to place it in an insignificant position in the curriculum for university men and women is to betray youth. If we are to prevent this betrayal we must examine its causes and consequences.

Betrayal by Those Who Do Not Know What Religion Is

Youth is often betrayed by those who do not know what religion is. This may be due to failure to examine it, or it may be the result of confusion due to examination of conflicting definitions of religion. Since we do not know everything about anything, "know in part and see in part," (I Cor. 13:9) all of our definitions, including those of religion, are limited. Yet we have definitions of religion which are as accurate as our definitions of energy, atoms, cells, and the like. Religion is found in human behavior, but not in all human behavior; in that behavior which we call loyalty, but not in all human loyalty. Religion is one's loyalty to what one regards as supreme value for all men. Religion, at best, is loyalty of the total, matured self, functioning especially through one's vocation, but also through all other forms of one's behavior, to what really is supreme in value. Some are confused by definitions of religion because they confuse the definition itself with that

which the definition is meant to symbolize. For example, when we refer to God in terms of "Supreme Value," or with Professor Whitehead in terms of "concretion," some critics have said that "no one could ever pray to such a God." Such critics have not analyzed the situation sufficiently to discover that no person could pray or "communicate" intelligently with a definition. Definition of religion is a necessary guide to stating the objective of teaching in the field of religion. If we are to prevent further betrayal of youth we must know what this objective is.

The Primary Objective of Teaching in the Field of Religion

The direct, primary objective of teaching the well-established disciplines of religion is not to make the students of religion religious, but to stimulate critical study of religious behavior in the lives of men, in order that there may be growth of understanding of this behavior. Teachers in the field of religion who accept this objective do not try to make their students religious, just as teachers in the field of economics do not try to supply their students with economic goods. However, better understanding of religion gained through critical study of it contributes to the development of more intelligent religious living just as better understanding of economics through critical study of it contributes to more intelligent practices in the economic aspects of life.

Since religious behavior is loyalty to what one regards as supreme value for all men, it is clear that one's religion involves the core organization of the self, if any such organization exists. Failure to provide specific, systematic, and critical study of this central and most profound aspect of life is to offend common decency in education. Growth of civilization and culture depends directly upon critical evaluation of the object of our supreme devotion, since it is this object which gives man his primary sense of direction and destiny. If this object thought to be supreme is not supreme, education for the modern mind demands disillusionment even in one's ideas of God as well as in one's ideas of lesser values.

Some confuse the main objective of teaching with the objectives of other kinds of work done in the field of religion. Some religious agencies that do work in educational institutions have very little educational content but devote themselves to activities for inspiration, fellowship and the like. While religious inspiration and fellowship are recognized values which we do well to serve, if we allow these to be a substitute for the educational content of religion we fail to fulfill our responsibility for the advancement of profound and comprehensive education. Many sincere people with good intentions support vulgar, pathological forms of religion because they lack the education necessary to differentiate these forms from those which are intelligent and health-giving. While religion in its broad meaning is a way of life rather than a mere intellectual system of thought, failure to advance systematic instruction in religion defeats the very purpose of higher education by allowing superficial views of religion to control human conduct. This failure is betrayal of youth. William U. Guerrant, a successful university director of religious activities, says it is good to support and strengthen religious activities on all our campuses, but what students need most is to *know something* about religion. My observations lead me to believe that growth in the understanding of religion stimulates such growth of appreciation for it that students naturally and normally seek an affiliation with some religious fellowship in which the art of worship can be cultivated.

Some assume that the main objective for teaching in the field of religion is to provide educational facilities for those who expect to become professional religious leaders. In so far as this assumption, lacking in perspective, prevents future laymen from making a systematic study of religion, it creates a circular problem. Laymen uneducated in religion do not have sufficient understanding of and appreciation for intelligent religious leadership to know where to look for it, how to select it, or even to want it, much less to support it. Not until the laymen are better educated in the field of religion can ministers serve the people by preaching more profound sermons, for, as Shailer Mathews has said, "no one can be a leader unless he has fol-

lowers." This circular problem can be solved by affording every youth an opportunity to receive a good education in the field of religion; otherwise all youth are betrayed.

Areas of Study in the Field of Religion

There are teachers and administrators in educational work whose background of learning has not been sufficiently comprehensive to make them aware that there are recognized, systematic, and critical disciplines of study in the field of religion. For example, a young professor of political science in an outstanding university recently faced his situation by asking questions which revealed his almost total lack of knowledge in this regard. It is easy for such men unconsciously and inadvertently to betray youth by guidance controlled by this lack of knowledge.

There are at least the following main divisions in the field of religion which are recognized as worthy of systematic study in higher education.

1. History of Religion includes all world religions, ancient, medieval and modern, and also a comparative study of these. The historian, as such, does not evaluate or criticize religious behavior. His purpose is to describe as objectively and disinterestedly as possible the flow of religious events, movements, and institutions.
2. The Literature of Religion includes study of all seven of the great Bibles of the world's religions, even though most attention in our Western World has been centered upon study of the Old and the New Testaments of the Christian Bible. Some main tools used in the study of the literature, in addition to knowledge of various languages, are: textual or lower criticism, higher criticism, and form criticism.
3. Psychology of Religion, including both descriptive and applied psychology of religion, is analytic study of religious behavior by scientific method.

4. Philosophy of Religion clarifies basic religious concepts, examines the source and validity of religious beliefs, and studies critically the various systems of both historic and current religious thought and practice.
5. The Methodology of Religion, known as Religious Education, is study of means used for communicating and transferring religious thought and practice. It includes study of the art of worship, sacred music, missions, religious drama, sermon-making and delivery, principles, methods, and practice of teaching, administration of religious institutions, etc.

While these five areas of study are definitely established, others are being developed. For example, we find courses now being organized in the Sociology of Religion in several institutions in this country. Recognition of and appreciation for these accepted areas of study by men and women responsible for educational procedures are important factors in preventing betrayal of youth.

Identification of the Content of Religion

Some teachers and administrators of education with an apologetic rather than a straight-forward attitude toward religion betray youth by refusing to identify the content of religion when it is present. If religious problems must be discussed, its language is not used. If religious behavior is studied, they would bury its content in courses which do not deal primarily with religion. To study religion without identification of it may lead to serious consequences. To stimulate the development of religious behavior without identification of it is to make it an unconscious and therefore an unintelligent groping for the best. When religion is studied it should be studied openly, frankly, fairly, freely, critically, and thoroughly. Religion is too dangerous to be played with, for it is the most dynamic force in nature. The teacher of any aspect of it is perilously insecure unless he has technical knowledge of the whole of it, especially its history, its literature, and its philosophy. The difficulties encountered in securing

a comprehensive understanding of such a complex field are often causative factors in producing the apologetic attitude among educators who refuse to deal with the subject directly. To generalize this attitude and project it as an ideal educational procedure is betrayal of youth. Professor Henry Nelson Wieman, of The University of Chicago, has expressed recently, in an unpublished paper, the great dangers involved in such an attitude which opens the way for the development of an unconscious, and uncriticized religion. He says:

“An unconscious, unexamined, uncriticized religion will be crude, fantastic and dangerous. To put the modern tremendous powers of achievement in the hands of such a religion is like putting explosives into the hands of a maniac. Such an unconscious and uncriticized religion has developed in various countries because the gap between conscious religion and the educated mind became too great to bridge.”

Methods Used to Put the Study of Religion in the Curriculum

The variety of methods used to include the study of religion in the educational curriculum has often been sufficiently confusing to prevent the adoption of any method by interested school administrators, thereby obstructing the development of any teaching program in the field. This, too, is a betrayal of youth.

The various methods used include:

1. Religion is studied as segments of courses treating history, literature, psychology, and philosophy, generally. This method gives the least possible attention to the study of religion. Almost all of the general texts used in these fields have very few, if any, chapters dealing with religion. Almost all the teachers in these general fields have had no opportunity for graduate study of religion and are therefore incapable of dealing with whatever source material may be included in the general texts.
2. Courses are given wholly to the study of religion and are

included in the appropriate general departments of history, literature, psychology, philosophy, etc., in colleges and universities. A common weakness in the use of this method has been the inclusion of these courses in the teaching load of men who have not done adequate work to teach in the field of religion.

3. A third method involves establishment of a department of religion in the college or university. In the department all courses offered in the whole field of religion are brought together as a unit in the curriculum. This method makes it easier to organize and maintain, under the leadership of a chairman, a comprehensive and balanced curriculum.
4. A fourth method is the establishment of a school or college of religion which retains the general academic pattern of a department of religion plus financial and administrative independence with privileges of granting its own academic degrees.

My observation of situations in which these methods have been tried, leads me to believe that the departments and schools of religion are best fitted to develop and to maintain a balanced curriculum in the field with all areas, including history, literature, and philosophy, well coordinated. Distribution of the courses in religion in the general departments, or distribution of the content of religion in the general courses, all too often fail, to give sufficient attention to the study of religion to make it possible for interested students to study it either systematically or comprehensively. This is betrayal of youth.

Separation of Church and State

Another contributing factor to the betrayal of youth is an outgrowth of separation of church and state. State domination of religion on the one hand, and ecclesiastical domination of the state on the other hand have produced a long struggle which causes church and state to desire freedom from entanglements with each other. Even though we may regard this separation as a precious heritage, I see no more serious problem

facing the world than that of the relation of church and state. The difficulty in defining accurately the valid functions of each, since both deal with the same human groups, has undoubtedly caused many people to commit themselves primarily either to the one or to the other. Both are equally concerned with the development and maintenance of the social order. The basic contribution of the state to this objective is legalistic. The state is a law-making, law-interpreting and law-enforcing agency. Its dominant method for enforcement of law at present as well as traditionally is punishment prescribed for violations ranging all the way from parking one's car too far from the curb to violations of international agreements. The basic contribution of the church to this objective is religious. Religion at best sensitizes men to that supreme value in all existence which we call God. Its dominant method is worship. Through the art of worship there is stimulation and cultivation of growth of appreciation for God as best and all loyalty to lesser values is subordinated to the greatest. The pure religious act is motivated by the lure of God. Men who see God want to adjust their ways to his ways. They do not need law to remind them of duty or punishment. As effective religious functioning decreases, legal responsibility increases. Excessive dependence upon the state for securing and maintaining order necessarily yields totalitarian dictatorships which inevitably collapse under their own excessive responsibility. In this way the state destroys itself. The state, like all other agencies and institutions developed by men, is dependent on God.

Youth is betrayed when the church fails to carry its rightful responsibility and when men turn to the state as the primary agency for development and maintenance of the social order. Where religion is reduced to patriotism there is a major crisis. High religion is then displaced by Paganism in which study of God is displaced by study of politics. The distinctly different functions of the church and of the state make complete union of them both undesirable and unnecessary, but if youth is not to be betrayed by confusing these functions, creative interaction between them is both desirable and necessary. If creative interaction is to be served, parents, teachers, and administrators

must assume responsibility for education in all significant aspects of life including the religious, otherwise youth is betrayed. A basic aspect of this responsibility involves generous financial support, for first class work in religion cannot be done with inadequate salaries and shoddy materials with which to serve God.

Sectarianism

Sectarian conflicts and divisions in the world of religion are a common obstruction to the study of religion in an otherwise unified school system. These sects, with differences both in their methods and also in their content, prevent, by the very fact of their differences, a common recognition of their work by institutions which are of, by, and for *all* the people. To avoid sacrificing the unity of educational institutions on the altars of sectarian religious conflicts, and to prevent partiality toward any sectarian group, laws have been made which wisely separate tax supported education from religious sectarianism. Youth is betrayed not by the educational institutions which fail to include study of religion because of sectarian conflicts but by religious sectarianism itself.

Some religious groups which have built their own educational institutions have done so to support and extend their own sectarian approach. This, too, is a betrayal of youth in so far as sectarian bias is stimulated and fostered. Leading educators who try to eliminate bias from the educational process are rightly as suspicious of sectarian religious influence as they are of political influence, but there are religious groups which found and support educational institutions in which only scholarly, disinterested, non-sectarian study of religion is recognized; just as there are political institutions (city or state) which prevent political bias from interfering with education itself. It is this scholarly, disinterested, non-sectarian study of religion for which there is no sound basis for either academic or legal restrictions. By providing the necessary conditions for this kind of study of religion in the educational system, youth will no longer be betrayed, for sectarianism is a by-

product of our lacking first-rate education in religion.

Methods used in the Teaching-learning Process in the Field of Religion

Parents and teachers working in the field of religion, as in other fields, often betray youth by the methods they use in the teaching-learning process. There have been enough failures in this regard to cause some people to conclude that religion cannot be taught. Of course loyalty to what one regards as supreme value for all men, which we call religion, cannot be taught; for religion itself as a way of living is a process of growth. However, this does not deny the fact that the history, literature, psychology, sociology, philosophy, and methodology of religion can be taught. It is the systematic teaching of these disciplines which yields understanding of religion. We must understand it in order to provide the conditions necessary for the healthy growth of religion in life.

The "teaching-learning" process in religion fails to yield understanding when the process is an initiation of students into sentences, and paragraphs even though these be scriptural; when it is mere training of habit forms, even though these be labeled prayer; and when blind faith is cultivated even though it be faith in God. It is this kind of "teaching" which betrays youth and prevents the advancement of education in religion. The teaching-learning process in religion succeeds in yielding understanding when the process is an initiation of students into a personal and creative experience. (This conception of teaching is well presented by W. C. Bower in *Character Through Creative Experience*, Chicago, 1930.) When the teaching-learning process is a creative experience it is a powerful stimulus to religious growth.

When a person has been strongly conditioned early in life by a teaching-learning process in religion which has not been creative and in which the religious content has not been subjected to modern criticism, and when that person grows up with an increasing body of critical knowledge concerning other areas of life, except religion, one can expect such a person, who,

himself, has been betrayed, to be well fitted for betrayal of youth. In this case betrayal breeds betrayal. If this person has developed intellectual integrity which prevents his acceptance of beliefs on a basis of subjective need or personal advantage, the traditional religious beliefs of his childhood must be subject to the same rigid testing as the others or he suffers from the development of a divided mind and a divided self. We have here the paradoxical situation in which religion which is supposed to make life whole has produced the very opposite effect. It is therefore an evil kind of religion. Failure to receive any knowledge of or appreciation for any religion more mature than the uncriticized kind experienced in childhood causes him to develop a kind of "righteous indignation" which would gladly drive "religion" out of existence. Others, feeling that their early religious conditioning was very unfortunate, succeed in suppressing it and in removing it from their conscious living. This condition is the basis for much mental and emotional illness which now exists among men. Some who think they are liberated from all religion look with pity upon those who "need" it to endure the harshness of this life. They assume its value for men is like crutches for the crippled. Still others see the tremendous importance of religion, struggle valiantly with its problems, but are baffled and do not see their way through.

In addition to all these pathological and weaker efforts, there are those who study religion fearlessly by subjecting its historical data to the socio-historical method; its literary data to textual and higher criticism; and its psychological, sociological, philosophical, and methodological data to the empirical method of observation and reason. Use of these well-known and commonly accepted methods by scholars in the various areas of religion has produced a great body of knowledge which serves as the foundation for all religion regardless of traditional sectarianism and present divisions. It is the use of these accepted methods developed and refined in recent decades by the arduous labors of highly disinterested scholars which makes it possible for us to teach critically, objectively, constructively, and appreciatively in the field of religion. If we employ

teachers who have secured the available knowledge and who have developed the skills for getting further knowledge by use of these methods, they will not betray youth by failure to initiate them into an honest, enlightening, personal and creative experience through study of religion.

Conclusion

Even though there are those who hold that religion and the study of religion are already well established in education we cannot find the evidence necessary to support their views. After years of careful study of this issue, Dean Luther A. Weigle of the Divinity School of Yale University concludes:

“Yet when all is granted that may be affirmed of the influences making for sound character and religious faith in the best of our public-school systems, the fact remains that religion and education are rather sharply divorced in most American communities, and that we have departed far from the early American conception that religion should be an integral part of public education.” (Address, *Public Education and Religion*, International Council of Religious Education, 203 North Wabash Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, 1940.)

This departure is our fundamental betrayal of youth, deeper than our military betrayals and also our moral betrayals, but even this fundamental betrayal cannot destroy youth's most deeply rooted drive for connection with some Greatest, for “The great social ideal for religion is that it should be the common basis for the unity of civilization. In that way it justifies its insight beyond the transient clash of brute forces.” (Whitehead, *op. cit.*, page 221.) The youth of the present and the youth of tomorrow, the youth that is healthiest and cleanest and best in the history of man, will rise in its strength with a new vision of God to serve him with laughter and love.

SCHOLARS AND THE PARABLES

By Mary E. Andrews

Goucher College, Baltimore, Maryland

"In practice, if not in theory, criticism and interpretation are inextricably intertwined. It is as dishonest as it is silly for any historian to claim that he approaches his sources and makes his reconstructions without prepossessions or assumptions." The truth of this statement from a recent book is authenticated when scholarly work on the parables of Jesus is subjected to careful scrutiny. We have long been familiar with homiletic license in the use of parables and with its ancestor, the allegorical method. We expect popular presentations to make practical and edifying application of the parables, and many seem to lend themselves to broad generalization. But we expect the scholar to be more objective, less bound to the temper of his own time or to the claims of his own theory. Such at least is our hope.

The parables are of perennial interest. A number of books on that subject have appeared within the past decade, with differing claims to scholarly recognition. This paper attempts a brief survey of how four outstanding scholars of the century 1842-1942 interpreted the parables of Jesus. The scholars chosen are F. C. Baur, Albert Schweitzer, C. H. Dodd, and Martin Dibelius.

F. C. Baur, founder of the influential Tuebingen school, marked the beginning of constructive criticism defined as "the attempt to attach the New Testament writings to their true historical background." One hundred years ago his greatest works were still unwritten: his study of the canonical gospels, his work on Paul, and his church history. Solid works in history of dogma, in gnosticism and in other fields had appeared, and in his study of the party of Christ in Corinth (1831) he had worked out the formula by which he was to chart the course of early Christian development. Baur found his key to interpretation in the philosophy of his contemporary, Hegel, with its well known thesis, antithesis and synthesis. With char-

acteristic thoroughness he applied this formula to the literature of the New Testament. He found that the conflict necessary to condition advance lay in the opposition of the Petrine and Pauline elements in early Christianity which in turn found their synthesis in the ancient Catholic church. Baur was not without his prepossessions and assumptions. The Hegelian formula became a Procrustean bed, and one of the greatest of New Testament critics paid the price of his own subjectivity and over-confidence in a contemporary system.

Baur does not concern himself to any great length with the parables, but it is clear how the Tuebingen interpretation is based on the presupposition of a Peter-Paul or Jewish-Gentile Christianity. To Baur, Matthew was the gospel of Jewish Christianity and Luke that of Pauline universalism. With these assumptions the parables must fall in line. Two parables are directed against Jewish Christianity, those of the Wedding Feast and the Rich Man and Lazarus, the latter peculiar to Luke. In both gospels the former parable teaches that the heathen are entitled to membership in the Messianic kingdom, and through the unbelief of the Jews they become its main members. Matthew adds the feature of the wedding garment which symbolizes the necessity of equal preparation by the Gentiles or probably a pledge that they will observe the Law. Luke gives the parable a different turn and admits the poor instead of a chosen few with the rest cast into outer darkness.

In the parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus, Zeller, a notable disciple of Baur, interpreted the rich man as the symbol of those who are rich in divine revelation; the poor represent the salvation-hungry heathen who look to the Jews as dogs who catch the crumbs. Interpreted spiritually, the offensiveness disappears. The Jews, satisfied with legal revelation go without salvation; the heathen, craving to be fed from the riches of the Jews, attain it. Schwegler, another of Baur's disciples, saw this parable as anti-Jewish. The rich man who has Moses and the prophets is a symbol of the Jewish People, who in the fulness of divine blessing, remain hard and unbelieving toward the predicted salvation; the poor are the symbol of the heathen world. Baur saw the conclusion of the

parable as a picture of the relation of the Jews to Christianity after the death of Jesus. The hypothesis of the parable has been realized: Jesus had risen from the dead; still they did not believe him to be the Messiah—they did not listen to Moses and the prophets—and above all, in their worldliness, they had no desire for a Messianic salvation destined only for the poor.

In the story of Martha and Mary Judaism and heathenism or Jewish and Pauline Christianity stand over against each other. Mary is the Pauline *pistis*; Martha represents the wearisome doing of the works of the Law, and turns away from the real salvation.

Other parables revealing later party relationships are those of the Pharisee and the Publican, of the Two Sons (Mt. 21:28-31), and par excellence the parable of the Lost Son. The Tuebingen group all agree that this last parable applies to Jews and Gentiles in their relation to the Messianic kingdom. The younger son, who after wasting his inheritance, after silencing his wretched hunger with the food of pigs, returns to his father, represents the heathen world. The elder son who always stayed at home and served his father, boasting that he had transgressed no command, is an excellent picture of the Jewish people. The party relationships of the later time come out in the envious, jealous attitude of the elder brother, complaining about the father's favoritism to the younger. This is typical of the conduct of Jewish Christians toward Pauline Christianity. Brotherly fellowship to them meant a limitation of their own privileges. Here the theme is the comradeship of the Messianic kingdom as equally justified for both Gentile and Jewish Christians. God is the God of both Jews and Gentiles (Rom. 3:29). Gentile Christianity is ready to come joyfully to the Father, but Pauline Christians must have opportunity to meet the breach which threatened to disrupt the fellowship through the distrust and envy of the Jewish Christians. Paul had tried to convince the Jewish Christians that both groups shared the Messianic salvation and that there was no injustice. "Son, you have been with me always" is effectively conciliatory, and the picture of the Pauline conversion of

the sinner as the calling back to life of one who had been dead is very effective.

It can scarcely be maintained that Baur's interpretation of parables is without prepossession or assumption. And yet he was very certain that he had the real historical method.

Albert Schweitzer, the many-sided genius, who at the beginning of the century made eschatology the center of scholarly discussion in New Testament circles, did more than any other scholar to change the trend in New Testament research. He lived in a period which saw the culmination of the so-called "historical" school of gospel research. Oskar Holtzmann brought to fruition his scientific *Life of Jesus* based upon Mark: Harnack's Jesus of history was a pleasing portrait of a figure that fitted perfectly into the liberal picture inspired by the conception of a world evolving gradually into the Kingdom of God, a figure that was divested of most of the features of first century Palestinian thought that were offensive to modern Christians. Johannes Weiss had challenged this type of thinking about Jesus in his *The Preaching of the Kingdom of God* wherein he pictured Jesus as an apocalypticist and not as a modern man, the kingdom as wholly future and not as a product of evolution. In a word, he defined the eschatological problem which through the work of Schweitzer was to shock the scholarly world. The "historical" picture was attacked from another angle by William Wrede whose book *The Messianic Secret* appeared the same day as Schweitzer's *Secret of the Messiahship*. There was nothing left of the "liberal" nineteenth century Jesus. Wrede attempted to demonstrate the historical unreliability of the Gospel of Mark, Schweitzer to defend it. Schweitzer's acceptance of it was linked with his acceptance of Weiss's consistent and thoroughgoing eschatology. Jesus becomes a new and strange figure. No longer the prophet of righteousness, but the consistent eschatologist who considered himself the Messiah, expected the coming of an otherworldly, supernatural kingdom of God in the near future. Man could only await this kingdom, he could do nothing to hasten its coming. Schweitzer saw Jesus completely dominated by this idea, and therefore his religious and ethical teachings were

valid only for the interim period and utterly without value for the modern world. No wonder that the transition from the Harnackian Jesus to the eschatological Jesus was something of a shock.

How did Schweitzer interpret the parables? The view he combated had stressed the parables which seemed to show the gradual growth of the kingdom and had passed lightly over the apocalyptic ideas. Schweitzer, having accepted the gospel of Mark *in toto* as historical reliable, had to face the problem of Mark's interpretation of Jesus' use of parables as intended to conceal truth and which many scholars including Baur had felt was distortion of historical truth. Wrede had drawn Mark's view of parable into the framework of the dogmatic theory of the Messianic secret. Schweitzer boldly accepted the dogmatic element as the historical element, which Wrede had denied on the ground that it was opposed to the essential nature of parable.

If the dogmatic element is the historical element because it arose in an atmosphere saturated with eschatology, if Jesus is dominated by this dogmatic idea, it follows that it is doubtful if Jesus even thought of himself as a teacher. This is indicated in the express purpose of his parables to conceal truth. Schweitzer is not sure that this can be applied to all of the parables but he considers it noteworthy that it applies "as if by some higher law" to those parables having the kingdom as their center. Schweitzer is driven to the acceptance of predestination as the reason for Jesus' use of parables. Jesus knows that those whom God has chosen will win their salvation. All that goes beyond the simple phrase, "repent, for the Kingdom of God is at hand" must be publicly presented only in parables so that those who possess predestination by having the knowledge necessary to understand the parables may receive the more advanced knowledge which is imparted to them in a measure corresponding to their original degree of knowledge. Predestination and eschatology go together. "Many are called but few are chosen."

The point in the parables of the growth of the seed is not

the idea of development, but the absence of causation. This is not to emphasize the natural but the miraculous. Just as a man believes in the harvest because he sowed the seed, so he can believe with the same confidence in the kingdom of God. It is not to be earned, it is God's gift. Schweitzer sees Jesus as confident that the kingdom will come with the ripening of the harvest already in the fields, and the reason for its coming lies in the power and purpose of God.

By the time Schweitzer has carried through his analysis of Mark's Jesus on the basis of consistent eschatology, he is forced to the statement, "The historical Jesus will be to our time a stranger and an enigma."

Schweitzer's bias is even more marked than Baur's with reference to the teaching of the parables. To the latter they reflect the period of the composition of the gospels and the immediate problems of party relationships in situations of conflict, to the former they reflect the inscrutable purposes of God to enlighten only the elect. Objectivity seems to be at a discount in both interpretations.

Baur and Schweitzer discuss the parables rather incidentally. Their special interest lies elsewhere. But their interpretation of parables clearly illustrates these major emphases. Our next scholar, C. H. Dodd of Cambridge, is the only one of the four men selected for interrogation who has written a book on the parables. Professor Dodd has the enviable distinction of being the only Protestant biblical scholar to be honored at the Harvard tercentenary. He is the successor of the distinguished scholar, F. C. Burkitt, who, deeply impressed by the work of Schweitzer, wrote the Introduction to the English translation of the latter's *Von Reimarus zu Wrede*, the book which under the title *The Quest of the Historical Jesus* set the scholarly world agog as few books have done.

Although Dodd has written a number of books including the excellent commentary on *Romans* in the Moffatt series, he has drawn most fire from his advocacy of what he calls "realized eschatology." This is a modification of Schweitzer's position of "consistent eschatology" in which Jesus is seen to have pic-

tured the coming of the kingdom of God in the near future, into that of "realized eschatology" in which Jesus is interpreted as teaching that the kingdom of God had already come, that it was present in his ministry, and that the next step was the eternal Beyond. This view is based upon Dodd's own translation of two Greek verbs, a procedure that has been vigorously combated by other scholars to the point of successful refutation. In spite of the fact that this view is based upon forced and unnatural interpretation of two key verses, Dodd clings to the possibility that these verses *may* be thus understood and then goes blithely on to assume the correctness of his interpretation, carrying it over into a subsequent book, *History and the Gospel*. Here is strikingly present another clear case of a scholar's assumptions and prepossessions dictating interpretation, another weapon in the arsenal of those who feel that theological implications hamper historical study.

Dodd accepts the present form of the parables as colored by the needs and interests of the early church. In this he agrees with contemporary form critics. But Dodd finds it fairly easy to reconstruct the original setting of the parables in the ministry of Jesus. His method is to strip the parable of all interpretation that has accrued between the time of Jesus and that of the early church, and to find a plausible interpretation in the earlier period *always in view of the fact that Jesus believed that the Kingdom was already present*, rather than that it was soon to come.

Dodd begins with those parables that most clearly belong to the period of Jesus' ministry: the Hid Treasure and the Costly Pearl. These demand a situation where the idea of sacrifice for a worthy end is prominent, and that situation is the realized presence of the kingdom of God in the ministry of Jesus and his calling men to come into its possession. The Tower Builder and the King Going to War teach that men must be prepared to take great risks. The Children in the Marketplace is designed to show the folly of childish behavior in the presence of the supreme crisis of history. Nor do the sons of the bridechamber fast in a situation where joy is the appropriate mood. The Patched Garment and the Old Wineskins simi-

larly indicate that Jesus' teachings is not a reformed Judaism, but something altogether new.

Another group of parables centers around the contrast of "publicans and sinners" versus the "righteous." These too have a reference contemporary with Jesus. The Lost Coin and the Lost Sheep illustrate the concern of Jesus for the depressed classes. "In the ministry of Jesus the Kingdom of God came; and one of the features of its coming was this unprecedented concern for the lost." This same contrast is seen also in the parables of the Two Sons and the Great Feast, and Dodd's translation "Repent, for the Kingdom of God has drawn near" corresponds to the words of invitation to the great banquet, "Come, for all is ready." Matthew's addition of the wedding garment is an early church addition to guard against the too easy reception of Gentiles.

The Strong Man Despoiled, in its setting of Jesus' exorcism, points to the ministry of Jesus as an eschatological event. The defeat of evil is something that is actually being accomplished in the ministry of Jesus.

Dodd's powers of parabolic transformation reach their height in his interpretation of the parable of the Wicked Husbandmen which he sees as natural, realistic and on no good grounds to be denied to Jesus. Most scholars have seen this parable as an allegory of the early church which saw the death of Jesus in retrospect. Dodd sees the impending climax of the rebellion of Israel in the murder of the successor of the prophets. "We know that Jesus did regard His own ministry as the culmination of God's dealings with His people, and that He declared that the guilt of all righteous blood from Abel to Zechariah would fall upon that generation."

Dodd believes that two motives, the "homiletic" and the "eschatological" were at work during the gospel-making period and he supposes that these motives worked in the earlier period of the oral tradition. He finds traces of this in certain parables. The parable of the Defendant advised to settle his case out of court was applied by Jesus to the situation which he saw as

the supreme crisis of all history: "the kingdom of God has come upon you."

The homiletic motive is illustrated in the savorless salt or something good wasted, and refers to the condition of Judaism during Jesus' ministry. The Light under the Bushel is a piece of folly best interpreted by the conduct of the Jews who had the light but who shut the kingdom of heaven in men's faces. In the parable of the Money in Trust the unprofitable servant is the pious Jew who has made his religion a barren thing by a policy of selfish exclusiveness.

The parables of Crisis as we have them refer to the second advent of Jesus, but Dodd sees the parables of the Faithful and Unfaithful Servants as belonging to Jesus' ministry where the latter refers to the Jews. The servants waiting for their master is also early. "We know that he saw in his own ministry the supreme crisis of history" and the parable therefore enforces the necessity for alertness in a crisis now upon them. The parable of the thief at night illustrates that the kingdom has come—unexpectedly, incalculably—and Israel was taken by surprise. Similarly the Ten Virgins originally was along the same line. Dodd sums up his view of the parables of crisis thus:

"They were intended to enforce his appeal to men to recognize that the Kingdom of God was present in all its momentous consequences, and that by their conduct in the presence of this tremendous crisis they would judge themselves as faithful or unfaithful, wise or foolish. When the crisis had passed, they were adapted by the Church to enforce its appeal to men to prepare for the second and final world-crisis which it believed to be approaching."

Under the title "Parables of Growth" Dodd lists The Sower, The Tares, The Seed Growing Secretly, the Mustard Seed, the Leaven and the Drag-net. The predominant interpretation is that these parables refer to the future history of the Kingdom of God in the world. The Seed Growing Secretly, seen in the light of the idea that to Jesus the Kingdom of God was a present fact, shows Jesus as the reaper standing ready

to put the sickle to the crop. He marks the fulfillment of the process. The sowing was the initial act of God, the "prevenient grace" which is the condition of anything good happening among men. The present crisis is the climax of a long process which prepared the way for it.

The parable of the Sower teaches that the crop is abundant in spite of hindrances. The Tares in the original setting attest the fact of many sinners in Israel and that the kingdom which came in spite of them is itself a process of sifting, a judgment. Similarly the parable of the Drag-net emphasizes the principle of selection, which selection is the divine judgment. The parable of the Mustard Seed is an appeal to sinners and outcasts. The Kingdom of God is here: the birds are flocking to find shelter in the shade of the tree. The Leaven illustrates the power of the present kingdom working mightily from within to permeate the dead lump of religious Judaism in Jesus' time.

These parables of growth, says Dodd, are susceptible of a natural interpretation which makes them into a commentary on the actual situation during the ministry of Jesus, in its character as the coming of the Kingdom of God in history. They illustrate no long development of human history. The *eschaton* is here, having come, not by human effort but by an act of God, not by catastrophic intervention but as the harvest follows growth. Having come, the Kingdom calls for human effort. The harvest waits for reapers; in this light Jesus sets his own work and that to which he calls his disciples.

Dodd sees his interpretation as rigidly historical. One may have no quarrel with the premise that the parables did have a definite setting in Jesus' ministry and yet not be willing to assume that the exact discovery of that setting is possible. If Dodd is correct in his interpretation of those parables to which he attributes antithetic Jewish reference one would then have to discount some important other conclusions that bear upon the problem of research into Jesus' life. Through the work of Moore, Herford and others, we have come to a deeper appreciation of legalistic Judaism than was prevalent heretofore.

The recognition that the gospels took shape in a period characterized by hostility between church and synagogue has done much to put the hard sayings of Jesus about the Jews and Judaism in a truer perspective. Not that all conflict between Jesus and certain leaders of his day is necessarily wiped out—an unnecessary inference in the light of the difference of temper between institutionalists and prophets—but certainly the picture is highly “touched.”

Careful study of Dodd's interesting book *The Parables of the Kingdom* leads to the conclusion that the theologian has hampered the historian. Because “crisis theology” is prominent in the modern period is no compelling reason for reading it back into that of Jesus. Because the liberal picture was one-sided is no reason for a complete swing of the pendulum, and because “consistent eschatology” was equally or more one-sided is no guarantee that the truth is “realized eschatology” which demands a unique translation of two Greek verbs for the support of the thesis. “Realized eschatology” is based on unverified assumptions.

The eminent Heidelberg Professor, Martin Dibelius, has been chosen as the fourth scholar in this study because he is the best known of contemporary German form-critics. He is much better known to American readers than his contemporary, Rudolf Bultmann, since only a short time now elapses between the German and English editions of his books. He is also less radical in his conclusions.

Where Dodd, accepting form-criticism, nullified its major thesis by going behind it and presenting hypothetical interpretations of the parables in the light of his own theory, Dibelius frankly says that the original interpretations of many parables are lost to us. “We must often reckon with the fact that those who made use of the parables often extended and edited them. But certainly a decision is not possible because as a rule we do not know to what situation these parables were originally fitted.” Dibelius sees the *possibility* of a Jewish reference in the parable of the Talents—ignorance of the Jewish people on how to use the precious heritage entrusted to them—but he is quick

to point out that "in any case we must reckon with the fact that we do not know the original references of numerous parables." Dodd is far more certain of the original reference than Dibelius' method allows him to be.

Dibelius has no extended treatment of the parables of Jesus. In his *From Tradition to Gospel* we have the main work in English on Form-criticism by a recognized master of the method, a method which seeks to explore the tradition before it became crystallized in Mark or Q. It is not a new method. More than a century ago Schleiermacher conceived of numerous anecdotal narratives rather than a continuous narrative as embodying the earliest tradition. F. C. Burkitt in England and B. W. Bacon in America were not far from form-critical conclusions.

Dibelius' major presupposition is that the content of the Synoptic gospels was determined by those elements in the tradition that best served the preaching function of the early church. That tradition is analyzed into its separate units according to the criterion of *form*. Some types are more authentic than other types, for example, sayings versus miracle tales or pious legend. Naturally the method has been variously received, from whole-hearted acceptance to varying degrees of skepticism on its alleged results. It is not to be denied that the form-critics are as certain of the correctness of this method as was Schweitzer of the reliability of Mark for the historical outline of Jesus' life. Schweitzer found himself with a "stranger and enigma to our generation" on his hands, the form-critics with a first century figure to be understood mainly as a creation of the early church from a genuine sub-stratum of tradition. Both see the importance of Mark, but the form-critics are nearer the skepticism of Wrede as to its historical reliability than to Schweitzer and his confidence in it.

But Dibelius, at least, is remote from that type of modernization that reads back into the gospel ideas cherished in the twentieth century. He is less influenced by the present crisis-theology than is either his English contemporary, Dodd, or his German contemporary Bultmann. A modern writer in a well-

balanced appraisal of form-criticism says of Dibelius, "In his case the minutiae of criticism with the discovery of propagandist and Christological motives in the documents, do not obscure, but rather clarify, the figure of the historical Jesus.

What then are Dibelius' conclusions about the parables of Jesus? He sees Mark editing the parables, sees also Mark's view that ability to understand the parables was a matter of God's grace. Here is Schweitzer's predestination, but Dibelius applies it to the interpretation of the evangelist, not to that of Jesus himself. He sees Mark synthesizing the tradition through the theory of the Messianic secret and the parables as mysteries. In fact Dibelius sees the Gospel of Mark as a book of secret epiphanies dominated by the salvation motif.

In the very illuminating chapter on "Exhortations" which deals with the transmission of Jesus' words, we find Dibelius' treatment of the parables. Like the sayings they became transformed often with complete misunderstanding. The eschatology of the early church was a determining factor in the transformation. Dodd recognized this and then sought to go behind it.

It is certain that primitive Christianity felt a need of gathering together the words of Jesus. Mark seems to have known this teaching and gives selections from it. But this material, Dibelius thinks, was subject to a different law from that which governed the gathering of Mark's material. We find whole sections of primitive Christian exhortation in Paul's letters, teaching material of a very general; even stereotyped nature. The "words of Jesus" were gathered for hortatory purpose, for their use in Christian preaching. Jesus' words became norms of conduct for the community.

Certain parables also have this hortatory tendency: that of the deceitful steward becomes doctrine and warning to the early church; that of the salvation for the disinherited as completed by the Wedding Garment, the sign of the subject of the Kingdom. The Defendant on the way to court became a parable of warning not to delay until divine judgment.

Naturally in line with the emphasis on *form*, Dibelius applies this category to the parables and finds the following forms: (1) the comparison in the present (mustard seed), (2) comparison in the past (leaven in the dough), (3) short didactic narrative (the house on the rock and on the sand), (4) detailed comparative narrative of tale-like character comprising the great parables, particularly those of Luke. These parables are popular compositions in which the epic laws of folk-poetry can be observed. These laws are repetition, antithesis, and the number three. This fits right in with the form-critics' conception of the unliterary character of the early tradition and the community basis of its origin.

A second category of differentiation between parables is that of content: (1) what is commonplace (leaven in dough), (2) what is typical (the complaining children, the Sower), (3) what is extraordinary, (4) imaginary cases. The material of the parables is racy of the soil, and reflects the agrarian interests.

Research previous to that of the form-critics, notably that of Juelicher found criteria for interpretation of the parables on the differences in application such as (1) where the parable itself contains the didactic thought as in those of the Good Samaritan and the Pharisee and the Publican, (2) where the "story" clothes the leading thought as in the Tares in the field—here is allegory, and (3) where the story exists by its own right. This latter is the true nature of the parable. Parables tend to become half-allegorical due to the tendency of the church to derive as much exhortation as possible from the words of Jesus. Apparently the homiletic use of parables began a long time ago.

The selection of four such outstanding names in the field of New Testament criticism was intentional. When scholars of their caliber can be caught in the meshes of their own assumptions what hope have we for developing high standards of objectivity in New Testament research? Can New Testament criticism be objective? Or is it subject to the same limitations that characterize the social sciences in contrast with the

precision obtaining in the exact sciences? One certainly would not care to defend the thesis that there has been little advance in this field, that we move hopelessly in circles with little gain. As long as we can look back over the past and see in a new light the hypotheses that once seemed so tenable, so reasonable, and also see the progress that has been made in spite of the hampering effect of cherished opinions, there is hope that the most glaring excesses of enthusiasm for any particular view in the present will be held in check by those who do not share it. In the light of the ease with which assumptions and prepossessions may be traced through even the most important contributions, and in view of the vigor with which unwelcome conclusions are received, scholars of any period do well to ponder two statements of the master critic: the familiar story of the mote and the beam and the briefest of all parabolic utterances, "Physician, heal thyself."

NOTES and NEWS

THE FLORIDA RELIGIOUS ASSOCIATION

The fourth annual gathering of the Florida Religious Association was held on April 20 and 21, 1942, at Florida Southern College in Lakeland. The meeting convened at six o'clock on Monday evening, April 20, in the University Club, where the Association was given a complimentary dinner by the College. Dr. Anna Forbes Liddell, president of the Association, presided and Dr. Charles T. Thrift, Jr., represented the College. Following the dinner Dr. Shirley Jackson Case, Dean of the Florida School of Religion, delivered an address on "The Religious Meaning of the Past." Then there followed a lively discussion led by Rabbi Morris A. Skop of Orlando.

The general theme of the meeting on Tuesday, both morning and afternoon, was "Character Education." The subject was presented and its discussion conducted, by Dr. James Fleming Hosis, Professor Emeritus of Education in Columbia University and formerly director of extension work in Teachers College. There was general participation in the discussion that proved both interesting and profitable.

The annual business session of the Association was held at 11:15 a. m. on Tuesday, April 21. The official transcript of the minutes of the business meeting follows:

Minutes of the fourth annual meeting of the Florida Religious Association, held at Florida Southern College, Lakeland, Fla., April 20 and 21, 1942.

The minutes of the last year's Association meeting having been published in the magazine "Religion in the Making," it was moved, seconded and unanimously passed that they be accepted as published.

The report of the Treasurer, Mr. Johnson, of Gainesville, was as follows:

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Balance on hand April 1, 1941	\$39.84	
Dues received since that date	14.00	
	<hr/>	
	53.84	
Disbursements		
Pd. to Mr. Chindahl for money advanced (50.00) for Mr. Harrison Elliot's tour	39.84	
	<hr/>	
Balance on hand		14.00
Unpaid bills		
Due to Mr. Chindahl, balance on above	10.16	
Due to Orange Press, Winter Park, for printing programs and envelopes	18.00	
Stamps and Post cards	7.50	
	<hr/>	
	35.66	
Further dues paid		1.00
Contribution from Mr. Chindahl		5.00
		<hr/>
Total cash on hand		20.00
Deficit to be paid		15.66
	<hr/>	
	35.66	35.66
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Mr. Johnson reported that there are 38 members on the roll, many of whom have not yet paid their dues.

The retiring President, Dr. Liddell, spoke in appreciation of the services of Mr. Chindahl, in keeping the organization together and for his generous loan to make possible the coming of Dr. Harrison Elliot last year.

The invitation from Mr. Johnson for the meeting to be held next year at Gainesville was accepted unanimously, with thanks.

The question of how to increase the membership was discussed. Mr. Chindahl reported that 256 announcements of this meeting were sent out to persons who might be interested in attending. This list included librarians, and school superintendents of this district.

It was urged that each member make every effort to interest his friends and colleagues to become members and attend the next year's meeting.

It was suggested and unanimously agreed that the Association make "Religion in the Making" the journal of this Association. Dr. Case suggested that an additional 50c to the annual dues might make it possible for every member to receive the magazine as part of his membership. If the Society could pay this 50c per member, this could be done; however with the present deficit, it was felt that each member should subscribe on his own.

Dr. Case suggested that several research projects in the history of the Florida Churches were already under way, and that their reports would be of interest to this Association in their annual meetings.

A Roman Catholic History has already been written, and might be read as one of the papers next year.

It was suggested that P. T. A. leaders should be invited to attend our annual meetings, for they have definite interests in religious education in Florida.

Dr. Liddell suggested the possibility of an Institute on Religious Education for Sunday School teachers in Tallahassee next year, sponsored by this Association. It was left to her to work this out in consultation with local teachers and church workers.

It was moved, seconded, and passed that such projects be placed before the Board of directors, with power to act as they saw fit.

The nominating committee brought their nominations be-

fore the meeting, and the names nominated were voted unanimously.

For President: J. E. Johnson, Gainesville

Vice-President: Morris A. Skop, Orlando

Secretary: Janet W. Daugherty, Winter Park

Executive Secretary: George L. Chindahl, Maitland

Treasurer: Charles T. Thrift, Jr., Lakeland

Executive Committee:

A. Buel Trowbridge, Jr., Winter Park

W. B. Meredith, Bradenton

Myrtle Williamson, Clearwater

R. Ira Barnett, Lakeland

Dr. Anna Forbes Liddell, Tallahassee

The following resolution was presented by the committee on resolutions and unanimously and enthusiastically adopted.

"Be it resolved that the Florida Religious Association hereby registers its gratefulness to Florida Southern College for its gracious hospitality during this annual meeting.

That our thanks be extended to Dr. Shirley Jackson Case and Dr. Hosis for their services and stimulating leadership, and also to Dr. Liddell and Mr. George L. Chindahl for their untiring work in planning and carrying out this program."

Respectfully submitted, A. R. Mead, A. F. Chicoine and C. T. Thrift, committee on resolutions.

A. Buel Trowbridge, Acting Secretary

BOOKS REVIEWED

The Nature of the Early Church. By Ernest F. Scott. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1941. 240 pages. \$2.00.

The term "church" may be defined in various ways. One may think of it as the elaborate historical institution that has grown up to serve the Christian cause. In that event one takes note of a wide variety of characteristics in polity, ritual and dogma. All of these features belong to the historic church in its diversified manifestation. But this variety is perplexing, and efforts have been made to simplify the definition of "church" by selecting one or another of its diversities as the essential mark of the true church. Sometimes this is thought to be the perpetuation of an ecclesiastical hierarchy (papal or episcopal), or a technique for administering salvation through the sacraments, or the witness to a particular formulation of doctrine, or the guardian of a specific type of baptismal procedure, or whatever else looms foremost on one's horizon.

Thus a definition of the church may be comprehensive in type, or it may be highly selective. Professor Scott follows the latter course. He thinks to find the essential meaning of the church, not in terms of polity or ritual, but in an idea promulgated by Jesus. The church arose as a consequence of something unique in the message of Jesus regarding the Kingdom of God. After the death of Jesus the first disciples banded themselves together as the brotherhood of those who live for the Kingdom. This was the formative idea with which the church originated and it still remains the essence of its true nature: it is the brotherhood that waits on earth for the Kingdom of God. We are not to think of the church as a historical development. Rather, it consists fundamentally of this static idea, which may be entertained in different forms by various people in successive ages, but has to be restored in its original simplicity in order to comprehend the correct meaning of the church.

One may well question the propriety of thus subordinating the functional significance of the church as a historical institution to an abstract idea of "waiting for the Kingdom of God." Is it not, rather, an instrument devised and employed for bringing the Kingdom to realization? Even in the case of the first disciples the purpose of the fellowship would seem to have been quite as much the strengthening of their missionary courage as the evidence of their "waiting." Believing as they did that the Kingdom would not come until the number of the elect had been gathered, they associated themselves together for aggressive purposes. If we were to speak of the church as inspired by any "formative idea," it would seem more correct to define it in terms of activism rather than passivity. It was an instrument of aggression rather than an asylum for the world-weary. But disagreement with the author's theoretical position is only a minor consideration in a book that studies thus minutely the actual process by which the church crystallized into an institution during the early centuries. The pertinent facts are here set forth with clarity and accuracy by one whose knowledge of the subject is entirely adequate to the task in hand.

The Kingdom of God and the American Dream. By Sherwood Eddy. New York and London: Harper and Brothers, 1941. 319 pages. \$2.90.

This is a thought-provoking and illuminating study of spiritual forces in American history. The subtitle is "The Religious and Secular Ideals of American History." For many years there was a tendency on the part of historians to ignore religious ideals as social factors. Many recent books of history, especially those prepared primarily for use as texts in college and high schools, are evidence that this conspiracy of silence has not ended. Sherwood Eddy approached the data on American history to find whether religion did not have a great deal to do with American development, and he finds that it did.

This book covers an exceptionally wide range. Indeed, the range is so great that the author is able to do little more

than suggest certain possibilities. The pattern which determines the fundamental structure of the treatment is constructed of these three ideas: the first colonists in America had a high religious purpose which has continued, with many changes, to influence deeply the development of the nation; parallel with this, they had a high secular aim which, in spite of lapse and digressions, guided them toward a democratic society; but there was also a negative element of selfish individualism and crass materialism which hindered the full fruition of the other two and sometimes threatened to frustrate them. American history is the interplay of these three elements. The author traces the development of the ideal of the Kingdom of God and the Dream of Democracy from pre-colonial days to 1932, resisting the challenge to lay "the New Deal alongside of the Old Dream."

In the weaving together of the many strands of incident and personality, the basic pattern of forces is not lost. Sometimes it is obscured by the introduction of much detailed material that might well have been omitted. One may feel that there are too many brief biographies, but these may be justified on the ground that the part played by religion is best indicated by showing how or whether it influenced important characters.

This is an informing book. It enhances the prestige of religion by showing how potent a force it has been in the development of our culture. *The Kingdom of God and the American Dream* deals with a theme in which interpreters of the trends of our national life are now intensely interested. It is to be hoped that this volume will provoke others to explore this neglected aspect of American history.

An Enlightened Conscience. By Irl Goldwin Whitchurch. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1941. . 281 pages. \$2.50.

The author writes in the interests of Christian morality, which he thinks has too often been subordinated to a concern with Christian doctrine. Morality has too generally been made a secondary interest, as though it were merely the fruit rather than the root of religious faith. So widely has this attitude

prevailed that even after two thousand years Christianity still lacks any consistent analysis of its moral basis. Theology supplants ethics. Worse still, the church has become the victim of burdensome immoral theological ideas in its theories of salvation and atonement. The result is a misunderstanding of the nature of Christianity, as though it were ultimately a body of doctrinal formulas rather than an embodiment of the majestic moral personality of Jesus. The prime essential for religious living is an enlightened conscience. It is not merely a question of making conscience our guide; the more crucial problem is that of keeping conscience awake and growing and hence a worthy norm for conduct.

The bible is found to be the source of moral energy, but to make the scriptures an arbitrary authority and to insist that belief is more essential than conduct tend to dull the moral sense. The bible is a record of peoples' striving at ethical attainment; it is not a treatise on ethical theory. Yet moral personalities do not emerge without human reflection and effort. We need an intelligent ethical theory. This is found, however, to be more than a mere custom. Yet it is emphatically affirmed that morality is social, and that the kingdom of God on earth must embody the highest social good. Moreover, moral ideals grow with experience and develop with the exigencies of social life. The attainment of goodness is a task calling for continued and strenuous effort. But there is also a transcendental factor in the process by which man is possessed of the power of moral discernment; there is an unconditional moral imperative which men may choose, or refuse, to follow.

While morality is thus a human attainment, it may avail itself of superhuman sanctions. These come not as rules for conduct but as inspiring incites to better living and as sensitivity to ethical ideals by which the motives for conduct are purified and clarified. Christian morality must be an attainment rather than a donation. Readers who take these pages seriously will receive therefrom a mighty stimulus toward more urgent ethical endeavor. But at the end the tension is relieved by shifting the responsibility for creative moral attainment from man him-

self to another external norm. To imitate the moral perfection of Jesus is said to be the ultimate goal of endeavor. Have we not thus reverted to an authoritarian ethics?

And Great Shall Be Your Reward: The Origins of Christian Views of Salvation. By Paul S. Minear. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941. 74 pages. \$1.00.

This brochure is a reworked doctor's dissertation which investigates the belief about future rewards entertained in the Judaism of New Testament times, in Hellenistic thought, among Jews of the Dispersion, and in early Christian teaching. The characteristic outcome of the Jewish philosophy of history is found to be the eschatological hope of divine intervention to establish God's Kingdom in the future. Hellenistic thinking moved in a different circle of ideas, represented by Stoic apathy or the hope of individual immortality nourished by the mystery religions. Hellenistic Jews are thought to have partially come to terms with both the Stoic thinking and the teaching of the mysteries. Jesus had espoused typical Jewish eschatological expectations, but Paul had attempted a synthesis of Jewish apocalypticism with the individualism of the mysteries. The treatment is extensively documented by reference to original sources and modern literature.

The Origins of The Bible. By Theodore Gerald Soares. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1941. 277 pages. \$2.50.

This volume is excellently well suited to the needs of the intelligent layman who wishes to learn how the books of the Bible were produced out of the social experience of the Hebrew and early Christian communities. The author adopts the conclusions of modern scientific scholarship but avoids afflicting his readers with any of the technical process of research. Instead, he dramatizes the story of how each piece of literature in the Bible probably developed out of the actual life situation in which it arose. The entire field is covered from the earliest days when the wandering Hebrews began to tell stories around their camp fires down to the close of the second century A. D.

when the books of the New Testament began to be assembled into a new canon of scripture in Christendom.

While this method of presentation invites a rather free use of the imagination, it has not been pressed so far as to result in the writing of a religious novel. A reader will easily recognize where fiction is employed to make more attractive and realistic the probable historical facts. By a skilful selection of chapter headings the evolution of the literary process and the different aspects of the expanding religious interest have been clearly indicated. Thus we have not simply another "Introduction" to the Bible, but a distinctly new picture of the way in which its several parts arose out of the religious experience and struggles of the actual people who produced, collected, and preserved the various books of which the Bible is composed. Specialists may disagree among themselves on many matters of detail, but these debatable matters have been wisely ignored to serve the purpose of this volume.

Jesus as They Remembered Him. By Chester Warren Quimby. Nashville, Tennessee: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1941. 220 pages. \$1.50.

This book contains twelve edifying essays dealing with different aspects of the life and teaching of Jesus. Each essay might well have been a sermon or an address designed to heighten appreciation of Jesus and inculcate greater reverence for his personality. The treatment is fresh and vigorous. Critical questions about the reliability of a gospel passage as representing the actual words of Jesus are never allowed to interfere with the adorable picture which the author wishes to paint. Any tradition that attests the uniqueness of Jesus is thought to be dependable irrespective of its place in the gospel record. And, guided by this principle, one's pious imagination may be used rather freely to fill out blanks in the gospels. By pursuing this method of enlarging upon the historical records a detailed, and perhaps rather too elaborate, portrait of Jesus is painted under the several captions: His environment, his heritage, his body, his experiences, his mind, his emotions, his motives, his unpopularity, his distinctive qualities, his perfection, his gospel, his

achievements. The value of the book lies in its sincerely devotional atmosphere rather than in any attempt to pursue a rigid historical inquiry.

An Introduction to the History of Early New England Methodism, 1789-1839. By George Claude Baker, Jr. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1941. 145 pages. \$2.50.

This is not the history of New England Methodism during the half century indicated; it is merely the "introductory essay" for the not yet written history. Mr. Baker's study traces the development of Methodist churches and circuits in New England, the attitudes of the Methodists toward such social questions as war and temperance, and the part which they played in bringing about the disestablishment of the New England churches.

A few Methodists had preached in New England before 1789. John Wesley himself had preached one sermon in Boston before he became a Methodist. By 1789 there were, it is estimated, over 40,000 Methodists in the United States with eleven conferences and a national organization. However, it was not until the appointment of Jesse Lee in 1789 that the Methodists made any inroads upon the established order of New England. This study makes available an organized body of materials for inquiries into the significance and function of Methodism in the cultural life and institutions of the region under investigation. During the period under review the new Republic was establishing itself. The Western migration opened the frontiers of a vast country into which many of the New Englanders went. The railroads and factories offered new opportunities and problems. The many missionary activities of established churches in America were launched. The last vestiges of established churches in America were overcome. The Congregational theology, which had long ruled New England, was adapted to a new type of society. What Methodism contributed to this transformation is the task to which this "introduction" addresses itself.

This essay is carefully documented and almost entirely dependent on direct source materials. One of the most valuable parts is the bibliography, which contains more than fifty pages of information about source materials on New England Methodist history.

On Guard. By Joseph R. Sizoo. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941. \$1.00.

This is a very timely book of devotional readings for men in the armed services. It is intended primarily for chaplains and "trainees," but it would go a long way toward creating and maintaining a morale among those outside the military and naval circles.

This intensely practical little book contains a reading for each day in the calendar year. Each reading is brief, but a unit in itself. Suitable articles are provided for special days, such as Christmas and Mother's Day, and for such special occasions as birthdays and anniversaries. The book includes a brief but important selection of prayers and a subject index for convenience. *On Guard* offers much helpful, practical reading.

Who is My Patient? By Russell L. Dicks. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941. 149 pages. \$1.50.

Protestant hospitals have always known that it is religion which makes them distinctive. They have tried, and usually with success, to give the best medical care available. In addition they have accepted their obligation to do something more—to provide Christian care for the patient. However, more than a Christian atmosphere is needed if a hospital is to represent the whole Protestant heritage. That is the distinctively religious, or pastoral, ministry of the hospital. A recent survey reveals the fact that only about half of the Protestant hospitals have chaplains and that of this number only about five per cent devote their entire time to this work. Few of the general hospitals have any provision whatever for a chaplain.

Who is My Patient? has been prepared as a guide for nurses who may be called upon to supplement the pastoral ministry of the hospital. The book first discusses the close relationship of physical and spiritual problems and outlines the religious needs of average patients. It points out just when the patient may wish to see a minister, priest or rabbi and how the nurse can be truly helpful in this regard. It then discusses simple nursing ministry where no clergyman is available. The book is filled with useful information and practical methods with helpful illustrations. It is an ideal religious manual for nurses.

Pastoral Psychology. By Karl Ruf Stolz. Nashville: Cokesbury Press, 1941. 284 pages. \$2.50.

This revised edition Dean Stolz's well-known book introduces some new material and amplifies and clarifies some portions of the earlier work without changing it in any essential particulars.

Among the numerous books in this field this is one of the best. It embodies much practical wisdom and offers many helpful suggestions. The treatment is generally descriptive and didactic rather than attempting to discover the underlying principles involved in many of the problems with which it deals.

Windows on Life. By Carl Heath Kopf. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1941. 255 pages. \$2.00.

This is a collection of informal papers written by the minister of the Mt. Vernon Congregational Church in Boston. The author says that they are "more personal by intention than philosophic or sermonic." He characterizes them still more as "essays and parables" for people who think they have lost interest in religion. Most of the essays have been used in a radio program entitled "From a Window on Beacon Street."

Windows on Life is written with real understanding and insight. It comprises a keen and helpful group of trenchant observations on the problems and joys affecting the everyday lives of a great majority of American men and women today. This book is unusually helpful due to its use of a multitude of

illustrations with practical applications. Here is an extremely interesting and helpful approach to the persistent problems of every reader, and a valuable source of sermon material for the minister.

The Religious Function of Imagination. By Richard Kroner. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941. 70 pages. \$1.00.

This booklet contains two lectures delivered at Kenyon College on the Bedell foundation. The first deals with "Thought and Imagination" and the second with "Imagination and Revelation." The general aim of the lecturer has been to affirm that imagination is more reliable than reason or science as a means of ascertaining religious truth. Imagination is credited with superior significance on the alleged hypothesis that it is kind of intuition or experience of God. In the second lecture this postulate is justified on the ground that the intuition is inspired by divine revelation. The verification of revelation is found in the bible culminating in the person of Jesus.

This Christian Cause. By Karl Barth. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942. \$.75.

This small volume contains three letters of Karl Barth of Basle, Switzerland, with an explanatory introduction by John A. MacKay. The first letter was written to the French Protestants in December, 1939; the second was addressed to the same group in October, 1940; the third was composed in response to an invitation from Christians in Great Britain, and sent in April, 1941. Together they represent Barth's present attitude toward the war against Hitler. Although Barth was formerly a pacifist, he now regards it a God-imposed duty of Christians to resist Hitler. It is interesting to note how characteristic Barthian positions about the complete transcendence and "otherness" of God, the absolute inability of man to do anything to bring in the Kingdom of God and the worthlessness of natural law and reason as sources of revelation, are fitted into the new idea of participation in war as a Christian obligation. The

urge to resist evil is not allowed to stem from any natural or spiritual human impulses, nor is it inspired by obedience to the teaching or example of the earthly Jesus. Rather, it was by his resurrection that Christ assumed lordship over history, and chose the state as the medium for exercising this lordship in resisting anarchy and the demonic destruction of civilization which Hitler would accomplish. It is the duty of Christians to resist with all their might this evil force. But one is not to suppose that this is a war of religion or an effort to bring in the Kingdom of God. That will be accomplished only by God in his own time and way.

One easily perceives how the practical experience of Barth has compelled him to alter his former opinions, while at the same time he strives by the methods of dialectic to maintain intact a set of theological presuppositions.

No Sign Shall Be Given. By Hugh S. Tigner. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942. 198 pages. \$1.75.

The author of this readable and edifying book belongs to that wide circle of modern religious leaders who are sorely oppressed by the troubles of the present world. In proposing a corrective he advocates a revival of faith in the church and the acceptance of the tradition for which it has so long stood. He pleads for the continuity of the Hebrew-Christian tradition with the perpetuation of its basic beliefs as essential to the continuity of culture. He feels that the problem of social unity will remain unsolved unless we maintain faith in the divine authorship of the moral law revealed in the scriptures. Democracy can retain its saving values only when its true source is recognized as deriving from the Old Testament. We are told that the colleges can't educate the youth of today because education is so much concerned with the quest for information that it has lost its urge for authoritative indoctrination. For much the same reason, the church fails and remains unattended.

If the world can be saved only by the reassertion of traditional religious authority expressed through the church then it would seem that one ought to return to Roman Catholicism.

It remains unrivalled in its claim to authoritative validity. But our author is unwilling to follow through to this conclusion. To escape the dilemma he posits for Protestantism an ideal church, to be differentiated from all existing concrete churches, and assigns to it a super-authority. Such an ideal church cannot be concretely known and so one may make claims for it without being compelled to verify them in reality.

When Egypt Ruled The East. By George Steindorff and Keith C. Seele. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1942. 284 pages. \$4.00.

The late Professor Breasted published his monumental *History of Egypt* in the year 1905. Ever since it has been the best book on the subject. But since that date extended excavations in Egypt have brought to light a vast quantity of additional information about the history of that land. This new volume, which supplements rather than supplants Breasted's *History*, presents a survey of the new knowledge made available by the more recent discoveries.

Attention is directed mainly to the five centuries of Egypt's golden age when, after the expulsion of the Hyksos, the Egyptian power dominated the eastern Mediterranean world. A wealth of new light has recently been shed upon this period by the discovery of the tomb of Tutankhamun, and now for the first time the new information thus made available has been presented with measurable fulness for English readers. Not only the political and economic aspects of the history, but also the manner of life and the cultural developments, have been depicted. Chapters on "Egyptian Hieroglyphs," "Egyptian Religion" and "Art of the Egyptians" are especially informative and interesting. The book is magnificently printed and contains over one hundred splendid illustrations. Occasionally quotations from the original sources not previously accessible to English readers introduce one to the literary achievements of the Egyptians. If one were planning a visit to Egypt this volume should be read in preparation for the journey, and in a state of the world where travel is impossible this book may be read as a fairly satisfactory substitute for personal observation.

The Lambeth Conferences. By William Redmond Curtis. New York: Columbia University Press. 355 pages. \$4.00.

In the year 1867 a voluntary assembly of bishops of the Anglican communion from different parts of the world met at the Lambeth palace under the presidency of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The meeting was without precedent and lacked legal authority, but it served as a place of discussion for problems that were of general interest to the church. Its function was only deliberative and advisory, and not legislative. It was repeated in 1878, after which it became an established institution planned for each succeeding ten years. The present study is undertaken to shed light upon the English technique for devising institutions as a voluntary procedure such as has more recently emerged in the British commonwealth of Nations.

The present volume deals mainly with the conferences of 1867 and 1878. Two lengthy preliminary chapters deal with "the framework of the Anglican communion in 1867" and "the necessity of Pan-American organization, 1850-1867." These chapters furnish a background for one who is unfamiliar with the history of the English church at this time and provide a setting in which to understand better the significance of the first conference. Its activities are set forth in detail, as are the actions of the next conference in 1878. The remaining five conferences are treated together in a final chapter. They exhibit interesting evidences of growth showing how the voluntary assembly has developed and functioned without changing in any essentials the character of the institution.

Francis of Assisi, Apostle of Poverty. By Ray C. Petry. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1941. 197 pages. \$3.00.

Many books have been written about Francis of Assisi, and his devotion to poverty is one of his best known characteristics. But Professor Petry believes that heretofore no study has done justice to the full significance of poverty for the conduct and thinking of Francis. This book aims at a more comprehensive treatment of the subject.

First, the notion of total renunciation is traced from the time of Jesus until that of Francis. For him poverty was not an end in itself, but an essential means of surrendering himself completely to Christ in service for humanity. Francis' pursuit of his ideal is then studied in relation to the actualities of his life. The manner in which he applied his ideal to social problems is also carefully expounded. His use of the bible, his belief in the early end of the world, his loyalty to the church and Catholic orthodoxy, the strain of mysticism in his experience, and the ideal of poverty as it bore upon the Franciscan community and its apostolic mission to the world, are the further topics of study.

The volume is an admirable piece of exact scholarship. Its statements are carefully documented by both original sources and modern literature. The opinions expressed are amply supported by evidence and the author exhibits not only a thorough familiarity with the data involved but also a lively sense of reality and interest in the person of Francis. Thus the book is both informing and interesting.



RELIGION In the Making

Volume II

November, 1941 — May, 1942

Published by

FLORIDA SCHOOL OF RELIGION

LAKELAND, FLORIDA

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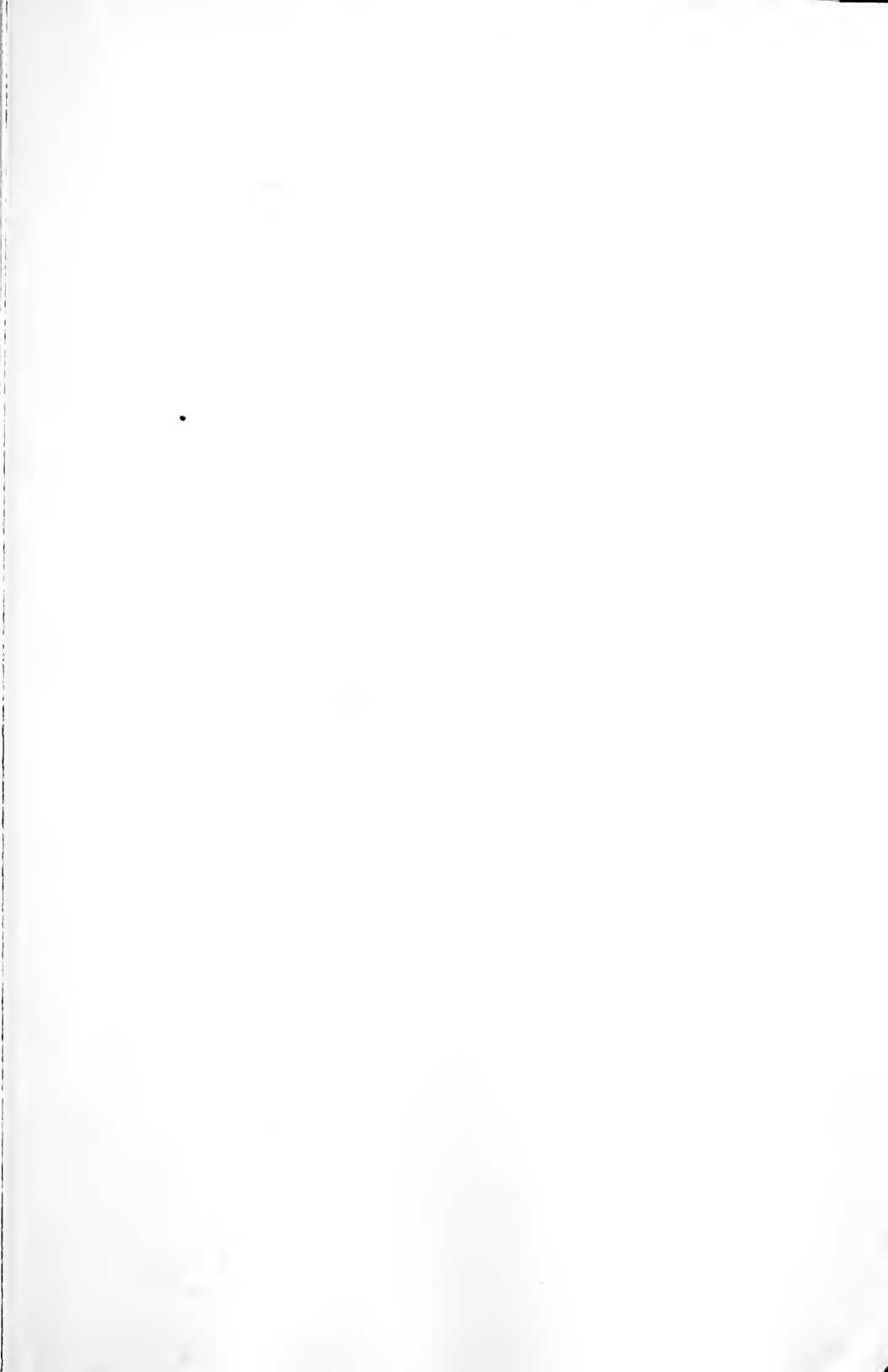
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