the church in crisis

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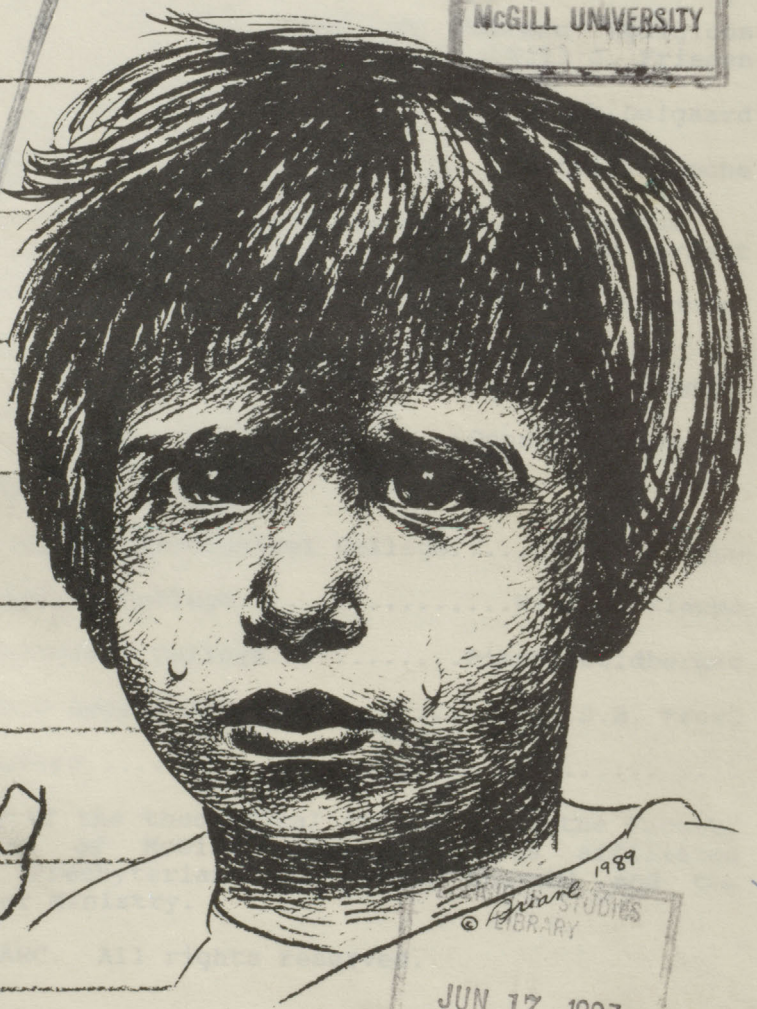

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ARC is a publication of the theological community of the Faculty of Religious Studies of McGill University, its affiliated Colleges (Anglican, Presbyterian and United Church) and the Montreal Institute for Ministry.

EDITORIAL REFLECTIONS

E.J. Furcha

Editors are as good as their contributors. Theological Faculties or Departments of Religion are as vital and relevant as the issues they face and the men and women they engage in serious research and in ongoing dialogue. McGill's Faculty of Religious Studies is fortunate on all these counts. Our community of committed scholars is attuned to the many challenges that come to us from within the Christian churches on whose behalf we train men and women for Christian ministry and from the faith communities of other world religions. We are equally responsive, I believe, to some of the issues other faculties and departments of the academic community are confronting and we are aware of the challenge to do scholarship in a world that is constantly searching for values and meaning.

This issue of **ARC** brings to you some of the work that is currently being done here in the area of Church History. Some of the papers were presented in a Graduate Seminar on church history of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. We focussed our respective efforts under the working title **"The Church in Crisis."** Participants looked at a variety of situations and responses during the last one hundred and fifty years in which conflicts or crises called for a creative, and at times critical, Christian response which often rocked the boat of established christendom or-- to change the metaphor--brought tears to the troubled eyes of onlookers. Ariane Jones, a candidate for the MA degree in Religion and Culture, sought to capture that mood in her cover design in this issue of ARC. We are grateful for her creative response (unsteady childish lettering included!).

The literary contributions to this issue will be largely self explanatory. We hope that they demonstrate the wide-ranging interests in Church History which focus on the 16th century Reformation as well as on matters closer to our own context. There should be something for everyone's interest. 1989 is the quinquecentennial birth anniversary of Thomas Cranmer, Caspar von Schwenckfeld and Thomas Mùntzer. In their respective ways each of them made a lasting contribution to the Church. Each in their own way addressed some of the burning issues of their day. Cranmer's legacy is the Book of Common Prayer; Müntzer's, the

controversial legacy of a prophetic revolutionary; Schwenckfeld is the least known of these three though he was one of the first of "modern" writers who advocated an "inner" religiosity universal enough to include more than Western Christians of a particular confession among the legitimate sons and daughters of God. Davena Davis and the editor of this issue of ARC have chosen to highlight two of these three in their respective contributions by writing on Thomas Cranmer's teaching on the eucharist and on Thomas Müntzer's radical notion of restoring "dormant" Christendom. The synopsis on Müntzer is to serve as a fraternal greeting across the miles to colleagues and friends in the German Democratic Republic.

Some of the papers have a uniquely Canadian flavour (note Professor Marianne Stenbaek's essay on an Inuit Quaker community, Heather Lewis's review of Pentecostals and charismatics and Norm Cornett's analysis of Lionel Groulx). We trust that Patricia Roche's stimulating discussion on the power of rhetoric and Will Friesen's essay on Sigmund Freud, will invite reflection and dialogue. Martin Luther as a pastor is the focus Nancy Gaston has chosen, while Lisbeth Dalgaard offers helpful insights into Evelyn Underhill's spiritual pilgrimage. All together, this volume is a fair indicator of the "state of the art" of research projects currently undertaken in this Faculty in the area of Church History.

While this issue of ARC offers but a small sampling of historical research and reflection being done here, the work of examining the past in order to contribute toward our understanding of the present is ongoing. May we draw your particular attention to a remarkable **Symposium** planned for September 1989 on **Truth and Tolerance.** In conjunction with the annual Birks Lectures twelve invited scholars will illumine some aspect of the relationship between truth claims and tolerance toward other views and/or individuals and faith communities (See separate advertisement and plan to attend).

MARTIN LUTHER AND PASTORAL MINISTRY

Nancy Gaston

I. INTRODUCTION

In one way searching for Martin Luther's theology or philosophy of pastoral ministry is a most frustrating undertaking. Luther, like St. Paul whom he loved, did not often sit back and speculate or theorize. Rather, he wrote, preached and talked in response to specific persons, situations and demands. Luther's voluminous writings--at least as translated into English--contain not so much as one tract on parish ministry.

The search, however, is also an interesting one, for in and through his writings one glimpses Martin Luther as pastor. In contrast to the occasional line or two about the pastoral role, sermons and letters offer fascinating evidence of Luther in the pastoral role.

This article briefly explores Martin Luther's understanding of pastoral ministry from three perspectives: what he said about pastoring, his preaching, and his correspondence. Some tentative conclusions are drawn as to what, in the eyes of the great reformer, comprised the function of pastor.

II. THE PASTORAL MINISTRY: LUTHER'S COMMENTS

In an early and significant statement--his 1520 work, The Freedom of a Christian--Martin Luther makes it very clear that the pastor is indeed responsible for the guidance of his flock. He warns Christians against being uncaring or contemptuous of superstitious and ignorant believers who think themselves dependent upon ceremonial practices for salvation: "It is not by their fault that they are weak, but by the fault of their pastors...." (Dillenberger 82). Such pastors are depicted as false--the proverbial wolves in sheep's clothing. Luther exhorts: "Fight strenuously against the wolves, but for the sheep...." (Dillenberger 83) Teaching, guiding and instructing are major functions of a true and faithful pastor.

In his preface to the 1545 edition of his Latin writings, Luther recalls how he carried out his own pastoral role back in 1517, warning his congregation not to be victimized by abusive practices: "I began to dissuade the people and to urge them not to listen to the clamors of the indulgence hawkers; they had better things to do." (Dillenberger 85)

It is clear that Luther viewed being a pastor as a full-time job. He condemned the more radical reformers' practice of giving up stipends and earning their living by manual labour while attempting to serve a congregation. Of Carlstadt's decision to take up farming, Luther wrote wryly, "What would I not give to get away from a cantankerous congregation and look into the friendly eyes of animals?" (Bainton 205)

We shall now look at Luther's sermons as ministry to that "cantankerous congregation."

III. LUTHER'S SERMONS AS PASTORAL MINISTRY

When one looks at the record of Luther the preacher, it is hard to believe that he had time for any other activities. Besides preaching up to four times on Sunday, once each quarter he presented a two-week series, four days a week, on the catechism. We know of 195 sermons he preached in one year alone--1528. (Bainton 273)

To read his sermons is to be aware of their pastoral intent. As Roland Bainton points out (273), Luther was convinced that "the task of the minister is to expound the Word, in which alone are to be found healing for life's hurts and the balm of eternal blessedness."

The pastoral aspect of the preaching is reflected in the fact that the announcements followed directly upon completion of the sermon. Luther moved immediately (and sometimes abruptly) from exposition of scripture into quite specific messages, pleas and warnings concerning the activities of the coming week. The sermon is thus not a detached and theoretical address, but a message to this particular congregation whose concerns and issues are known to the preacher. Some brief excepts give a taste of Luther the pastor--reassuring, chiding and scolding as he deemed necessary:

My sermon is for the crushed hearts who feel their sins and have no peace.

****

You want to know why you have been asked to give four pennies for the church collection....You ungrateful people should be ashamed of yourselves.

****

Couples to be blessed by the curate before a wedding should come early....If you come later, I will bless you myself, and you won't thank me for it. (Bainton 275)

In Martin Luther's preaching, one often detects the tone of a loving but authoritative and sometimes exasperated father giving very specific advice and instructions to his children. Speaking of the Ten Commandments, he says, "I have carefully admonished you to exhort your household to learn them word for word...." (Dillenberger 207) Talking about praying daily for forgiveness, Luther both confesses and convicts:

> May everyone acknowledge the need which he feels! I do not do enough in my office of preaching. You, burgomaster, captain, prince, husband, wife, do not do enough in your office, either. (Dillenberger 224)

Of course, Martin Luther also preached more formal sermons, less personal and colloquial, on other occasions and sometimes in other settings. In Wittenberg, however, he told his own flock: "I do not compel you to come to the preaching, but God ought to move you to come....If you don't want to obey him, then don't." (Dillenberger 237)

IV. LUTHER'S PASTORAL LETTERS

In an age when letter writing--by pastors or anyone else--is almost a lost art, Luther's correspondence is fascinating for its quantity, variety and liveliness. Many of the 325 letters in the American Edition of his works give an inkling of what the great

reformer was like as a human being--husband, parent, friend and pastor. For this study, the "pastoral counseling" letters are of particular interest.

A. LETTERS FROM COBURG

In 1530 Luther was in hiding and disguise at the Coburg while his friends and colleagues were embattled in the struggle for the Reformation cause at the Diet of Augsburg. Giving odd and sometimes amusing "return addresses" (e.g. "from the wilderness"), Luther wrote many letters of counsel and encouragement to those at Augsburg.

A particularly moving example was written to Elector John of Saxony, under attack at the Diet because of the Reformation in his territory. Luther writes in part:

> ...Your Electoral Grace is now, and has to be, in a tiresome situation. May our dear Father in heaven help your Electoral Grace to remain steadfast and patient in God's grace, which he gives so abundantly. To begin with, it is certain Your Electoral Grace must endure all this trouble, expense, danger and tedium solely for God's sake...." (L.W. 49:206)

Luther goes on to assure John that under his rule Saxony is a veritable paradise on earth for Christians, and that as elector he is the subject of the earnest prayers of those Christians.

In another Coburg letter, this one to his colleague and friend Philip Melanchthon, Luther both chides and encourages the more systematic Melanchthon. Referring to the deliberations of the Diet, Luther writes:

> The end and the outcome of this cause torture you because you cannot comprehend them....God has placed this cause into a certain paragraph [a reference to the Loci communes of Melanchthon] which you don't have in your rhetoric, nor in your philosophy. This is entitled "Faith"; in this paragraph are contained all the things which cannot be seen and do not appear....If Moses had tried to comprehend the outcome by which he might escape Pharaoh's army, then Israel would perhaps

to this day be in Egypt. (L.W. 49:231)

Apparently Melanchthon's emotional state was of real concern to Luther, for a letter written at the same time to John Agricola makes the following request:

> Please admonish Philip not to make too big a sacrifice of his spirit so that he does not finally lack the stuff of sacrificing. Of course there is great comfort to use up all of one's energy for the best cause, but there is a measure in all things. The sacrifice is pleasing, but not the ruin, and God does not want souls to be destroyed. (L.W. 49:340-341)

Indeed, Luther wrote so many letters of encouragement to his friends in Augsburg that he remarks in one of them, to Gregory Brück, "I almost think I have overdone it." (L.W. 49:395) He offers support to Brück himself, however, in that same letter, commending him for being "of good courage and stout heart in this trial of ours." (395) He assures the older man--Brück is Elector emeritus of Saxony--that even though things look bleak, "in the end it will be clear whose tunes are being played." (398)

Of course, not all of the letters from Coburg to the Augsburg participants are entirely pastoral in content. There are some comments about strategies, and some bitter complaints when Luther has not been kept informed of the proceedings or of his friends' wellbeing. By and large, though, the letters are rather remarkable examples of pastoral ministry by the pen. They are not simply "generic words of encouragement," but individual, incisive remarks to persons whose personalities, needs and concerns were known to their correspondent. Also striking is the freedom Luther felt to play a personal and pastoral role regardless of the rank, position or age of the person to whom he wrote. He addressed princes and younger colleagues with equal candour, albeit with the appropriate honorific titles for the former.

B. OTHER LETTERS OF PASTORAL COUNSEL

Among Luther's letters are many, besides those from Coburg, which offer examples of pastoral care and ministry. One such letter was written to his dying mother. He expresses in it his grief at hearing of her illness and his regret that he is unable

to be with her. The major portion of the letter is then an exhortation to welcome God's "gracious chastisement" in the form of suffering. While his advice--"This sickness therefore should not in any way distress or depress you" (L.W. 50:19)--is hardly in line with modern pastoral counseling practices, it is obviously well intended and affectionate. It is interesting that, while the missive begins and ends with Luther in the role of son, he is definitely the pastor in the body of the letter. In fact, the final paragraph comes as a surprising shift of focus for the reader: "All our children and my Katie pray for you; some weep, others say at dinner, 'Grandmother is very sick.'" (21)

In 1532, a Wittenberg student, John Zink, became seriously ill and died within a few weeks. The young man had been a frequent guest in the Luther household. Within two days of the death, Luther wrote a letter of condolence to the father, Thomas Zink. After assuring the father that no effort had been spared "by way of care, attention and medicine," (L.W. 50:51), he exhorted the parents to be thankful that they had been given such a good son, that they had supported him in his studies, and that he had died peacefully. In closing, he promised that he would ask the boy's tutor to "write down for you some of the beautiful words which your son offered before his death." (52) The promise was apparently kept, for a record of John Zink's last days is included in Luther's Table Talk.

A very different sort of pastoral counseling was sought and received by Duke Joachim of Brandenburg. Having been asked to accept a captainship of forces to fight the Turks, he wrote to Luther and Melanchthon for advice. In response, Luther blesses the undertaking, but gives some interesting advice about motivation:

> I beg our people not to place their reliance on the Turks' being altogether wrong and God's enemy while we are innocent and righteous in comparison with the Turks....For we, too, are unrighteous in God's sight. We have shed much innocent blood, have persecuted, despised and disobeyed God's word, so that under no circumstances must we take our stand on either our own righteousness or the unrighteousness of the Turks. (L.W. 50:70)

Luther also asks that the Duke inculcate the proper spirit in the soldiers, so that they would not seek "honour, glory, land, or booty," but only fight for the glory of God and the physical defense of their Christian neighbors. (71)

A pastoral letter to a fellow minister begins very conventionally but has an interesting request for ministry in return. Upon learning that John Schlaginhaufen was ill, Luther wrote the usual words for such situations: "I hear that you are ill, I am really sorry about this...." (L.W. 50:78) He then added a personal prayer request:

> I do live such a useless life that I cannot stand myself. I do not know where the time goes and why I accomplish so little....Please pray for me, that my work will bear more fruit. (79)

Since these lines appear in volume 50 of Luther's works, it is rather hard for this reader, at least, to think of the man as unproductive! He obviously was not a stay-at-home, since many of his letters were written to his wife, Katie. Some were written while he was doing pastoral visiting, including an extended stay with Elector John when the prince suffered from a severely infected foot.

V. LUTHER AS PASTOR: SOME OBSERVATIONS

In looking at sixteenth-century pastoral ministry, it is surely dangerous to think of Martin Luther as typical (or as typical of anything, for that matter). Yet, he probably reflects and represents to some degree the standards and practices regarding the pastoral role. A few observations and speculations can be made.

First, it seems evident that one major function of preaching was pastoral ministry. By instruction and exhortation as well as by comforting and reassurance, the congregation's needs were addressed from the pulpit. Second, there is also evidence in his sermons to suggest that Luther, at least, knew his "flock" well enough to scold and chide, calm and comfort in quite specific ways.

Third, both Luther's sermons and letters indicate that his

pastoral care involved the proffering of a great deal of advice--solicited and otherwise. Since it seems evident that Luther was by his very nature an advice-giver, there may be some danger in assuming from these data alone that sixteenth-century pastors were always ready with advice.

A fourth impression--the strongest of all--is that the picture of the Christian minister as pastor has changed remarkably little in four centuries and more. Visiting the sick, encouraging the troubled, and comforting the bereaved were expected functions in the time of the New Testament epistles, just as they were in Luther's time and are today. The telephone now replaces the pen in situations where a personal visit is impractical, but little else has basically changed.

As a final point, I wonder if modern clergy might learn from Luther's openness, especially his willingness to give voice to his own doubts and problems and allow for ministry to be reciprocal or mutual. Such a practice seems to both lessen Luther's isolation and increase his effectiveness.

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HAMMER BUT NO SICKLE--A BRIEF ASSESSMENT OF THOMAS MÜNTZER, 1489-1525

Edward J. Furcha

Thomas Müntzer was a renegade priest who became involved in issues that concerned some of the underdogs of his day--the peasants and miners of ducal Saxony. Among the many colourful "lesser reformers" in the early sixteenth century he was one of the most remarkable and, in some sense, most tragic figures. His career might well have taken a relatively peaceful turn had he continued shepherding his parishioners without involving himself in matters that extended beyond the spiritual and religious realm into that of power and politics. When he tackled some of these problems he came in conflict with temporal authority. He was executed at the youthful age of thirty-five as a convicted insurrectionist.

Unlike many of his contemporaries who were active in reforming church and society, Müntzer wrote relatively little. Apart from his liturgical work we have several tracts, a few sermon fragments and some letters to friends and opponents-- a total output of no more than six to eight hundred pages in a modern critical edition (Peter Matheson has published a selection of Müntzer's writings with T & T Clark in 1989). Nonetheless, Müntzer's influence is far-reaching. How ought one to account for his legacy?

Several factors might be mentioned. Firstly, he is the one "enthusiast" who seemed prepared to take on Luther on his own terms and to critique him openly while affirming the need for reforms of decayed christendom. As early as 1521 with the publication of the so-called Prague Manifesto Müntzer expressed concern with the half-measures that were used to heal broken christendom. He called for restitutio instead-- a rediscovery of the pristine church that existed at the time of Christ and the apostles.

Secondly, Müntzer combined in himself characteristics of a divinely-sent prophet with those of a true pastor and counsellor, bringing to his parish work an awareness of the systemic ills that made a reformation of the church in head and members virtually impossible. However, he dared hope for a radical

transformation chiefly out of his faith in the grace of God who would use instruments like himself to refine human hearts (he uses the term "entgröben"). Thus nominal Christians would become followers of Christ with an invincible faith. This meant, among other things, to accept Christ in his suffering and not in his glory.

Thirdly, Müntzer was seen by many of the common people of his day to be standing on their side even when the divinely-ordained leaders of the people seemed intent on advancing their own interests rather than lightening the excessive burden of levies and taxes.

Müntzer's call for transformation of individuals and socio/religious structures encountered numerous obstacles and setbacks. Luther considered him an undesirable enthusiast. The heirs of Jan Hus's teaching did not respond to his challenge in the desired fashion. The princes who had come under Luther's influence considered him dangerous enough so as to forbid their subjects from hearing him preach. Since he had already written off the papal church the only thing left for him to do was to turn to simple Christians and help wean them from their dependence on and fear of human beings and their institutions. He made it his main task to instil in regenerate Christians the true timor dei.

For this purpose he wrote a German Mass and the German Office during his pastorate in Allstedt. In this way worshipers would be exposed in their worship to the Word of God, the source of all authority in human affairs. In addition, he wrote tracts to disseminate his call to radical reform. These merely elicited further opposition from Luther, a reserved silence from Carlstadt and censure from the temporal authorities.

More than ever, Müntzer seemed certain that only a person who had been rid of every trace of human fear could qualify as one of the elect through whom God once again would re-establish a true apostolic church. Those who in genuine surrender--Gelassenheit--would submit to the will of God could experience the transformation by which they in turn would become instruments of systemic transformation. The end product would be a world of regenerate men and women in new communities under God.

To that end Müntzer, the servant of God, is prepared to act as "guardian of souls." By proclaiming true baptism and right faith he hopes to lead others away from their "imaginary faith." To achieve this he stresses the necessity of separation from the world for individual believers as well as for entire communities of true Christians.

On the basis of his reading of the Gospel according to John he arrives at a notion of genuine baptism as an "inward baptism of suffering." He rejects external ministrations of water in infancy or adulthood as expressions of true baptism, thus setting himself over against not only most Anabaptists of the day but also against the teachings of Luther and other magisterial reformers. In fact, Müntzer would suggest that true faith becomes distorted whenever baptism is limited to externals.

He directs his criticism at the pharisees and scribes of his day whom he compares to dogs and pigs--both understood as derogatory terms. It is they who broaden the narrow path and think highly of themselves even when Christ calls them "false prophets" (see Imaginary Faith & Protestation). Though he generally does not name anyone he obviously has in mind all those who are prominent in the affairs of church and community and who assume roles of counsel and leadership. His warnings went largely unheeded.

The less success Müntzer encounters, the shriller his tone. In the **Sermon before the Princes** his message is unmistakable. On the basis of Daniel 2 he paints a picture that suggests end time, divine judgement and the ultimate destruction of those leaders who appear to have stood firm, yet are found to have had feet of clay. One can read into this sermon a fundamental revolutionary message: those who govern will be overturned. Yet Müntzer has left some room still for Christian leaders to rid themselves of their human fears and to govern in genuine timor dei. He is, in other words, no full-blown revolutionary as yet. Instead, he espouses harmonious interaction between Christian rulers and Christian people, reminding the former that it is their God-given task to wield the sword in protecting Christians against the godless.

Tyrants only would thwart the divine will. To forestall the effectiveness of their destructive ways he ultimately calls on Christian commoners themselves to band together in associations

such as the Allstedt League, he helped organize, to protect themselves against the assaults of the godless ones.

The immediate unrest that followed can readily be seen as excesses beyond the control of Müntzer or anyone else, for that matter. One such act of vandalism was the destruction of the Mallerbach Chapel. Müntzer condoned the vandalism as the inevitable removal of idol worship. He could hardly have anticipated the consequences this was to have. Luther wrote to the princes to remind them of their duty to keep law and order. They, in turn, must have sensed the potential undermining of their own authority when "powerless subjects" assumed semi-political functions in the name of God. Müntzer for his part resented the role the ex-monk Luther had assumed in acting as the conscience of the rulers and as judge of what might be deemed catholic and what not.

Nonetheless, even at this point Müntzer still seems reluctant to defy the authorities openly. Instead, he flees Allstedt under cover of darkness on Sunday, August 7,m 1524. Obviously, the field was not yet ripe unto harvest. Müntzer is prepared, however, to launch a frontal attack in the Express Exposé (Ausgedrückte Entblössung). The tract appeared in two versions of which the second is a slightly "purged" shorter version. It is addressed to "poor, scattered christendom" with the intent of exposing the false, idolatrous faith of the big wigs. Müntzer describes himself as "prophet with the hammer"-- a willing instrument in the hands of God to remove those in power and to exalt those who are humble of heart and have made a radical turn-about.

Though the language of the longer version of this tract is rather strong, Müntzer nowhere advances notions of a classless society. His attacks are directed against the godless whose lack of faith he exposes and whose removal from power he advocates. Curiously, the tract offers no concrete remedies and lacks any specific plan for reform (Walter Elliger,1975 even suggests that in view of the peasants' miserable plight Müntzer was neither very aggressive nor progressive).

Stronger still and now directly aimed at Luther whom Müntzer holds responsible for the failure of reform efforts is another 1524 publication, the Highly-Provoked Defense and Reply "to the spiritless, soft-living flesh at Wittenberg who in a perverse manner has miserably defiled pitiable christendom by stealing

Holy Scripture." Müntzer's anger and frustration are undisguised. He burns with righteous indignation calling Luther an "ambitious Dr. Liar" (a wordplay on Luther-Lügner), "deceitful raven" and "treacherous fox." The tenor of the tract points to the deep sense of betrayal Müntzer feels for not being allowed to proclaim the word of God and to freely exercise his calling. His name calling appears to be not so much a sign of insurrection or planned revolution as it is a cry of despair of one who feels cornered and ineffective. The tract was almost immediately suppressed and could not have had wide circulation. Müntzer himself may never have seen it in its published version.

Whatever role Müntzer played in the Mühlhausen uprising of peasants cannot be determined from his publications. The decision to join the movement probably was not made until after December 1524. Some of the extant letters of early 1525, however, sound a harsher note. Müntzer now signs himself occasionally as "T.M. with the sword of Gideon" (May 9,12, 1525), though he generally perceives himself as servant of God and identifies himself as one with the whole congregation of God at Mühlhausen. There is insufficient evidence other than the charges made by his detractors to support the claim that Müntzer was the instigator of the Mühlhausen uprising. However, he may fairly be numbered among the spiritual and intellectual leaders of the common people of that area. When some fourhundred men leave the city of Mühlhausen on April 26, 1525 with their rainbow banner to aid their brothers from the neighboring town of Salza, he is among them. This, after all, was to be a confrontation betwen the godless people--martyrs of Satan--and the true martyrs of God.

Pfeiffer and Müntzer had obviously misjudged their strength. Could it be that the men who had come out to fight in the name of God were not sufficiently "surrendered in God?" They certainly lacked military know-how and skills. The peasant throngs were beaten and decimated. Betrayed, captured and humiliated in painful interrogation Müntzer had but one option, namely to undergo the supreme "baptism by blood." His physical life was brought to an end on May 27,1525; his influence, however, had only just begun.

AN EXAMINATION OF THOMAS CRANMER'S DOCTRINE OF THE EUCHARIST

Davena Davis

"How this is done, some may deduce
better and expound more clearly than others"

INTRODUCTION

Between the early months of 1549 and the last months of 1552, England became a Protestant country. The two people most responsible for this were the King (together with the Dukes of Somerset and Northumberland) and Thomas Cranmer, the Archbishop of Canterbury. The two most influential forces in this conversion of a nation from Catholicism to Protestantism were the prayer books issued in the name of the former and written and edited by the latter. The first book appeared in 1549, the second in 1552.

Within the prayer books of Edward VI the greatest change which the reformers brought about was the doctrine of the Eucharist and the way in which the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was celebrated. In England, as on the continent, the mass was a re-enactment of Christ's sacrifice; the body and blood of Christ were in the Host. The reformers saw such understanding as medieval accretions which defiled the Eucharist and they attempted to return the doctrine and the method of celebration of the Lord's Supper to its original purity. The question of how Christ is present in the Eucharist was the dominant and most controversial theme of reformation theology.

Thomas Cranmer, (1489-1556) while not a reformer of the calibre of Luther or Zwingli, nor a systematic theologian of the likes of Melanchthon or Calvin, was the theologian largely responsible for the English Reformation. The Service of Holy Communion in the two prayer books[1] and his theological treatise The Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament represent, together with a few minor works, his position (insofar as it can be known) on the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

In this the five hundredth anniversary of his birth, it seems not unreasonable to add yet another contribution to the wealth of Cranmer scholarship. In so doing, one can but hope to avoid the Scylla and Charybdis Peter Brooks warns against of "tedious repetition" or "ungainly and affected originality."[2]

THE FIRST PRAYER BOOK OF EDWARD VI (1549)

The 1549 prayer book was not sprung on a totally unprepared nation on Whitsunday, June 9, 1549, the day it was proclaimed to come into use. Cranmer had attempted to lead the country gradually into reformation. As one step, in July 1547 he had authorized the publication of a book of homilies, Certayne Sermons or Homelies. He had written three of these: on salvation; of the true, lively and Christian faith; and on good works annexed unto faith.

Parliament was also moving in its own way towards ecclesiastical reform by repealing many of the Henrician treason or heresy laws and by passing bills such as the one which permitted the distribution to the laity of the sacrament in both kinds. To provide a liturgy for this, in 1548 Cranmer approved The Order of Communion, in English, a service which was to complement the mass. The Order was not intended to be permanent nor to alter the Mass substantially. Cranmer undoubtedly was responsible for much of it, although it was the work of a commission of some thirteen clergy.

In September and October of 1548 work began on The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, after the Use of the Church of England. Beyond the place (Windsor Castle and Chertsey) and the time, little information is available about is compilation. Cranmer had been drafting liturgies over the years, and the third of these is generally considered to be the one he submitted to the clergy who made up the assembly.[3] Much could be said of interest about the 1549 prayer book in its entirety but the section on the Eucharist is the most revealing of Cranmer's reformation theology.

The sacrament of the Lord's Supper is called (modernizing the spelling) "The Supper of the Lord and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass." The service begins not too

differently from the Sarum use up to the Canon of the Mass. While the worshippers were assuming their places after presenting their offerings, the priest was instructed to prepare the bread and the wine. The Sursum Corda, Preface and Sanctus preceded the Prayer of Consecration. This was a long prayer in three parts: the intercessory prayer for the church militant as it is known in later editions), the actual prayer of consecration, and an oblation. The Lord's Prayer, the Invitation, Confession, Absolution, Comfortable Words and Prayer of Humble Access all came between the Prayer of Consecration and the administration of the sacraments. After the Communion there was provided a list of post-Communion sentences to be said or sung, and the service closed with the prayer of general thanksgiving said by the priest and the benediction.

1549 PRAYER OF CONSECRATION

The Prayer of Consecration, as mentioned, was in three parts: "It is clear that it was the intention of Cranmer and his fellow-revisers to substitute for the later medieval notion of placatory sacrifice ... the older intention of thanksgiving and anamnesis."[4] "And especially we commend unto thy merciful goodness, this congregation which is here assembled in thy name, to celebrate the commemoration of the most glorious death of thy Son." "Wherefore O Lord and heavenly Father, according to the institution of Thy dearly beloved Son ... we ... do celebrate, and make here ... with these thy holy gifts, the memorial which thy Son hath willed us to make, having in remembrance His blessed passion...." In the actual prayer of consecration, the emphasis has changed from the placatory sacrifice of the body and blood of Christ here really present[5] to the sacrifice of Christ on the cross "who made there (by his one oblation of himself once offered) a full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice, oblation and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world...." And in the closing section, there is the congregation's oblation and sacrifice: "this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving.... And here we offer and present unto thee, (O Lord), ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy and lively sacrifice unto thee...."[6]

Although the ethos was changed from the traditional one, there was enough which was inherited from the Catholic canon to make the service acceptable to some Catholic clergy. As one

historian has expressed it, "Cranmer's Canon ... cleverly concealed revolution behind the conservative forms of hallowed usage."[7] The prohibition of the elevation of the Host and of manual acts was serious, as was the omission of "made" in the phrase "that they may be made unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ" but less important than the retention of the sentence in the prayer of humble access: "Grant us therefore ... so to eat the flesh ... and to drink His blood in these holy mysteries...."

It was not a popular book. The radical Protestants found it too Catholic, the extreme Catholics, too Protestant, the moderate Catholics (although moderate is not the best word if one cites, as one must, Stephen Gardiner among them)[8] could find enough traditional Catholic doctrine in it to tolerate it, and many a person detested it because it was not in Latin.

THE DEFENCE OF THE TRUE AND CATHOLIC DOCTRINE OF THE SACRAMENT

The Defence has been called "the leading exposition of the official doctrine which had replaced the Real Presence,"[9] "a piece of constructive theological exposition [which has] great value"[10] and again, "the richness of Cranmer's sacramental teaching is impressive testimony to his overall theological acuteness and power."[11] It also reveals Cranmer's complete familiarity with Scriptural and Patristic texts. Its style, however, was ponderous and the tone somewhat polemical.

> And moved by the duty, office and place, whereunto it hath pleased God to call me, I give warning in his name unto all that profess Christ, that they flee far from Babylon, if they will save their souls.... Trust not her sweet promises ... But come to our Redeemer and Saviour Christ ... Listen not to the false incantations ... of the subtle papists.... (Defence, Preface).

It was Cranmer's first major theological work begun probably in 1548.[12] The Defence was published in July of 1550 and ran to three editions in that year. In 1552 a French translation was published, followed in 1553 by a Latin edition. Additional revisions and editions were published in the ensuing years.[13]

The Defence is divided into five books:

1. True and catholic doctrine and use of the Sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ.
2. Against the error of transubstantiation
3. How Christ is present in His Holy Supper
4. Of the eating and drinking of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ
5. Of the oblation and sacrifice of our Saviour Christ.

The titles of these books (slightly shortened) indicate that Cranmer was not about to add any new topics to the eucharistic controversy. These were the same questions which had troubled Luther and Zwingli and which were continuing to concern their spiritual successors, Peter Martyr, Bullinger and Bucer in the "Supper-strife" of the sixteenth century. Clearly they were still important issues. Cranmer approached the controversy with both negative and positive arguments. Thus after roundly denouncing the Roman doctrine of transubstantiation, he equally strongly presented his readers with an alternative doctrine, that of Christ's presence sacramentally, and in place of Christ's repeated sacrifice in the Mass, Cranmer suggested that the communicants offer themselves in a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving.

Two presuppositions underlie Cranmer's eucharistic theology. One, his belief in justification by faith alone on the basis of the "full, perfect and sufficient sacrifice" of Christ on the cross and that through him alone comes redemption of sin. The second is that the sacraments are visible words:[14]

> Our Saviour Christ hath not only set forth these things most plainly in his holy word, that we may hear them with our ears, but hath also ordained one visible sacrament of spiritual regeneration in water, and another visible sacrament of spiritual nourishment in bread and wine.... For as the word of God preached putteth Christ into our ears, so likewise these elements of water, bread and wine, joined to God's word, do after a sacramental manner put Christ into our eyes, mouths, hands and all our senses. (Defence, I.12)

In the first book of the Defence, Cranmer undertook to disprove what he listed as the four principal errors of the Papists: transubstantiation, the presence of Christ in the sacrament, the belief that wicked persons could eat and drink the body and blood of Christ and the daily sacrifice of Christ in the mass. The opening chapters of the book covered the usual basic arguments on the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, recited--Cranmer explained--to show how wrong the four errors of the Papists were.[15] The last chapter, however, contains the crux of the whole treatise: the four errors and Cranmer's correction of them. Against transubstantiation, Cranmer suggests: "For Christ teacheth, that we receive very bread and wine in the most blessed Supper of the Lord, as sacraments to admonish us that as we be fed with bread and wine bodily, so we be fed with the body and blood of our Saviour Christ spiritually. (Defence I.17). Against Christ's presence in the sacrament:

> And although Christ in his human nature substantially, really, corporally, naturally and sensibly, be present with his Father in heaven, yet sacramentally and spiritually he is here present. For in water, bread and wine, he is present as in signs and sacraments, but he is indeed spiritually in the faith Christian people, which..unfeignedly believe in him. (Defence I.17)

As for those wicked persons who partake of the sacrament, Cranmer says: "they eat the sacramental bread and drink the sacramental wine, but they do not spiritually eat Christ's flesh nor drink his blood, but they eat and drink their own damnation." (Defence I.17) And finally, against the fourth error:

> But the Prophets, Apostles and Evangelists do say, that Christ himself in his own person made a sacrifice for our sins upon the cross, by whose wounds all our diseases were healed, and our sins pardoned; and so did never no priest, man nor creature but he, nor he did the same never more than once. (Defence I.17)

This chapter in Book I, therefore, can serve as a summary of the Defence. The remainder is a development of these four ideas.

His method of argument merits some mention. Like all the reformers, he placed his strongest emphasis on Scripture, but he accepted the validity of Patristic evidence[16] and argued on the

basis of reason or common sense. Thus, on the basis of Scripture, the Fathers and reason, he stated that the body of Christ is in heaven sitting at the right hand of his Father, that John 6 refers to a spiritual and not a literal feeding, and that there are both Old and New Testament provisions for non-literal interpretations. His appeal to reason lay in the fact that our faith is not contrary to our senses (citing John 20) and if we feel, taste and see bread and wine, that is what they are. (Defence II.4)

Having refuted transubstantiation in Book II, Cranmer began in Book III to present his alternative doctrine of the spiritual presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Cranmer's eucharistic theology has been thoroughly investigated,[17] and little can be added. The key word in his doctrine is "spirituality."

> For figuratively he [Christ] is in the bread and wine, and spiritually he is in them, that worthily eat and drink the bread and wine; but really, carnally, and corporally he is only in heaven, from whence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. (Defence III.14)

Again,

> And where St. Chrysostome and other authors do speak of the wonderful operation of God in his sacraments... they mean not of the working of God in the water, bread and wine, but of the marvelous working of God in the hearts of them that receive the sacraments, secretly, inwardly and spiritually transforming them, renewing, feeding, comforting and nourishing them with his flesh and blood, through his most Holy Spirit.... (Defence III.15)

"It is the real presence of Christ as Cranmer understood it. But it is a real presence, not in the elements as such, but in the reception of the elements in true and inward faith."[18] "Spiritually" he understands as the distinction between the incarnate Christ and the risen and ascended Christ. It is the same Christ; but on the one hand, he was present in the flesh, and on the other, he is present in the Spirit.[19] The presence of Christ is to be found at the communion table, where the Holy Spirit mediates him through the sacraments, just as when the Holy Spirit mediates him through the preached word. In both cases,

the presence of Christ, effected by the Spirit is correlative to the Christian's exercise of faith. Christ's body is not present at the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, but through faith, Christ is made present in the heart of believers.

In the last book, Cranmer undertook to refute the two-fold idea of the re-enactment of the sacrifice of Christ and a nourishment of the communicant in the Lord's Supper. As a corrective he presents his own understanding, explained by a well-known Cranmer scholar as follows: "For if it is the office of the sacrament to bring before us the sacrifice of Christ, its sacrificial work includes not only the application of that work, but the response of self-offering to Christ which is evoked by that sacrifice and demanded of all the recipients."[21] Or, in Cranmer's own words:

> Let us give the whole laud and praise hereof unto him [Christ]; let us fly only to him for succour; let us hold him fast and hang upon him, and give ourselves wholly to him. And forasmuch as he hath given himself to death for us, to be an oblation and sacrifice to his Father for our sins, let us give ourselves again unto him, making an oblation, not of goats, sheep, kine and other beasts that have no reason, as was accustomed before Christ's coming, but of a creature that hath reason, that is to say, of ourselves, not killing our own bodies, but mortifying the beastly and unreasonable affections that would gladly rule and reign in us.
>
> Now that we be spiritual, we must offer spiritual oblations.... (Defence V.8)

SECOND PRAYER BOOK OF EDWARD VI (1552)

The 1549 prayer book, as mentioned earlier, was under attack from all sides. This fact, coupled with Gardiner's contention that the real presence could be read into its Eucharist, made revision of the 1549 prayer book imperative--and delicate. The Duke of Northumberland, in power after 1549, began putting pressure on the bishops to start revision, and a meeting was held in January 1551 at which it was decided, according to Peter Martyr Vermigli (then Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford): "...as the most Reverend informs me, many things shall be

changed. But what in fact they are which they have determined to have reformed, he himself neither explained to me, nor did I presume to ask him." (Peter Martyr to Bucer, 10 Jan. 1551)[22] Both Martyr and Bucer had been asked by Cranmer some time in 1550 to comment on the 1549 prayer book, which resulted in Bucer's Censura Libri Communiorum Precum and Martyr's Annotations and Articles (no longer extant). Bucer's Censura, with most of which Martyr agreed, is considered the prime source from which alterations to the prayer book were made.

The service of holy communion, called in 1552 "The order for the administration of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion" (modernized spelling throughout) began much as before, except for the Kyrie which was replaced by the recitation of the Ten Commandments. After the collection had been taken, the priest was instructed to say the Prayer for the church militant. This had been the first part of the 1549 prayer of consecration. Exhortations were provided to be read as necessary, and were followed by the prayers which had intervened between the 1549 Prayer of Consecration and the actual reception of the sacraments by the communicant (Invitation, Confession, Absolution, Comfortable Words, Sursum Corda, Prayer of Humble Access).

1552 PRAYER OF CONSECRATION

If the 1549 Prayer was considered too long for congregational attention, the 1552 version assuredly corrected that fault. It was very brief. It was no longer a prayer for the consecration of the bread and wine, but a prayer for the gift of the heavenly realities to those who receive.[23] It had been pared of any words which might conceivably be misinterpreted by the so-called extreme Protestants or the Catholics. At its core was the petition,

> Hear us, O merciful Father, we humbly beseech thee and grant that we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine, according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution, in remembrance of his death and passion, may be partakers of His most blessed body and blood.

The words of administration were changed quite considerably reflecting the anamnesis concept: "Take and eat this in

remembrance that Christ died for thee and feed on him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving" and "Drink this in remembrance that Christ's blood was shed for thee and be thankful."

The rubrics are revealing of the Protestantism of the Second Prayer Book. The altar became the Lord's Table, covered with a fair white linen cloth, located in the body of the church. The bread was to be the usual bread for eating, but of the best quality. And to avoid any idea of superstition, any left over was for the curate's use, thus eliminating the 1549 provision of the reserved sacrament for the sick. Each person was to communicate at least three times a year, one of which was Easter. And there had to be--even with the communion of the sick (except at plague times)--at least three people besides the priest to communicate. And lest someone solitary and sick feel deprived, the curate was instructed to explain that by faith, repentance and thanksgiving, that person "doth eat and drink the body and blood of our Saviour Christ."

Clearly there were indeed many changes in the Service of Holy Communion in the 1552 prayer book. The second most certainly had a more "Protestant" appearance. Any of the words or phrases in the 1549 book which Gardiner in his An Explication and Assertion of the True Catholic Faith (1551) had deemed "not distant from the catholic faith in my judgment" were corrected: The words of administration, the rubric concerning the communion wafer, parts of the prayer of consecration and the various names for the altar. Other criticisms by Bucer and Peter Martyr brought about other changes: the vestments rubric, the rubrics concerning the reception of Holy Communion once a year, the reservation of the sacrament for the sick, and so on.

CONCLUSION

In this discussion we attempted to look at Cranmer's eucharistic theology in the 1549 and 1552 Books of Common Prayer (as set out in the services provided for the Eucharist) and in his major theological treatise The Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament. At the heart of Cranmer's theology was his interpretation of Christ's spiritual presence in the Eucharist. This he argued in his Defence and incorporated into the prayers of consecration in the two prayer books.

> But all that love and believe Christ himself, let them not think that Christ is corporally in the bread, but let them lift up their hearts unto Heaven and worship him sitting there at the right hand of his Father. Let them worship him in themselves, whose temples they be, in whom he dwelleth and liveth spiritually; but in no wise let them worship him as being corporally in the bread; for he is not in it, neither spiritually, as he is in man; nor corporally, as he is in heaven; but only sacramentally, as a thing may be said to be in the figure, whereby it is signified. (Defence IV.11)

It would be naive and foolish to ignore the fact that words can be interpreted differently. Cranmer, like many others, has been interpreted and re-interpreted. Some commentators have chosen to read his ideas as Zwinglian. Dom Gregory Dix in his thorough work, The Shape of the Liturgy, is one such person. However, as Peter Brooks comments, by the middle of the sixteenth century, Zwinglianism was an outmoded and unhistorical term "and its continued use by prominent scholars is surely indicative of a failure to appreciate the rapid development of eucharistic doctrine by the many exponents of the "True" Presence.[24] As a fitting conclusion, we will follow Brooks in citing Calvin (from the Petit traicte de la saincte cene (1541)).[25]

> We all confess, then, with one mouth, that in receiving the Sacrament in faith, according to the Lord's command, we are truly made partakers of the real substance of the body and blood of Jesus Christ. How this is done, some may deduce better and expound more clearly than others.

ENDNOTES

1. The assumption is made that Cranmer was, by and large, the author of the Anglican eucharistic doctrine of 1549 and 1552. Clearly he was influenced by others. However, the essence and the expression of it was his.

2. Peter Brooks, Thomas Cranmer's doctrine of the Eucharist. (New York: Seabury Press, 1965), p. 59.

3. J.R. Ridley, Thomas Cranmer. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), pp. 285-286.

4. C.W. Dugmore, The mass and the English reformers. (London: Macmillan, 1958), p. 133.

5. Philip Hughes, The Reformation in England, ii, 108, cited by Dugmore, The mass, p. 133.

6. Dugmore, The Mass, p. 135 refers to the originators of this idea of self-oblation.

7. Brooks, Cranmer's doctrine of the Eucharist, p. 75.

8. Ridley, Cranmer, p. 324 makes this comment: "This transparent tactic [accepting the prayer book to secure his release from prison] has actually succeeded in causing certain modern writers to cite Gardiner's support in order to prove the orthodoxy of the Prayer Book of 1549."

9. Ridley, Cranmer, p. [322].

10. J.I. Packer, The work of Thomas Cranmer. (Appleford, Berks.: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1964), p. xxix.

11. Packer, Cranmer, p. xxix.

12. At his trail in 1555, Cranmer said he began writing the Defence seven years earlier.

13. References to this work are to the Courtenay Reformation Classics series edition (Appleford, Berks.: Sutton Courtenay Press, 1964) which is printed from the 1550 edition with additions up to the 1580 edition.

14. Packer, Cranmer, p. xxix-xxx.

15. C.H. Smyth, Cranmer and the Reformation under Edward VI. (London: SPCK, 1973), p. 69 suggests that these chapters were written under the influence of the continental reformer, John a Lasco and the last chapter under that of Martin Bucer.

16. Sometimes conveniently out of context to prove a point.

17. Cf. Thomas Bromiley's chapter "The eucharistic presence" in Thomas Cranmer theologian (London: Lutterworth Press, 1956).

18. Bromiley, Thomas Cranmer, p. 76.

19. Bromiley, Thomas Cranmer, p. 76.

20. Packer, Cranmer, p. xxxi-xxxii.

21. Bromiley, Thomas Cranmer, p. 87.

22. Peter Martyr to Bucer, 10 Jan. 1551 cited by J. McLelland, The visible words of God (Grand Rapids, Mich." Eerdmans, 1957), pp. 29-30.

23. D.E.W. Harrison, Common prayer in the Church of England (London: SPCK, 1969), p. 74.

24. Brooks, Cranmer's doctrine of the Eucharist, p. 70.

25. Corpus Reformatorum, v. 33, col. 460.

SIGMUND FREUD: HIS INFLUENCE ON WESTERN RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE

Will J. Friesen

There are many studies of Freud's life and thought. Critical studies and interpretations diverge widely, both in the areas of Freud's theory which they emphasize and in the implications they draw from them. Freud has been described as politically conservative, liberal, or radical; profoundly sociological in his thinking or void of any sociological implications; valid for only late Victorian Vienna or universally applicable; mechanistic and scientific or profoundly religious, humanistic and dynamic. He has been seen as an Enlightenment rationalist, a crypto-mystic, a crypto-biologist, a dualist, a dialectical thinker, an apologist for the status quo, and a "god-killer" in the tradition of Marx and Nietzsche.[1]

This essay will attempt to determine the impact of Freud on Western religious thought by examining two short essays by Freud and by considering Philip Rieff's sociological and Gregory Baum's theological interpretations of Freud.

"The Question of Weltanschauung" was written in 1932 near the end of Freud's life during a period when he primarily focused on matters concerning religion and culture. This essay is, perhaps, the most serious polemic on the reasonableness of adopting a scientific worldview as contrasted to a religious worldview. According to Freud, science is renunciatory, thus establishing its superiority over religion.

The scientist begins with the assumption "that there are no sources of knowledge of the universe other than the intellectual working-over of carefully scrutinized observation--in other words, what we call research--and alongside of it knowledge derived from revelation, intuition or divination."[2] The intellectual pursuit of science, including cognitive and emotional areas of functioning regards revelation and divination as "illusions, the fulfillments of wishful impulses."[3] By contrast, scientific thinking is concerned with normal thought activity regarding everyday matters. But science also goes beyond normal mental activity:

> It takes an interest in things even if they have no immediate, tangible use; it is concerned carefully to avoid individual factors and affective influences; it examines more strictly the trustworthiness of the sense-perceptions on which it bases its conclusions.[4]

The goal of science is to arrive at "correspondence with reality--that is to say, with what exists outside us and independently of us and, as experience has taught us, is decisive for the fulfillment or disappointment of our wishes."[5] Thus Freud's criterion for truth is that it corresponds with the real external world. The process of scientific investigation is "slow, hesitating, laborious." With a touch of cynicism Freud adds, "No wonder the gentlemen in the other camp are dissatisfied. They are spoiled, revelation gave them an easier time" in the search for truth and knowledge.[6]

Freud believes that psychoanalysis as a science and a method of thinking scientifically provides the most severe criticisms of religion. On the other hand, it is religion that provides the greatest opponent to the scientific Weltanschauung. "Of the three powers which may dispute the basic position of science, religion alone is to be taken as enemy."[7] Neither art nor philosophy, but religion is the "immense power which has the strongest emotions of human beings at its service." "It constructed a Weltanschauung, consistent and self-contained to an unparalleled degree, which, although it has been profoundly shaken, persists to this day."[8] Freud speaks very clearly of the nature and function of religion.

> It gives information about the origin and coming into existence of this universe, it assures them of its protection and of ultimate happiness in the ups and downs of life and it directs their thoughts and actions by precepts which it lays down with its whole authority.[9]

According to Freud, religion provides instruction, consolation, but also imposes demands.

When religion is put to the test of scientific (psychoanalytic) "genetic" analysis, the Christian believer is seen as prolonging childhood relationships with the father. The adult "harks back to the mnemic image of the father whom in his

childhood he so greatly overvalued. He exalts the image into a deity and makes it into something contemporary and real."[10] Consistent with his books on totemism and religion as illusion, Freud offers a penetrating attack on religion.

> In summary, therefore, the judgement of science on the religious Weltanschauung is this. While the different religions wrangle with one another as to which of them is in possession of the truth, our view is that the question of truth of religious beliefs may be left altogether on one side. Religion is an attempt to master the sensory world in which we are situated by means of the wishful world which we have developed within us as a result of biological and psychological necessities. But religion cannot achieve this. Its doctrines bear the imprint of the times in which they arose, the ignorant times of the childhood of humanity. Its consolations deserve no trust. Experience teaches us that the world is no nursery. The ethical demands on which religion seeks to lay stress need, rather, to be given another basis; for they are indispensable to human society and it is dangerous to link obedience to them with religious faith. If we attempt to assign the place of religion in the evolution of mankind, it appears not as a permanent acquisition but as a counterpart to the neurosis which individual civilized men have to go through in their passage from childhood to maturity.[11]

Clearly Freud declares himself in favour of a "scientific" Weltanschauung over against a religious one. In this approach he proves to be a positivist to whom no other knowledge is worthwhile except scientific knowledge, of which psychoanalysis takes part.

The biblical commandment "love your neighbor as yourself" is a central Christian doctrine. This concept of love of neighbor, affects other tenets such as sin and justification, nature and grace, Christ and culture. In "Thou Shalt Love Your Neighbor as Yourself" Freud, however, attempts to undermine the ethical possibility of such a doctrinal statement.[12] He believes the love commandment to be psychologically unrealistic and ethically perverse.

Freud's main objections to the commandment appear to be directed toward Christian attempts to extend love of neighbor to all persons alike including strangers and enemies. As well, his devastating attack is provoked by Christianity's claim to cultural and theological superiority over Judaism.[13]

The key to Freud's ethic is "reciprocity," not universal love. He considers it unfair to disregard special obligations to family and friends by treating strangers on par. The ethic of reciprocity did determine responsibility to strangers, although it is significantly qualified by nonmaleficence, as well as by principles such as promise-keeping.

Ernest Wallwork has noted that Freud criticized the love commandment on five grounds: (1) it is impossible to keep; (2) it is unjust in that it calls for equal love of neighbor, family and friends; (3) it does not consider the notion that not all persons are equally worthy of love; (4) it does not deal with aggression appropriately and therefore it actually encourages hostility toward outsiders, and (5) attempting to follow the command creates unhappiness.[14]

The first critique of Freud as outlined by Wallwork raises the "ought-implies-can" issue. In other words, is obedience to the love commandment possible? If the commandment cannot be kept then psychoanalysis has undermined one of Christianity's most sacred tenets. As might be expected, Freud's critique evolves from a psychological perspective. Although he does not directly state that his psychological critique is based on the premise that all love is ultimately narcissistic, Philip Rieff reads this assumption into Freud's concept of a loved object as self-love which makes love of another illusory. He comments, "All loves are unmasked as self-satisfactions: from the love of the child for parent--to the love of spouses which reincarnates these parent images, to the parent's narcissistic love of his own child."[18]

In order for Freud to explain his clinical data he develops instinct theories. For the phenomena of hysteria, obsessional neuroses, phobias, etc., Freud develops his theory of libidinal instincts that later became his theory of <u>eros</u>. To explain repetitive behaviour and neurotic resistance he constructs his theory of death instinct. He gradually elevates both <u>eros</u> and <u>thanatos</u> to the functional equivalent of cosmological forces. In

other words, he goes from explaining discrete data to the level of interpreting human experience in general, including religious experience. Freud's analysis of love of neighbor falls under his concept of the death instinct. He considers regard of others impossible within the constructs of this instinct, an instinct he turns into a larger cosmological metaphor. Freud argues:

> Anyone who calls to mind the atrocities committed during the racial migrations or the invasions of the Huns, or by the people known as Mongols under Jenghiz Khan and Tamerlane, or at the capture of Jerusalem by the pious Crusaders, or even indeed, the horrors of the recent World War--anyone who calls these things to mind will have to bow humbly before the truth of this view.[16]

It is impossible to love the neighbor because if one is really sober and reflects seriously, the neighbor has far more "claim to my hostility and my hatred." The neighbor seems not "to have the least trace of love for me..."[17] Freud contends that humans act because of practical reasons which are based on narcissism, although reason is not enough to motivate without the backing of desire. Thus, responding to another person's needs is legitimate only if it is relevant to egoistic or altruistic goals that are already desired. It is not so much a question of whether persons are cognitively capable of obeying the love commandment, but whether human beings are endowed with the necessary motives. Because Freud's theory of human nature is reductionistic--that consciousness is a facade hiding some deeper motivations of the self--it is impossible to follow the love commandment as it has been theologically interpreted by the Christian church.

Harry Tiebout proposes that Freud's views on theological doctrines can be reduced to two assertions. First, Freud's critique in the name of science attempts to show that the methods and doctrines of religion are incompatible with the "scientific outlook." According to Freud the only source of knowledge is that which can be verified through observation. Thus, it follows that religious knowledge is a contradiction in terms. When religion attempts to say something about the observable world, for example, in its conception of miracles and creation, it contradicts the findings of modern science and discloses itself as an archaic, animistic way of thinking. Therefore,

religious dogmas are nothing but anachronistic survivals of an earlier evolutionary stage. The second type of critique purported by Freud is more philosophical than scientific according to Tiebout. According to this view Freud attempts to demonstrate that Christianity is based on intuition, myth, and Greek philosophical symbols which shows that religious dogma is nothing but illusionary, and that "religion, like neurosis, is a flight from painful reality into an illusionary world system."[18]

Freud questioned one of the most sacred of Christian teachings. The effect of Freud's interpretation is potentially devastating to Christian orthodoxy.[19] If the love of neighbor tenet is impossible to follow, what ramifications does this have for other Christian doctrines? Where does this leave the Christian believer?

Don Browning has noted that ever since Philip Rieff has written Freud: The Mind of the Moralist and The Triumph of the Therapeutic: Uses of Faith After Freud, the world has been sensitized to the pervasive power of Freud's psychological ideas.[20] Using the writings of Peter Berger, Thomas Luckmann, Talcott Parsons, Robert Bellah, and the nineteenth century sociologists, particularly Weber, Rieff suggests that all of these contemporary thinkers would generally admit that modern self-understanding has become more personal, individualized, and privatized.[21] For example, today when individuals question their identity and the purpose of life, they most likely will do this from a quasi-psychological perspective rather than from a socio-political, institutional, or specifically religious base. More than anyone else, perhaps, Rieff has attributed to Freud a powerful place in psychologization of the human psyche.[22]

Many interpreters prior to Rieff focused on Freud's mechanistic reductionism, disregarding his views on cultural, religious, and social factors. Rieff is primarily interested in the relation between the human person and culture, and it is with this perspective that he studies Freud and psychoanalysis. According to Rieff, Freud helped to create a new type of personality which he calls "psychological man."[23] Rieff convincingly demonstrates that because of Freud and his "scientific" theory of psychoanalysis, a cluster of ideas, attitudes, and practices have shaped the very nature of the human psyche. Freud and his teachings have given birth to what Rieff calls a new controlling symbolic. This symbolic is the system of

ideas and symbols that organize human personality and potential into predictable types of persons. Forces like technology, the economy, social changes, wars, and catastrophes help to form the moral character of persons, but the pinnacle of a controlling symbolic is always the power of an outstanding individual or group.

Rieff claims that Calvin and his Reformed church theology was the controlling symbol from the sixteenth century to the end of the nineteenth century. But he believes that at the turn of the twentieth century a change occurred. Freud and his scientific theory of psychoanalysis became the controlling symbolic for human self-understanding. Where Calvin once stood, Freud now stands. This controlling symbolic has continued to the present through the evangelism of a worldwide group of psychoanalytically trained psychiatrists and psychotherapists.[24]

What are the distinguishing features of this new "psychological man?"

> He [psychological man] is not the pagan ideal, political man, for he is not committed to the public life. He is most unlike the religious man. We recognize in the case history of psychological man the nervous habits of his father, economic man: he is anti-heroic, shrewd, carefully counting his satisfactions and dissatisfactions, studying unprofitable commitments as the sins most to be avoided. From this immediate ancestor, psychological man has constituted his own careful economy of the inner life.[25]

Thus, "psychological man" lives by the ideal of "insight--practical, experimental insight leading to the mastery of his own personality."[26] The definition of self-understanding has turned away from transforming the environment and converting others to the "ideal of salvation through self-contemplative manipulation."[27]

According to Rieff, the meaning of the Christian faith is a controlling ethic where all the impulses of life and their social consequences are organized into images, symbols, doctrines, and precepts. The function of faith is to provide a system of "interdicts" and "remissions" that formulate internal energies in

the direction of moral passion and social cohesion. Preaching, evangelism, care, and the sacraments all serve to provide in an authoritative (not legalistic) manner commitments that give freedom and integrity to neighbor love. All the surplus energies such as sexuality are transformed positively into actions and symbols of liturgy, devotion, and ethics.[28]

Freud and his theory of psychoanalysis breaks the chain and creates disenchantment. Psychoanalysis, according to Rieff, is "deconversion," the attitude of interdictory neutrality. In other words, the good client has learned to view faith with ethical distance which results in a tentativeness toward theological commitments. This is really a doctrine of antidoctrine in which the individual takes a scientific, objective stance toward self and everything else around. Two quotes by Rieff summarize this shift in human understanding.

> In a highly differentiated democratic culture, truly and for the first time, there arose the possibility of every man standing for himself, each at last leading a truly private life, trained to understand rather than love (or hate) his neighbor.
>
> Crowded more and more together, we are learning to live more distantly from one another ... rather than in the oppressive warmth of family and a few friends.[29]

Thus, the Freudian approach may become "a kind of secular Methodism for those who remain obstinately uncomfortable in their pleasures."[30]

Rieff has clarified the implications and meaning of Freud's work, particularly in its challenge to Christian faith and ethical commitments.

Theologian and social critic Gregory Baum provides another perspective on Freud and categorizes Freud and Marx as two thinkers "who regarded religion as a symptom of human alienation and who anticipated the disappearance of religion as people were able to overcome the deprivations and frustrations inflicted on them in a previous age."[31] Although Baum sees both Freud and Marx as propelling religion toward secularization, he notes the positive contribution they both made toward a new sensitivity of the meaning of religious symbols. According to Baum, Freud's

critique of religion as alienation provides theologians with a framework for asking themselves how religious symbols manipulate people into dependency, guilt, and blindness.[32] In Man Becoming, Baum shows how the gospel message can be a healing message, but for it to remain faithful to this true intent, it is necessary to submit its teaching and practice to an outgoing therapeutic critique.[33]

But Freud's discovery has additional implications. Baum perceptively observes that with Freud's critique of religion, no longer can human behaviour be studied objectively. The observer has presuppositions when viewing human behaviour. This notion is also carried over to religion, which can produce guilt and passivity in people, using them for political and economic ends. Thus, religion is not value-free; it is value-laden based on particular interpretations.[34]

Near the beginning of his book, Freud and the Crisis of Our Culture, Lionel Trilling perceptively states that, "the idea of culture in the modern sense of the word, is a relatively new idea. It represents a way of thinking about our life in society which developed concomitantly with certain new ways of conceiving of the self."[35] This new way of thinking about the self as enlightened, scientific, progressive, and individualistic has its roots in Freud's assumptions concerning the superiority of a scientific worldview over against a religious one.

END NOTES

1. For an excellent discussion of these and other interpretations of Freud's thought, see Henri Ellenberger, The Discovery of the Unconscious: The History and Evolution of Dynamic Psychiatry (New York: Basic Books, 1970), pp. 534-546.

2. Sigmund Freud, "The Question of Weltanschauung," in The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, translated by James Strachey (London: Hogarth Press, 1964), p. 159.

3. Ibid., p. 159.

4. Ibid., p. 170.

5. Ibid., p. 170.

6. Ibid., p. 174.

7. Ibid., p. 160.

8. Ibid., p. 161.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid., p. 167.

11. Ibid., p. 168.

12. Sigmund Freud, "Thou Shalt Love Thy Neighbor as Thyself," in Civilization and its Discontents, translated by James Strachey (London: Hogarth Press, 1961), pp. 55-63. Freud does not title Chapter V of his essay, "Thou Shalt Love Thy Neighbor as Thyself." This is the implied title he suggests on the second page of the essay. His commentators have borrowed it from there.

13. Ibid., pp. 56, 61.

14. Ernest Wallwork, "Thou Shalt Love Thy Neighbor as Thyself: The Freudian Critique," Journal of Religious Ethics, 10 (1982), p. 267. Wallwork believes that Freud has been mis-read by many Christian ethicists. They have consistently argued that Freud did not believe in neighbor love. Wallwork argues that Freud believed in the psychological possibility of a milder, less effective mutual respect and reciprocity that actually resonates more consistently with Judaic teaching than Christian teaching on ethics.

15. Rieff, Freud: The Mind of the Moralist, p. 174.

16. Freud, "Thou Shalt Love Thy Neighbor as Thyself," p. 59.

17. Ibid., pp. 67, 57.

18. Harry M. Tiebout, "Freud and Theology", Religion and Life, 27 (1958), p. 271.

19. Don Browning, Religious Thought and the Modern Psychologies (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), p. 35.

20. Don Browning, Generative Man: Psychoanalytic Perspectives (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1973), pp. 13-14, 32-59.

21. Peter Berger, The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1967), p. 146; Thomas Luckmann, The Invisible Religion: The problem of Religion in Modern Society (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1967), p. 99; Talcott Parsons and Robert Bales, Family, Socialization and Interaction Process (New York: Free Press, 1955); Robert Bellah, Beyond Belief: Essays on Religion in a Post-Traditional World (New York: Harper & Row, 1970); and Robert Bellah, et. al., Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life (Berkeley: University of Berkeley Press, 1985).

22. Philip Rieff, Freud: The Mind of the Moralist (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961); and The Triumph of the Therapeutic: Uses of Faith After Freud (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1966).

23. Rieff, Freud: The Mind of the Moralist, pp. 329-357.

24. Rieff, Triumph of the Therapeutic: Uses of Faith After Freud, pp. 1-65.

25. Rieff, Freud: The Mind of the Moralist, p. 391.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid.

28. Rieff, The Triumph of the Therapeutic: Uses of Faith After Freud, pp. 66-78.

29. Ibid., pp. 70, 243.

30. Ibid., pp. 238-239.

31. Gregory Baum, Religion and Alienation, (New York: Paulist Press, 1975), pp. 140-141.

32. Ibid., p. 90. Baum takes a position quite different from Rieff's on the implications of Freud's critique of religion. Baum reads Freud much more politically and praises his critique of repressive, institutional religion.

33. Gregory Baum, Man Becoming (New York: Paulist Press, 1969), pp. 127-161.

34. Baum, Religion and Alienation, pp. 125-126.

35. Lionel Trilling, Freud and the Crisis of Our Culture (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955), p. 34.

THE CHURCHING OF EVELYN UNDERHILL

A. Elisabeth Dalgaard

Evelyn Underhill is best known for her book, Mysticism which is still considered to be one of the indispensable texts on the subject. First published in March, 1911, it enjoyed immediate success, being reprinted in July of the same year. A third edition, slightly revised, appeared in January, 1912; further revisions were made in 1930 (the twelfth edition) and it is this version which is still reprinted.

For Underhill scholars it is a provocative task to try to trace her personal development through the successive revisions of Mysticism. The major drawback, by Underhill's own admission, is that the changes were neither as many nor as extensive as she would have wished.

What is more satisfactory is to compare Mysticism and its revisions with other books and letters by the author. Here we can see the effect of those major "shifts" which led her from mysticism to spirituality, from an anti-historical approach to religion to an historical approach and from being strictly theocentric to becoming christocentric. During this development she moved from being a nominal Anglican to becoming a regular "observer" at Roman Catholic mass, to being a "white hot neo-platonist" (she said), an agnostic, an "anti-institutionalist" and, finally, to being a committed Anglican exercising what she called her "vocation." This meant among other things giving retreats to lay people and clergy, giving (and receiving) spiritual direction, and writing. Her earlier interest in mystics and mysticism had been supplanted by preoccupation with spirituality and liturgical studies.

In this essay I am attempting to trace the shifts in her life and thought which eventually led her back to the church in which she was confirmed. Fuller accounts may be found in the works of her two biographers, Margaret Cropper (1958) and Christopher J.A. Armstrong (1975), and in her collected letters, introduced and edited by Charles Williams (1943). Armstrong's book lists Underhill's publications including early books on mysticism and her later retreat addresses.

THE EARLY YEARS: 1875-1910

Evelyn Underhill was born in Wolverhampton, England, in 1875. Her father was a lawyer who shortly after her birth moved his family to London where he soon rose in his profession, being knighted in 1922. An only child, Evelyn was a caring and dutiful daughter and communicated well with her father, if not with her mother.

In her youth, the Underhill family was not given to regular church-going but through the exposure to Anglicanism at school Evelyn was duly confirmed in 1891.

At the age of ten she was sent to a boarding school and at sixteen went to King's College (later part of the University of London) to take courses in botany and modern languages and afterwards in social science and philosophy. By 1890 she had already met her husband-to-be, Hubert Stuart Moore. He too studied law but was not as successful as her mother would have wished and it was not until 1907 that they married. Both biographies, as well as her own writings, are curiously devoid of details of the married life of the Stuart Moores and her husband remains a shadowy figure in the background. It would seem that Hubert was not particularly devout but he did object strenuously when his wife considered becoming a Catholic, on the grounds that her confessing to a priest would divide them. Nevertheless, whether unchurched or churched, Underhill availed herself of the confessional.

A document survives which was written on the eve of her seventeenth birthday. In it she writes that "if we are to see God at all it must be through nature and our fellow man. Science holds a lamp up to heaven, not down to the Churches. I do not believe the Bible is inspired, but I think nevertheless that it is one of the best and wisest books the world has ever seen." She ends, stating that she would like to be an author, influencing people by her books but had she been a rich man she would have been a doctor and ministered to the poor "for nothing" (Cropper 4-6).

Although it is obvious that this is the product of a youthful hand, nevertheless there are early signs of her enduring concern for others, both to shape their ideas through her writings and to care for their needs as she was to do in that

particular charism called the "cure of souls."

It was probably in 1904 that Underhill joined a branch of the "Hermetic Society of the Golden Dawn." A chapter in Mysticism on magic points to her interest in ritual.

From 1898 to 1913 Evelyn went abroad each year. Fluent in Italian and French, she visited the great churches of the continent whose liturgies profoundly impress her. In 1905 she writes that she has had "a perfect orgy of splendid church ceremonies" and will never be able to bear English services again (Armstrong 27).

In a letter written 14 May 1911 Underhill sums up this early period and speaks of the "conversion" which never came to "submission." The result is a rare exposure of her feelings and thoughts:

> You see, I wasn't brought up to religion--really--except in just the formal way of course. So when the "youthful crash" arrived it caught me fair and square, and for 8 or 9 years I really believed myself to be an agnostic. Philosophy brought me round to an intelligent and irresistible sort of theism which I enjoyed thoroughly but which did not last long. Gradually the net closed in on me and I was driven nearer and nearer to Christianity--half of me wishing it were true and half resisting violently all the time. In those days I used to frequent both English and Roman churches and wish I knew what their secret was. Finally I went to stay for a few days at a Convent of Perpetual Adoration. The day after I came away, a good deal shaken but unconvinced, I was "converted" quite suddenly once and for all by an overpowering vision which had no really specific Christian elements but yet convinced me that the Catholic Religion [sic] was true (Letters 125-126).

This experience of "conversion" had other effects as Underhill wrote to a friend in 1908. "One cannot have more than one centre to one's life (at least without suffering pretty badly for it ....) and once you are adjusted to Eternity, Time is bound to look a bit thin. Metaphysics produced this effect in me far more badly than religious mysticism, because they [sic] proved

that the world was illusion without providing any reason for its existence" (Letters 82).

To the same correspondent (Margaret Robinson) she had written a month before, "Surely you have perceived for yourself the difference between created things as seen in the indescribable atmosphere which theologians call 'the love of God,' and seen it [sic] in the ordinary worldly light?... The first thing I found out was exalted and indescribable beauty in the most squalid places" (Letters 80).

If her love of ritual had moved her from her nominal Anglicanism to the Hermetic Society rituals and on to Catholicism and a conversion experience, that was as far as she would go. The year was 1907--the year of her marriage (in July) and one day after the issue of the papal decree, Lamentabilis. The latter was followed in September by the encyclical Pascendi which defined and condemned "modernism". Being a "modernist" herself on many points, Underhill could not make a wholehearted submission to Roman authority without compromising her principles. Nor was it possible at the time to join any other communion. By 1911, the situation had not changed. "I can't accept Anglicanism instead; it seems integrally a different thing. So here I am, going to Mass and so on, of course, but entirely deprived of sacraments" (Letters 126). The "and so on" referred to the fact that in addition to weekly Mass, she kept the feasts, partook of the devotions and prayed the prayers of the saints. In addition she lived by a self-imposed "rule" from 1907 until the end, encouraging others to do the same. But the "narrow exclusiveness of Rome" kept her from full submission to Catholicism while its "mysteries" and the "Reality" [sic] touched, seen and felt, prevented her from going elsewhere (Letters 126-127).

MYSTICISM (1911-1921)

The immediate success of Mysticism meant that Underhill became acknowledged as an authority on mysticism and was more and more sought out privately for counsel and publicly for lectures. In September 1911 she met Baron Friedrich von Hügel, eminent philosopher, Roman Catholic, and sometime "modernist," author of a book on mystical theology. He wrote to her praising Mysticism with certain reservations which he offered to help her "correct"

before the revised edition of January 1912. Somewhat in the tone of a schoolmaster, his proposal was a) an attempt to correct her bias towards "vitalism" (She has confessed elsewhere to having been "drunk with Bergson" at the time); b) against her idea of the "supposed non-necessity of institutional and historical religion for many or for some" (Armstrong 131-132). Underhill did make some changes on the basis of von Hügel's suggestions but she was not fully convinced of the need for historical, institutional religion until the 1920's. It was then that she sought and received von Hügel's help.

In a summary of those years between 1911 and 1921, she wrote to von Hügel:

> I ... very nearly became a Catholic (in 1907), but didn't quite. However, I went on for a long time going to Mass on Sundays as a sort of free lance and outsider; but gradually this faded out in favour of what I vainly imagined to be inwardness, and an anti-institutional bias ... Then during the war, I went to pieces ... though with several vivid calls back which I did not respond to (Cropper 72).

One of the reasons for not responding was that once again (as in her early years) she was caught up with Plotinus and his all-too-often quoted "the flight of the alone to the Alone" which seems to have described her own journey (see below). During these years she wrote several books on mystics and mysticism and in 1920 she published a collection of essays called The Essentials of Mysticism. All but one of these had appeared before in various journals though she reworked them for the book. There were thirteen essays, dating from 1911 to 1920, all dealing with some aspect of mysticism, the first six with general theory and practice, the rest with their application in the lives and works of specific mystics. If one rearranges these articles in chronological order the course of Underhill's development over the years seems apparent. In an early article (April 1913) "The Place of Will, Intellect and Feeling," one gets the impression that she is attempting to call God by any other name: Perfect Reality, Divine Will, Supreme Beauty and Infinite Reality are a sampling. Two years later, in "The Mystic and the Corporate Life" (January 1915), the word "God" is used extensively and she lists many saints and mystics, describing them all as being "convinced institutionalists." The church and the mystics need

one another and the "key to the connection between the great mystics and the corporate life within which they rise" is the doctrine of the communion of saints (Essentials 42-43). This would seem to indicate a shift towards the value and necessity of institutionalism in the author herself, but how it happened is not recorded. Then a 1918 essay on "The Mysticism of Plotinus" seems to indicate that she is enchanted all over again. Two years later, the title essay (January 1920) is also based on the mysticism of Plotinus. To all appearances, Underhill has returned to the "pure mysticism" of her younger years. But it was to be the last time. In 1925 and 1932, two commissioned works on mysticism were of an historical nature and never again was "mysticism" used in a book title. Perhaps we can find some hint of this new position in the same essay in the following excerpt. Even the substitution of "spiritual experience" for "mystical experience" is remarkable.

> So we are forced to ask ourselves which is the essential element in spiritual experience? ... I am sure that at the present moment we serve best the highest interest of the soul by subjecting the whole mess of material which is called "mysticism" to an inexorable criticism (Essentials 2).

As noted above, one essay in this collection had not been previously published. Its inclusion here could perhaps be taken as an indication of Underhill's own shift to sacramentalism. The article concerns one Lucie Christine (1844-1908) which was a pseudonym for a French woman whose spiritual journal had been published in 1912.

> She was a Christian first, and mystic afterwards .... Her Love for the institutional and sacramental side of religion saved her from many of the dangers and extravagances of individualism. It gave her a framework within which her own intuitions could find their place, and a valid symbolism through which she could interpret to herself the most rarified experiences of her soul ... She, who had touched the Absolute in her contemplations, was yet deeply impressed by the drama of the Church; by its ceremonies, holy places. She displayed the power--so characteristic of mysticism at its best--of transcending without rejecting the formulae of belief

> as commonly understood; of remaining within, and drawing life from, the organism, without any diminution in the proper liberty of the soul (Essentials 255).

Evelyn Underhill's appreciation of Lucie Christine's life, with its emphasis on the transcendental and sacramental in everyday life, would seem to point to something new. Nowhere is there any other explanation or description. All we know is that by 1921 she was a communicating member of the Church of England.

"THE SPIRITUAL LIFE"--ANGLICANISM.

In January 1922, Underhill published The Life of the Spirit and the Life of Today. The preface states that the book "owes its origin to the fact that in the autumn of 1921 the authorities of Manchester College, Oxford, invited me to deliver the inaugural course of a lectureship in religion" to be called the Upton Lectures, giving her "the great honour of being the first woman lecturer in religion to appear in the University list." The subject of the book is "the normal life of the Spirit, as it may be lived in the here-and-now" (Underhill 1922, VII-X).

In a radical departure from the mysticism of Plotinus she writes:

> Again and again the history of spiritual experience [shows] ... that its propagation is most often by way of discipleship and the corporate life, not by the intensive culture of pure solitary effort ... Therefore, join up with somebody, find fellowship; whether it be in a church or society or among a very few like-minded friends (Underhill 1922, 221).

She was not yet insisting on "Church" but her exhortation was a step in that direction.

In Chapter Five of The Life of the Spirit she divides her material into two parts: church and cultus. The church gives its "loyal members" 1) group consciousness; 2) religious union with the present and the past; 3) discipline, and 4) culture. "A real Church has ... something to give to, and something to demand from each of its members and there is a genuine loss for man in being under-churched" (Underhill 1922, 128). Of the cultus she

writes "The great thing is that by these corporate liturgic practices and surrenders, we can prevent that terrible freezing up of the deep wells of our own being which so easily comes to those who must lead an exacting material or intellectual life (Underhill 1922, 137).

After reading this latest book of Underhill's, von Hügel writes (in the revised bibliography of the second edition of The Mystical Element):

> Evelyn Underhill. Interesting progress from Mysticism, 1911, full of breadth and charm, but lacking the institutional sense, after several excessively mystical works, to The Life of the Spirit, 1922, bravely insistent upon history and institutionalism, and furnishing a solidly valuable collection of papers. (von Hügel 1923, XIV).

The word "bravely" is rather affective. Von Hügel was at the time seventy-one years of age and Underhill was forty-eight. While his attitude was somewhat paternal, it shows appreciation for her struggle. He had reason to know "the cost" (as she came to call it) since soon after she had returned to the Church of England she had placed herself under his direction. The close relationship that developed lasted from October 1921 until his death in January 1925. (Both biographies contain some of the letters which passed between them.) After von Hügel's death Underhill found other directors, some more able than others. She herself continued to direct as she had done since 1911, and by now was involved in the Retreat movement, giving preached retreats and publishing her addresses.

To understand the effect of the "shift" between the Underhill of 1911-12 and that of 1922 we must briefly examine her classification of types of mystics.

THE OLD AND THE NEW: MYSTICISM (1912 REVISED EDITION) AND THE LIFE OF THE SPIRIT (1922)

In the chapter in Mysticism called "Mysticism and Symbolism," Underhill speaks of the three great classes of symbols of a person's inward history which "play upon" three deep cravings of the self. These are: a) the craving which makes one

a pilgrim and wanderer who sets out on a journey in search of a lost home; b) the craving of heart for heart, which makes one a lover; c) the craving for inward purity and perfection which makes one an ascetic and, eventually, a saint.

There are three ways to describe the Absolute reality: a) the pilgrim will describe it as a place; b) the lover as a person; c) the ascetic as a state. All of these descriptions are partial symbols of the one "Indescribable Truth."

Further, a) will feel that he/she is on a quest--a journey from the material world to the spiritual world--a "flight"; b) will find in Christ an object of "intimacy, devotion and desire"; c) will see the mystic life as involving inward change rather than outgoing search. Growth or transmutation symbolizes a person's regeneration.

These three groups of mystics stand for three kinds of temperament which take as their symbol a) the Mystic Quest; b) the Marriage of the Soul; c) the "Great work" of the Spiritual Alchemists (the capital letters are Underhill's). The rest of the chapter is devoted to a detailed discussion of each of these "types" of mystics (Underhill 1912, 151-153).

The first chapter of <u>The Life of the Spirit</u> is entitled "The Characters of Spiritual Life" (i.e. characteristics, in the modern idiom). Underhill's starting point is "man's vague, fluctuating, yet persistent apprehension of an enduring and transcendent Reality." By three main ways do we realize this instinct for God: a) is marked by a profound sense of security, and peace. God is the Ground of the soul, the Unmoved. The spiritual fact is interpreted in a non-personal and cosmic way. Symbols tend to be those of space, stillness, light; b) is marked by the experience of relationship which is felt to be the intimate and reciprocal communion of a person with a Person, characterized by a prevenient and an answering love; c) is marked by the Spirit felt as an inflowing power, an energizing of the self or of the religious group, giving fresh vigour and joy to its existence (Underhill 1922, 6-11).

These apprehensions of reality are congruent with three types of spiritual awareness: a) "the cosmic ontological, or transcendent, finding God as the infinite Reality outside and beyond us;" b) "the personal, finding Him as the living and

responsive object of our love, in immediate touch with us;" c) "the dynamic, finding Him as the power that dwells within or energizes us." It should be noted that if spiritual life is to be full and is to achieve perfection in some measure, all three apprehensions must be present. "And thus it seems to me, that what we have in the Christian doctrine of the Trinity, is above all the crystallization and mind's interpretation of these three ways in which our simple contact with God is actualized by us. It is, like so many other dogmas when we get to the bottom of them, an attempt to describe experience" (Underhill 1922, 10-11).

What is remarkable about both passages is that Underhill's referents have changed. In the Mysticism categories they are as follows: In (a) the referent is Plotinus and his idea of flight; in (b) Christ is necessarily the object of such intimacy because "the Christian religion insists upon the personal aspect of the Godhead;" and in (c) the referent is the philosopher's stone of the alchemists, which could purge all baser metals of dross and then turn them to gold (Underhill 1912, 153).

In The Life of the Spirit the "cravings of the self" have been replaced by the "apprehension of Reality." The referents for the three types are the three persons of the Trinity: a) God is the Ground of the soul. (There is no "flight" here.) b) "Christ as object" is replaced by a Person--"characterized by a prevenient and an answering love,"--One who first calls and then responds. c) The magic of the alchemists is replaced by the work of the Spirit.

In the light of her mystical writings her final comment on dogma shows that she has changed her mind--the effect one might say, of the transforming power of the Trinity in her own life.

AN ASSESSMENT

Evelyn Underhill is usually described as a writer on mysticism: But was she a mystic?

In Practical Mysticism--A Little Book for Normal People (1914), Underhill offers this definition of a mystic: "Mysticism is the art of union with Reality. The mystic is a person who has attained that union in greater or lesser degree; or one who aims

and believes in such attainment (Underhill 1914, 1940, 3).

If, as she writes, mysticism is a matter of degree then we can call Underhill a contemplative: one whose goal is, like the mystic's, union, but whose way is less extreme. She was neither a recluse, nor did she manifest unusual behaviour.

But if she had recorded her personal experience perhaps her work would have been more universal and therefore more enduring. Although at times she seems describe the indescribable, capturing what might have been a glimpse of something ethereal, this often comes packaged with the philosophy and the psychology of her time and no longer seems fresh or even interesting. It would seem, too, that her spiritual life and writing ought to reflect in some way her own married life but this never happens. Surely that would have been part of her own life of the spirit.

Michael Ramsey (sometime Archbishop of Canterbury) writes, "Underhill was seen from the 1920's onwards not as the exponent of mysticism, or as an evolutionary philosopher, but as a doctor of the Christian Church. ... Evelyn Underhill [became] the teacher" (Ramsey 277). While this is high praise indeed, we must note that as a teacher her sphere of influence was mainly limited to the educated upper middle class of England.

But if her books on the philosophy and psychology of religion are dated, they still have value as a witness to the period, and certainly her retreat addresses are timeless. The Golden Sequence is an enduring classic of spirituality: a practical exhortation to holiness, based on God's prevenient grace and the human response in courage, initiative and surrender.

As Underhill grew towards spiritual maturity she came to write about religious practice in a most practical manner. She urged and encouraged her retreatants "to taste and see that the Lord is good." She wrote that when she was presented with "all the stuff about Christ being a World Teacher ... I feel what shallow, boring, unreal twaddle it is! But feeling doesn't win souls for God" (Williams Introduction, 27). One assumes that by then she knew what did. One thing is certain, she cared greatly.

After 1921 did she ever again entertain thoughts of becoming a Roman Catholic? We know that many friends urged her to do so

for various reasons. In a letter to one F.H. in 1933 she chastises J.H. Newman's "spiritual selfishness" for his moving over to Rome, ending with, "And the life of prayer can be developed in the C. of E. [sic] as well as anywhere else if we really mean it" (Letters 210).

But this is not her last word. In 1939 she writes to one C.D.

> If you decide on the Church of England make up your mind to accept it as a whole, for what it is, a "Bridge Church" which can include both those whose emphasis is Catholic and those whose emphasis is Evangelical, so long as they accept the only true basis of Catholicity--the Scriptures, the Creeds and the two Sacraments. Don't be sectional and anti-Protestant! Just quietly leave what doesn't suit you and feed your soul on the things that nourish it (Letters 278).

Perhaps it could be said that Evelyn Underhill herself had thought her way into the Anglican communion and had decided to stay there.

PRO-SLAVERY RELIGIOUS DISCOURSE

Patricia Roche

> Those who do not study the
> history of rhetoric will be
> the victims of it.
>
> (James Murphy)

Are truth and justice more persuasive than an argument that justifies one's preferred world view? A study of the proslavery argument of the 1850s as articulated by churchmen provides an opportunity to reflect on this question.

Today slavery is condemned broadly by political and religious institutions alike. In the 1850s in the Southern United States criticism of the prevalent practice of slavery stimulated the production of some eloquent apologetics - pro and con. The barbarism of the institution of slavery provided poignant contrast to the flowery discourse that sought to justify it. Some of the leading rhetoricians were churchmen.

Secular and religious proslavery arguments differ in appearance. However, when examined they have a shared objective or telos: to create a defense of the practice of slavery. The secular argument can be dismissed with relative ease while the religious proslavery arguments appear at times less offensive. Why? The answer in part lies in the particular rhetorical character of religious discourse.

RHETORIC

Why does an analysis of the persuasive ability of an argument move beyond the logical validity of the argument itself? There is only one answer to this question; human beings are not machines. If all one needed to make a decision or to analyze a social practice were facts, rhetoric would be superfluous. Since the values of human beings play a significant role in all politico/social decisions, the use of rhetoric is imperative. What shapes and defines the human person and human society are elements that defy factual quantification. In making decisions

and evaluating social institutions human society appeals, not only to fact, but to belief. This more complex appeal necessitates the use of rhetoric.

Rhetoric--notwithstanding its pejorative present day connotation--is a relatively neutral device. Aristotle claimed that: "Rightly employed, they [rhetorical devices] work the greatest blessings; and wrongly employed, they work the utmost harm."[1] Rhetoric aides an orator in the task to "instruct, move and delight."[2] Once the neutral devices of rhetoric are applied they take on the value of the applicant. Hence, applied rhetoric enhances the desire to persuade the audience "to see the world as you see it."[3] In other words applied rhetoric is partial.

The interminable dispute between rhetoric and morality is of particular interest to the religious rhetorician. What is the relationship between rhetoric and morality? Rhetoric implies that the audience is important as agent to move the orator's proposition forward. However, rhetoric is more than determining the audience's interests and tailoring one's argument to meet them. Are there rhetorical techniques that will persuade people to do something that is not in their short term interests? Aristotle felt that there was nothing as persuasive as truth and justice.[4]

Respect for an audience is demanded throughout the history of rhetoric but respect does not entail accommodation. Enabling an audience to transcend short term self-interest, providing one's listeners with the intellectual and moral arguments and instruments in order to do this, is a sign of respect. One could argue that the critical posture of the churches vis-a-vis human society has at times manifested such respect without accommodation. It would appear, however, that for the most part the proslavery arguments which follow reveal not respect, but accommodation.

Rhetoricians have a wealth of techniques they may blend throughout a discourse in order to achieve the desired effect. Among the most prevalent are appeals to ethos, and the use of logos, and pathos, or the appeals to recognized authority, logical forms of argument and the emotions. The choice of appeals is a matter of strategy and their effectiveness is judged in relation to the objective of the rhetorician.

The purpose of rhetorical examination is to bring to the fore the characteristics of the human person and particular society which are targeted by rhetorical devices. The choice of appeals reveals the applicant's understanding of the audience - in this case antebellum America. Study of persuasive techniques illuminates therefore--provided the applicant understands the audience well--the fundamental characteristics, belief systems, and desires of the given social group. These characteristics once revealed provide important clues for the rhetoricians of the counter-argument.

With very little philosophical dissection the religious proslavery argument reveals an underlying assumption of white superiority. Such superiority is so blatantly, completely unfounded that it requires and deserves no further attention. However, the rhetorical devices used in proslavery arguments, while not inspiring, are enlightening. In particular they reveal the tactics and compromises religious rhetoricians made in order to persuade.

CONTEXT

There was a conspicuous silence in the American churches on the issue of slavery prior to the articulation of the proslavery argument of the 1850s.[5] The silence of the Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist churches was not due to lack of interest or contention surrounding the institution of slavery. Questions were raised but they were not answered. The churches recognized the disruptive potential of discussions of slavery and avoided the issue at all costs.[6] The cost was very high.

The Kentucky Presbyterian Synod typified the pattern when in 1830 it "adopted a resolution to take no position."[7] Fear of alienating those congregations whose membership included slaveholders governed the decision. The fear was justified as the churches had known a great deal of post-Revival schism. However, it is possible to argue that taking no position on the issue of slavery was tantamount to giving it a blessing. A less tacit blessing, slavery would receive in the 1850s. The history of the churches on the issue of slavery, albeit with both noble and base exceptions, is not the history of the church in conflict; it is the church avoiding conflict.

A new generation of ministers appeared in the South in the 1850s.[8] They were well-educated, articulate, and genuinely concerned with the evangelical work of the churches. Their definition of evangelization however was limited to conveying their interpretation of the Biblical message to master and slave alike. Religion in this context had little liberating dimension. It was a means of social control despite the more altruistic intentions of the ministers. Many of the ministers of the 1850s would be no threat to the institution of slavery; rather they became its most articulate defenders.

It was the abolitionist threat to the status quo that compelled certain Southern leaders, among them some religious, to develop justificatory arguments for the existing situation. The articulation of the proslavery argument forced its composers, and all those who adhered to the practice of slavery, to expose their beliefs. In this way the abolitionists gave birth to the proslavery argument, albeit always with the intention of slaying it.

THE PROSLAVERY ARGUMENT

Slavery was not considered sinful by the proponents of the proslavery argument.[9] Some ministers acknowledged both that the practice was vulnerable to abuse, and that it perhaps should not be an interminable institution. Other adherents to proslavery argued that the practice of slavery had always been, and would continue to be, a part of the nature of human society. However, even if they recognized the eventual dissolution of the institution, they emphasized that the 1850s were not the appropriate moment. Further if slavery were one day abolished it would not be due to the practice being in-and-of-itself evil.

When the apologists referred to slavery they stressed that they were not referring to some abstract concept, a criticism of Northern abolitionist abstractionism, but to slavery in the concrete. Ministers argued that their experience with the practical reality of slavery credited them with a certain authority with which to describe and analyze the institution.

Slavery was the result of the fall of Man. Labour was the punishment of Man's sin.[10] Slavery was an inherent part of human society and abolition was not possible, as God had ordained Man

to suffer the burden of labour as a consequence of sin. The best then one could work toward was not the elimination of the institution, but reform within it. The objective of reform was to make the institution more tolerable to those who were predestined to slavery and improve the moral character of master and slave alike.

Scriptural justification was used throughout the religious proslavery argument. With reference to the New Testament the absence of any condemnation of slavery is read as tacit approval. Further with the assertion in Romans 5:13 "sin is not imputed when there is no law", slavery could not be considered sinful as it received no explicit condemnation. Some proponents of slavery argued that God gave slaves to Abraham referring to Genesis 24:35 "The Lord hath blessed my master greatly, and he is become great; and he hath given him flocks and herds, and silver and gold, and men-servants and maid-servants,...." If slavery was an institution sanctioned by God then it was not sinful. This notion was carried to great lengths when apologists for slavery argued that inherent in abolitionist sentiment was a rejection of the Word of God. Their motto was: "we fear God rather than man"[11] and they accused the abolitionists of heterodoxy.

Justificative recourse to scripture substantiated the claim that slaves were property. "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house; wife, nor his man-servant...." (Exodus 20:17) Slaves were the inviolable property of the slaveholder.

The Declaration of Independence was referred to by abolitionists and as such was an effective tool in pushing proponents of slavery to articulate a rationalization for the practice. Profoundly influenced by the French Revolution, the rights enunciated in the declaration included equality and freedom. Obviously incompatible with the practice of slavery, equality and freedom for blacks would have to be refuted in any coherent proslavery argument.

The first attack by the apologists for slavery was launched on the source of the Declaration. Claiming that human law as enunciated in the Declaration carried considerably less weight than the divine law revealed in scripture, proponents of slavery argued that human reason was not the final authority. When in contest with divine will, reason was subordinate. The idolization of human reason was a rejection of faith in revelation.[12]

The first phrase of the Declaration, passionately repeated by the abolitionists, inspired a proslavery critique: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, - that all men are created equal;..." The apologists repudiated equality by pointing to the varying social situations in which men were born.

Freedom for the black population was an irrational proposition because it ignored the special needs of the black community. The slaves were not capable of looking after themselves and therefore they were not capable of being free. Slavery was a positive good as it provided for the slave. The slave had a function to fulfill and a designated place in the social hierarchy.

The churches had a particular mission to the population practicing master/slave relations. The institution was to be Christianized by preaching the Word of God to both master and slave with a particular emphasis on the ignorant slave population. Motivated by humanitarianism the religious proponents of the proslavery position argued for the needs of the slaves to learn to read and receive a moral education. In return for obedience the slave would be rewarded by kindness and benevolence on the part of the master.

The analogy of the family appears frequently within this line of argument. The slave is taken care of as a child and the slaveholder plays the role of the parent (which includes disciplinarian). The product of a Christianized social practice of slavery was to be a peaceful, productive and well-ordered society which minimized abuse of the less fortunate by the powerful. The proponents argued: "Whatever was formerly harsh in the relation is gradually removed. Mutual intercourse is sweetened by it; the master is no tyrant, the slave no rebel."[13] Evangelization was a means of social control, pacifying the slaves in exchange for a certain moral minimum standard of conduct on the part of the slaveholder.

Without slavery there was no guarantee of continued prosperity. Since slaves were incapable of freedom, if freedom were thrust upon them it was impossible to predict the dangers for society that would be unleashed. The final proslavery argument was the simple assertion that if slavery were abolished chaos would result.

RHETORICAL ANALYSIS

An assessment of the persuasiveness of the proslavery argument reveals the power of religious rhetorical discourse. In dissecting the argument one finds the presupposition of white supremacy. Proslavery arguments propogated white supremacy despite the fact that a number of ministers may not have intended to espouse the concept, and only wanted to humanize an institution that they genuinely believed to be either perpetual or necessary in the given historical circumstances.

The mission of the ministers was to preach the Gospel. In order to maintain access to slaves and retain an on-going ability to influence the slaveholders, a certain degree of accommodation to the social structures was necessary. Fear of liberating immoral slaves and the consequent effect on the peace of society moved some ministers from a posture of accommodation to slavery to one of promotion.

Ethos as the appeal to a competent authority was not lacking in the proslavery argument. The Word of God was the ultimate authority. In a contest between the Declaration of Independence and the Bible, the religious proponents of proslavery were confident of victory. They did not refrain from practicing biblical literalism. They applied apostolic example, precept and injunction[14] strengthening their argument with each citation. Examples of bolstering the issue of slavery with texts from the Bible beyond those mentioned earlier included: Gen.i.26,27,28, 1 Cor.xi., 1 Pet.iii., Lev. 25:39., Exod. 1:14, Jer.22:13, Jer.25:14, Jer. 30:8, Deut.5:14, Gal.3:7, etc.

The religious proponents of slavery were masters at the manipulation of biblical texts to meet their objectives. When the abolitionists attempted to use the Bible to justify their position by citing :"do unto others as you would have them do unto you", the religious rhetorical masters deftly interpreted this to read: "if you were a slave how would you like to be treated - and treat your slave accordingly."[15] This is a pleasing but significantly less demanding reduction of the biblical text.

In addition to being seen as the mouthpiece of God a minister has a certain status within a community. He represents moral authority even when he is not quoting Scripture. There is an element of ethos (authority) in his discourse merely because

he is the source of the reasoning.

Pathos, the appeal to the emotions, was a particularly effective appeal. The rhetorical device fed the desires of the Southerners for cultural identity,[16] security, continued prosperity, stability, and peace. The political, economic, and social identity of the South was inextricably linked to the practice of slavery. It was entrenched in the cultural identity to such an extent that it was not difficult to appeal to insecurities regarding its dissolution, particularly since insecurities were already dormant in the population.

An example from Samuel How, a pastor of the Dutch Reformed Church, is illustrative. Referring to the abolition of slavery and the consequent unleashing of three million blacks, he exclaimed: "would we join them to drive the Southern white men from their homes, and to seize their property, and so throw them out, with their families, houseless, impoverished, and helpless?"[17] This was not a statement of fact or probable fact; it was designed exclusively to persuade. Reinforcement of fears, regardless of their level of rationality, is extremely persuasive.

The combination of reason and conviction strengthened the appeal of the proslavery position. The application of logos, the logical appeal, abounded in the religious proslavery argument. First, an example of a successful application of the technique based on the scriptural quotation: "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's house;... nor his man-servant...." There are four premises to the argument."To be Christian one must respect the right to property (emphasized in the quotation) and security of ownership. Respect for property has enabled society to move beyond barbarism and become civilized. Slaves are property. Free slaves are a threat to security."[18] The conclusion was therefore: to be a Christian and to be civilized one must respect the institution of slavery. Siding with the abolitionists entailed forfeiting civilization and security.

This is a valid form of argument leaving critique of the content of the premises as the only option for formulating disagreement with the conclusion. However, if one disputes the first and third premises, referring to the right of property and the categorization of slaves as property, one is refuting the Word of God. A critique of the second and forth premises, which

refer to civilized society and slaves as a threat to the quality of civilization, is a critique of common sense which is extremely difficult when trying to persuade an audience with interests in the status quo. Persuasive reasoning such as this forced the burden of proof onto the opponents.[19]

The proponents of slavery were not always so careful in the development of arguments. The following form of argument is not valid. There are two premises: "Slaves are property. Arts and sciences that civilize society are only possible if property is respected."[20] Therefore slavery must be respected if society is to remain civilized. While the form is not valid this argument still had a certain persuasive content by appealing to fears regarding "property" and "civilization."

The charismatic and passionate presentation of the revivalists was recaptured and combined with intellectual argument by the ministers of the 1850s. They produced a comprehensive discourse with multi-level appeal. The religious proslavery argument was able to soften the apology for slavery due to the specific character of religious discourse. The proslavery ministers of the 1850s were able to make the substantive supremacist assumption appear substantially different from its form in the secular apology for slavery. They achieved this by appealing to the desire to serve God, to the need for cultural identity, and by proposing the reform of the master/slave relationship. The convergence of the appeals of ethos, pathos and logos with an appeal to God's word, plays on the desire to be considered civilized and superior. The generally sophisticated form of this argument, made the religious proslavery apologists temporarily successful in defending slavery.[21]

ASSESSMENT

Religious discourse is particularly vulnerable to rhetorical abuse for several reasons. First, religious discourse frequently claims to represent the will of God. There is a tremendous appeal in the authority religious discourse claims to represent. Yet who is capable of claiming the authority of God in proposing the evaluation and structure of social practices? The proslavery ministers believed God had not only sanctioned but ordained

slavery.

Secondly religious language uses symbols to represent ultimate reality even though the symbols in and of themselves are not ultimate.[22] The proslavery ministers espoused this kind of biblical literalism.

It has been argued that "Christian preaching is...not persuasion, but proclamation based on authority and grace not proof".[23] Religious orators consequently can claim to transcend context and proclaim universal truth. Arguments that claim scriptural sanction and that use symbolic language are not available for factual verification.[24] How, then, can religious orators be refuted?

The discourse of the religious proponents of slavery combined proclamation and persuasion. Religious discourse becomes increasingly prone to distortion when the preaching seeks to merge logical proof of an argument with the will of God. The tension between rhetoric and morality is superceded by the religious orator's tacit claim to morality. The sanction of a point of view by a religious authority is understood as endowing a view with morality, and the presentation of views in the form of arguments provides the view with sanction from reason. In other words, religious arguments can appeal simultaneously to reason and conviction. This is a strength and also a weakness as the inherent potential for persuasion implies a strong necessity to be both ethical and accurate.

The religious proponents of slavery suffered from asking the wrong question. Paul Tillich points out that the message that ministers must ask is: "How shall the Gospel message be focussed for the people of our time?" The mistaken question is "How do we communicate the Gospel so that others will accept it?"[25] The motivation of some ministers in antebellum America was to preach the Gospel in a way that people would accept. They wanted to attract members to their congregation instead of generating critical reflection in light of the Gospel. The religious proponents of slavery substituted religion for morality.

The composers of the proslavery argument exhibited a keen sense of the persuasive potential of religious discourse. As a result, the Gospel message was severely compromised in proslavery arguments. Their success was that it didn't appear to be.

Religious discourse was not only used by the proponents of slavery but it was also a tool of the abolitionists. "Religion stands under the law of ambiguity...it is creative and destructive at the same time."[26] Persuasion can be a means of social control or a means by which one can transcend the actual and consider the possible. Religious discourse can choose to do either of these. The choice ultimately rests with the rhetorician.

In relation to the Ciceronian ideal of rhetorical devices combining eloquence with wisdom,[27] the proslavery apologists were only eloquent. Furthermore in answer to the question that opened this paper, and with all due respect to Aristotle, the abuse his rhetorical devices have suffered in the 19th and 20th centuries, particularly by exponents of religion, has fostered a well-founded skepticism in the paramount persuasive ability of truth and justice. But then Aristotle wasn't right about slavery either.

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1. Minnick, Wayne. The Art of Persuasion. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1968, 280.

2. Encyclopedia Britannica. edited by William Benton. 1973 s.v. "Rhetoric" by A. Dor.

3. Rosenberg, Jay. The Practice of Freedom. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1984, 217.

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5. Bailey, David. Shadow on the Church. London: Cornell University Press, 1985, 24.

6. Ibid.

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8. Ibid. 225.

9. How, Samuel Slaveholding Not Sinful. New York: B. Brinkerhoff,

1971.

10. Harper et al. The Proslavery Argument. New York: Negro Universities Press, 1968, 3.

11. Armstrong, Geo. The Christian Doctrine of Slavery. New York: Negro University Press, 1969, 142.

12. Ross, Fred. Slavery Ordained of God. New York: Haskell House, 1970, 83.

13. How. Slaveholding not Sinful. 46.

14. Armstrong. The Christian Doctrine of Slavery. vi.

15. Ross. Slavery Ordained of God. 161

16. Bailey. Shadow on the Church. 155.

17. How. Slaveholding Not Sinful. 50.

18. In order to examine the form of the argument this is a streamlined version of: How. Slaveholding Not Sinful. 18.

19. Oliver, Robert. The Psychology of Persuasive Speech. New York: David Mckay Company, 1968, 24.

20. A reduction of the argument appearing in How. Slaveholding not Sinful. 24.

21. Some of the assertions that were persuasive in justifying accommodation to the practice of slavery continue to plague the churches. The assertions are appealing yet meaningless without content and context. Despite their dependence on situational interpretation these assertions are generally viewed as universally applicable. They include: avoid mixing religion and politics, property is inviolable, reconciliation solves conflict, it is better to avoid conflictive issues and preserve unity, one should be benevolent toward those incapable of taking care of themselves (rather than eliminating the obstacles to their development).

22. Tillich, Paul. Theology and Culture. London: Oxford University Press, 1959, 60.

23. Moss, Jean Dietz. Rhetoric and Praxis. Washington: The Catholic University Press of America, 1972, 4.

24. Encyclopedia of Philosophy. New York: Macmillan Company, 1967. s.v. "Religious Language" by William P. Alston.

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LIONEL GROULX'S RATIONALE OF FRENCH CANADIAN NATIONALISM

Norm Cornett

> Pour le reste, quand j'aurais perdu ma foi en tous les hommes, il me resterait une ressource qu'on ne m'ôtera jamais: mon espoir en la Providence de Dieu qui, tant de fois, aux pires impasses de notre histoire, nous a sauvés et souvent malgré nous. Le fera-t-elle encore? Je le crois, je l'espère, pour tant de prières qui s'élèvent du fond du coeur de nos meilleurs croyants, et je le sais, du fond même des cloîtres. Dans l'économie actuelle de la rédemption du monde par le Christ, je ne vois pas de raison pour laquelle un peuple catholique, fidèle à sa mission apostolique, s'en irait à la décadence ou à la mort. Non, je ne puis me mettre dans l'esprit que nous soyons l'une de ces petites civilisations éphémères destinées tout au plus à servir de matériau à quelque grande civilisation en voie de naître, Je me refuse à penser, en dépit de nos misères, que nous serions devenus la vigne du cantique du prophète, la vigne si soignée, si choyée par Dieu et qui, pour être devenue stérile ou ne donner que du verjus, aurait mérité la réprobation divine, la vigne que Dieu ne voudrait plus ni cultiver, ni tailler, la vigne foulée aux pieds et sur laquelle il serait défendu aux nuées de laisser tomber la pluie. Nos petits missionnaires répandus de par le monde répondent ici pour nous. Et c'est par eux que j'espère. Car si j'aime mon petit pays, notre petit peuple pour les liens du sang et de l'histoire qui m'attachent à lui, et pour la forme d'humanisme ou de culture qu'il pourrait incarner, je l'aime d'abord parce que, dans le drame du monde, depuis le Christ, il tient un rôle essentiel celui d'un magnifique missionnaire de la foi.[1]

When Lionel Groulx (1878-1967) concluded the speech "Survivre ou vivre?" (September 14, 1953) with his confession of faith in the mission of French Canada, he professed the traditional, essentially ecclesiastical, interpretation of la survivance. He employed the contemporary theologico-nationalist hermeneutic of French-Canadian survivance, particularly as enunciated by Mgr

Louis-Adolphe Paquet (1859-1942), and epitomized in his bench mark oration "La vocation de la race française en Amérique" (June 23, 1902). Yvan Lamonde affirms in regard to the latter,

> "Sans doute, le plus classique des discours de Paquet, celui-ci reproduit dans un vocabulaire religieux (sacré, vocation, sacerdoce, croyances) et patriotique (charte, pacte, liens) une image globale que les canadiens-français s'étaient donnée d'eux-mêmes, déjà dans la seconde moitié du XIX^{e} siècle."[2]

The intent of Groulx's continuity with tradition in general and Paquet in particular, was to provide both an apologia and an agenda for la survivance of modern Quebec which was consonant with the traditional, ecclesiastical paradigm of French Canadian survivance.

An historian, Groulx's scholarly training, nevertheless, was mainly in Thomist philosophy and theology. Consequently his historical perspective of French Canada was fundamentally teleological. Not surprisingly, the idea of destiny, especially divine destiny, is central to Groulx's conception of la survivance. Whence also the basic concepts of the mission, apostolicity, role, and fidelity of French Canada which characterize Groulx's understanding of the nation. Thence as well the reciprocal notions of cultural assimilation, decadence, death, and divine reprobation, which also distinguish his nationalist thought, as exemplified in this discourse. So it is that Groulx conceives la survivance of French Canada to be determined by the proximity of the nation to its final end (telos) of apostolicity.

In Groulx's rationale of la survivance the principle of French Canada's apostolicity is conceptually and culturally the antithesis of its assimilation. The causal nature of Groulx's argument for la survivance compels him to posit either the incipient assimilation of French Canada or its exact opposite, apostolicity. Thus, apostolicity is the irreducible constituent of French Canada whereby its final assimilation is effectually precluded. Apostolicity, therefore, is the cornerstone of la survivance. In Groulx's nationalist logic then French Canadian culture or civilization is inextricably and ultimately tied to the presupposition of its apostolicity. This is evident throughout this speech--especially in the concluding statement.

It is in this light that one must approach Groulx's last major historical work Le Canada français missionnaire (1962). This history and state-of-the-art report on the status of French Canadian missions was clearly apologetic in intent. Groulx sought to substantiate the continuing apostolicity of French Canada. It is certainly no coincidence, therefore, that Groulx advances as conclusive evidence for modern Quebec's survivance its contemporary corps of missionaries.

A crucial consequence of Groulx's teleological postulate of la survivance is the apostolic monism of his philosophy of French Canadian history. Thus, he typically interprets it in an apostolic mode, i.e. apostles, missionaries, saints, heroes, chefs, saviours, surhumains, incarnations, divinisation. As a result, his view of French Canadian history is markedly stilted--a serious flaw in his historiography.

Groulx's teleological reasoning for la survivance also had a decisive corollary in his nationalist agenda. He understood progress to be chiefly the uniform development and ultimate realization of the nation according to the parameters prescribed by its final end of apostolicity.

There are several correlatives of Groulx's apostolic perspective of la survivance. One can describe them best as themes or leitmotifs. Morality is a primary leitmotif of Groulx's nationalist message, since its is the sine qua non of apostolicity. By the same token, Groulx reckons culturo-moral decadence and reprobation to be the bane of French Canadian survivance. This is implicit in his reference to the Lord's vineyard of Isaiah 5 wherein Israel, which God intended to be good and just, has become instead, corrupt, vain and hedonistic, thereby occasioning its demise.

Groulx's archetype of French Canadian society is correspondingly constrictive, since consistency, nay, conformity with apostolicity is its end. The social theory which emerges is inherently static, and the social praxis, in the final analysis, is conservative, indeed reactionary. This is manifest in Groulx's last major work Chemins de l'avenir (1964) wherein Groulx sternly rejects the "Quiet Revolution" of Quebec.

Instead, Groulx calls for a philosophy and system of education which is explicitly clerical. This is apparent in his

severe criticism of the Rapport Parent (1961-1966) and its recommendations for the reform of education in Quebec.[3] Likewise, Groulx insists that contemporary literary and artistic expression be consistent with traditional French Canadian themes and values, i.e. catholique, du terroir, régionaliste etc.. Groulx's own literary work illustrated the latter, including Les Rapaillages (1916) and L'Appel de la race (1922)--to mention but two of many similar works by Groulx. Clearly he intended these to be in keeping with the literary tradition of la survivance.

Tradition is another leitmotif of Groulx's nationalism. Indeed, in his nationalist scheme, Tradition is normative. It is the touchstone whereby one ascertains the congruity of contemporary French Canadian society with its objective. Tradition, accordingly, is the modus operandi of Groulx's nationalist agenda. The place assigned to Tradition as the locus of his nationalist doctrine parallels the role of Tradition in the theology of Groulx; in both it is an epistemological prime referent. It is no surprise, therefore, that Tradition is sacred in his understanding of la survivance.

The most critical correlative perhaps of the teleological premise in Groulx's nationalist theory is the rationalization of la survivance on the concurrent assumption that French Canada is primordially a spiritual collective entity. In effect, French Canada is analogous to the people or nation of God, and the Church. Little wonder that in this address Groulx draws an analogy between French Canadian survivance and Israel on the basis of Isaiah 5. Likewise, he singles out French Canada, rather than the Church, as the source of missionaries. Groulx's intention is transparent, i.e. to anchor la survivance in the spiritual, and thereby theologically secure French Canadian nationalism.

This was a precarious theological undertaking at best; all the more so because Western society in the first half of the twentieth century was dominated by virulent nationalism which was in fundamental opposition to the ethos of Christianity, to say nothing of Christian ethics, and the doctrine of the Church. An ordained priest with earned doctorates in theology and philosophy, Groulx was most sensitive about the orthodoxy of French Canadian nationalism, especially his own; indeed he was quite anxious to vindicate the latter.

So it is that Groulx intentionally resorts to Louis-Adolphe Paquet's theological nationalism. Unassailable in his Roman Catholic orthodoxy, contemporary French Canadian Thomist par excellence, Paquet was considered the "théologien national". Groulx was careful to cloak his own nationalism with the mantle of Paquet's theological pre-eminence. In Mes Mémoires which is Groulx's apologia pro vita sua he takes pains to establish his proximity to Paquet. Thus Groulx circumspectly notes, for example, "De passage un jour à Québec, je rends visite, comme à chacun de mes voyages, à mon vieil ami, Mgr. L.-A. Paquet",[4] and elsewhere:

> Pour me rassurer, au surplus, sur l'orthodoxie de mon nationalisme, un témoignage m'arrivera quelques années plus tard, en 1937, témoignage plus que tout autre rassurant, décisif. Il me viendra du théologien alors le plus illustre du Canada français: Mgr Louis-Adolphe Paquet..., Jugement de théologien qui m'est resté infiniment précieux. Alors, et dans la suite, aux confins de problèmes où il est si facile de se tromper, combien de fois me suis-je reporté à l'absolution de mon vieil ami, pour me rassurer sur mon orthodoxie.[5]

In line with Paquet, therefore, Groulx's expression of French Canadian nationalism is distinctly doctrinal. Indeed, doctrine is also a leitmotif of his nationalist message. Accordingly, his first article as editor of the Montreal nationalist periodical L'Action française (1920-1928) was entitled, significantly, "Notre Doctrine,"[6] which set the tone for Groulx and his collaborators' exposition of French Canadian nationalism.

Like Paquet in "La vocation de la race française en Amérique" for example, Groulx employs biblical allegories in his exegesis of la survivance. These are used to equate French Canada with the people or nation of God. The metaphor in this discourse is the Lord's vineyard, whereby Groulx applies Isaiah 5 to the issue of modern Quebec's survivance.

In keeping with the traditional ecclesiastical interpretation of French Canadian survivance Groulx, like Paquet et.al., relies heavily on the Old Testament. It is noteworthy that the survivance concepts of charte, pacte, liens, alliance and covenant etc., are primarily biblical terms. These are

derived principally from the OT and are used to express patriotic notions. They readily lent themselves to the theological rationalization of French Canadian nationalism; all the more so because of the prevalent Thomistic hermeneutic, whereby the OT is interpreted both literally and figuratively.

The teleological nature of Groulx's nationalist logic is premised on French Canada's innate spirituality. Inasmuch as the raison d'être of the nation is its end, and according to Thomist thought that end is transcendent, Groulx is constrained to base la survivance in the inherent spirituality, i.e. transcendence of French Canada. Groulx argues a posteriori from the historico-traditional apostolicity of French Canada to its inferred spirituality. History then has a crucial role in his nationalist rationale as the empirical method which warrants such a conclusion. History and spirituality are also leitmotifs of Groulx's nationalist message; indeed, they are the premises on which he formulates his syllogism for la survivance. This is epitomized in Le Canada français misssionnaire wherein apostolicity is the locus classicus of intrinsic, collective spirituality; nay, it is the proof positive thereof.

Concomitant theological concepts to Groulx's teleological argument for la survivance were "la hiérarchie des valeurs" and "la primauté du spirituel". These derived from the modern revival of Thomism and were paramount in contemporary French Canadian, Roman Catholic social thought. Their social paradigm is essentially pyramidal, as the term "hierarchy" suggests; while the precept of the "primacy of the spiritual" postulates the culmination of the social in the spiritual. Their emphasis on hierarchy and primacy were thus teleological by nature since they designated the highest value, i.e. the "spiritual", as the proper end of society. The sum effect of these doctrines was to significantly support Groulx's teleological perspective of la survivance by their concurrence, nay insistence, on a spiritual conception and final end of French Canadian society.

They likewise reinforced Groulx's rigid socio-national model by their supposition of a hierarchial society as preliminary to the primacy of the spiritual in the nation. It is in this light that one perceives the social necessity and incumbent social responsibility of the elite and/or chef(s) in Groulx's nationalist agenda. Thus, the "elite" and the "chef(s)" are also leitmotifs of his nationalism. So it is that in Survivre ou

vivre? Groulx enunciates the elite's unique role and singular obligations for la survivance. Indeed, Groulx's syllogistic rationale leads him to distinguish an elite within the elite of French Canada on the basis of the former's cultural traditionalism, "notre élite...Une élite au moins dans cette élite... a gardé le souci de la civilisation originelle."[7]

Herein one apprehends the reductionism of Groulx's nationalist logic. This is equally a correlative of his teleological argument for la survivance. The latter was ultimately reduced to the premise of French Canada's fundamental spirituality predicated in its perceived apostolicity. Groulx correspondingly concludes that la survivance of modern Quebec, in the final analysis, is singularly contingent on its spiritual élite, the clergy. Accordingly, in this speech Groulx emphatically refers to "nos meilleurs croyants", "des cloîtres", "Nos petits missionnaires". Another leitmotif then of Groulx's nationalist message is ecclesiasticism.

The contingency of la survivance on French Canadian spirituality, coupled with the manifest secularization of French Canada, inexorably compelled Groulx to adopt this hyper-ecclesiastical argument. When Groulx delivered this address in 1953 the irrevocable breach between the spiritual and the secular in French Canadian society was imminent, albeit ostensibly muted and veiled. The secular manifesto Refus global (1948) and the review Cité libre (founded 1950) were evidence of this impending alienation.

It is in this context that one must understand Groulx's interrogations and doubts about contemporary French Canada's spirituality implied in this discourse; particularly in the Isaiah 5 analogy. It was increasingly untenable, therefore, to predicate the spirituality of French Canadian society as a whole; hence, the immediate need of an apologia for the spirituality of modern Quebec. Thence Groulx's reductionist recourse to the contemporary clergy which, of course, included Groulx himself and the ecclesiastical confraternity. He especially resorts to Quebec's contemporary missionaries, who are the token of its implicit spirituality. At the same time, like the faithful remnant of Israel (Rom. 11:5), they are the guarantee of its ultimate survivance. So it is that in the midst of the "Révolution tranquille", which was the parousia of secularism in Quebec, Groulx juxtaposes Le Canada français missionnaire,

published, significantly, in 1962.

Vicariously then, i.e. through its clergy, modern Quebec pursues its final end of apostolicity, thereby securing its survivance despite its contemporary secularization. Ultimately, therefore, the Church is la survivance of modern Quebec, just as it was for historic French Canada. Such at least was the priest-historian, Lionel Groulx's interpretation. Groulx's nationalist rationale has come full circle: it began and ended with the traditional, ecclesiastical conception of la survivance.

ENDNOTES

1. Lionel Groulx, "Survivre ou vivre?", Vie Française, Vol. 8, no. 3, (Novembre, 1953): 154-155.

2. Yvan Lamonde, Louis-Adolphe Paquet, p. 56.

3. Lionel Groulx, Mes Mémoires, 4 vols., vol. 4: 1940-1967, pp. 339-340.

4. Lionel Groulx, Mes Mémoires, 4 vols., vol. 2: 1920-1928, p. 325.

5. Ibid., p. 344.

6. Lionel Groulx, "Notre doctrine", L'Action française, vol. 5 (Janvier-Juin 1921): 24-33.

7. Groulx, "Suivre ou vivre?", Ibid., p. 152.

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INUIT QUAKERS: A VISIT TO KOTZEBUE

Marianne A. Stenbaek

Kotzebue, Alaska, is a large thriving Inupiaq[1] village on the shores of the Chukchi Sea. Here, somewhat surprisingly, one finds one of the oldest, largest and most alive Quaker churches on the North American continent. The highest proportion of Quakers among any ethnic group is to be found among Eskimos or Inuit. This is a fact that is unknown to most Quakers as well as to most Inuit. Of the world's 100,000 Inuit, approximately 3000 or 3% are Quakers[2]. The Inuit Quakers are concentrated in the Kobuk region of northwestern Alaska (known as the Nana region since 1972).

In the 19th century, American Quakers underwent several important changes. They came under an evangelical influence thus they became more interested in missionary work and introduced the pastoral system in many Quaker meetings.[3] In its original form, which is the form still practised in England and in the Eastern states of the U.S.A. as well as in Canada, Quakers do not engage in any of these practices but conduct pastor-less unprogrammed worship meetings where silence predominates. As Leonard S. Kenworthy points out in his study on Quakerism:

> "Many Quakers [in the late 19th century] were impressed with the new life in other churches, brought about in large part by their revivals. And many of the young people coveted the music which characterized other church services.
>
> In many places a non-Friend or a Friend of a very evangelical persuasion was brought into the community for special services. New attendees were drawn to Quakerism but many of them were not happy about [the] form of worship on the basis of silence. So, in many places the evangelist was brought back as a paid pastor, or someone else was hired by the congregation to preach. Music was introduced too.
>
> Gradually, a large part of American Quakerdom embraced the pastoral system, with a prepared sermon,

congregational singing, and other aspects of most Protestant churches. This occurred solely among Orthodox Friends, however".[4]

The Quakers were changing. This new form of Quakerism, like so many other American Protestant churches, spread over the midwest and the west in the late 19th century. It also inspired great missionary zeal in many of its followers.

The Eastern Seaboard Quakers had played a significant role in the history of the Atlantic colonies in the 17th and 18th century. The significance of the Quaker missionaries and the Quakers in Alaska parallels that historical significance. Early Quaker whalers from the Eastern States had sailed the Chukchi Sea and settled parts of Alaska before the U.S. purchased Alaska from Russia in 1867. As Arthur O. Roberts points out, Quakers had come to Alaska as 'adventurers, traders, and settlers in America's last frontier'.[5] However, because they came from the 'silent' meetings which are much less missionary oriented and also because they obviously were there for commercial, not religious reasons, they did not engage in any missionary work. Thus, for the spreading of the Quaker religious and social message, the most important were the missionaries who came to Alaska at the turn of this century.

Alaska is unusual in that the region was divided by a group of officials from the various churches into specific missionary districts:

> "In 1880, the Protestant Federal Council of Churches began dividing up the district of Alaska into missionary territories that partially endure today. The Presbyterians were given the North Slope and the Northwest; the Moravians, the Bethel area; the Congregationalist, Cape Prince of Wales and the Episcopalians, the Yukon River. The presence of the Russian Orthodox Church, the oldest Christian group in Alaska, was ignored and other denominations were left out.[6]

The Quakers were later allotted the Kobuk region around Kotzebue in Northwestern Alaska. These early divisions still largely hold today though there now is an incredible proliferation of religious denominations.[7]

The first Quaker missionaries arrived in the Northwestern part of Alaska in 1892,[8] and were generally sponsored by such western and midwestern meetings as the California Yearly Meeting of Friends and the Wilmington (Ohio) Yearly Meeting. The early missionaries' journals[9] are to a large extent pedestrian reading, most often detailing problems of getting supplies and mail, but sometimes more interestingly speaking of the culture shock they experienced in contact with the 'uncivilized' Eskimos. A famous poster (not by Quaker missionaries) from that time shows graphically the impact the early missionaries believed they had. The poster shows two photographs side by side. One depicts an Eskimo family in their skin clothing - underneath them it says "Uncivilized - before the missionaries arrived". The other photo shows the same Eskimo family looking decidely uncomfortable and totally bewildered, in ill-fitting western clothes with starched high collars. The caption reads, "Civilized - after the missionaries". It is undoubtedly one of the first "before and after" posters and speaks most eloquently about the more negative influences of the missionaries, its most noteworthy feature being its total condescension to the native peoples.

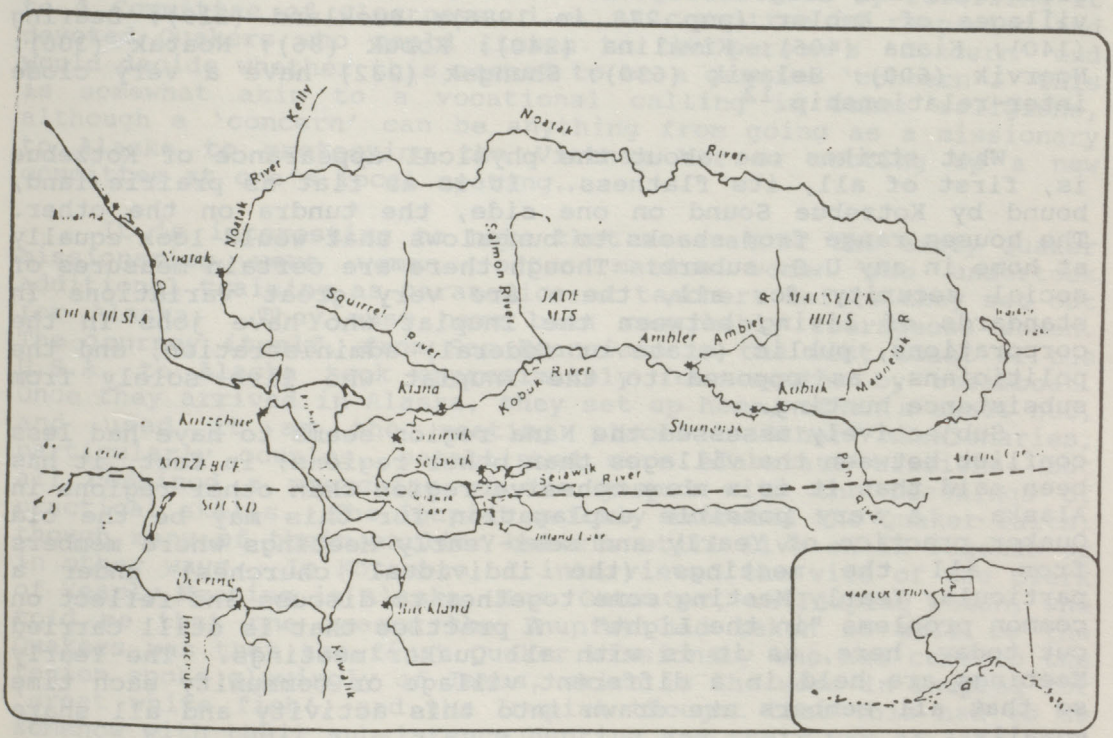
The Quakers distinguished themselves by being extraordinarily social minded and their missionary work was carried out mainly through social action.[10] The early Quaker missionaries in Alaska put their hearts and minds into teaching elementary reading and writing as well as health practices. Later on they established schools and hospitals, sometimes in the face of bureaucratic opposition.[11] The Quaker reality still lives on in many ways in the modern Nana region; in Kotzebue it is reflected in such street names as Friends Way and Quaker Mission Street.

It is exciting for a modern Quaker to arrive in Kotzebue, for here, in one of the most remote places in North America, is a thriving and spiritually sturdy Quaker society. Kotzebue is the main village in the Nana region in Northwestern Alaska - 549 miles north of Anchorage on Kotzebue Sound, opening into the Chukchi Sea. "Qiqiqtagruk", as it is called in Inupiaq, is the largest village in the Northwest region. Its location on ocean waters near the mouth of three major interior rivers has made it a hub of Arctic trading routes for centuries. In modern times, Kotzebue has become the air transportation service center for the region, with daily jet service to Anchorage, Fairbanks and Nome, and scheduled flights by small aircraft to the surrounding

villages.

Many public service agencies are based in Kotzebue, including the Public Health Service Hospital, Maniilaq Association, Public Radio Station KOTZ, the Kotzebue Elders Home, Chukchi Community College, the Northwest Arctic School District, Alaska Department of Fish and Game, City Government and several additional state and federal agencies as well as the NANA Regional Corporation.

In spite of all its modern and semi-modern facilities, Kotzebue is still essentially an Eskimo village whose 3000 inhabitants make their living as subsistence hunters, as they



Map of Kotzebue and Region

have done for centuries. The tourist trade, (mainly wealthy Americans from the West Coast who come for a day or two to sample the 'primitive' ways and see the midnight sun), the new Red Dog zinc mine and the jade mines all help bring in extra money. This local economy, together with the financial initiatives undertaken by the Nana Corporation with the compensation money received from the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANSCA 1971), bring a measure of prosperity and modern comforts to Kotzebue. These newest developments have made life less harsh but this was not always so, and in many ways life is still harsh, with a winter temperature of between -40 and -55 degrees Fahrenheit, a dependence on fish that is often uncertain and the modern ills of alcoholism and drug addiction. Kotzebue and the surrounding ten villages of Ambler (pop 278 in 1986); Buckland (219); Deering (140); Kiana (406); Kivalina (240); Kobuk (86); Noatak (300); Noorvik (600); Selawik (630); Shungak (232) have a very close inter-relationship.[12]

What strikes one about the physical appearance of Kotzebue is, first of all, its flatness. It is as flat as prairie land, bound by Kotzebue Sound on one side, the tundra on the other. The houses range from shacks to bungalows that would look equally at home in any U.S. suburb. Though there are certain measures of social security for all, there are very great variations in standards of living between the Inupiat who have jobs in the corporations, public (state or federal) administration, and the politicians, as opposed to the Inupiat who live solely from subsistence hunting.

Subjectively assessed the Nana region seems to have had less conflict between the villages than other regions; in fact, it has been said that it is a more cohesive region than other regions in Alaska. A very possible explanation for this may be the old Quaker practice of Yearly and semi-Yearly Meetings where members from all the meetings (the individual churches) under a particular Yearly Meeting come together to discuss and reflect on common problems "in the Light". A practice that is still carried out today, here, as it is with all Quaker meetings. The Yearly Meetings are held in a different village or community each time so that all members are drawn into this activity and all share equally.

Kotzebue and the Nana region, like all native villages and indeed most of Alaska, is deeply religious. It is not for this paper to comment on the reason for this in depth, but surely the

isolation, the sense of being at the mercy of nature, the historical uncertainty of life, with the truly awesome beauty and the ever present sense of the transcendent in the Arctic stillness, the traditional reverence for nature as a divine gift, and the age-old beliefs in the divine spirit combine in producing a deeply felt sense of spirituality. It leads the Inupiat to place themselves and their well-being in God's hand, the creator of the sustaining nature. So the missionaries found an already religious people attuned to spirituality.

Quaker Missionary work started with a "concern" that is a "spiritual leading" that had come to the person in meeting and elsewhere over a long period of time. The "concern" might have been tested for its truthfulness and genuineness by referring it to a Committee of Clearness, i.e., a committee of respected and devoted Quakers who would listen to the person's 'concern' and would decide whether this seemed to be a genuine 'concern'. This is somewhat akin to a vocational calling in other religions, although a 'concern' can be anything from going as a missionary to Alaska to protesting the Vietnam War or setting up a new committee at one's local meeting.

It is interesting to note that several of the early Quaker missionaries were women, often mature women who undertook additional training as paramedics or teachers before they set out for Alaska. They must have been remarkably courageous women. The journey itself, from San Francisco on the west coast of the U.S.A. to Alaska took approximately four months by steamboat. Once they arrived in Alaska, they set up home, often a small hut, and used it as the meeting place. Other missionaries, particularly couples, established more elaborate missions; but all combined a preaching of the gospel with the teachings of practical skills. The Inupiat quickly embraced the Quaker faith, though many of their earlier beliefs still live on in legends or in other ways. In Kotzebue, I interviewed the wife of the Clerk of Yearly Meeting in Alaska, Mrs. Outwater, an Inupiaq woman, who told me that one reason the Inupiat had taken so well to the Quakers was that the first Quaker missionary who had come to the region spoke glowingly of Jesus, which is the word in Inupiaq for 'great white fish', and the Inupiat thought that this had to do somehow with their subsistence hunting and their way of life, and thus it was something they could easily relate to. Later on of course, they found out quite differently.

The Quakers eventually established churches in all the villages in the region as well as some schools and hospitals. Today, the largest Friends Church[13] is in Kotzebue. Although there are only a little more than 3000 inhabitants in Kotzebue, and though there are 12 different denominations that have churches in Kotzebue, the Quaker church has an active membership of somewhere between 350-500 people, and indeed it is possible on a Sunday to have over 300 people attend a service but usually it will be a lot less.

What then is the Quaker meeting like in Kotzebue? It is, to say the very least, highly unusual but also extraordinarily moving, with a deep sense of spirituality and joy. The meeting takes place in both English and Inupiaq. The Quaker meetings in Kotzebue at the Friends Church are very different from the traditional Quaker meeting which meet in silent, unprogrammed worship.[14] The meeting in Kotzebue is quite programmed, though not completely so, and it is also what one might call "indigenized". The meeting usually starts off with a short prayer which might be said by the pastor. The church, unlike traditional Quaker churches or meeting houses, is very much like the ordinary Protestant church with an altar, a predominant pulpit, an altar railing, and then a series of benches all facing the front.[15]

In a silent Quaker meeting, people will sit until they feel the impulse or inspiration to give vocal ministry. They will then either remain seated or stand up and speak. It is quite possible to have a meeting where no one will speak and the entire hour-long meeting will take place in silence. Most often, two or three people will speak but very briefly and the largest part of the meeting will consist of silent worship. The emphasis in this kind of meeting is usually on the brevity and clarity of the spoken message. Out of respect for other members in the congregation, people usually speak as briefly as possible. The vocal ministry is very different in the evangelical strain of Quakerism where people have elaborated on this original, very brief 'speaking' to a more elaborate "giving of testimony".

In Kotzebue, the service for worship has taken a form that is unique to that region. Persons in the congregation will rise and speak almost in turn. At many meetings, almost everyone speaks. This is quite unusual for Quaker meetings. Most members attending meeting feel called upon to give testimony. They will

stand up and relate something that has happened to them that week or some thought they have had. These testimonies, as well as the hymns, may be either in English or Inupiaq. The testimonies have the appearance almost of a continuing story because Kotzebue and the region are a small community where most people are interrelated and have intermarried; certainly everyone knows each other. The testimonies carry over from week to week and combine social, communal and spiritual dimensions. For example, a person might talk about his troubles with his children or his marriage. One feels that everyone in the congregation is well aware of these problems, has heard about them before, and has prayed for them. The person might also relate some thought he has had about the Lord or some spiritual happening. Whatever the nature of the testimony, it will always end with the remark that it has inspired the person to sing a specific hymn. The person will then sing that hymn, sometimes simply standing in the bench, but sometimes in a more elaborate manner. The person might proceed to the pulpit area, sometimes accompanied by a group of friends who will act as a small choir or as musicians. They will then sing the hymn that the person's testimony has inspired them to sing for the entire gathering, as part of the testimony. The impression is given that some of these hymns, and particularly the musical accompaniment, have been very well practised. The musical instruments range from piano, which is obviously found in the church, to guitars, trumpets, violins, or other kinds of instruments, brought along for the occasion. The singing seems "indigenized" for even the standard Protestant hymns have musical overtones of traditional Inupiaq chants; the hymns are often sung in a high-pitched voice and with a rhythm reminiscent of native singing or drum playing. The hymns also display rhythms borrowed from gospel or 'country and western' style singing, both forms are quite popular in the North. Occasionally someone will give a long vocal testimony from the pulpit, relating how he found God, was saved from some disaster, or cured of some illness. In other words, these are testimonies which, instead of lasting a couple of minutes, might very well last 10 or 15 minutes. Then the person will sit down and someone else will stand up and the whole process will be repeated. Needless to say, in a well attended meeting, this process might very well take quite a long time.

At some point during these testimonies, the minister or a member of the congregation will go to the pulpit, read a lesson of the day, usually in Inupiaq, and will speak briefly to the bible text. There will often be testimonies again after this

message. When there are no more testimonies, the entire congregration will come to the front of the church and kneel before the altar railing, bow very low and will in fact almost shake in reverence. They will then recite in unison a number of prayers with great fervor that sweeps right through the church. What characterizes the entire service is this extraordinary sense of fervor and sincerity.

On special occasions, the church will hold what is called a "Singspirational" where there will be mainly vocal ministry followed by hymns with a more polished performance. Indeed, there might be entire choirs that will have come from all over the region as well as choirs and singers from other denominations. Such "Singspirational" services might be held at the time of Yearly Meeting, at Christmas or Easter. I attended one for a great community celebration that coincided with the Inuit Circumpolar Conference's General Assembly in Kotzebue in 1986; the "Singspirational" lasted close to seven hours non-stop. This seemed to be the expected length. These "Singspirationals" become much like the old-fashioned Inupiaq community singing events.

The Quakers have taken a strong hold in Alaska among the Inupiat. One may ascribe that to many things such as the Inupiat's natural deep spirituality, to their isolation or to the educational and medical help they received from the Quakers[16]. More important still are the natural affinities between the Quaker way of life and the Inupiat way of life; both share a long history of social equality.

The Quakers were known and trusted in the Eastern states, in the 17th and 18th century, as being among the first white people to treat the native peoples equally and honestly and to give them access to education and health services. One of the most famous early Quakers, John Woolman[17], travelled throughout the Eastern states spreading this ministry of equality. Later on, the Quakers were front runners in the fight to abolish slavery and to officially ensure women's rights just as they are now deeply engaged in the Sanctuary movement. The Quakers have a long history of social equality and lack of discrimination. In Alaska the Quakers embraced a principle of indigenous leadership in the church, the effects of which are still felt. John Schaeffer, former president of the Nana Corporation, acknowledged in a speech a few years ago that the Friends Church had contributed

many Inupiaq leaders to the region both in the past and in the present.

A striking feature of the Quaker tradition is the "meeting for business" where matters pertaining to the church and the community are decided by consensus; this is also the traditional Inupiat way of handling community matters. The Quakers have always practised equality between the sexes; so have the Inupiat, for in a hunter society both men and women are equally important. The Quakers have a great deal of respect for the individual and the equality of all members before God, so do the Inupiat. Quakers believe in the closeness of the individual to God without need of a mediator, so, traditionally, do the Inupiat. The Quakers, like the Inupiat, reserve a special place and a special respect for their elders. But the Quakers and the Inupiat emphasize the individual's experience of God. The Quakers see "that of God" in everyone, as do the Inupiat. The Quakers are pacifists, the Inuit are natural pacifists for they are the only indigenous people in the world who have never, at any time in history, engaged in war or battle with any neighbouring peoples. Quakers do not have long 'registers' of sins nor are they generally "sin or repentance oriented"; neither are the Inupiat. Quakers believe that God may speak directly to them, as the founder of the Quakers, George Fox believed, who, who would say, "This I know experientially". Inupiat also draw their knowledge of God from experience. The list is long, and could be made longer. Suffice to say that there are many natural affinities between Quakers and the Inupiat way of life which may account for the widespread acceptance of the Quakers in this region.

In 1972, the economic, political and social structure of Alaska changed dramatically with the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act which gave 962.5 million U.S. dollars and forty million acres of land to Alaska's natives who were divided into 12 corporations[18] including the Nana Corporation which covers the Kobuk region. This brought great wealth, economic and political influence, and a modern corporate structure, existing side by side with a more traditional social structure. Several corporations are now close to bankruptcy, some have gone through serious and costly litigations, some have prospered. Nana is one of the ones which has prospered in an orderly manner. Two-thirds of the 4500 inhabitants of the region are Quakers. One may draw some subjective conclusions, at least: (1) that the ninety years of Quaker influence, of education and social action have proved

beneficial to this present development; (2) that the tradition of 'Yearly Meeting' and of 'Business Meeting' may also have contributed to the continued close interaction of the various villages and to a strengthening of the social fabric.

In the spiritual similarity between the Quakers and the Inupiat lies the key perhaps to the understanding of their natural pacifism. The missionary efforts and the spiritual values of the Quakers offer a unique entry into understanding the development of one region of Alaska.

NOTES

1. Inuit is now the term used for all Eskimo; Inupiat are the Inuit living in the northern and northwestern parts of Alaska.

2. The Alaska Friends Church (largely Eskimo) is the organizational part of a larger legacy of Friends. It is one of over sixty groups (called Yearly Meetings) comprising the 200,000 people within the world family of Friends. Eskimos comprise the ethnic group with the highest proportion of Quaker members. As the Society of Friends becomes increasingly non-European (now 40 percent), its future will be shaped by the faith and the culture of its African, Asian, Latin American, Indian and Eskimo members. (Arthur O. Roberts, Tomorrow is Growing Old: Stories of the Quakers in Alaska. Newberg (Oregon): The Barclay Press, 1978. p. XIII.

3. There were more complex theological divisions between the various groups of Quakers as they took divergent routes. Here it is only the different external forms that are noted.

4. Leonard S. Kenworthy, Quakerism. Dublin (Indiana): Prinit Press, 1984, p. 42.

5. Roberts, Op. cit.

6. Nicholas E. Flanders "Religious Conflict and Social Change: A Case from Western Alaska" in Etudes/Inuit/Studies, vol.8, supplemental issue, 1984. p. 143.

7. In 1985 the Rev. Henrik Wilhjelm from the Theological Institute, University of Greenland, and I conducted a preliminary survey of present-day religious denominations in Alaska. We found that even the smallest village tends to have churches or meeting houses for 12-14 different denominations; we mailed out close to 3000 questionnaires, just to the Inupiaq villages.

8. As detailed in Roberts, op. cit.; Loren Hadley The Alaskan Diary of a Pioneer Quaker Missionary (Orlando; Golden Rule Press, 1969; and Nicholas E. Flanders Missionaries and Professional Infidels: Religion and Government in Western Alaska (working title - manuscript in preparation). Many early missionary newsletters and letters also describe their work.

9. The early missionaries kept journals, which is a Quaker tradition, though they detailed more everyday life rather than spiritual progress. Usually they were accompanied by lists of converts and lists of important church functions, such as baptisms, marriages, etc.

10. Gregory Baum once said, in a lecture, that he admired Quakerism for it is the one denomination which combines religious mysticism with social action.

11. This period is well described in Nichelas E. Flanders Missionaries and Professional Infidels: Religion and Government in Western Alaska.

12. Information on Kotzebue provided by Mr. Brad Reeve, former manager of public radio station KOTZ and by the Maniilaq Association.

13. Traditionally, Quaker churches (in the sense of congregation) are not called "churches" but "meetings"; the physical structure is called 'a meeting house'. Quakers are also called Friends and this is the term generally used in Alaska.

14. In the American West and Mid-West (as well as in some other places around the world), Quaker meetings have become programmed services with a pastor. This is a result of divisions that occurred within the Society of Friends mainly in the 19th

century. However, the traditional Quaker meeting is the unprogrammed, pastor-less, silent gathering. The church architecture of these 'programmed' meetings would also be much more like ordinary Protestant churches.

15. In the more traditional meeting houses, there is no altar or pulpit and the benches most often face each other.

16. A whole new chapter in the history of the Alaskan Quakers may be written about the unprogrammed Quaker meetings which have been established in this century both in Fairbanks and in Anchorage. The Fairbanks meeting was part of the 'seed' that made the land claims process grow in Alaska.

17. His thoughts on the equality of the Indians may be found in his Journals. Several editions exist.

18. A thirteenth corporation was set up for Alaskan natives not presently living in Alaska.

THE GROWTH OF THE PENTECOSTAL MOVEMENT IN CANADA

Heather Lewis

Picture a church service at seven o'clock on a Sunday evening packed with over three hundred people. The congregation is buoyant. Many carry Bibles and all sing hymns with enthusiasm. The building is modern, the acoustical system is the latest, the music is dynamic, and the sermon is interesting. The people present are of a variety of ages, but particularly noticeable are the young families. Posters indicate that missions are a priority and that giving to these is generous. What church is this? This is Trinity Pentecostal Church in Lasalle, Quebec.

None of the churches in Canada in the past few years, including the Pentecostal churches, have shown significant growth in proportion to the general population, but the Pentecostal churches have been relatively more successful. A report about Canadian religious preferences quoted in Yearbook of American and Canadian Churches 1988 reads as follows: "The fastest growing of these denominations has been the Pentecostal churches. In the 1971-1981 period, for example, the Pentecostal population recorded an increase of 54% increasing from 220,000 to 339,000." (Notice that these figures are for religious preference and do not represent the figures in one specific denomination such as the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada.)

One suspects that even the founders of the Pentecostal movement in Canada might be surprised to see the present vitality of the churches. The Pentecostal movement spread from the United States to Canada in the early part of the twentieth century. As far as can be ascertained, Mr. and Mrs. Hebden, who had moved to Toronto from England, were the first to open a Pentecostal mission in Canada. Some of the leaders of the movement in Canada had been ministers in other denominations before becoming Pentecostal pastors. Three of these were Thomas Thomson Latto, who had been a Presbyterian; James Eustace Purdie, an Anglican; and Daniel Newton Buntain, a former Methodist.

In spite of the reluctance of some Canadian Pentecostals, who thought that fellowship alone was enough, to form a denomination, the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada (PAOC) was

incorporated in 1919. For a time, the PAOC was part of the Assemblies of God, an American Pentecostal denomination. Although maintaining good relations with the Assemblies of God, the PAOC has been organically independent of the Assemblies of God since 1925.

The pioneers of the movement in Canada faced significant challenges. Rev. James Montgomery wrote as follows:

> In 1925, A.E. Adams, Arthur Atter and I were driving from Arnprior, Ontario, to the conference in London, Ontario. We were motoring along Highway Number 2. At that time, we passed only two places having churches affiliated with the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada. These were Kingston (having a mere handful), and Napanee. That night at Napanee, there were only thirteen present, including the carload from Arnprior. As we motored through various places, we would remove our hats, and pray that a Pentecostal church would be founded in each of these localities. Then we would continue on our journey.

Other leaders sometimes found themselves conducting services in places where space could be found, including, in various instances, a funeral parlour, an oil station, a café, a post office and a dance hall.

Although there are independent Pentecostal churches, the PAOC is the largest Canadian Pentecostal group. They now have more than 1,100 congregations from coast to coast in Canada and more than 200,000 members and adherents. All of the cities and most of the towns in Canada have at least one Pentecostal church in them. The PAOC has set itself a goal of establishing 400 new assemblies in the period from 1984 to 1994. It is making rapid progress toward that goal.

In spite of a division between two Quebec groups, both in different ways affiliated with the PAOC, the French work in Quebec has also shown results. One example is Le Carrefour Chrétien de la Capitale which is located in Charlesbourg, a suburb of Quebec City. This assembly has more than 400 members and a new building which seats more than a thousand.

The PAOC views Quebec and in fact the whole of Canada as a mission field. Its members are by no means complacent about their own success, as this quotation from an address delivered at the 38th Biennial General Conference of the PAOC held in Hamilton, Ontario, in August, 1988, indicates:

> Today, we need to take a look out beyond the doors of our church to what has to be considered one of the greatest mission fields in the world. We live in a mission field. Canada can no longer be considered a Christian nation. About 94 percent of our population does not claim to be evangelical. There are more Sikhs in our nation now than Pentecostals. We are said to be the fastest growing evangelical church -- and yet there are others [sic] groups growing faster and perhaps being more aggressive than we are. There are more Moslems than Presbyterians. Over 50 per cent brag that they are humanists and deny that moral values have any relationship to Scripture at all.

What do Pentecostals believe? The clearest answer to this question can be found in a PAOC statement of belief:

> We believe the Holy Scriptures to be the divinely inbreathed, infallible, inerrant and authoritative Word of God. We believe that there is one God, eternally existent in the Person of the Holy Trinity. We believe in the virgin birth of the Lord Jesus Christ, His unqualified deity, His sinless humanity and perfect life, the eternal all-sufficiency of His atoning death, His bodily resurrection, His ascension to the Father's right hand, and His personal coming again at His second advent. We believe that justification is a judicial act of God on the believer's behalf solely on the merits of Christ, and that regeneration by the power of the Holy Spirit is absolutely essential for personal salvation. We believe in holy living, the present day reality of the baptism in the Holy Spirit according to Acts 2:4, the gifts of the Holy Spirit, and the Lord's supernatural healing of the human body. We believe in Christ's Lordship of the Church, the observance of the ordinances of Christian baptism by immersion for believers and the Lord's Supper. We believe in the eternal blessedness of the redeemed in heaven and the

eternal doom of the unregenerate in the lake of fire.

The Charismatic movement is related to the Pentecostal movement. Charismatics emphasize life in the Spirit and exercise gifts of the Spirit, often including glossolalia and the power to heal. They usually meet in prayer groups. Charismatics differ from Pentecostals in that they generally remain within their own denominations. Most denominations in Canada have some Charismatics in their midst; for example, the Renewal Fellowship of the United Church includes some Charismatics in its numbers. The Charismatic Renewal Movement has been particularly strong in the Roman Catholic Church.

A study by Frederick Bird and Bill Reimer suggests that the commitment of individuals to the Charismatic movement may sometimes be short-term, but certainly in Quebec attendance at Charismatic rallies is increasing--4,000 in 1973; 6,500 in 1974; 20,000 in 1977; 24,000 in 1979; more than 25,000 in 1987.

What is the nature of the appeal of the Pentecostal movement? To many observers, the faith statements of the Pentecostals seem "old-fashioned" and "conservative," but in the face of a world in which beliefs and values appear to be in a state of flux, traditional creeds offer apparent stability and security. It has to be remembered that some desire to conserve traditional values is usually part of a religious outlook. It is not surprising that conservative approaches have a particular appeal. The lively music and the emotional responses seem inappropriate to some. To others, they are a welcome change from the dispassionate solemnity which frequently is associated with church services. There is a genuine desire for full, even dramatic, emotional and spiritual participation in a service. The support system offered by the Pentecostal movement in close-knit prayer groups is truly helpful to some people. The displays of divine healing, which at worst seem to be charlatanism, at best can be a recognition of the interrelationship of emotional, spiritual and physical health. Our society is very media-oriented, and one can safely guess that more people are interested in television than in complex liturgies. The Pentecostal movement recognized the potential of the media and has made considerable use of radio and television. Pentecostal church services also make effective use of oral narrative.

Church history does reveal that groups which are initially dismissed as fringe sects of "enthusiasts" quite often become denominations to be reckoned with -- the Baptists and the Methodists are cases in point. A number of sources indicate that the Pentecostal and Charismatic movement, if considered together, is now the fastest growing form of Christianity in the world. Church leaders of all denominations will probably want to take a serious look at the movement and consider the reasons for its appeal.

DEAN'S DESK

Donna R. Runnalls

In February we were saddened by the death of Emeritus Professor Eric Jay. A special service of thanksgiving for the life and work of Eric Jay was held in the University Chapel on March 9. We were particularly pleased that Margaret Jay could be with us on that occasion. A notice of remembrance for Eric Jay appears elsewhere in this issue of ARC.

This year we have welcomed two new members to the Faculty: Richard Hayes and Ian Henderson. Professor Richard Hayes has come to us from Toronto where he taught for a number of years. His area of expertise is Indian Buddhism. Professors Katherine Young, Arvind Sharma, and Richard Hayes together offer a strong undergraduate and graduate program in Comparative Religion and Buddhism and Hinduism in India. Professor Robert Stevenson continues to teach an introduction to world religions especially designed for the B.Th. students.

Professor Ian Henderson has joined Professor Fred Wisse in the field of New Testament. As he has just completed his D. Phil. at Oxford he is learning the routine of being a full-time junior member of the teaching staff.

Professor Joe McLelland has been on sabbatical during the year. Dr. Richard Cooper has replaced him in the area of Philosophy or Religion for the year. Richard has also done a number of administrative tasks for the Dean.

Professor Katherine Young has been on leave from her teaching responsibilities in order to work on a major research project related to the McGill Centre for Medicine, Ethics and Law. Her co-researcher on the project entitled "New Reproductive Technologies and the Family" is Paul Nathanson, one of our Ph.D. students who is just finishing his dissertation. Ms. Leslie Orr has been replacing Professor Young.

Professor Fred Wisse has been promoted to the rank of full professor.

REPORTS FROM AFFILIATED COLLEGES

I. THE MONTREAL DIOCESAN THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE

A.C. Capon, Principal

We have the largest final-year class for some years at present, with a total of ten students (Montreal 5, Calgary 1, Fredericton 2, Moosonee 1, Central Newfoundland 1). Three of these students have come into the In-Ministry Year having completed the Reading and Tutorial Course in Theology operated by this College for older postulants for ordination.

Convocation on Monday, May 6th will be a very special occasion. Besides graduating our own students and awarding the usual prizes, we shall be granting an honorary Doctorate in Divinity to the Most Reverend Michael Peers, Primate of the Anglican Church of Canada, who will be giving the Convocation address.

We are thrilled at the unqualified accreditation given by the Association of Theological Schools to the M.Div. degree programme offered by the three theological colleges in association with the McGill Faculty of Religious Studies. The procedure leading to this decision has been extremely rigorous, involving an exhaustive self-examination and an impartial examination of every facet of our educational process. The granting of this unconditional accreditation is a tribute to the intensive work that has gone on in recent years to rebuild a cooperative and cohesive programme of ministerial training which may express the true concerns of the cooperating churches.

The second stage of the renovation of our College will take place this summer. The exterior of our buildings will be cleaned and repointed. The windows in Convocation Hall, the Chapel, and elsewhere, will be repaired and replaced. Unfortunately, the entire funds for this work have not yet been raised, but the work is essential. Contributions continue to arrive.

The passing of Dr. Eric Jay represented a severe blow for our College. He had been a vital part of our life and had been to the very end an essential part of our training programme. He will be sorely missed but at the same time remembered with

thankfulness and joy.

We are pleased for the sake of Dr. John McNab that he will have the opportunity of a sabbatical leave from January to August of 1990. The College will not find it easy to make arrangements for his replacement, but it has already made a start on the plans.

To all alumni of the College we send our sincere greetings and good wishes.

II. THE PRESBYTERIAN COLLEGE

William Klempa, Principal

The 1988-89 academic session has proved to be busier than normal because of a few extra programmes and events which took place during the year. We report on these as follows:

Accreditation Visit

One of the highlights of the past year has been the unconditional granting of accreditation for five years of the join Master of Divinity degree programme by the Association of Theological Schools. The accreditation visit took place on October 23-26, 1988, the members of the team being: Principal Emeritus J. Charles Hay of Knox College, Toronto, Chair; professor Emeritus Cyril Powles of Trinity College, Toronto; and Dr. William Baumgaertner, Accreditation Secretary for ATS. This means that our Master of Divinity degree is now recognized throughout the North American continent and we are especially pleased that it is completely without notations.

Continuing Theological Education

As in past years the College has sponsored two one-week long Continuing Education programmes: February 20-24, 1989 and February 27-March 3, 1989. Leaders included: Prof. John Webster, Wycliffe College, Toronto, Professor Sean McEvenue, Concordia, Montreal, Professor Edward Keyserlingk, McGill, Rev. Zander Dunn, Guelph, Ontario, Professor Gabriel Fackre, Andover

Newton, Professor Sheldon MacKenzie, Memorial University and Dr. Alex McCombie, Toronto. The response to the two programmes was excellent. Registration is normally limited to 25 in each programme but we were able to take additional persons if they lived in Montreal or could arrange their own accommodations while in the city. Twenty-six persons registered for Programme A and thirty-one for Programme B. The participants were overwhelmingly and enthusiastically positive in their evaluations of the leaders and the two programmes. Dates for the 1990 programmes will be: Programme A - February 26-March 2, 1990 and Programme B - March 5-9, 1990.

L.W. Anderson Lectures

The 1989 L.W. Anderson Lectures were given on Thursday, March 2, 1989 by Dr. Geoffrey Wainwright, Professor of Theology, Duke University, North Carolina. His topic was "The Threefold Office of Christ" and the three lectures were entitled, "An Ecumenical Inheritance", "A Dogmatic Resource" and "A Critical Future". The lectures were well received. It is expected that they will be printed by Eerdmans in the near future.

Field Education Supervisor's Workshop

A successful workshop for our present and prospective field education supervisors was held on Tuesday, February 7, and Thursday and Friday, February 9 & 10, 1989. The workshop took the form of a Continuing Theological Education event and it was attended by seven supervisors. We are grateful to Professor Donald C. Smith, Professor of Ministry at Knox College, Toronto and the Rev. Ronald J. Gariboldi of Sacred Hear Parish, West Lyn, Massachusetts, co-author of The Art of Theological Reflection: An Ecumenical Study, who provided excellent leadership for this workshop.

Symposium on Canadian Presbyterianism

The second part of the Symposium on Canadian Presbyterianism will be held in Toronto at Knox College, May 17-19, 1989. Twelve papers are scheduled on such diverse subjects as the Manawaka novels of Margaret Laurence, Presbyterianism and Church-State Relations, Vanatu for the Record, Pictou Academy and How Many Presbyterians Does it Take to Change a Light Bulb? Self-definition and Popular Perception. This will be a continuation

of the successful symposium which was held at Presbyterian College, October 13-15, 1989. The symposium has been co-sponsored by Knox and Presbyterian College and has received generous support from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. it is hoped to publish a selection of the papers from both parts of the symposium so that they may be available to a larger public.

Consultation on Theological Education

A Consultation on Theological Education will be held on May 3, 1989 on the theme, "Ministry, Theological Education and the Reformed Tradition with three sessions being devoted respectively to ministry in the Reformed Tradition; Education for Ministry-Problems and Perspectives; and Ministry and Supervision. Six papers, each fifteen minutes in length, will be given and there will be nine responses of three minutes each and lengthy discussion. Papers will be given by Professor J.C. McLelland, Dean Donna Runnalls, Mrs. Margaret Manson, Principal William Klempa and others. It is hoped to circulate the papers and other proceedings.

Establishment of a New Workshop on Preaching

Mrs. Elizabeth MacLellan has established a workshop entitled, "Studies in Preaching" as a memorial tribute to her late husband, the Rev. Dr. W. Lloyd MacLellan, formerly minister of St. John's Presbyterian Church, Cornwall, Ontario. The workshop is principally for first and second year theological students and for parish ministers. The first workshop will be held April 17-20, 1989. It will be led by Principal Emeritus J. Charles Hay of Toronto and Professor Emeritus Murdo Ewen Macdonald of Glasgow, Scotland. It will include lectures on such themes as "From Text to Sermon", "Preaching and Theology", "The Craft of the Sermon", "Preaching on the Parables", "The Need to Read" and "Text - Story - Imagination" in addition to the preaching and evaluation of sermons.

III. UNITED THEOLOGICAL COLLEGE

Pierre Goldberger, Principal

1988 has been an important and stimulating year for the United Theological College/Le Séminaire Uni. Here are some of the highlights that contributed to make this a special year:

- The McGill Faculty of Religious Studies, to which our College is affiliated, has celebrated its 40th anniversary--40 years ago Divinity Hall became the F.R.S. The shift marked an enlargement of interfaith and ecumenical disciplines and provided a richer context for teaching Christian theology. Many celebrations marked this joyful year: special chapel services, guest lecturers and visitors, especially Jürgen Moltmann who challenged and nurtured eager audiences in the context of the Birks Lectures.

- The College has been selected by the Association of Theological Schools as one of nine schools in North America--the only one in Canada--to participate in a five-year Global Education Pilot Project. The aim of the project is to work at bringing global awareness to theological education and training for ministry. Three major field trips are planned--Sri Lanka, Brazil, South America, and a local one in our own "third world" context. Research and sharing the experience with other schools are key components of the Project. Our School is clustered with Union Theological Seminary, N.Y.; Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, Mass.; and Weston School of Theology, Cambridge, Mass., bringing in ecumenical, inter-cultural and international components.

- U.T.C. is participating actively with the Montreal & Ottawa Conference Lay Education Committee toward implementing a programme of lay education for ministry. There is great excitement and hopes for this venture.

- In our own final In-Ministry Year,--a program of pastoral training which combines classes relevant to practical theology and field-based education--a number of field trips have enlarged our perception of witness and ministry; field trips to prison, native communities, hospitals, rural and urban settings, and a trip to Mexico where questions of faith and theology, spirituality and witness, development and human rights, base

communities and church life were addressed. This venture gave a lot of food for thought and provided for new shifts in understanding of life and ministry in our own Canadian and Church contexts.

- Rev. Ron Coughlin, Adjunct Faculty, has left us to serve at the National M.P.&E. level--a much regretted departure. He has been succeeded, on an interim basis, by Susan Nordberg, who brings us her competence in the field of education and leadership development and who is also responsible for special events and projects.

- The student community has been alive and our community life has been enriched by regular worship, discussions, speakers, and fellowship.

- The Faculty of the College has been busy teaching and doing research in their respective fields and in interdisciplinary research and curricula.

- Our College has been busy preparing and going through the accreditation visit by the Association of Theological Schools. We received full accreditation without notations and conditions. The visit focused especially on the accreditation of the final year of our M.Div. programme.

- Our own College Programme Committee based on the accreditation study, has led our Board in a sustained discussion of curriculum, goals and purpose of the College, which has helped reformulation and consolidation of our mission statement and pedagogical objectives and assumptions in training men and women for ministry in our Church and context.

- Enrolment has been stead in our small school and five candidates for ministry have joined us.

- Financially, this has been a difficult year for us as we registered a deficit of $51,000. Our Board has initiated steps to face this situation creatively and to look for additional financial resources. Although the Board is concerned by this situation, there is a good level of determination in order to redress this situation and to plan for the future of the College.

IN MEMORIAM

ERIC GEORGE JAY

1907 - 1989

On March 9, 1989 the Faculty of Religious Studies studies held a thanksgiving service in celebration of the life and work of Emeritus Professor Eric George Jay, formerly Dean of this preached at this service of thanksgiving by which colleagues and friends remembered Eric with love and affection.

Eric Jay came to this country after a distinguished career in Britain, and at an age when few would expect to embark on a new one, particularly in a new country. But with the integrity, courage, and quiet good humour which were characteristic of him he built a new life in Canada and steadily won for himself and his family a wide circle of friends.

He was born in the Edwardian period in the Roman city of Colchester in East Anglia, and gained a first-class degree and a Master's degree in the classical curriculum of the University of Leeds. He then entered theology at London, where he graduated successively as Bachelor of Divinity, Master of Theology and Doctor of Philosophy. He was ordained a priest in the Anglican Church and served a parish in Cheshire, until he returned to King's College London for thirteen years as Lecturer in Theology. During the war years he served as chaplain in the Royal Air Force, and as Rector of St. Mary-le-Strand in London. After the war he was appointed to the Bahamas and became Dean of the Cathedral at Nassau. Three years later he was recalled to London to serve as Senior Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Geoffrey Fisher. This post entailed immense responsibilities including many of the details of the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II and then later the organization of the 1958 Lambeth Conference of Anglican Bishops. He is remembered by those who are not members of the Anglican Church as a priest committed to the wider Church through active engagement in ecumenical endeavours.

But Eric Jay's heart was in teaching and in that same year he accepted at age fifty-two an invitiation to become Principal of Montreal Diocesan College and Professor of Theology in the Faculty of Divinity in this University. His unassuming competence, his wise judgments and his genuine concern for others quickly won for him the respect and affection of students and colleagues alike. He was appointed Dean of the Faculty in 1963 and served with great acceptance for seven years.

Eric Jay was a careful and sound scholar, especially in the area of Greek Patristic Studies. But he also ventured farther afield. His Introductory Grammar to New Testament Greek continues to be widely used as a textbook, and his balanced, judicious survey of christologies ancient and modern gained him the respect of both scholars and working clergy. He had a particular flair for writing short, clear discussions of classical problems which the lay person could read and appreciate. He was elected Fellow of King's College London in 1949, Canon of Christ Church Cathedral Montreal in 1960 and President of the Canadian Theological Society in 1964.

Students and colleagues will, however, most often remember Eric Jay as a gracious and admirable person, dignified at all times, generous in his judgments, quick to appreciate but uncompromising on quality. Nor will we soon forget those touches of unexpected humour, with which he could lighten either a lecture or a committee meeting. Those of us who have been his students and his colleagues remember with affection the many social occasions on which we were entertained by his special talent as a story teller.

His roots were in an old world, an ancient world, but he lived in the present, and he enhanced this present world for all who shared it with him. He died in his eighty-second year on Tuesday, February 7, 1989.

S. B. Frost

I N M E M O R Y O F

E R I C G E O R G E J A Y

Contributions for a scholarship fund
in memory
of

PROFESSOR ERIC JAY

may be made to the

Eric Jay Memorial Fund
Faculty of Religious Studies
3520 University St.
Montreal, PQ
H3A 2A7

Please contribute generously!

LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS

Contributors to this volume:

The cover design was done by Ariane Jones, M.A. candidate (Religion and Culture).

Norman Cornett is a Ph.D. candidate (Church History).

A. Elisabeth Dalgaard is completing a Ph.D. dissertation in Church History.

Davena Davis is Librarian, McLennan Library, McGill University.

Will J. Friesen is a Ph.D. candidate (Religion and Culture).

Stanley B. Frost, a former Dean of the Faculty, is Director of the History of McGill Project.

E.J. Furcha is Professor of Church History.

Nancy Gaston is a Special Student in our Faculty.

Heather Lewis is a Ph.D. candidiate (Church History).

Patricia Roche is working on an interdisciplinary M.A. degree.

Donna R. Runnalls, Associate Professor of Old Testament and Judaism, is Dean of the Faculty.

Marianne A. Stenbaek is Associate Professor, Department of English and Director, Northern Studies Programme.

ARC is an attempt to provide a means of maintaining the ties that exist between the academic community and its alumni/alumnae. To aid in this continuing theological education, we are publishing two issues per year which are distributed to almost 1000 graduates and friends of the Faculty of Religious Studies of McGill University, its affiliated Colleges (Anglican, Presbyterian and United Church) and the Montreal Institute for Ministry. We are asking for an annual contribution of $5.00 per person in order to offset costs of printing and distribution.

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ARC
The Faculty of Religious Studies
McGill University
3520 University St.
Montreal, PQ
H3A 2A7

Editor for this issue	- E.J. Furcha
Editorial Committee	- Edward Furcha Frederik Wisse Arvind Sharma Katherine Young
Managing Editor	- Richard Cooper
Word Processor	- Heidi Furcha
Cover Design	- Ariane Jones

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