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The Society's mission is to encourage the exchange of ideas among Wesleyan-Holiness theologians; to develop a source of papers for CHP (Christian Holiness Partnership) seminars; to stimulate scholarship among younger theologians and pastors; and to publish a scholarly journal.

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EDITOR'S NOTES

The 39th annual meeting of the Wesleyan Theological Society convened March 4-6, 2004, on the campus of Roberts Wesleyan College and Northeastern Seminary, Rochester, New York. William Abraham's keynote address set forth a provocative thesis. Wesleyan theology, at least in its present mode and so far as its being a robust, meaningful, and coherent theological alternative on the contemporary scene, is effectively ended. Abraham sets the stage for his vision of a revised focus, a new Wesleyan theology. Beyond this address, this issue of the *Wesleyan Theological Journal* features a wide range of substantive articles selected from those presented at this 39th annual meeting.

Important information from Kevin Mannoia is found herein regarding the current Wesleyan Holiness Study Project, and from William Rusch on a Second Conference on Faith and Order in North America (2005). Readers should also be aware of a special conference to be hosted on May 23-25, 2005, by Seoul Theological University in Seoul, South Korea. The theme is "Wesley, Holiness, and Culture: Trans-Pacific Perceptions for the 21st Century."

For additional information on the Wesleyan Theological Society, including its leaders, annual meetings, and past issues of this Journal, consult the inside back cover of this issue and the Society's web site (www.wesley.nnu.edu/wts).

Barry L. Callen
Anderson, Indiana
Spring 2005

THE END OF WESLEYAN THEOLOGY

by

William J. Abraham

Wesleyan theology is now slowly but surely being laid to rest. In the 1960s this was not the case. At that time those interested in Wesley saw the dawn of a new day. In mainline Wesleyan circles where Wesley had been hidden away in the closet or shunted far back in the attic, the euphoria was palpable.[1] A new generation of brilliant historians arose to bring John Wesley to the world stage. Giants stalked the land. Of the many we could take into account, I mention but two.[2]

Consider Frank Baker, the meticulous antiquarian buried in the details. Here was a quiet Englishman with the mind of a fox, hunting down every nook and cranny of the material. Consider Albert Outler, the swashbuckling, hang-glider researcher, nervously scanning the horizon to stay in touch with the most recent trend across the whole encyclopedia of knowledge. Here was a Southern Gentleman with the mind of a hedgehog look-

[1]I want to pay tribute at this point to the great work done to keep the name and work of Wesley alive in the Holiness tradition. Especially within that tradition, the scholars of the Church of the Nazarene, the Jesuits of our heritage, deserve our deepest gratitude for their tenacity. Consider, for example, George Turner, William Arnett, Delbert Rose, Claude Thompson, Timothy Smith, Mildred Bangs Wynkoop, William Greathouse, Carl Bangs, Paul Merritt Basset, H. Ray Dunning, J. Kenneth Grider, and many others.

[2]In what follows I cannot begin to do justice to a galaxy of scholars, including Robert Cushman, Thomas Langford, William R. Cannon, David Shipley, Horton Davies, Franz Hildebrandt, John Lawson, Colin Williams, John Deschner, and Bernard Semmel. I leave aside the important work done outside North America and give special attention in what follows to the work of Albert Outler. I trust that the reasons for this will be obvious.

ing for that one big idea that would save the world. The service rendered by these giants was extraordinary. The labor continues, most notably in the work of Richard Heitzenrater, perhaps without peer in his knowledge of the details, the sources, and the historical issues to be pursued.[3]

The Historical Agenda of Albert Outler

It is worth retelling how Albert Outler came to be involved in the prodigious effort to make available a new edition of Wesley's works.[4] He was a member of an Oxford University Press panel in the New York offices working on a library of Protestant thought. After the standard names were identified (Luther, Calvin, Schleiermacher, et al.), Outler suggested the name of John Wesley. The other members of the committee collapsed into titters of laughter. One colleague gently but firmly reminded Outler that they were working on a projected library of Protestant *thought*. Naturally Outler won the argument that ensued and was assigned the volume on Wesley.[5] That day, surely a great day in the history of scholarship, Outler vowed that by the time he was finished there would be more non-Wesleyans reading Wesley than Wesleyans. He more than accomplished his goal. The sales of his Wesley volume have exceeded the total sales of the other member volumes in the series. One reason for his involvement in the Wesley Works project was his dissatisfaction with the standard editions.

As Outler's work and legacy reveals, the recovery of Wesley was (and is) as much an ideological exercise as it was (and is) a work of intentionally objective, historical scholarship. The fastidious editorial efforts and brilliant essays of Outler functioned ideologically at three levels.[6] First, they were a way to legitimize Methodism as a player on the world ecumenical stage. They served to make it clear that the heirs of Wesley

[3]We still await a full-scale biography of Wesley from his hands. Should it appear, we would have much cause for rejoicing.

[4]I am relying at this point on my own conversations with Outler. Outler tells the story with characteristic panache in "A New Future for Wesley Studies: An Agenda for Phase III," in Thomas C. Oden and Leicester R. Longden, eds., *The Wesleyan Theological Heritage: Essays of Albert Outler* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1991), 125-142.

[5]It appeared as Albert C. Outler, ed., *John Wesley* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964). I was given a copy on my ordination to the Irish Methodist ministry. I still treasure it.

[6]I have long been convinced that Outler was at his best as an essay writer; at his essay best, he is among the best of the best. For my appreciation of Outler, see my preface to William J. Abraham, ed., *Evangelism: Essays by Albert Outler* (Wilmore: Bristol Books, 1998), 8-11.

could hold their own in the world of theological scholarship, even though their elder brothers and sisters in the faith were constantly tempted to dismiss them as talkative intellectual midgets poisoned by pietism.[7] Second, they were a rallying cry to scattered sheep and wolves scurrying and prowling in and around the Methodist Episcopal fold. They provided a way to gather up the disorderly bands of Methodists that could agree about next to nothing other than that they had inherited a tradition initiated by John Wesley and that they ought somehow to hang together as freshly minted ecumenists.[8] Third, they were a creative personal agenda. They constituted a new method in theology that would fix the doctrine of Scripture once and for all and breathe new life into a tradition long on theological smugness and apathy and short on intellectual virtue.

Outler's Wesley was an invented Wesley, a Wesley at once Catholic, Reformed, Evangelical, Enlightened, Ecumenical, non-dogmatic, pragmatic, pious, anti-confessional, relative to his place and time, pluralist in ecclesiology, and always open to the future. Despite the savvy work on the historiography of Wesley, this was a Wesley carefully constructed to fill a network of needs.[9] This is not in any way a cheap shot at Outler as an historian. Nor it is a lapse into a vulgar form of postmodernism that has no place for old-fashioned critical, historical scholarship. Ernst Troeltsch was right to insist that our interest in historical data is intertwined with our other interests, that interests of the first degree mesh with interests of the second degree. My aim is simply to highlight the secondary interests that are clearly visible in the Outlerian historical agenda.[10]

In a host of ways, Outler's work was a resounding success, even though he died a bitterly disappointed scholar and churchman.[11] Consider the fol-

[7]Recently one veteran ecumenist abruptly summed up this sentiment for me by noting that talking to a Methodist theologian was like trying to have a theological conversation with one's thirteen year-old daughter.

[8]Once we add in the folk from the Evangelical United Brethren, the diversity multiplies. My sense is that, for Outler, the Holiness tradition was a planet in outer space which it took him time to recognize and acknowledge.

[9]For a very important historiographical essay, see his "A New Future for Wesley Studies: An Agenda for Phase III."

[10]I find the common tendency to dismiss Troeltsch's illuminating comments on the nature of historical investigation as positivistic superficial and uncritical. I stand by my analysis of Troeltsch to be found in *Divine Revelation and Limits of Historical Criticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), chap. 5.

[11]Outler reported to some that, if he had it do over again, he would never have done the work on the sermons of Wesley. I owe this observation to my colleague James Kirby.

lowing laundry list. First, he and the others who worked in the team managed to get the works of Wesley published, despite the early withdrawal of Oxford University Press. I was with him on the day that the news came through from Oxford University Press that his edition of the sermons (twenty years of amazing labor) was in jeopardy. Even though I had more than a suspicion that he already had Abingdon Press in the bag as an alternative, there was a clear note of disappointment in his demeanor. In the end Abingdon came through, and we have a magnificent critical edition of the works in the making.

Second, Outler's theological vision was canonized in his own brand of Methodism. He chaired the crucial doctrinal commission that brought its deliberations to the General Conference of The United Methodist Church in 1972. The report he effectively wrote was passed with next to no dissenting votes.[12] All this happened despite the fact that the adoption of his theology was carried through in the form of unconstitutional developments implemented in a church too weak to deal with its own juridical waywardness and too intimidated to stand up to Outler's deft political maneuverings.[13] He aggressively opposed and regretted the updating of his proposals in the 1980s, when the primacy of Scripture was inserted and the language of diversity ousted the language of pluralism.[14]

In the end, Outler bowed to the inevitable, and so he should, for he had won the war on three critical fronts. The relativist and thoroughly historicist reading of the tradition he championed remained in place; Wesley's *Sermons* and *Explanatory Notes on the New Testament* were inserted in the list of original doctrines purportedly adopted in 1808;[15] and Outler's vision was systematically internalized in a whole generation of Wesleyan scholars and church leaders.[16]

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[12]Bishop Cannon's comment on Outler during the work of the commission is fascinating. "Whatever Outler proposed John Cobb opposed. There was constant friction between the two. Outler was of a nervous temperament. He had been accustomed to having his own way in most theological discussions. I was fearful that John Cobb would give him a nervous breakdown. At the end of a day's meeting, I would have to walk with Outler for long periods of time to calm him down enough for him fall asleep." See William Ragsdale Cannon, *A Magnificent Obsession* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1999), 252.

[13]This side of Outler is well brought out by Bob W. Parrot, *Albert C. Outler, The Gifted Dilettante* (Wilmore: Bristol Books, 1999).

[14]This observation comes in part from personal conversations with Outler.

[15]Both these innovations remain in the current *Book of Discipline* of The United Methodist Church.

[16]Consider the following splendid summary of the Outlerian orthodoxy provided by a current candidate for the episcopacy from the Texas Conference of The

Third, Outler's one big idea, the "Quadrilateral," lingers on like a case of the flu, migrating outward through evangelical circles eager to fend off the attractions of fundamentalism and keen to solve the perennial problem of the authority of Scripture. Commitment to the Quadrilateral is so deep that even objections to it are read as presupposing its validity.[17] To attack the Quadrilateral, it is now repeatedly said, is to use the Quadrilateral; even Immanuel Kant failed to find a transcendental argument as quick

United Methodist Church. "Pluralism in its finest form is the offering of diverse and varied opinions, giving credence to the assumption that "our differences enrich us." I feel that because there are legitimate ideas, opinions and voices of a theological nature which are different from our own creates full participation in the body of Christ known as the church. However, if The United Methodist Church makes an effort to "be all things to all people," we would soon realize that the tapestry on which our faith is woven would soon be ripped apart and irreparably damaged. This is where the genius of Wesley comes to the forefront. The boundaries that determine theological pluralism were defined 200 years ago by John Wesley, and are distinctly laid out for us through his understanding of Scripture, tradition, reason, and experience. Our Doctrinal Standards and Theological Task, which are included in *The Book of Discipline,* say to me that we can be open to different theological points of view, but they must be "filtered through" and "framed" within the context of Wesley's quadrilateral." See "Responses to the Questionnaire for Episcopal Candidates South Central Jurisdiction," by Dr. Robert E. "Bob" Hayes, Jr., Texas Annual Conference, privately circulated, Feb. 19, 2004, 6.

[17]Outler's ambitious project had at least four elements, beginning with his proposals about the Quadrilateral. I do not think it is too much to say that the whole of the Outler project stands or falls by the Quadrilateral. He made the significance of the "Quadrilateral" abundantly clear in his "A New Future for Wesley Studies: An Agenda for Phase III." That bet has failed. Outler's whole project also depended, secondly, on a utopian historical agenda that expected far too much from historical investigation in the resolution of theological questions. I think that that bet fails because theological problems simply cannot be resolved by historical investigation. The third bet is material rather than methodological or formal. Outler deployed Wesley's vision of the Christian life (his "resolution" of the grace/works debate) in a way that somehow was pivotal in resolving longstanding log-jams between East and West. Clearly this bet has been lost as well. This is brought out in his "The Place of Wesley in the Christian Tradition," in Kenneth E. Rowe, ed., *The Place of Wesley in the Christian Tradition* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1976), 11-38. The fourth and final bet was on the ecumenical movement. That bet is now also in serious trouble.

It needs to be clearly recognized how comprehensive the Outler agenda was. He had a persistent passion to turn the tide of modernity and to secure a future for the Christian faith in the face of the towering challenges it faced. One can see his boldness and depth in part by comparing his comprehensive theological agenda with that of his colleague at Perkins School of Theology, Schubert Ogden. Outler opted for an historical agenda centered on Wesley; Ogden opted for a philosophical agenda centered on Whitehead and Hartshorne.

and easy as this one. For the record, my own deepest objections to the Quadrilateral have been epistemological.[18] If we want to use the infelicitous language of the past, my objections are derived from reason and experience; they do not at all presuppose a commitment to the Quadrilateral.

Fourth, though Outler had very few graduate students, he managed to inspire a generation of assiduous scholars, who have benefited from his prodigious and insightful labors, and who have sometimes all too readily picked up his ideological bad habits. One of his former students repeatedly shared the joke that made the rounds after Vatican II. It is said that Outler had come back from Rome with a bad dose of creeping infallibility. Certainly, he was rarely lacking in self-confidence in public, a feature of his character that always made it a joy to hear him speak. I was once in a question and answer session with him at a meeting of the Oxford Institute of Methodist Theological Studies in which he kept questions at bay for ninety minutes by the simple trick of drawing breath in the middle of a sentence. Even then, we were given an extraordinary display of rhetoric and learning that made us readily ignore or forgive his refusal to hear contrary voices. He was an inspiration to most who heard him. We are all in his

[18]See, for instance, my *Waking From Doctrinal Amnesia* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1996). My objections to the Quadrilateral are manifold and bear repeating here. 1. It involves a serious misreading of Wesley's complex and incomplete epistemology of theology. 2. It sets an impossible standard, in that nobody can seriously execute the tasks involved. Only God could use the Quadrilateral, and presumably God does not need it. 3. It provides for quick and easy proofs of critical Christian doctrine. The doctrine of the Trinity is easily proved, for example, given its secure place in the tradition of the Church. If it is contained in tradition, then it is contained in a combination of Scripture, tradition, reason, and experience. 4. It treats Scripture and tradition as epistemic concepts on a par with reason ad experience, an obvious category mistake. 5. When push comes to shove, as it inevitably will, reason and experience will be privileged over Scripture and tradition because the former are logically prior to the latter. 6. Epistemologically, it is severely underdeveloped, assuming that we know what to make of reason and experience. 7. It omits the critical concept of special revelation from any serious place in the epistemology of theology. 8. Given that the primary warrant for the Quadrilateral is that it is constitutive of Wesley historically, what we really have on offer is a cult of John Wesley disguised as a scholarly project. 9. My relentless opposition to the Quadrilateral is fueled not by my fighting Irish temperament but by my sense of shame that Wesleyan theologians have been so smug in the arena of epistemology and so ignorant of the revolutionary work done in the field over the last forty years. Using (and abusing) the Quadrilateral has become an excuse for various intellectual vices that Wesley would have excoriated.

debt, albeit in radically different ways, as befits the impact of a very complex person and scholar.

The Wesleys of Faith

Consider now the wealth of material that has emerged from the post-Outler and post-Baker era. I am going to assume at this point that most of us are familiar with the texts behind the names. I am further going to assume that I will offend someone by an omission here or there.[19] The really interesting stuff lies on the other side of the typology that follows. Of course, any typology we propose at this point will be controversial, but we can make progress initially by using Outler's practice of playing off the extremes against the center.

Think of the playing field like this. On the far right we can place the work of Allan Coppedge; on the far left we can place the work of Theodore W. Jennings, Jr. For Coppedge, Wesley is best seen as a fundamentalist holiness preacher and leader; for Jennings he is a wobbly Liberation theologian. Right of center we can locate the portrait of Lawrence Wood; left of center we can place the portrait of Ted Runyon. For Wood, Wesley is a proto-Pentecostal theologian; for Runyon he is a proto-Liberation theologian. Coming in further towards the center from the right we have Kenneth Collins; and coming in further towards the center from the left we have Donald Dayton. For Collins, Wesley is a revivalist Anglican; for Dayton, he is a soft Liberation theologian with Pentecostal temptations. And then there are all those folk who lay claim to the center: Randy Maddox, Ted Campbell, Robert Tuttle, Stephen Gunter, Henry H. Knight III, Gregory Clapper, Scott Jones, Rebecca Miles, Philip Meadows, Thomas Oden, John Cobb, and Thomas Langford. Taken together we might say that the portraits of Wesley that emerge in the center are not far from that of a liberal evangelical, or of a catholic evangelical, or an evangelical liberal, but these hackneyed labels cannot do justice to the diversity exhibited. However we draw up the typology, one conclusion is clear: there are as many Wesleys as there are Wesley scholars.

Two further considerations make the number of Wesleys even greater than identified thus far. First, there is a group who fit nowhere in my typology: Richard Heitzenrater, Rex Matthews, Barry Bryant, David Hempton,

[19]I make no claim to being comprehensive. Adding or subtracting a name will not alter the argument I am about to make.

Henry Rack, David Watson, Theodore Weber, Ann Taves, Robert Monk, Geoffrey Wainwright, and Douglas Meeks. Second, once we add, as we must, that there is an early, middle, and late Wesley, any number we compute multiplies by three.[20] So the quest for the historical Wesley has morphed into a discovery of the Wesleys of faith, with Wesley turning out to be very much like the mirror images of the historians under review.[21] This accounts for the degree of polemic and passion that we currently see, say, between Kenneth Collins and Randy Maddox,[22] between Donald Dayton and Lawrence Wood,[23] between Joerg Rieger and Scott Jones,[24] and between William Abraham and Gregory Clapper.[25]

Expressed slightly differently, we have seen over time how Wesley has been brought into play in the rival theologies on offer in the tradition that bears his name across the centuries since he died. His legacy is a contested one that has been claimed by Revivalists and Institutionalists, by Social Gospellers and Personalists, by Fundamentalists and Modernists, by Liberals and Conservatives, by Liberationists and Pietists, by Radicals and Moderates, by Revisionists and Traditionalists, by Marginalists and Centrists, by Systematicians and Occasionalists, by Inclusivists and Exclusivists, by Feminists and Patriarchialists, by Holiness Advocates and Pentecostals, by Conventionalists and Charismatics, and by Confessionalists and Pluralists.

A Cause for Celebration and Stocktaking

For my part I see this development as a cause for celebration. Gilbert Murray once insisted that the best traditions produce the best rebels. By

[20]I leave aside what secular historians lately have made of Wesley.

[21]For a little gem of a paper that made a similar point some thirty years ago, see Kenneth E. Rowe, "The Quest for the Historical Wesley," in Kenneth E. Rowe, ed., *The Place of Wesley in the Christian Tradition*, 1-7. Rowe suggests that the great variety of labels he noted might be due to faults in the editions used; perhaps he hoped that the new critical edition of the Wesley corpus would narrow the range of options available. If he did, he was clearly mistaken.

[22]One critical issue between them is the understanding of sanctification.

[23]The central issue revolves around the place and significance of baptism in the Holy Spirit in Wesley and in Pentecostalism.

[24]The primary issue in this case is whether we should see Wesley as a centrist or at the margins.

[25]The fundamental dispute here is how to read the significance of affections in our evaluation of Wesley's theology.

this criterion, Wesley has had a terrific run for his money, even though the rebels have found ingenious ways to mask their rebellion as forms of loyalty. More charitably, we might say that historical theology, that is, the deployment of a great figure of the past as a platform for contemporary theological commitment, has flourished in the Wesleyan tradition. Wesley has proved to be a fecund source of inspiration; he let loose a torrent of ideas and practices that have flowed well beyond the banks of the Methodist mainstream and formed their own rivers and lakes. His legacy has also furnished a point of entry to radically different forms of Christian thought and practice and a fertile field for inventive borrowing and creative innovation. Much as Wesley may not have wanted it, he created and let loose a tradition that from the beginning was unstable. Like it or not, he inspired a network of ecclesial communities that fostered a latitudinarianism that he himself vehemently rejected. The continued use and abuse of his sermon, "Catholic Spirit," is ample testimony to his inability to prevent the development of incoherent forms of ecclesial pluralism. His followers have scattered like sheep to a thousand hills to find pasture. They have migrated to Evangelicalism, to Feminism, to Narrative theology, to Liberation theology, to Process theology, to Paul Tillich, to Karl Barth, to John Howard Yoder, to Michael Foucault, to Rosemary Ruether, to Ellen Charry, to anything and everyone under the theological sun.

What is cause for celebration is also cause for stocktaking. Three points emerge immediately. First, what the Roman Catholic Church did to Thomas Aquinas in the 1870s, Wesleyans did to Wesley in the 1960s. Effectively, despite our Protestant commitments, we tried to canonize Wesley as a Doctor of the church. The originating causes were analogous. Like Pope Leo XIII, we were in search of a theory of authority that would meet the challenges of the day. More specifically, we were looking for one more way to fix once and for all the problem of the authority of Scripture. The outcome in both cases was the same. The quest for the historical Wesley has proved to be as elusive as the quest for the historical Aquinas. Within forty years there were so many different visions of Aquinas theology emerging that even Karl Rahner and Joseph Ratzinger were able to make it past the gatekeepers with their idiosyncratic updates of Thomas in hand, even though in their cases it was a close call.[26] The Wesleyans have

[26]On the diversity of interpretation of Aquinas, see Gerald A. McCool, S.J., *From Unity to Pluralism, The Internal Evolution of Thomism* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1989).

their gatekeepers (they are located in the editorial boards of publishing houses), but they have not been able to secure an agreed vision of Wesley. Wesley, like Aquinas, has become the site of rival contemporary theological proposals that have been presented or masked as historical investigation. In the end, Roman Catholic scholarship came to terms with the diversity of Aquinas. As I have argued above, this is precisely the stage we have reached in Wesley studies: we are immersed in a sea of competing portraits. In our case there will be no Vatican II to sort things through; it will all be a matter of the contingencies of our scholarship.[27]

Second, the crucial problem that the quest for the historical Wesley was meant to resolve remains as thorny as ever. The problem of the authority of Scripture is as big a problem as ever in contemporary Protestantism. Outler's attempt to salvage Wesley's vision of Scripture by arguing that he offers us a unique theological method enshrined in the Quadrilateral is neither true to the historical Wesley nor will it work as a normative epistemological agenda. The shift from modernity to postmodernity may have taken the passion out of the issue, but the underlying epistemological issues remain as unresolved as before. They cannot be resolved by historical investigation; they are inescapably philosophical and normative in nature. The very idea of solving them by appeal to Wesley is a categorical mistake.[28] In my judgment, the very idea of the authority of Scripture, crucial as it was in the recovery of the Bible at the Reformation, has outlived its usefulness. As I shall note below, claims about the authority of Scripture have killed Protestantism from within.[29]

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[27]If things proceed as they have with Thomas Aquinas, we are in for a bumper crop of work over the next thirty years.

[28]It is perhaps this mistake more than any other that bedeviled the Outler agenda. Outler was well aware of the constant dangers of eisegesis in the study of Wesley, but he never faced up to this as a live option in his own work. Perhaps we should also take much more seriously the possibility that he really was a dilettante when it came to crucial sectors of work in theology.

[29]This does not mean the disappearance of the issues that the idea of biblical authority was designed to resolve. On the contrary, we now have to reformulate the issues in a more appropriate manner and then set about finding appropriate solutions. For me the debate about the authority of Scripture needs to be reformulated as a quest for an adequate vision of canon and as a quest for a really compelling epistemology of theology.

Third, effectively this plethora of historical Wesleys signals the end of Wesleyan theology.[30] As a specific, determinate experiment in the history of Western theology, Methodism is now over. This does not mean that the institutions and ecclesial bodies invented by Wesley and his followers have ceased to exist; these will continue to wind their way through the course of history as best they can.[31] My point is a simple one: the historical investigation of the last thirty years constitutes a very long obituary notice. In an earlier address to the Wesleyan Theological Society, I argued that the missiological agenda of Wesley, together with the practices that were constitutive of it, has been abandoned.[32] At that time I also noted that the acids of criticism from within have eaten away the background theological assumptions on which Wesley critically depended, so that there is now in place a pluralism of background assumptions that do the theological heavy lifting. The material theologies that result, and that are now clearly visible, are only secondarily Wesleyan. Their deep inspiration and their core commitments are derived from non-Wesleyan sources. So in that paper my argument was more indirect.

My argument here is more direct. It is not just Methodism as a determinate experiment that is over and gone; so too is Wesleyan theology in any meaningful or robust sense of that term. Wesley has become a historical cipher for our diverse and competing contemporary commitments. Where there was once a time when there existed a relatively coherent set of ideas and correlative practices, these have now collapsed and been replaced by competing alternatives. What is gone is a coherent experiment in theology that bears any kind of robust continuity with Wesley. The great hymns are no longer sung; the fervent sacramentalism has been eroded; the robust orthodoxy has been undermined; the commitment to the poor has become a

[30]On at least one occasion it is interesting to note that Wesley worried that reading history would come to supplant the cause of God's work in the priorities of his preachers. He said, "I fear there is altogether a fault in this matter, and that few of us are clear. Which of you spends as many hours a day in God's work as you did formerly in man's work? We talk—or read history, or what comes next to hand. We must, absolutely must, cure this evil, or betray the cause of God." See *Minutes of Several Conversations* in *Works*, vol. 8, 314-315. It is clear that Wesley himself loved reading history and derived much spiritual benefit from it.

[31]They do so committed *de facto* to a congregationalist ecclesiology where local clergy and their congregations effectively go their own ways.

[32]See "Saving Souls: A Missiological Midrash on John Wesley," *Wesleyan Theological Journal*, 38:1 (Spring 2003).

normative ideology; the evangelistic fervor has been sidelined; the biblical literacy has been lost; the official, canonical doctrines of the tradition are despised or are idling; and the specific doctrines of new birth, assurance, perfection, and predestination are unknown or received with consternation.[33] What we have are bits and pieces of the tradition grafted into theological visions that have their roots elsewhere. As a serious experiment in theology, Wesleyanism is over. The wake may have been a long one, but the funeral is now upon us. To be sure, some are in denial and others are wrangling over the reading of the will and the ownership of the last legacy, but the reality is that Wesleyans have moved on and found new lives and lovers.

On my own theological reading of Wesley, I think that this quest for new lovers was inevitable. Think of it this way. Wesley at his core was a staunch Protestant biblicist. Drawing on a medieval vision of divine revelation, he was convinced that all proper theology had to be grounded in Scripture. Whatever bells and whistles we want to add either epistemologically or hermeneutically to this thesis, the ultimate test of truth in theology for Wesley was Scripture.[34] This immediately undercuts any idea of appeal to Wesley as a warrant in theology; on pain of inconsistency the warrant simply has to be Scripture, not Wesley. Thus, from the beginning, the idea of accepting anything because it is Wesleyan involves introducing a warrant that is not available to a Wesleyan. At best, appeal to Wesley can operate as a criterion of identity; it cannot operate as a criterion of credibility or truth. Furthermore, given that there is no agreed theology in Scripture, or given that Scripture provides a license for a plethora of competing theologies, it was inevitable that over time Wesley's own reading of Scripture would collapse and be replaced by other readings by his own followers. Thus, unless we are doomed to settle into an incoherent Wesleyan scholasticism, instability and disagreement were inescapable and inevitable over time.

In turn, such instability and disagreement led some Wesleyans to develop a revisionist construal of biblical authority or to look for other foundations of theology outside of Scripture. These moves simply added to the instability and disagreement.[35] We were furnished with another network

[33]I have found that the last two are simply non-starters among contemporary United Methodists.

[34]Wesley even sought to ground his epistemological proposals on Scripture.

[35]Robert E. Chiles' *Theological Transition in American Methodism, 1790-1935* (New York: University Press of America, 1983) remains the classic rendering of this thesis.

of theological options and systems derived from suitably revised epistemological visions. Sooner or later the results of such work were bound to appear at odds with the original Wesleyan construal of scriptural teaching; the dissonance between the two has now become plain to discerning observers. To face up to this yawning gap as reality is to stare death in the face. The quest for the historical Wesley over the last generation was, in these circumstances, a loyalist strategy to keep the truth at bay. It was a playing for time; it was a clear sign that the tradition is in the final stages of decline and decay. What we were promised was a compelling portrait intended to breathe new life into the tradition; what we got was a round of obituary notices that signify that we have just laid the body to rest.

So the Wesleyan tradition, like the earlier traditions spawned by the great Reformers before him, has gone the way of all flesh. Yet one more noble Protestant experiment has run its course. One of the lesser tribes of Israel has expired. He who has been regarded as the least of the theologians in the line of the Reformation has been brought to his final resting place. One more noble and wonderful experiment within Protestantism has failed. The deadly virus of *sola scriptura*, with or without qualifications, and the epistemologies it has spawned has once more killed its followers. Once more the faith of the church has been splintered in pieces and scattered to the winds. Once more, it has been a case of death by our own hands. Once more, we have participated in and witnessed yet another grand funeral within Protestantism.

Released to a New Future

Funerals are usually solemn and sad occasions. They can be celebrations of lives well lived. They are also a time of freedom when those left behind are released into a new future, however painful that future may be. In this instance, insofar as we accept the core of my argument, we will have our own way of laying hold of our freedom. For my part, I suggest the following tasks as having some purchase upon us as scholars of Wesley. The first two are historical in nature and the third is metatheological.

First, the historical work will and should continue unabated. Here I remain committed to the ideals of "classical" historical investigation. Oliver O'Donovan captures the matter nicely. Speaking of the study of the Thirty Nine Articles, he writes: "In conducting a study the scholar puts his intellectual powers completely at the service of the text, and makes it his

only business to enable the text to speak clearly. It is a weakness in his work if his own concerns and the fashions of his time intrude."[36] The necessary transposition to Wesley is obvious. Our primary object of attention is Wesley, his life and work in his time and context, and the chief business of the historian is to enable Wesley to speak clearly, whatever we may think of what he did or said. Of course, historians and philosophers will take issue with this historiographical vision, but such disagreement is secondary. However we conceive of historical investigation, we all agree that Wesley should be studied historically with all the creativity and rigor we can muster.

As I see it, we need to renegotiate how best to read his background in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Anglicanism and then relocate Wesley very firmly within this world. In short, we have got to reconsider and rework the background music of the Enlightenment that has had such a grip on our imaginations and hear a quite different set of tunes. We have to come to terms with the radically confessional nature of the state and church to which Wesley belonged. Once we do this, we will have to recalibrate much of what we say about Wesley. The portrait of Wesley, when we do so, will be quite different from of the options currently on offer.[37]

This suggestion is, of course, a point about the macro-narrative in which we locate Wesley. My second is in the neighborhood. We also need to ferret out those neglected elements in the micro-narrative of Wesley that are hard to hear today. Take for instance his vision of double predestination. This was more than a polemical aside in his debates with the Calvinists. I suspect that it was pivotal in his deep sense of the sovereignty of a God of unconditional goodness that was bedrock in his theology as a whole and crucial to his self-confident leadership of Methodism. Or consider his thoroughgoing supernaturalism. His feisty reply to Conyers Middleton was not just a skirmish about miracles. Wesley, like John Henry Newman a century later, saw that a principled attack on the miracles of the church could not be halted at the doors of the canon of Scripture. As the subsequent history shows, the challenge posed by Middleton had far more at stake for our general understanding of the world, for our conception of critical investigation, and for our expectations in ministry in the present.

[36]Oliver O'Donovan, *On the Thirty Nine Articles, A Conversation with Tudor Christianity* (Exeter: Paternoster, 1986), 7.

[37]I plan to explore this option in an introductory volume on Wesley in the near future.

Further, consider Wesley's doctrine of assurance enshrined in the witness of the Holy Spirit. It is remarkable how well he is truer to Paul on this topic than the whole history of Protestantism, yet it remains an enigma in modern Wesleyan circles.[38] Or consider his vision of Christian perfection. This is really the mad theological aunt in the basement of Wesley's theology. She deserves a fresh, sympathetic visit now that we have had a spirited revision of what happened to the doctrine of the baptism of the Holy Spirit after Fletcher of Madeley—initiated by the controversial work of Lawrence Wood—and now that we know that the effort to assimilate Wesley's perfectionist vision to a generic vision of *theosis* in Eastern Orthodoxy has limited hermeneutical value.

Neither of these suggestions comes close to registering the magnitude of the theological crisis that faces us within the Wesleyan tradition. Indeed, since to turn to history is often a strategy of denial, so burying ourselves in the historical agendas that I have just enumerated may well be a sophisticated evasion. We surely have a problem on our hands that cannot be resolved by more historical excavation. We have to find a whole new way do theology beyond Wesley and even beyond the Protestantism of which he is a paradigm instantiation. As I see the landscape, and as I have argued on a larger canvas elsewhere, the death of our own tradition is simply a microcosm of the death of Protestantism itself.[39] We are at the end of the line where Protestant theology is concerned; five hundred magnificent years of theology have come to an end. Epistemology has destroyed us from within.[40] We can no longer dress up our contemporary theological commitments in Wesleyan garb. The shroud of Wesley has been shredded by our historical work; it is no longer available for rent. We have to go home from the funeral in peace; and we must openly, explicitly, and self-consciously find a new theological future. Of course, we can expect that all sorts of insights from Wesley will have a place in that future. However,

[38]For Wesley, as for Paul, the inner witness of the Holy Spirit spoke to the issue of our relationship of sonship to God; it did not speak to the issue of what books belong in the canon of Scripture.

[39]This is the upshot of my *Canon and Criterion in Christian Theology: From the Fathers to Feminism* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998).

[40]In these circumstances, postmodernity is not medicine; unless radically relativized, it is likely to be another dose of poison that will simply kill those who look to it for salvation. Nor can we be saved by turning to Roman Catholicism, for Roman Catholicism, as we know it today, is simply one more effort to fix the Protestantism it inevitably spawned.

Wesley's contribution is strictly limited; we can no longer ignore his severe limitations or hide behind his skirts. We must now speak in our own voice and take full responsibility before God and before each other for what we say and how we say it.

Wesley as Spiritual Midwife

In the meantime, what shall we do with our beloved Wesley? I finish with a hint that dovetails nicely with the theme of death and funerals. When they came to bury John Wesley in City Road, London, the liturgist made a fascinating and unrehearsed change in the wording of the Anglican service. Coming to that point in the service where they committed his body to the ground, earth to earth, ashes to ashes, the liturgist could not use the designation "our brother." Instead, by a spontaneous and extraordinary shift, he designated Wesley as "our Father." Consider now the amazing report of Tyerman of another event, this time after the funeral. "The notice to his friends was short; but hundreds attended; and to each was given a biscuit, in an envelope, engraved with a beautifully executed portrait of the departed, dressed in full canonicals, *surmounted by a halo and a crown*."[41]

What we see here is the natural and entirely apt recognition of Wesley as an evangelist, spiritual Father, and saint. These designations of Wesley are, of course, pastoral and religious; to see it as sexist is to reveal our bondage to the shibboleths of our own day. It means that Wesley, as an agent of the Holy Spirit, had operated in his day first and foremost as a spiritual midwife who brought thousands of people to birth in the womb of the gospel of Christ. In an inimitable and wonderful way he helped people find God in conversion, became a model for them of the spiritual life, and provided a network of resources to nourish genuine holiness.[42]

The liturgist at the funeral was not the first to recognize the proper status of Wesley in our tradition. There is a wonderful witness to Wesley along these lines in the remarkable description of Wesley penned by a total outsider to Methodism in 1769. The author is Professor Johan Henrik Liden of the University of Uppsala in Sweden. Note in what follows how Wesley is identified as a spiritual Father and compared to the apostle John.

[41]See L. Tyerman, *The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1872), vol. III, 656. Emphasis added.

[42]It is worth remembering here that Wesley clearly saw himself as a Father in God to Francis Asbury, as is clear from his correspondence. I am grateful to my colleague James Kirby for drawing this to my attention.

> Today I learned for the first time to know Mr. John Wesley, so well known here in England, and called the *spiritual Father of the so-called Methodists.* He arrived home from his summer journey to Ireland, where he visited his people. He preached today at the forenoon service in the Methodist Chapel in Spitafield for an audience of more than 4,000 people. His text was Luke 1:68. The sermon was short but eminently evangelical. He has not great oratorical gifts, no outward appearance, but he speaks clear and pleasant. After the Holy Communion, which in all English Churches is held with closed doors at the end of the preaching service, when none but the Communicants are usually present, and which here was celebrated very orderly and pathetic. I went forward to shake hands with Mr. Wesley, who already . . . knew my name, and was received by him in his usual amiable and friendly way. He is a small, thin old man, with his own and long and strait hair, and looks as the worst country curate in Sweden, but has learning as a Bishop and zeal for the glory of God which is quite extraordinary. His talk is very agreeable, and his mild face and pious manner secure him the love of all rightminded men. He is the personification of piety, and he seems to me as *a living representation of the loving Apostle John.* The old man Wesley is already 66 years, but very lively and exceedingly industrious.[43]

Canonical status in the wider Christian world has always been developed from the bottom up rather than from the top down; Wesley is no exception to this rule. It is what we see happening in this description and in the events at his funeral. The aftermath of Wesley more than amply bears witness to the drive to perceive Wesley as a saint, evangelist, and a spiritual Father in God. The vast iconography spawned by Wesley bears extraordinary testimony to his spiritual impact across the generations. Wesley was and yet is so important spiritually that he deserves to be painted larger than life and hung on the walls of our offices and church halls. Spiritually speaking, it is a deep mistake to restrict ourselves to the hard and fast rules of good historical scholarship in our quest for the real physical portrait of Wesley. We should also mention the wonderful hagiography that persists despite the labor of historians and critics.

[43]See Richard Heitzenrater, *The Elusive Mr. Wesley* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1984), vol. 2, 87-88. Emphasis added.

Wesley cannot be contained within the boundaries of our critical, clinical, historical scholarship; the spiritual treasure that he is by grace deserves the creative hand of pious exaggeration and romantic hyperbole.[44] The spiritual jewel that he is also shows up in the setting aside of sacred sites at Epworth, at City Road, London, at the New Rooms in Bristol, and in Lincoln College, Oxford. It is equally manifest in the ineradicable drive to engage in pilgrimage to those sites. It is, moreover, visible in the long-lasting tendency to name children after Wesley. Perhaps even more important is the formal canonization of a set of standard sermons in British and Irish Methodism. His sermons became in time so valuable in The United Methodist Church that they were unconstitutionally shoehorned into the canonical material of that church in 1972.[45] This was juridically wrong but spiritually correct. Happily, neither the staunch formal Protestantism of the Methodist movement nor the scoldings of the historians have been able to keep the informal canonization of Wesley at bay. Wesley as an evangelist, spiritual Father, and saint simply outstrips our narrow, secularist strictures; he bursts through the boundaries of our inventive theological projections and still finds a way into the hearts of folk desperate to find food for their souls.[46]

It is here, with Wesley as our spiritual Father in God, that we can still find solace. John Wesley is not some norm of truth; nor is he a folk theologian waiting to be organized into a systematic theologian; nor is he merely our brother in the faith; nor is he a Doctor of the church; nor is he a prince of the church. He was and continues to be for many a spiritual Father in God. He was and is a minister of the gospel who has birthed us

[44]I can still recall as a teenager, after my conversion, reading my first great piece of Wesleyan hagiography, John Wesley Bready's *England: Before and After Wesley* (New York: Harper and Row, 1938). It nurtured my soul in the midst of backbreaking, soul-destroying work in East Anglia in England.

[45]It is a great pity that we do not have a handy and attractive copy of the standard forty-four sermons that are available in Britain. It is one thing to have a set of sermons selected for historical investigation in the seminary or university; it is another to have a set clearly designed as Wesley designed them for spiritual nourishment.

[46]John M. Todd makes some tantalizing but perhaps exaggerated comparisons between Wesley and St. John of the Cross and St. Francis. See his *John Wesley and the Catholic Church* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1958). Todd reported that he prayed privately to Wesley, a practice permitted to him within his Roman Catholic tradition.

indirectly in the faith. He is a thinker and spiritual guide who has gone on to Glory and whose work, with all its shortsightedness and shortcomings, can still bring us to God and foster holiness of life and thought. In short, he belongs in the canon of spiritual Fathers and saints.[47] While we have no ecclesial mechanism for formally making this move, this is where he belongs, in the list of spiritual Fathers and saints of the Church. Thereby he brings us into a wholly different way of thinking about the wider canonical heritage of the Church. It is within the bosom of that wider canonical heritage that we will find the full salvation of our souls. It is also within that canonical heritage that we will find the charter for a whole new way of doing theology. That last claim is not a claim I can explore today, but it is one I will gladly make good on in the future.[48]

So then, I bring before you bad news and good news, one piece of bad news and two pieces of good news. The bad news is that half a century of splendid historical investigation has unwittingly become a worthy obituary notice for the death of the Wesleyan theological tradition. The good news is that we are now free to stop pretending that Wesley is a great theologian (or even a theologian) and to receive him for what he is, an extraordinary evangelist, a great saint, and a remarkable spiritual Father in God. The other good news is that the funeral of Wesleyan theology is a clarion call for a radically fresh start in theology for all those who acknowledge John Wesley as a spiritual Father in God and as a saint of modern Protestantism.

[47]It may seem farfetched to deploy this sort of language within Protestantism, but in fact it crops up *de facto* all the time at a popular level. There is a very definite though informal canon of Protestant heroes and heroines floating around. One encounters it explicitly from time to time. See, for example, Ernest Gordon, *A Book of Protestant Saints* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1946). Gordon uses the criteria of biblical commitment, the presence of miracle (understood broadly), and appropriate deathbed scenes. Clearly Wesley fits these criteria without difficulty.

[48]*The Logic of Renewal.*

REALISM, HOPE, AND HOLINESS IN THE WESLEYAN TRADITION

The Presidential Address to the 39th Annual Meeting of the Wesleyan Theologial Society, March, 2004

by

Henry H. Knight III

Sometimes it is said that John Wesley shifted our theological attention away from God, placing it instead on humanity. After all, the "scripture way of salvation" was at the heart of both his doctrine and discipline. If soteriology is not the whole of his theology, it certainly is his focus. Yet, an examination of Wesley's understanding of salvation does not warrant this conclusion.

First of all, the goal is for us fully and unreservedly to love God—that is, the goal is for God to be at the center of our lives. Second, salvation is by grace alone, enabled by God and a response to God's love for us in Christ; soteriology is shaped by the character, actions, and promises of God. It is the case that Wesley did not focus on encountering God apart from the world. Instead, faithfulness directed Wesley to be attentive to what God desires for the world, to be governed by God's purposes. In this sense we might say today that Wesley's theology was especially centered on the mission of God as manifested in Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit, and on God's promise of new creation for the world and each person in it. What is especially impressive is how Wesley goes about this.

The Tension: Pessimism and Optimism

It was over fifty years ago that Gordon Rupp observed that Wesley's soteriology is marked by "a pessimism of nature and an optimism of

grace."[1] By "pessimism of nature" Rupp meant fallen nature—Wesley took with utmost seriousness the power of sin in human life. But Wesley also had an "optimism of grace" that took with utmost seriousness the power of God to transform hearts and lives. There is in Wesley's theology an unabashed realism about sin, suffering, injustice, and death. It is as real as the cross. Yet he also has a profound hope in God that, because of what God has done in Christ and is doing through the power of the Holy Spirit, sin and its attendant evils can now be overcome, and ultimately death itself will come to an end and God's love will reign over the entire creation. It is a hope as certain as the resurrection.

This observation by Rupp is a most fruitful insight. It identifies a tension between realism and hope that runs through Wesley's theology. Let me mention two examples, one from each "end" of Wesley's soteriology. Wesley combines the realism of a doctrine of original sin, that declares the total corruption of the moral image of God, with a doctrine of prevenient grace that grounds hope for freedom from sin in the power of God. At the other end, Wesley holds before us God's promise of Christian perfection, the restoration of the moral image of God in love, while reminding us that involuntary transgressions remain, necessitating continued repentance and reliance upon God. This tension between realism and hope not only pervades the entirety of Wesley's soteriology, it also marks other aspects of his theology such as healing and eschatology.

I believe it is essential for us to maintain this tension between the reality of sin and hope in God's promise of transformation. This is not only because we will misunderstand Wesley's theology if we resolve the tension. It is because Wesley uses it to point us to a central feature of Christian life and discipleship in the world. Our failure to attend to the tension between realism and hope will inevitably compromise our faithfulness to God and openness to God's transforming activity.

The point is illustrated by examining three recent studies of Christianity in America. One will show how a failure to take seriously the effects of sin can lead to unfaithfulness on a large scale. The other two will show how hope in God's promise of new creation can lead to something like an in-breaking of the reign of God's love in the present age.

[1]Gordon Rupp, *Principalities and Powers* (Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1952), 90 ff.

Failing to Take Sin Seriously

Mark Noll has provided a contextual history of American theology from Jonathan Edwards to the Civil War. It is a complex story that has at its heart a uniquely American synthesis of Protestant evangelicalism, republican political theory, and commonsense moral philosophy.[2] The result was ambiguous. While "American Protestants almost converted the nation, so too did the nation mold the Christian gospel in the contours of its own shape."[3]

The attraction of commonsense philosophy was its democratic nature. It replaced the conversionist ethic of Edwards, which found true virtue in the redeemed, with the ethic of Francis Hutcheson which claimed the presence of an innate moral sense in every person. It answered the critics who claimed that America, by overthrowing traditional authorities, opened the door to moral anarchy. Not so, said the Americans, for "Humans—if they exercised their inherent (albeit God-given) faculties in a disciplined way—could know ethical maxims simply by nature and could by nature will the good that harmonious human existence required."[4]

This was an optimistic anthropology tailor-made to undergird a fledging republic as well as unleash democratic and egalitarian impulses. Everyday people could claim the same virtue as the social elites. Itinerate preachers, called by God from their trades or farms, could claim equality with those privileged enough to attend Yale or Harvard. Those of liberal tendency could dispense with conversion entirely; evangelicals could redefine conversion as freely yielding to divine persuasion. In neither case is a fundamental transformation of the heart necessary.

In Noll's analysis, this new American theology was well-suited to its post-revolutionary context. Without something like a synthesis with republicanism and commonsense philosophy, Christianity would have been marginalized. In Europe, both Protestant and Catholic theology was opposed to republicanism, standing for maintaining traditional order against rising democratic impulses. But in America, Christianity and republicanism were allied. Instead of an inherently sinful populace need-

[2]Mark A. Noll, *America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Oxford, 2002), 9.

[3]Ibid., 443.

[4]Ibid.,110.

ing authority to maintain order, American theologians argued that people were not bound by sin, but possessed the capacity to choose otherwise, and hence had the capacity as well for self-government. Instead of becoming a countercultural enclave out of step with the democratic impulses of the new republic, American Protestants proceeded to almost evangelize the nation.

Yet there was a huge cost to be paid by this alliance with commonsense philosophy. An optimistic anthropology led to a hermeneutic that no longer needed the guidance of tradition to interpret Scripture. Theoretically, reason, governed by commonsense, should lead to common understanding. Instead, it led to theologians, pastors, and laity all confidently asserting the clear and unambiguous teaching of Scripture—and having diametrically opposed accounts of what that teaching was. The most tragic instance of this was disagreement over slavery.

Noll states this bluntly: "Commonsense moral reasoning perceived directly and intuitively the propriety of the slave system and perceived with equal force its impropriety. . . . Reformed, literal approaches to the Bible could sanction slavery and also condemn it."[5] In fact, says Noll, the pro-slavery argument was the most persuasive as "more and more of the God-fearing in the most influential churches had come to believe what almost no Protestants elsewhere in the world still believed—that, at least in some senses and with respect to some purposes, the Bible did in fact sanction slavery."[6]

Reformed theologians in Canada and Europe, every bit as conservative and literal as their American counterparts, did not believe the Bible sanctioned slavery. American opponents of slavery found themselves on the defensive. Noll believes that a major reason for this was the pervasiveness of racism in America. There was a nearly universal commonsense belief that African Americans were inferior. This racist assumption was so taken for granted by whites that most, on both sides of the issue, failed to see how this compromised exegesis.

This is only a portion of Noll's complex argument, but it is enough to make the point. An American Protestantism with an optimism of nature was able to embrace republican government, yet was unable to clearly reject slavery. European Protestants with a pessimism of nature could

[5]Ibid., 386.

[6]Ibid., 387.

decisively reject slavery, but could not embrace republicanism. The Americans would have been better served by a more realistic view of how sin influences perspectives and permeates culture, as well as a more accurate assessment of human limitations.

Wesley was no friend of republican government or of slavery. Theodore Weber has recently argued that Wesley's views were more in the direction of a constitutional monarchy, but that more attention to the political image of God in Wesley's anthropology could have led to a more robust defense of republicanism.[7] It was a road not taken by Wesley or his followers, but it is a potential way forward for us. Wesleyans have an egalitarian alternative to commonsense philosophy in universal prevenient grace. What prevenient grace provides is possibility without presumption, realism about sin and the hope for transformation. It would not undergird a pure democracy, but might well support the kind of republicanism that emerged in America. In any event, it is egalitarian, denying invidious class distinctions, not by elevating everyone to a level of goodness, but by recognizing that no class has special, innate virtue.

It is interesting that the one group in Noll's account that did not adopt a commonsense philosophy immediately after the Revolution was the Methodists. The early Methodists retained a traditional Protestant notion of sin—a pessimism of nature—and defined "liberty" not in political terms but as freedom from sin. Noll considers them "an important counterpart" to his overall thesis, showing "that it was entirely possible for a traditional Christian message that had *not* been adjusted to the norms of American ideology to flourish in the new American nation."[8] This was, he notes, not because Methodism was "an otherworldly movement oblivious to concrete local realities; it is rather that the Methodist message was more shaping, than being shaped, by those realities."[9]

So, while early Methodism was in tune with the egalitarian tendencies of American culture, it got there with a very different theology. Noll believes that the key was the Wesleyan proclamation of the "universality of God's love," a love that offered "dignity to women and African Americans, whom the tides of republican freedom were passing by." Noll con-

[7]Theodore Weber, *Politics in the Order of Salvation* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2001).

[8]Noll, 340.

[9]Ibid., 341.

cludes that the "Methodist concentration on an experiential message of hope is the indispensable context for understanding Methodist theology during the age of Asbury."[10]

Of course, by the 1830s the Methodists were well on their way to becoming the pre-eminent example of a tradition accommodated to American culture. The early Methodists delayed this fate, in part because they held on to both a pessimism of nature and an optimism of grace. Moreover, their egalitarianism was not based on innate human faculties but on God—God's universal love for all persons, whatever their gender, race, or class, and in hope in a salvation that God offers to all.

Hope for a New Social Reality

Now, more briefly, let me note two other examples. The perfectionist politicians of upstate New York in the 1840s, so ably presented by Douglas Strong in *Perfectionist Politics,*"[11] might seem an ambiguous illustration. To their credit, they had seen the limits of commonsense philosophy in the fight against slavery; what was needed, they thought, was not only conversion but entire sanctification. They believed that as more and more persons became entirely sanctified and exercised their moral obedience through political action, slavery and a host of other evils would be abolished.

Initially, they sought to establish pure, holiness churches, and therefore came out of their original denominations, many of which had tried to suppress their abolitionist activities. They may have been too optimistic on how easy it is to build a holy church from scratch. Yet, gradually, these ecclesiastical abolitionists began to understand the corporate nature of sin. This awareness of structural evil led them to combine "the evangelical emphasis on transforming individuals with an emphasis on transforming oppressive structures."[12] They insisted that personal transformation was necessary yet insufficient because societal institutions and cultural values shape our understanding and define our ethics. The goal of perfection had to encompass structural change as well.[13] Thus, on the one hand they recognized, more than their contemporaries, the pervasive reality of sin and

[10]Ibid.

[11]Douglas M. Strong, *Perfectionist Politics: Abolitionism and the Religious Tensions of American Democracy* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1999).

[12]Ibid., 164.

[13]Ibid., 165.

how societal norms could reinforce even in the entirely sanctified what Wesley called involuntary transgressions. On the other hand, again more than their contemporaries, they held on to a hope in what God could do in and through religious and political activity.

Their vision of holiness—one might say, their vision of God's new creation—enabled them to envision new social realities. Mark Noll argues that racism compromised Christians on both sides of the slavery issue, yet here we find Wesleyan Methodists who, in Strong's words, "resisted the pervasive racial prejudice of the period" and in whose churches "African Americans were welcomed as equals."[14] Wesleyan Methodists were opposed to all hierarchies of privilege, whether based on class, race, gender, or ecclesiastical authority. Some holiness churches in upstate New York had African Americans or women as their pastors. The Liberty Party, the political arm of the movement, nominated African Americans for public office and was committed to extending suffrage to persons of all races, and to women as well as men. For these holiness abolitionists, all of this was the implication of God's promise of sanctification, a reality to be experienced in this life, and indeed a reality already being experienced in their churches.

These perfectionist politicians had an optimism of grace, but as we know, grace is not irresistible. Theirs was a road not taken by antebellum America, with tragic consequences. These holiness abolitionists were a distinctly uncompromising bunch, unyielding in their demands. While this is normally poor politics, slavery turned out to be an issue that could not ultimately be solved by normal political compromise. They, at least, offered a vision of transformed churches and an America that would reflect the holiness of God, one they believed God sought to bring about.

Hope for Transformed Lives and Ministries

My other example of hope moves from social change to focus on transformed lives and ministries in a social context. Susie Stanley, in her recent book *Holy Boldness*,[15] provides a remarkable study of 34 Wesleyan-Holiness women preachers. As a group, they seem to have held on to the tension between pessimism of nature and optimism of grace. Cer-

[14]Ibid., 101.

[15]Susie C. Stanley, *Holy Boldness: Women Preachers' Autobiographies and the Sanctified Self* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2002).

tainly they had an understanding of inbred sin rooted in the Augustinian tradition as mediated through Wesley.[16] In claiming that entire sanctification could cleanse persons from inbred sin, they rarely listed specifics. Even so, Stanley has shown that sin for them included social as well as personal dimensions, and dispositions of the heart as well as behavior.

While many of the dispositions and behaviors would be common to the holiness movement, the distinctive perspectives of these women enabled them to broaden their understanding of sin. African-Americans in particular are cited as including the elimination of racial prejudice in whole or in part as one aspect of the purity brought by entire sanctification. Others saw "fear of man" as an aspect of carnality, which was replaced with confidence through sanctification. Stanley cites Diane Leclerc's work on relational idolatry in Phoebe Palmer and finds evidence that many others also saw putting others ahead of God as an element of inbred sin.[17]

It could be debated whether these women preachers (and their male counterparts) took seriously enough the persistence of sin in the sanctified—indeed, they may not themselves be in agreement on this. Many argued for growth in holiness following entire sanctification. What is clear is that these holiness women had a robust sense of the pervasive reality of sin in its many forms and locations. The good news was that the sinful self could die and a renewed self emerge through sanctification. Stanley notes that, while the "notion of death of self" seems to contemporary feminist critics to reinforce notions of women's inferiority, for Wesleyan/Holiness women it was the doorway to liberation.[18] She concludes:

> What died was the sinful or carnal self, which was replaced by the sanctified self, a self empowered to contest cultural expectations based on sex and race. Sanctification resulted in a new construction of the self, a self no longer plagued by self-doubt or fear.[19]

Thus, "rather than eliminating self, sanctification resulted in a new creation."[20]

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[16]Ibid., 80.
[17]Ibid., 81-82.
[18]Ibid., 85.
[19]Ibid.
[20]Ibid., 87.

Sanctification was for these women "the crucial event."[21] It resulted in a heart centered in love for God and neighbor, and in a self empowered for ministry. It enabled their fear to be replaced by holy boldness, and made it possible for them to be publicly faithful to their calling by God in the midst of sexist and, in the case of African-Americans, racist prejudice. They believed the transformation they experienced was the work of the Holy Spirit. Stanley notes, "While modern scholars analyze the socially constructed self, Wesleyan/Holiness women understood the sanctified self as being divinely constructed."[22] The promise of transformation was realized in their own lives, and was at the heart of their proclamation to others. In the face of their own sin as well as the sinful prejudice of their culture, they had a confident hope in the transforming power of God.

The Wesleyan/Holiness women preachers have much to teach us. Among their many lessons is this: human liberation is not to be found in innate human capacities, even when those capacities are claimed to be enhanced by some sort of divine immanence. Sin is too pervasive and we are far too much under its spell. The way to freedom is soteriological—it is through the grace of God.

Real Hope Is In God

American culture has been far more optimistic about human nature than is warranted. It has led us to grievously underestimate the power of sin, both in our culture and in our own hearts. We veer from rosy optimism to cynicism and despair, because we have placed our hope in what humanity can accomplish.

It may be that we in the church, especially in the West, have been far too pessimistic about what God can do in the world. We have learned to analyze psychological and sociological factors, we have sought epistemological grounding and identified hermeneutical perspectives. We have examined how our world and our selves are constructed, and even how we construct God. In all of this, our focus has been resolutely anthropocentric. We may presuppose God, but the explanation and activity are ours.

Those early Methodists and the Wesleyan/Holiness women preachers remind us that real hope is hope in God. It takes sin seriously, and yet

[21]Ibid., 98.

[22]Ibid., 88.

takes grace with even more seriousness. It is centered on God, and on the new creation God intends to bring about. Our own work is not based on *who we are* but on *what God makes us*—a holy and empowered people, not presumptuous but seeking to be faithful, not resting in our own certainties but confident in God. As John Wesley said, "first, God works; therefore you *can* work. Secondly, God works, therefore you *must* work."[23]

A pessimism of nature is nothing more than being theologically honest about ourselves and the human social order. An optimism of grace is theologically honest as well—it acknowledges God as the only hope for our world in need, but a God who is at work transforming lives and creating a world governed and renewed by love divine.

[23]John Wesley, "On Working Out Our Own Salvation," 111.2 in Albert C. Outler, ed., *Sermons* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1986), 206 [vol. 3 of].

"PIOUS DOCTRINES AND VIRTUOUS ACTIONS": THE RELATION BETWEEN THEOLOGY AND PRACTICE IN EARLY CATECHETICAL INSTRUCTION

by

Christina M. Gschwandtner

> True religion consists of these two elements: pious doctrines and virtuous actions. Neither does God accept doctrines apart from good works, nor are works, when divorced from godly doctrine, accepted by God. What does it profit a man to be an expert theologian if he is a shameless fornicator; or to be nobly temperate, but an impious blasphemer?
>
> [St. Cyril of Jerusalem]

John Wesley insists that the end of right worship is "the honour of God in the edification of the Church." The means to this end is "to have the service so performed as may *inform the mind and increase devotion*."[1] Yet, often doctrine and practice, mind and heart, are divorced from each other in the Wesleyan tradition. Doctrine all too easily becomes an isolated intellectual exercise and what happens in churches at times seems devoid of theological grounding and coherence. How might theory and practice be united in a way that does not merely attempt to keep them together in an ambivalent and often schizophrenic hybrid, but allows

[1]"Popery Calmly Considered," 10:145. All references to Wesley refer to his *The Works of John Wesley* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1996) with the exception of the *Plain Account*.

them to penetrate to an extent that makes their very separation unthinkable (and un-"practice"-able)?

In his struggle with spiritual apathy and empty theological speculation, John Wesley often looked to the early church for inspiration and guidance.[2] In many ways he attempted to recapture the devotedness and holy lifestyle of the first Christians and often used the writings of the early church in order to inform his own thinking on the holy life.[3] I thus suggest that a careful look at early Christian experience and texts is not only in the spirit of John Wesley's own thought, but also instructive for contemporary Wesleyanism's struggle to unite theory and practice. In the main part of my paper, therefore, I examine, first, how the early church dealt with the issue of relating doctrine and practice. I then offer a brief reflection on how these insights might be useful for the relation between theological doctrine and holy living in the current Wesleyan situation.

Particularly useful for a reflection on the relation between doctrine and practice are early catechetical lectures which attempt to struggle with precisely this question in a very concrete situation, namely that of inviting and admitting people into the community of Christian fellowship. I will focus on texts that provide convenient parallels across the geographical

[2]In his introduction to a selection of early Christian works, Wesley explains that "the authors of the following collection were contemporaries of the holy Apostles. . . . We cannot therefore doubt but what they deliver to us is the pure doctrine of the Gospel; what Christ and his Apostles taught, and what these holy men had themselves received from their own mouths. . . . Such men . . . must have been carefully instructed in the mystery of the Gospel, and have had a most comprehensive and perfect knowledge of the faith as it is in Jesus." He continues: "Such reason have we to look on the writings of these holy men, as containing the pure, uncorrupted doctrine of Christ. But, to advance higher yet, they were not only thus qualified by these ordinary means to deliver the Gospel to us, but were likewise endued with the extraordinary assistance of the Holy Spirit" (vol. 14:224). It is true that Wesley's admiration for the early Church usually stops at the end of the third century, namely when the "empire became Christian" because of "a general corruption both of faith and morals infecting the Christian Church," but he does cite Chrysostom, Jerome, Ambrose, and Cyril not infrequently and certainly admired their work. See his "A Letter to the Reverend Dr. Conyers Middleton" (vol. 10:1-79) or "A Roman Catechism with a Reply Thereto" (vol. 10:86-128).

[3]See, for example, his use of the Macarian homilies. For an excellent treatment of Wesley's reliance on early Christian writings, in particular the Eastern tradition, consult: Randy L. Maddox, *Responsible Grace: John Wesley's Practical Theology* (Nashville: Kingswood, 1994).

spectrum of Christian experience, East and West: St. Cyril of Jerusalem's *Catechetical Lectures*,[4] St. Ambrose of Milan's lectures on the mysteries,[5] St. John Chrysostom's *Baptismal Instructions*,[6] and St. Gregory of Nyssa's *Great Catechism*.[7] Although from four very different locations of the Christian experience, they are composed at almost the same time (all about 350-400)[8] and three of them were delivered within the same context, namely as lectures to prospective church members.[9] Apart from the fact that they represent a very authentic experience of the early church (since they are extremely similar in form and content although from such divergent locations), they come at a time where the church can express itself more freely because no longer tormented by persecutions and general suspicion and having grown strong enough to find its own identity without debilitating external pressure.[10] These texts thus may be said to

[4]St. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Works,* in *The Fathers of the Church*, vols. 61-62, trans. by Leo P. McCauley and Anthony A. Stephenson (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1969).

[5]St. Ambrose, *The Mysteries* and *The Sacraments,* in *The Fathers of the Church*, vol. 44, trans. by Roy J. Deferrari (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1963). St. Ambrose also often refers to the practices in Rome and shows that what is traditional in Milan is very similar or identical to the practice of Rome. See, for example, *The Sacraments III*, 291.

[6]St. John Chrysostom, *Baptismal Instructions,* in *Ancient Christian Writers*, vol. 31, trans. by Paul W. Harkins (London: The Newman Press, 1963). St. Chrysostom later became bishop of Constantinople. Thus, although these lectures probably stem from his time as priest in Antioch, they may be said to represent both Antioch and Constantinople to some extent.

[7]St. Gregory of Nyssa, *Great Catechism,* in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Second Series, vol. 5, trans. by William Moore and Henry Austin Wilson (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1994). St. Gregory was profoundly influenced by St. Origen and thus may be said to represent the Alexandrian tradition, thus giving us a representative from each major center of early Christendom.

[8]Thus these texts are from the time before the canon of the Christian Scriptures was firmly established. Cyril of Jerusalem, in fact, provides in his lectures a list of NT books that does not yet include *Revelation*.

[9]This is not the case for St. Gregory's *Great Catechism*, which is more of an apologetic work. I will focus mainly on the other three texts and use him to supplement the exposition when appropriate.

[10]Of course there was still pressure, in particular through the many competing heretical groups, that made it not always very clear who was orthodox and who a heretic, but the external pressure of persecution had subsided. In fact, St. Cyril points at times to the importance of learning doctrine precisely in order to combat

present a relatively mature statement of the early church, self-consciously formulated as an introduction to its new members, but also a relatively early one, before major splits between East and West and its escalating differences of opinion and expression.

At the same time, these lectures provide a particularly helpful locus for our discussion because they deal with precisely this question: how might one reconcile theory and practice? What is one to tell catechumen, to ones who wish to enter the faith? Does one instruct them in theology or teach them certain practices? How does one guide them to live the holy life expected of every Christian? There are three fundamental questions that I want to ask of these texts: First, *what* do they have to say regarding theory and practice and what exactly does one teach to the prospective Christian? Second, *where* does such theology and practice take place? Finally, *how* might one lead this life of holiness, the life that puts theory into practice?

I. What: The Relation Between Doctrine and Practice

All of the lectures are addressed either to the ones "to be enlightened" or to the ones just "enlightened," that is, to catechumen who had desired membership in the Christian community and had consented to go through the rigorous time of preparation necessary for such admission. All (with the exception of St. Gregory's *Catechism*) were delivered during lent and Easter week.[11] Lent indeed was the time at which catechumen were usually admitted into the fold, the ceremony proper taking place on Pascha night.[12] "Catechumen" are the ones who "learn," into

heresies:"I realize that I am talking at length and that much time has already elapsed; but what is to be put above salvation? Are you unwilling to take the trouble to receive provision for the way against the heretics? Are you unwilling to learn the turnings of the road, to avoid falling down the precipice through ignorance? If your teachers count it no little gain for you to learn these things, ought not you, the learner, gladly receive the multitude of the things that are told you?" St. Cyril, *Catechesis IV*, 129.

[11]Instructions regarding the creed and Christian doctrine where usually delivered during lent while "mystagogical" lectures followed during Easter week. From St. Chrysostom and St. Cyril we have records of both lenten and mystagogical lectures, while those of St. Ambrose on the mysteries are delivered directly after Easter.

[12]Baptism, chrismation [anointing with the holy "chrism": a mixture of olive oil and unguent] and admission to the Eucharist usually took place on Pascha night (East) or Easter morning (West). All the lectures make frequent references to Pascha/Easter and the specific ceremony for which they are preparing.

whose ears something is shouted.[13] This was a time of learning and preparation and the most obvious part of the lectures is indeed this strong combination of theory and practice.[14] The lectures are decidedly theological lectures, but they are such as an introduction to church practice, a "recognition of what you have received," as St. Ambrose points out.[15] One is unthinkable without the other. St. Cyril exhorts his listeners: "With Hope invincible for your sandals and with Faith the guest of your heart, you may pass through the enemy's lines and enter into the house of the Lord. Prepare your heart for the reception of the teaching and the fellowship in the holy Mysteries. Pray more frequently, that God may count you worthy of the heavenly and eternal Mysteries."[16] The "teaching" which they must receive finds its meaning and validation in practice; it is an invitation to "enter" and "fellowship."

Apart from the fact that these learners would not have been admitted into the church without having gone to the lectures and passing their rigorous tests,[17] the lectures provide a thorough and specific commentary on church practice, on what it means to live within the church. They presume that detailed and careful theological instruction is absolutely essential for the practice of living as a Christian.[18] To forget sound doctrine is tanta-

[13]St. Cyril refers to this meaning of the word "catechumen," when he emphasizes: "You used to be called catechumen, when the truth was being dinned into you from without: hearing about the Christian hope without understanding it; hearing about the Mysteries without having a spiritual perception of them; hearing the Scriptures but not sounding their depths. No longer in your ears now but in your heart is that ringing; for the indwelling Spirit henceforth makes your soul the house of God. When you hear the texts from the Scriptures concerning the Mysteries, then you will have a spiritual perception of things once beyond your ken." St. Cyril, *Procatecchesis*, 75.

[14]St. Cyril presents Christ as the teacher "who is worthy of credence" because "he had first put his teaching into practice." St. Cyril, *Catechesis III*, 113.

[15]St. Ambrose, *The Sacraments IV*, 299.

[16]St. Cyril, *Procatechesis*, 83.

[17]The catechumen were asked a list of question about doctrine and faith which they had to answer correctly and in the affirmative. St. Chrysostom refers to this questioning and compares it to a contract. St. Chrysostom, *Eleventh Instruction*, 166.

[18]St. Ambrose reiterates over and over: "Take note." "But understand!" "That you may know." "Accept the reason!" "Have you learned this, then?" St. Ambrose, *The Sacraments IV & V*, 304, 305, 310. St. Cyril reminds them: "Be faithful in your attendance of the catechizing . . . study what you are told and guard it forever." "Be constant in attending the catechesis and be mindful of their teachings. For they are delivered not merely that you may listen to them, but that you may seal by faith what you have heard." St. Cyril *Procatechesis*, 78, 94.

mount to choosing evil.[19] St. Cyril in particular urges his listeners repeatedly to recognize the great importance of the instruction:

> Let me compare the catechizing to a building. Unless we methodically bind and joint the whole structure together, we shall have leaks and dry rot, and all our previous exertions will be wasted. No: stone must be laid upon stone in regular sequence, and corner follow corner, jutting edges must be planed away: and so the perfect structure rises. I bring you as it were the stones of knowledge; you must be instructed in the doctrine of the living God, of the Judgment, of Christ, of the Resurrection. Many things have to be said in order, which are now being touched upon at random but will then be brought together into a harmonious system. Unless you achieve this unity of design, holding the beginning and the sequel in your mind together, the builder may do his best, but your house will be a ruin.[20]

This "unity of design" and careful building St. Chrysostom and St. Gregory of Nyssa compare to the indivisible relation between soul and body.[21] As the body needs to experience salvation, the soul needs to understand or learn it. Both are equally necessary. As soul and body are not two separate and disconnected entities, neither are theology and practice.

The same balance between theory and practice is reflected in the content of the lectures. On the one hand, they are almost all centered around the creed, developing a careful theology of the Trinity and the meaning of the incarnation to their listeners, requiring vigilant attention in order to follow their at times quite subtle theoretical distinctions and arguments.[22] On the other hand, these are the topics deemed essential for

[19]St. Cyril, *Catechesis XV*, 59.

[20]St. Cyril, *Procatechesis*, 79.

[21]For example, St. Chrysostom, *Eleventh Instruction*, 164. St. Gregory, *Great Catechism*, 504.

[22]St. Cyril prefaces a listing of important doctrines with the following words: "Before delivering to you the Creed, I think it well at this time to present a short compendium of the necessary doctrines, that the multitude of things to be said, and the intervening periods of the entire season of holy Lent may not cause forgetfulness in the minds of the more simple among you, but that scattering seeds of doctrines now in summary fashion, we may not forget the same when they are more widely tilled later." He then goes on to summarize the doctrines of God, of creation, of the Trinity, of Christ and the incarnation, of the virgin birth, of cross, burial, resurrection and ascension, of judgment, of the Holy Spirit, of the soul and body, of the general resurrection, and of the Scriptures. St. Cyril, *Catechesis IV*, 120.

participation in the experience and practice of the Christian life. It is clear that the catechumen have gone through several stages of instructions and have already heard much in the past year or two.[23] Now they have arrived at what is most important and at the heart of the Christian faith, the statement of what they believe (the creed). This they will have to memorize and reiterate with their hearts before being admitted.[24] Required was an understanding of the mysteries, the essential practices of the church which have so far remained hidden from them.[25] The theology they learn is an introduction to the practice in which they will participate. Theological doctrine is extremely important in these instructions. The listeners receive a careful presentation of the doctrines regarding God, creation, sin, Christ and his divine and human nature, the incarnation, the virgin birth, the events of Christ's crucifixion, burial, resurrection and ascension, the final judgment, the nature, person and works of the Holy Spirit, the Trinitarian relations, the hope for resurrection, and the meaning of faith.[26] Various doctrinal positions are first summarized, then explained, later

[23]The time of the catechumenate lasted about two or three years. (See note 20 to St. Chrysostom's *Ninth Instruction*, 290.) St. Cyril repeatedly refers to the "proper" time for learning certain things. St. Cyril, *Catechesis XVI*, 93.

[24]St. Cyril explains the importance of memorizing the creed: "In learning and professing the faith, embrace and guard that only which is now delivered to you by the Church, and confirmed by all the Scriptures. For since not everyone has both the education and the leisure required to read and know the Scriptures, to prevent the soul from perishing from ignorance, we sum up the whole doctrine of the faith in a few lines. This summary I wish you to commit to memory, word for word, and to repeat among yourselves with all zeal, not writing it on paper, but engraving it by memory on the heart . . . listen and memorize the creed as I recite it." St. Cyril, *Catechesis V*, 146.

[25]All lecturers mention the fact that their listeners are now learning something which had previously been kept secret from them and at times even exhort them not to speak to anyone else about what they are learning. See: St. Cyril, *Catechesis V*, 146; St. Ambrose, *The Mysteries*, 5; *The Sacraments III*, 293; St. Chrysostom, *Eleventh Instruction*, 166.

[26]St. Cyril's lectures especially are organized around these themes, but St. Chrysostom's deal with similar subjects. St. Theodore of Mopsuestia, whom I was not able to consider in this paper, organizes his catechetical lectures around the creed in a very similar fashion. St. Ambrose explains especially the doctrine of the Trinity repeatedly in his post-Easter lectures (which assume, of course, that sufficient instruction in faith and doctrine has already taken place). For example: *The Sacraments I*, 275. St. Gregory's *Catechism* is mostly a defense of these various doctrines, although it is not directly addressed to catechumen.

repeated and their various strengths (and the faults of heretics)[27] pointed out. In case the learners wonder why they are given lectures on such difficult subjects, St. Cyril explains:

> But someone will say: if the Divine Nature is incomprehensible, then why do you discourse about these things? Well then, because I cannot drink up the whole stream, am I not even to take in proportion to my need? Or because I cannot take in all the sunlight owing to the constitution of my eyes, am I not even to gaze upon what is sufficient for my wants? On entering a vast orchard, because I cannot eat all the fruit therein, would you have me go away completely hungry?[28]

St. Cyril is very aware of the brevity and incompleteness of his discourse, but often shortens it so as not to weary his listeners too much. He always reminds them, however, that a much more thorough instruction on doctrine would be desirable.[29]

For all lecturers, Scripture plays an important role to the extent that almost every second sentence is a quote from the Scriptures.[30] The Hebrew Scriptures are interpreted in various ways: literally, typologically, allegorically, morally, but always in light of the incarnation and the Trinitarian experience of the church. St. Ambrose, for example, often uses stories from the Scriptures and then exhorts his listeners: "Let the reading. . .which we have just gone over teach you."[31] St. Cyril emphasizes that his teaching is not merely human reasoning, but is based on the Holy Scriptures.[32] Their theology is grounded in the documents that are read in the liturgy of the church and which have grown out of and been validated by its cumulative experience.

Yet these apparently very theoretical subjects are not only seen as important grounding and introduction to participation in church practice,

[27]See quotation referred to in footnote 6. St. Ambrose also emphasizes the relation between what they have confessed about the Trinitarian relations and their understanding of it for refuting heresies (*The Mysteries*, 15).

[28]St. Cyril, *Catechesis VI*, 150. St. Chrysostom also points to the limitations of human reason (*Eleventh Instruction*, 164).

[29]E.g., St. Cyril, *Catechesis, XVII*, 108, 117.

[30]St. Cyril not only constantly quotes from the Scriptures, but also points to its importance in several places. See, for example, *Catechesis V*, 146.

[31]St. Ambrose, *The Mysteries*, 10.

[32]St. Cyril, *Catechesis XVII*, 96.

but they are also understood as supporting and making possible a holy life. In fact, exhortations to virtuous living permeate the lectures.[33] For St. Chrysostom they are so important that he devotes several lectures to the topic of right conduct, which includes such things as not swearing, not going to the athletic games, not using make-up, and guarding one's tongue.[34] He repeatedly encourages his listeners: "Let us remember all these things and observe them through all our lives—the covenant with Christ, the renunciation of Satan, the confidence which the Master now grants to us; let us guard them unsullied and pure, so that with abundant glory we may meet the King of heaven and be judged worthy to be snatched up in the clouds and be found deserving of the kingdom of heaven," or: "For I do not speak only that you may hear, but that you may remember what I said and give me proof of it by your deeds."[35] St. Cyril similarly emphasizes: "We have sown, we may say, a few seeds; may you receive them like rich soil, and increase and bring forth fruit."[36] The theological instruction they are given assumes that the listeners will put it into practice in their daily lives and that it will thus bear abundant fruit.

Furthermore, these exhortations are not directed merely to neophytes. Rather the lecturers always address also the community of long-time Christians who have joined the catechumen.[37] After a while it became practice that the whole church would participate in this time of preparation, fast during lent, repent, and prepare for the joyous resurrec-

[33]St. Cyril, for example, says: "If these words describe your conduct, you will reign with Him; if not, you will be condemned. Therefore begin now to act thus; preserve the faith; avoid being shut out like the foolish virgins." St. Cyril, *Catechesis XV*, 71. See also: *Catechesis XVIII*, 132. St. Ambrose closes his last lecture on the sacraments by saying: "We have taught according to our capacity, perhaps, what we have not learned; as we have been able, we have set it forth. Let your sanctity, informed by sacerdotal instructions, labor to maintain what it has received, that your prayer may be acceptable to God, and your oblation be as a pure victim, and that He may always recognize His sign in you, that you yourselves also may be able to come to the grace and the rewards of virtues, through our Lord Jesus Christ" (*The Sacraments VI*, 328).

[34]See his *Baptismal Lectures V-VIII*, which are almost entirely devoted to topics of right conduct and virtuous living.

[35]St. Chrysostom, *Eleventh Instruction*, 172; *Twelfth Instruction*, 173.

[36]St. Cyril, *Catechesis XVIII*, 130.

[37]St. Chrysostom especially refers repeatedly to other Christians who have joined them for listening to these lectures. *Third Instruction*, 62; *Fourth Instruction*, 75; *Eighth Instruction*, 126. Also: St. Cyril, *Catechesis VI*, 160.

tion of Easter. The theology of the church helped every member not only to understand what one was doing but also to generate renewed enthusiasm and devotion through its compelling message of salvation and holiness.[38] For every member of the Christian community, then, the relation between doctrine and practice continues to be important. Doctrine is absolutely essential for holy living and a repeated vigilant attention to thorough theological instruction and careful explication must be part of any Christian's growth in holiness. Such doctrine, however, is both grounded in Scripture and inseparably connected to the real life of the Christian community. Devoted Christians seek to understand their beliefs and exhibit them in holy living. Theology and practice cannot be divorced from each other, but a holy life is precisely characterized by the "practice of doctrine:" the visible living of the theological meaning of the Christian faith.

II. Where: The Locus of Doctrine and Practice

We have seen the need for theoretical instruction, defined by a rich theological discourse. We must not forget, however, that these lectures served not for personal edification but always as entry into the church. The answer to the question "where?" is always: "in the church."[39] Right doctrine and practice fuse together only within the community of the one Holy Catholic Church, as St. Cyril explains:

> The Church is called Catholic because it is spread throughout the world, from end to end of the earth; also because *it teaches universally and completely all the doctrines* which man should know concerning things visible and invisible, heavenly and earthly; and because it subjects to *right worship* all mankind, rulers and ruled, lettered and unlettered; further because *it treats and heals universally every sort of sin* committed by soul and body, and it possesses in itself every conceivable virtue, whether in deeds, words or in spiritual gifts of every kind.[40]

Three aspects of the church are emphasized in this passage: complete doctrine, right worship, and healing of sin. It is the church that

[38]St. Ambrose, *The Sacraments I*, 277.

[39]St. Ambrose reminds his listeners: "Consider where you promised, or to whom you promised." *The Sacraments I*, 271.

[40]St. Cyril, *Catechesis XVIII*, 132. Emphasis mine.

teaches and is the right locus of theology and doctrine. Theology cannot become an isolated or purely intellectual exercise. Theology is grounded within the experience of the church and is taught "fully and completely" only by the church.[41] "Right worship" happens within the context of the ecclesial community. Worship is not our personal emotive appropriation of what is performed for us as passive observers, but worship connotes the experience of the entire community as it comes together to offer itself up to God in the "right way." And finally, it is within and out of the church that the Christian life is practiced. Sin of both "soul and body" is treated within the church and the fellowship enables the development of virtue and sanctity that characterize the holy life.

Although each Christian had to make a decision to join the church, had to renounce Satan and undergo baptism, thus beginning the journey as an "individual,"[42] he or she came in order to become part of the community. Even "faith" was not really an isolated individual experience but rather a personal assent to the faith of the church, saying "credo" [I believe] in fellowship with all others who say so whenever they meet in worship.[43] In this sense, it becomes even more significant that increasingly the whole church joined in these lectures and heard again and again the theory of which it was to display the practice in its *leitourgia* or "common work."[44] Furthermore, every candidate for church entry had a sponsor, someone who was responsible for his or her continued growth in faith and holiness.[45] If the neophyte failed, the sponsor was equally responsible. The new members were also encouraged to be an example to the

[41]Obviously, "church" does not refer here to an alienated hierarchy that arbitrarily imposes doctrine on an uninformed or illiterate "laity." We have just seen the strong emphasis placed on teaching theological doctrine to *all* members of the church, in particular the newest and youngest.

[42]Of course, frequently whole households were baptized.

[43]Re-iteration and re-affirmation of the creed was part of the daily/weekly liturgy. St. Chrysostom emphasizes the importance of the neophytes joining into the daily worship of the church for both morning and evening prayers. *Eighth Instruction*, 126.

[44]"Liturgy" literally means the common work of the people and was understood as such. Space does not suffice to emphasize the importance of the liturgy of the church.

[45]See especially: St. Chrysostom, *Second Instruction*, 48-49.

older members in their newfound zeal and enthusiasm.[46] Thus, the members of the community were to exhort each other in theory and practice.

Indeed, the practice to which the catechetical lectures were the introduction was the practice of the church, its daily liturgy and its "mysteries." They were lectures to help the "soul" understand what the "body" would experience soon (or had just experienced). The theology that was taught in these lectures was not an isolated intellectual exercise, but an explanation of exactly what is going on in the practice of the church and what it means.[47] In that sense, theory was only a running commentary on the actual practice of the community. Theology, then, was not adaptation of the church to the "world," a way to make its faith "relevant" or to give it credence in a society with changing values, but rather a way of converting the "world" to understand and experience the reality of the church and its mysteries. Holiness was a radical departure from one's former life to one within the Christian community and shaped by its values and standards.[48] St. Chrysostom, who emphasizes this need to live a life of holiness the most strongly, repeatedly urges his listeners: "Let us be careful, then, to pursue that holiness, searching our minds each hour that passes, and letting our souls receive no stain or blemish from wicked thoughts."[49] Holiness, then, is always a communal and ecclesial exercise. Not only can holiness not be acquired on one's own in isolation from the community, but it also cannot happen outside of the ecclesial context. The church is the locus of doctrine, worship, and healing. How, then, is such holiness concretely acquired and pursued?

III. How: The Living of Doctrine and Practice

Entry into the church, into the Christian community, was always, East and West, Milan, Rome, Jerusalem, Antioch, or Alexandria, through *baptism*. The catechetical lectures are *baptismal* lectures, addressed to the

[46]St. Chrysostom emphasizes this repeatedly. For example: "May you henceforth keep watch over this cleanness of soul, getting rid of every stain, and may we be able to share in your confidence through your prayers. And pray you can for your teachers in the future, for soon you are going to shine forth for us with a brilliance more radiant than the very stars" (*Tenth Instruction*, 160). See also: *Sixth Instruction*, 101; *Eleventh Instruction*, 170-171.

[47]St. Ambrose, *The Mysteries*, 5.

[48]St. Cyril says: "Instructed in his holy Catholic Church and conducting ourselves rightly, we shall gain the kingdom of heaven and inherit life everlasting." *Catechesis XVIII*, 135.

[49]St. Chrysostom, *Seventh Instruction*, 118.

ones to be baptized or just recently baptized. They are centered around the meaning of baptism, chrismation, and Eucharist, the core mysteries of the church.[50] The answer to the question "how," therefore, is profoundly sacramental. St. John Chrysostom emphasizes the attitude one ought to have in approaching these mysteries of the church, an attitude that has been fostered by the instructions they have received:

> One who is about to approach those sacred rites and awesome mysteries ought to be alert and wide-awake, cleansed of every earthly care, abundantly filled with temperance and zeal. He should banish from his mind every thought which is foreign to the mysteries and should make his house clean and ready in every respect, just as if he were about to receive the emperor under his roof. That is the way to prepare your mind, such are the thoughts you should think, such should be the purpose of your will.[51]

All instruction leads toward and culminates in the experience of regeneration and reception into the church.

It is baptism that washes off the old life and transforms it into the new.[52] Through baptism, the catechumen dies to the world and rises in Christ. Sin is washed off and a life of holiness begins.[53] Baptism is a con-

[50]These were the traditional rites of induction and all writers presume them, although at times the order differs and chrismation is not always performed in an identical fashion. The early church referred to these practices as "mysteries." Only later did the Western church adopt the term "sacraments."

[51]St. Chrysostom, *Ninth Instruction*, 134. St. Cyril exhorts his listeners similarly: "He [the Holy Spirit] tests the soul; He does not cast pearls before swine. If you pretend, men will indeed baptize you, but the Spirit will not baptize you; but if you approach with faith, men will minister to you visibly, but the Holy Spirit will bestow on you what is not visible. For you are coming to an important trial, to an important levy in the space of a single hour; if you lose this hour, the ill is irremediable" (*Catechesis XVII*, 118).

[52]On the meaning of baptism in general, see: St. Cyril, *Catechsis III*, 108-18; St. Ambrose, *The Sacraments I-III*, 269-297. St. Chrysostom, *Second Instruction*, 43-55; St. Gregory, *Great Catechism*, 501-504.

[53]St. Ambrose, *The Mysteries*, 9. Later he puts it negatively: "unless he [the catechumen] be baptized 'in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit,' he cannot receive remission of sins nor drink in the benefit of spiritual grace." *The Mysteries*, 12. St. Gregory also emphasizes the need for baptism as a means toward holiness: "Now, the work properly belonging to the Divine energy is the salvation of those who need it; and this salvation proves effectual by means of the cleansing in the water; and he that has been so cleansed will participate in Purity; and true Purity is Deity" (*Great Catechism*, 504).

tract and commitment as serious and as life-changing as a marriage.[54] It is a "passage from sin to life, from fault to grace, from defilement to sanctification—he who passes through this font does not die but rises."[55] As the ones to be baptized were stripped off all clothes, they were to leave behind their old lives.[56] As they renounced Satan "and all his pomp" and then turned to face East, their lives made a radical turn toward Christ.[57] As they entered the sanctuary of the church, they became part of the community. As they were anointed with the holy chrism (oil and unguent), they became both warrior for and bride of Christ by the descent of the Holy Spirit.[58] As they wore new and shining clothes, they put on a new lifestyle and only perseverance in holiness and virtue could "preserve the luster of their baptismal garments":

> You have put off the old garment; you have put on the new, which is so bright that it vies in brilliance with the rays of the sun. See to it that you keep the garment in this same shining beauty. For as long as that wicked demon, the enemy of our salvation, sees this spiritual robe of ours all shining, he will not dare to stand near, because he is so afraid of its brightness. For the luster it sends forth blinds his eyes. Therefore, I exhort you: show yourselves good fighters from the very outset; make yours a brilliant luster by making the beauty of this garment more shining and brilliant in every way.[59]

Baptism, then, is absolutely essential to the Christian experience. Without baptism, there is no church membership. Although baptism connoted the act of cleansing and purification, the physical aspect was impor-

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[54]St. Chrysostom, *Eleventh Instruction*, 168.

[55]St. Ambrose, *The Sacraments I*, 273.

[56]St. Chrysostom repeatedly emphasizes this radical change that comes with the "new creation." *Fourth Instruction*, 71-72.

[57]St. Chrysostom, *Second Instruction*, 50-51.

[58] St. Chrysostom, *Eleventh Instruction*, 169. For St. Cyril on chrismation and the meaning of the white garments see: *Mystagogical Lecture IV*, 184.

[59] St. Chrysostom, *Fourth Instruction*, 74-75. He emphasizes earlier: "Now the robe you wear and your gleaming garments attract the eyes of all; if you should will to do so, by keeping your royal robe shining even more brightly than it now does, by your godly conduct and your strict discipline, you will always be able to draw all who behold you to show the same zeal and praise for the Master." St. Chrysostom, *Fourth Instruction*, 73. Exhortations of this kind permeate his lectures.

tant. Baptism washes both soul and body, both interior and exterior. It means a spiritual *and* physical identification with Christ and the concrete Christian community which one joins through this act. As the symbolic significance of the rite of marriage is expressed precisely in its physical performance of the wedding ceremony, a holy life requires the bodily ecclesial act of commitment and entry into communion.

This journey of entry was consummated and reached its apex in the catechumen's first participation in the mystery of the *Eucharist*. If baptism was the introduction to the new life, the cleansing required for salvation, the moment of being justified, then participation in the Eucharist made continued holy living possible. It is the "food of immortality," the antidote against Satan and all dangers of the world.[60] The catechetical instruction is meant "to prepare your souls for the reception of the heavenly gifts."[61] St. Ambrose explicates this connection between Eucharist and holy living as follows: "Christ then feeds His Church on these sacraments, by which the substance of the soul is made strong."[62] The goal of the Christian life, of course, is the transformation of this "substance of the soul" into a likeness of Christ. St. Ambrose emphasizes this in a later lecture: "Because our same Lord Jesus Christ is a sharer of both divinity and body, and you who receive the flesh [the Eucharistic bread] participate in that nourishment of His divine substance."[63]

One becomes part of the body of Christ, of the church, by partaking of his body in the mystery of the Eucharist.[64] Only continued participation in both aspects of this body can maintain a holy life. As St. Cyril concludes his *Mystagogical Lectures*: "Preserve this traditional teaching untarnished; keep yourselves unsullied by sin. Never cut yourselves off from the fellowship [communion], never through the pollution of sin deprive yourselves of these sacred, spiritual mysteries."[65] The holy life is not something conducted in isolation by one's own powers or based on a merely personal faith, but always lived as part of a body onto which one

[60]St. Chrysostom, *Third Instruction*, 60-61.

[61]St. Cyril, *Catechesis XVIII*, 137.

[62]*The Mysteries*, 26.

[63]*The Sacraments VI*, 320. See also: St. Gregory, *Great Catechism*, 505-06.

[64]St. Cyril devotes one lecture to explaining the meaning of the elements of the Eucharist and one to the meaning of the various parts of the Eucharistic liturgy (*Mystagogical Lectures IV and V*).

[65]St. Cyril, *Mystagogical Lecture V*, 203.

has been grafted and from which one separates only at one's peril, dying from the lack of nourishment provided by connection to the other branches and the vine himself. The lectures almost always conclude with emphasizing this extreme importance of the Eucharist as the highest of mysteries and the core and apex of every Christian experience. Knowledge culminates not in theory but in Eucharistic communion.[66] Church participation (participation in the ecclesial body of Christ) means participation in this mystery (the Eucharistic body of Christ). All church practice flows from this essential core.[67]

IV. Conclusion: John Wesley on Doctrine and Practice

How, then, do we measure *Wesleyan* theology and practice by this standard? What might be the import of our investigation of the early church for contemporary Wesleyanism? We will briefly examine the same questions that we have asked of the early texts: *What* is the relation between theory and practice? *Where* do doctrine and practice come together? *How* is such holy "doctrinal" living accomplished?[68]

First, the connection between theory and practice was central to Wesley's teaching and preaching. Not only did he hover continually at the borderline between "rationalism" and "enthusiasm," purely intellectual discourse and merely emotive experience, but he always combined rigorous education with diligent practice.[69] This is visible not only in his per-

[66]St. Ambrose identifies full knowledge with reception of the sacraments (*The Sacraments VI*, 320).

[67]Early liturgies in fact were always centered around the Eucharist and regarded it as the core of worship. Unfortunately, we have not had the time or space in this paper to develop the integration of theology and practice within the liturgy.

[68]These "suggestions" are only tentative in nature and are obviously in need of much fuller verification.

[69]See Rack's excellent treatment of this matter in his *Reasonable Enthusiast* (Henry D. Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism* [Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1992]). For Wesley's own treatment of the relationship between reason and faith, see his sermons "The Imperfection of Human Knowledge" (6:337-350) and "The Case of Reason Impartially Considered" (6:350-360), in which he censures both an excessively positive elevation and an excessively negative rejection of reason. See also his several long treatises "An Earnest Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion" and "Further Appeal" which attempt to set forth the main aspects of his teaching in a "reasonable" manner (8:3-247).

sonal life that is characterized by such strenuous "methodism" in word and practice, but also by the organization of his movement. Wesley always considered instruction as essential as practice, practice as grounded in instruction, experience as validating theory, and theory as enlightening and guiding experience.[70] A life of holiness was characterized for Wesley both by study and by practice. His plethora of sermons indicates a similar attention to both learning and experience. His works exhibit an equal measure of theological treatises and experiential documentation.

Even Wesley's summary treatise of the "Plain Account" is not anywhere near as "plain" as the title indicates, but a careful balance of sermon, Scriptural quotations, hymns, interviews, minutes of meetings, questions and answers, and depictions of eyewitness experience. The boundary lines between what constitutes "theology" and what "practice" in Wesley's work are very difficult to draw.[71] It is consistent with both the early church and Wesley to strive for such combination in our contemporary situation. Theological investigation and church life cannot be divorced from each other nor should they be regarded as enemies engaged in mortal combat. A thriving Christian community, especially one dedicated to holy living, is in dire need of both deep doctrinal instruction and constant commitment to concrete and virtuous living. Not only are both aspects necessary but they must be integrally related, so that practice is grounded in and guided by doctrine and theology is expressed and articulated in holy living.

Second, Wesley's movement recognized the need for community. The answer to "where" was indeed a communal one. Not only did John

[70]He warns, for example: "To imagine that none can teach you, but those who are themselves saved from sin, is a very great and dangerous mistake." John Wesley, *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection* (Kansas City: Beacon Hill, 1966), 96.

[71]For an interesting example of Wesley's ambivalent relationship to theology, see his sermon "On the Trinity" where he insists on the importance of believing (and to some extent understanding) the "fact" of this doctrine, while he refrains from explicating the "manner" in which Father, Son, and Spirit are related. "On the Trinity," 6:199-206. One should point out in this context that Wesley tended to avoid the term "doctrine" since he associated it mostly with the "doctrines" of the "papists," which he rejected as contrary to Scripture. The lack of the term "doctrine," however, does not indicate an absence of theological thinking in Wesley.

Wesley refuse to the end of his life to leave the Anglican Church, but attendance at his meetings was never seen as a replacement for participation in the life of the church.[72] Wesley sought to reform, not to rival the established church. He insists that his preaching (and even ordaining ministers) "in nowise interfere with my remaining in the Church of England; from which I have no more desire to separate than I had fifty years ago. I still attend all the ordinances of the Church, at all opportunities. And I constantly and earnestly desire all that are connected with me so to do."[73] He writes many letters on this subject and especially near the end of his life repeatedly justifies why the Methodist movement must stay within the church.

Wesley rejects any notion that would suggest that Methodism could become a separate group, repeatedly enjoins upon his followers to attend the local Anglican congregation, and considers "sinful" the desire to criticize the established church, its teaching, or the local priest.[74] Even within his growing movement he emphasized the need for community, particularly evident in the structure of societies and class meetings that were to keep all members accountable to each other and to the body. Unfortunately, he was not able to keep his movement from drifting further and fur-

[72]See his sermons "Of the Church," "On Schism" (vol. 6:392-410), and "On Attending the Church Services" (vol. 7:174-185), and his many letters on that topic: "Reasons against a Separation from the Church of England" (vol. 13:225-231), "Of attending the Church" (vol. 13:246-247), "Of Separation from the Church" (vol. 13:255-257), "Thoughts on Separation from the Church" (vol. 13:263-264), and "Farther Thoughts on Separation from the Church" (vol. 13:272-274). Quite a few of the personal letters in this volume also deal with the topic. His "Reasons against a Separation from the Church of England" gives twelve reasons for not separating from the established Church. One should admit, however, that most of these reasons are pragmatic rather than theological.

[73]"On the Church," 13:253. In another tract he emphasizes the same point again: "I never had any design of separating from the Church: I have no such design now. I do not believe the Methodists in general design it, when I am no more seen. I do, and will do, all that is in my power to prevent such an event. Nevertheless, in spite of all that I can do, many of them will separate from it: Although I am apt to think not one half, perhaps not a third, of them. These will be so bold and injudicious as to form a separate party; which, consequently, will dwindle away into a dry, dull, separate party. In flat opposition to these, I declare once more, that I live and die a member of the Church of England; and that none who regard my judgment or advice will ever separate from it" (vol. 13:273-274).

[74]"Of Attending the Church," 13:247.

ther away from the rest of the church. Contemporary Wesleyanism is especially in need of recovering this aspect of Wesley's commitment. Authentic Wesleyan practice must be grounded in the experience of the church. A holy life cannot be lived along the paradigms of our extremely individualistic society, but can flourish only within the context of ecclesial fellowship. A personal spirituality separated from the experience of the church is therefore deeply un-Wesleyan (and, as we have seen, "un-Christian").

Finally, Wesley did indeed emphasize the importance of the Eucharist and urge his followers to frequent participation therein.[75] He points out that "as our bodies are strengthened by the bread and the wine, so are our souls by these tokens of the body and the blood of Christ. This is the food of our souls. This gives strength to perform our duty, and leads us on to perfection. If, therefore, we have any regard for the plain command of Christ, if we desire the pardon of our sins, if we wish for strength to believe, to love and obey God, then we should neglect no opportunity of receiving the Lord's Supper."[76] Wesley himself practiced what he referred to as "constant communion" (as opposed to only "frequent") and could be found at the Eucharistic table daily (or even twice a day). His above injunctions not to separate from the church are often conjoined with an exhortation not to neglect to participate in the Eucharist available in the local Anglican community.[77] Wesley also emphasized the need for (infant) baptism and began ordaining ministers for the express purpose of administering the sacraments in places (such as America or Scotland) where nobody was available to do so.[78]

[75]See, for example, the clarification he gives of Christian perfection in his *Plain Account*, 36, and especially his sermon "The Duty of Constant Communion" (vol. 7:147-56). He also published a collection of "Hymns on the Lord's Supper" (vol. 14:332).

[76]"The Duty of Constant Communion," 7:148.

[77]In his "Reasons Against a Separation from the Church of England," for example, he rejects the idea that "at the church we are fed with chaff" by insisting that "the Lord's Supper is not chaff, but pure and wholesome for all who receive it with upright hearts" (vol. 13:230). Several letters enjoin upon the reader the need for attending Eucharist at the local Anglican church, for example, the "Letter to a Friend" (vol. 13:216-218).

[78]See, for example, his letter to the "Brethren in North America" in which he insists that his unorthodox ordination of preachers for America was due to the lack of ministers who could "baptize or administer the Lord's Supper" (vol. 13:252). See also his explanation of this in "Of Separation from the Church" and the postscript which considers the case of Scotland (13:256-257).

In many ways, Wesley's language of regeneration and justification on the one hand and sanctification and growth in holiness on the other reflect and to some extent even seem grounded in that of the early church. One of the holiness hymns, for example, desires:

> The sanctifying Spirit pour,
> To quench my thirst and wash me clean,
> Now, Saviour, let the gracious shower
> Descend, and make me pure from sin.
> Purge me from every sinful blot:
> My idols all be cast aside:
> Cleanse me from every evil thought,
> From all the filth of self and pride.
> The hatred of the carnal mind
> Out of my flesh at once remove:
> Give me a tender heart, resign'd
> And pure, and full of faith and love.[79]

Like the early Fathers, Wesley emphasizes the need for freedom from sin, for the washing, cleansing, and purifying activity of the Holy Spirit. He does not approve of pride or gambling any more than St. Chrysostom does. Yet, as we have seen, in the Fathers such language of washing, cleansing, and purging always refers to baptism. It does not in Wesley. Rather it is translated into a more personal, spiritual experience of the believer. It is here that I find Wesley's connection to the theology of the (early) church generally much more tenuous than others have tried to argue.[80] It seems that Wesley transposes what "baptism" meant for the early church into the experience of "justification," and the sanctifying effects of Eucharistic participation into the experience of "entire sanctification."[81] This threatens to

[79]*Plain Account*, 39.

[80]For example, Randy Maddox in his study titled *Responsible Grace*.

[81]This is corroborated by the fact that Wesley repeatedly emphasizes as the primary question: "Is thy heart right?" and sets aside questions of worship, baptism, and the Eucharist as the final (because most controversial) ones. See, for example, his sermon on the "Catholic Spirit" (vol. 5:497) and his letter to the Rev. Mr. Clarke (vol. 13:210). He also often softens his endorsement of the Lord's Supper as administered in the Anglican services, depending on the conduct or theological coherence of the administering minister.

turn "heart holiness" into an entirely individual experience, isolated from the body of the rest of the Christian community.[82]

Although Wesley is right to stress holiness or even "perfection" as an essential requirement of the Christian life, it is not something "received merely by faith," as he claims.[83] Rather, it is lived in the community of the church, nourished by its life, liturgy, and mysteries. Despite his personal regard for the Eucharist, Wesley seldom emphasizes its importance in connection with the pursuit of holiness nor does he seem to recognize its value for preservation on the path toward sanctity.[84] He hardly ever mentions baptism.[85] Although that seems understandable

[82]This is particularly obvious in Wesley's rejection of Catholicism. See especially his treatises on that subject. With the exception of the "Letter to a Roman Catholic" (vol. 10:80-85), most of his writings display a profound disregard for (and disapproval of) physical expressions of faith, sacraments, the need for liturgy, sacred space, beauty and ceremony in worship. See: "A Roman Catechism, faithfully drawn out of the allowed writings of the Church of Rome: With a Reply thereto," "A Short Method of converting all of the Roman Catholics in the kingdom of Ireland," "The Advantage of the Members of the Church of England over those of the Church of Rome," "Popery Calmly Considered," and his letters to the "Public Advertiser" which were "occasioned by the late Act passed in favour of Popery," and a couple of shorter pieces on the same subject (vol. 10:86-176). Especially instructive are the passages on sacraments in the "Roman Catechism" and "Popery Calmly Considered."

[83]*Plain Account*, 50. In his "Thoughts upon Methodism" he summarizes the "fundamental doctrine" of Methodism as follows: "(1.) That religion is an inward principle; that it is no other than the mind that was in Christ; or in other words, the renewal of the soul after the image of God, in righteousness and true holiness. (2.) That this can never be wrought in us, but by the power of the Holy Ghost. (3.) That we receive this, and every other blessing, merely for the sake of Christ: And, (4.) That whosoever hath the mind that was in Christ, the same is our brother, and sister, and mother." The four central tenets, thus, are all concerned with internal and personal experience that is wrought privately by God. There are no references to either Church or sacraments in the whole summary treatise, although it does deal with the organization of the societies.

[84]See his sermon "The Means of Grace" (vol. 5:185-201) and the sections on the sacraments in the treatises on Roman Catholicism mentioned above. In his summation of his views in the *Plain Account* neither baptism nor Eucharist are mentioned at all. *Plain Account*, 114-116.

[85]He did write "A Treatise on Baptism" (vol. 10:188-200) which, however, is mostly concerned with defending infant baptism and proving that full immersion is not necessary. It says very little concerning the theology of baptism and he does not relate his emphasis on holiness to it in any way.

since probably all his listeners had been baptized, it would have been much more appropriate and theologically coherent to remind them of the value and meaning of their baptism instead of positing a different and isolated experience of "justification" or "entire sanctification."[86] The public and bodily rite of baptism therefore becomes transmuted into an entirely interior and purely emotive experience of "circumcision of the heart."[87] Obviously this emphasis on interiority and individuality has been carried to an extreme in contemporary practice where membership in the church often has become entirely disconnected from baptism and where Eucharist is only seldom practiced. Maybe we are at a point where the combination of theology and practice in the bodily liturgical actions of baptism and Eucharist can be recovered anew.

Certainly, as our inquiry into the instruction of the early church has highlighted, "justification" and "entire sanctification" cannot be merely personal experiences, wrought by the Spirit on an individual's heart regardless of one's connection to the body of Christ, but rather belong within the archetypal theological practices of the church, baptism and Eucharist. In these, body and soul, theory and practice are indivisibly united. When the individual believer becomes disconnected from the fellowship of the body of Christ and when faith becomes an experience of the soul disconnected from concrete and bodily ecclesial practices of baptism and Eucharist, theology and practice are not only severed from each other, but have lost their essential meaning and integrity.

[86]In the discussion following this paper's presentation at the WTS 2004 conference, it was suggested that Wesley did not do so because the practices had become meaningless to many participants and that his recovery of the experience had to take a different form in order to be received. I am grateful to Randy Maddox in particular for his helpful comments on this point. Since, however, the practices of baptism and Eucharist have fallen into serious disuse since Wesley's time, especially in contemporary experience, maybe it is time for a substantial recovery.

[87]*Plain Account*, 12-14. See also his sermons: "Salvation by Faith" (vol. 5:7-16), "Justification by Faith" (vol. 5:53-64), "The Righteousness of Faith" (vol. 5:65-75), "The Law established through Faith" (vol. 5:447-466), and "On Faith" (vol. 7:195-201; 326-334).

LUTHER AND WESLEY ON UNION AND IMPARTATION IN LIGHT OF RECENT FINNISH LUTHER RESEARCH

by

John Drury

Nearly three centuries ago, a theological dialogue commenced between Lutheran Pietists and John Wesley, leader of the people called Methodists. It was ultimately divisive, as the two groups could not see eye-to-eye on matters of sin and salvation. Only recently has this Lutheran-Wesleyan dialogue begun to reopen.

Although Wesleyan appreciation for Luther is not found wanting, the "textbook" distinctions between Wesley and Luther are based on a strict forensic account of Luther's doctrine of justification. Recent Finnish research has called into question such an interpretation by identifying the role of *theosis* in Luther. If the Finns are right, this would radically shape the extent to which Christ's righteousness really becomes ours. Such a reinterpretation of Luther would require a fresh dialogue between his theology and Wesley's.

The following unfolds the meaning and significance of the Finnish paradigm of Luther interpretation. It is not designed to describe Wesley's understanding of Luther, for it too was shaped by the traditional account via later interpretations. Rather, my attention is directed to contemporary Wesleyan theologians and their understanding of Luther for constructive dialogue. In other words, the focus is not so much Luther *and* Wesley, but Luther *for* Wesleyans. Hence, the bulk of attention is on Luther and not Wesley.

Luther: An Introduction to the Issue

Martin Luther insisted that Christians have no righteousness of their own but rather rely on the imputation of Christ's righteousness. As Luther puts it, Christians "are sinners in fact but righteous in hope."[1] Luther's theology destroys any false confidence in one's own righteous works. But is this all Luther had to say on the matter? Although Christ's righteousness originates *extra nos*, must it remain *extra nos*? Are Christians only declared righteous, or do we really become righteous? Is Christ's righteousness really ours? If a negative response is given to these questions, one is hardpressed to explain Luther texts containing language of union, sharing, and impartation. *The Freedom of a Christian* (1520) is one such text. Luther graphically describes the connection between Christ and Christians in terms of a bridal exchange. If this connection has any ontological weight, one is obliged to reinterpret what Luther means by the imputation of Christ's righteousness.

One such reinterpretation of Luther has been worked out by Tuomo Mannermaa and the so-called "Finnish School." These scholars assert that the motif of *theosis* or divinization, rather than imputation as traditionally understood, captures the heart of Luther's doctrine of justification. The purpose of this essay, then, is to assess the usefulness of the Finnish School's paradigm for interpreting Luther texts. After a brief summary of this new interpretation, I will test it against a general collection of passages from Luther. I will then apply its apparatus to *The Freedom of a Christian* in particular. I contend that the Finnish interpretation is a helpful corrective, for it allows Luther to speak for our actual possession of Christ's righteousness.

The Finnish Interpretation Summarized

The new research on Martin Luther began in the 1970s as an effort to enhance Lutheran-Orthodox dialogue.[2] *Theosis*, a common motif in the

[1]Martin Luther, *Luther's Works, American Edition* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974), 25: 258.

[2]Tuomo Mannermaa, "Why Is Luther So Fascinating?" in C. Braaten and R. Jenson, eds., *Union With Christ: The New Finnish Interpretation of Luther* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 1; hereafter cited in-text. This article is an excellent outline of the goals and substance of the new Finnish interpretation. My summary is based on it as well as on Mannermaa's article "Theosis as a Subject of Finnish Luther Research," *Pro Ecclesia,* 4 (1995), 37-48.

Orthodox tradition, was also found to be prevalent in Luther. Tuomo Mannermaa wanted to understand this idea in Luther's theology as a whole. This side of Luther, however, had been suppressed by years of Luther research. The first step of the new program, therefore, was to cut away the philosophical brush that caused this deficiency. Modern Luther research previously had proceeded with Kantian philosophical lenses, "which made it impossible to view Luther's doctrine of justification as a doctrine of real participation or divinization" (Mannermaa 3). At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Hermann Lotze criticized classical ontology of being-in-itself and replaced it with being-as-relationship. The result is an epistemology according to which one cannot be known by entering into another, but only by the other's affects (Mannermaa 5). Albrecht Ritschl carried over these philosophical assumptions in his reading of Luther, so that God only causally affects humans from the outside (Mannermaa 8).

This transcendental reading of Luther may be contrasted with the realism of actual Luther texts. Luther perpetuates a classical epistemology of substantive union of the knower and the known (Mannermaa 6). In Luther's view, the divine being can have real contact and communion with another being. In justification by faith, God's activity is not limited to affecting humans at a distance by declaring them righteous. Rather, God can and does give himself, entering into a "community of being" (Mannermaa 11).

Such a fresh ontological assumption implies a radical reinterpretation of Luther's doctrine of justification. The imputation of Christ's righteousness is not merely a forensic matter, but a real participation in the life of God in Christ. This reinterpretation is able to make sense of Luther's stress on *theosis* or divinization: Christians are actually changed by the righteousness of Christ. This change is possible only on the basis of a real connection between Christ and Christians. If the Finnish School is right, then the gift of justification is not just a new status before God. The gift is also the giver himself, Christ. It is Christ who comes to us in faith. Christ is truly present in the Christian. His alien righteousness actually invades and makes its home in us.

The Finnish Interpretation Tested

The philosophical brush-clearing performed by the Finnish School is greatly appreciated. It would be anachronistic to assume Luther followed

the tenets of Kantian transcendental philosophy. Nevertheless, just because Luther *could* have a theology of participation does not mean he *did*. The only way to verify the material thesis of the Finnish School is to test it against some of Luther's own writings.

A favorite text of the Finnish School is Luther's commentary on Galatians 2:16. They lift out a phrase that is roughly translated: "Christ comes to us in faith." James Kittelson has pointed out the interpretive troubles posed by this text. This exact Latin construction is not actually found in the original. Furthermore, Kittelson claims that the Finnish translation is cumbersome.[3] His arguments sufficiently weaken the claims made on the basis of this particular phrase. However, Christ's presence is implied in many other phrases throughout Luther's commentary on Galatians. The precise nature of human participation in the divine life is unclear, yet the real coming of Christ to the Christian is definite. Luther says, "Christ comes spiritually as we gradually acknowledge and understand more and more what has been granted to us by Him."[4] The Christian actually has Christ, for "I have another righteousness and life above this life, which is Christ the Son of God."[5] Luther's understanding of imputation includes the gift of Christ himself: "[I]t is necessary that we should have imputation of righteousness, which we obtain through Christ and for Christ's sake, who is given unto us and received of us by faith."[6] It seems clear that Christ comes to us in faith.

The Finnish interpretation of Luther seems to work with reference to its own favorite text, but can it stand in the face of Luther's strong statements regarding the imputation of Christ's alien righteousness? Two key Luther works on imputation are his *Commentary on Romans* and *Two Kinds of Righteousness*. It will be to its credit if the Finnish school can make sense of these texts without explaining them away. In *Romans* Luther asserts, "The saints are always sinners in their own sight, and therefore always justified outwardly."[7] To God "they are at the same time

[3]James M. Kittelson, "To the Finland Station: A Review Essay," *Dialog* 8 (1999): 235-237.

[4]*LW,* 26: 351.

[5]Martin Luther, "Galatians," in *Martin Luther: Selections from His Writings* (Ed. John Dillenberger; Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1958), 106.

[6]M. Luther, "Galatians," 133.

[7]*LW,* 25: 257.

both righteous and unrighteous."[8] This famous definition of the Christian as *simul iustus et peccator* seems to strike a deadly blow against the Finnish School. But what is Luther really saying? What is the thrust of his argument? Luther is targeting hypocrites, those who "are righteous in their own sight."[9] He precludes false assurance by locating the source of righteousness outside the Christian. Yet this imputation of righteousness is more than a declaration. It becomes *our* righteousness: "For His imputation is not *ours* by reason of anything in us or in our power. Thus *our* righteousness is not something in us or in our own power."[10] Luther's emphasis is on the external point of origin of our righteousness, not its final residence.

In *Two Kinds of Righteousness*, Luther points to the basis of our righteousness in the alien righteousness of Christ. "The second kind of righteousness is our proper righteousness, not because we alone work it, but because we work with that first and alien righteousness."[11] "This righteousness is the product of the righteousness of the first type, actually its fruit and consequence."[12] It is not controversial to interpret Luther's second kind of righteousness as ours. For the Finnish School to be right, the first kind of righteousness must also become ours. How could this be? It is only possible if Christ is truly present in the imputation of this alien righteousness. Luther's own words support this interpretation: "Through faith in Christ, therefore, Christ's righteousness becomes our righteousness and all that he has becomes ours; rather, he himself becomes ours."[13] So, although we are not the source of either one, both kinds of righteousness really become ours.

The Finnish interpretation is not only able to make sense of these well known texts, but it brings to the foreground lesser-known Luther passages. For instance, Luther's sermon on Ephesians 3:13-21 sounds foreign to his traditional interpreters. It is an anomaly the old paradigm would be hard pressed to explain. It is a sermon of encouragement, and his message of assurance is founded on the indwelling presence of God in

[8]*LW,* 25: 258.

[9]*LW,* 24: 257.

[10]*LW,* 25: 257, italics added.

[11]Martin Luther, "Two Kinds of Righteousness," in *Martin Luther* (Ed. John Dillenberger), 88.

[12]M. Luther, "Two Kinds," 89.

[13]M. Luther, "Two Kinds," 87.

the believer. He is expounding Ephesians 3:17, "That Christ may dwell in your hearts through faith." Luther speaks of "the complete Godhead, who gives himself to us."[14] The entire Trinity is involved in this indwelling: "The Holy Spirit brings Christ into the heart."[15] The believer is said to actually possess God: "The heart . . . possesses by faith abundance of riches and pleasures—God himself with all his blessings."[16] This indwelling is not just a particle or emanation of God, but rather "God himself and all his blessings dwelling in us in fullness and being effective to make us wholly divine—not so that we possess merely something of God, but all his fullness."[17] Luther qualifies such strong language with a reminder that, because of the flesh, full perfection cannot "be attained in this life."[18] Nevertheless, the sermon is replete with the *theosis* motif.

The Finnish School is able to make sense of many other Luther texts. For instance, in his exposition of the Sermon on the Mount, Luther speaks of Christ, "who is ours through faith and who lives and works in us."[19] Carolyn Schneider substantiates the claims of the Finnish School by comparing Luther and Athanasius as they comment on John 1:1-5, 9-14, Philippians 2:5-11, Romans 13:14, and Galatians 2:19-20. Schneider couples these textual studies with analyses of their respective ontological assumptions. She concludes "that Luther does indeed, like Athanasius, speak of salvation occurring in the depth of one's being, and that this salvation happens by faith, which is a participation in the being of Christ."[20] The result is a real connection between Christ and Christians.

The praise due to the Finnish School, however, needs to be tempered by some caution with regard to its scope. Its substantive claims have proved helpful in reading Luther texts, but whether *theosis* captures the whole of Luther's theology is a claim far more difficult to defend. Dennis Bielfeldt voices reservation pertaining "to the sheer size of the Luther

[14]Martin Luther, *The Complete Sermons of Martin Luther* (Ed. John Nicholas Lenker; Grand Rapids: Baker, 2000), 8: 269.

[15]M. Luther, *Complete Sermons,* 8: 276.

[16]M. Luther, *Complete Sermons,* 8: 276.

[17]M. Luther, *Complete Sermons,* 8: 279-280.

[18]M. Luther, *Complete Sermons,* 8: 280.

[19]*LW,* 21:205.

[20]Carolyn Schneider, *The Connection Between Christ and Christians in Athanasius and Luther*. Unpublished Ph.D. Diss., Princeton Theological Seminary, 1999, 27.

corpus, and the difficult task of synthesizing into a systematic position key passages sprinkled through these texts."[21] Scott Hendrix also offers a cautious endorsement:

> As long as the term *theosis* or divinization is not taken to mean that the baptized believer is unencumbered by sin or that no forensic language whatsoever is appropriate, then Finnish scholarship has performed a service by calling attention to the new reality in Christ which constitutes the heart of Luther's spirituality.[22]

Keeping these reservations in mind, the Finnish School earns a positive appraisal. It has passed the test of being a helpful paradigm for understanding Luther texts. Let us now return to our initial text—equipped with the Finnish School's interpretive tools—to see what sense we can make of it.

The Finnish Interpretation Applied

As noted above, *The Freedom of a Christian* contains references to union and impartation, anomalies in more traditional readings of Luther. One might explain such references away as mere "mystical hangovers" from Luther's medieval education. It is true that this is the "early Luther" of 1520. However, one could also execute a more charitable interpretation by taking his words at face value. The Finnish School helps such a reading by carving conceptual space in which such passages can be understood as typical rather than exceptional of Luther's theology. The striking image employed by Luther is that of faith "uniting the soul with Christ as a bride is united with her bridegroom."[23] "By the wedding ring of faith he shares in the sins, death, and pains of hell which are his bride's."[24] Here Luther is utilizing the tradition of bridal mysticism he would have picked up from Johann von Staupitz.[25] In his treatise on predestination, Staupitz

[21]Dennis Bielfeldt, "Response to Sammelit Juntunen," in *Union With Christ,* 166.

[22]Scott Hendrix, "Martin Luther's Reformation of Spirituality," *Lutheran Quarterly,* 13:3 (1999), 258.

[23]Martin Luther, "The Freedom of a Christian," in *Martin Luther* (Ed. John Dillenberger), 60.

[24]M. Luther, "The Freedom of a Christian," 61.

[25]Heiko Oberman, *Forerunners of the Reformation: The Shape of Late Medieval Thought Illustrated by Key Documents* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), 121; see also S. Hendrix, "Martin Luther's Reformation of Spirituality," 257.

says, "Christ says, 'The Christian is My possession, the Christian is My concern, the Christian is I'; so the spouse responds, 'Christ is my possession, Christ is my concern, Christ is I.' "[26] Although Luther attacks mysticism for constructing a ladder to God apart from Christ, he does not cast it out entirely from his theology. He affirms a real mutual exchange between Christ and the Christian.

The philosophical research of the Finnish School helps us to avoid the pitfall of disregarding these mystical references as mere metaphors. Of course, bridal language is metaphorical, but it also signifies a reality. Luther thought the benefits of faith come because Christ himself comes to the believer. There is a real union or *theosis* of distinct beings. Bengt Hoffman supports such a reading of this passage:

> From Luther's remarks on the participation in God we draw the conclusion that one does not do justice to his view of sharing in the divine life by concentration on the "for you" of redemption or by a reduction of redemption to the ethical. On Luther's view the freedom engendered by the gospel was not simply a declaration of grace, but an experience of joy and inner change.[27]

Christ not only participates in our life by the incarnation, but we also participate in his by impartation. Christ's birthright honors him with priesthood and kingship.[28] Luther believes Christ then imparts (*impartit*) these offices to the believer:

> Now just as Christ by his birthright obtained these two prerogatives, so he imparts them and shares them with everyone who believes in him according to the law of the above mentioned marriage, according to which the wife owns whatever belongs to the husband.[29]

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[26]Johann von Staupitz, "Eternal Predestination and its Execution in Time," in H. Oberman, *Forerunners of the Reformation,* 187.

[27]Bengt Hoffman, *Luther and the Mystics* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1976), 173.

[28]M. Luther, "The Freedom of a Christian," 62.

[29]M. Luther, "The Freedom of a Christian," 63; "*Quemadmodum autem Christus primogenitura sua has duas dignitates obtinuit, ita impartit et comunes easdem facit cuilibet suo fideli matrimonii praedicti iure, quo sponsae sunt quaecunque sponsi sunt*," D. Martin Luthers Werke (Weimar: Herman Bohlaus Nachfolger, 1897), Band 7, pg. 56; see also M. Luther, *Studienausgabe* (Verlagsanstalt: Evangelische, 1979), Band 7, pg. 280.

Such language of impartation is not an exception to the rule of imputation. Rather, Luther speaks of impartation quite often. He declares that, if more people prayed, "the Gospel would make greater progress and impart to us greater power."[30] Christians are given "heavenly power imparted through the Holy Spirit" to oppose the devil.[31] The Holy Spirit "imparts warmth and courage through faith in Christ."[32] The holy life of Christians is made possible by "the Holy Spirit, who imparts, does, and effects this."[33]

Although Luther seems quite comfortable speaking in terms of impartation, he never uses it with reference to the righteousness of Christ. Why is this the case? If Christ's benefits, offices, and strength are imparted, why is his righteousness not also imparted to us? Heiko Oberman explains why Luther favored imputed righteousness over imparted righteousness. In the Scholastic tradition, a distinction was made between the *Iustitia Christi* and the *Iustitia Dei*. The righteousness of Christ (*Iustitia Christi*) was said to be *imparted* to the Christian now as an *aid* in satisfying the righteousness of God (*Iustitia Dei*) at the final judgment. Luther's breakthrough was to say that God's righteousness is satisfied the moment Christ's righteousness is received.[34] He employed the categorical term "imputation" in contrast with Scholastic "impartation." Nevertheless, imputed righteousness entails a real change in the believer. As Oberman puts it, "The righteousness granted is not one's property but one's possession. . . . The contrast between the two terms plays its part especially in marriage law, and hence in that whole mystical tradition in which marriage provides the symbol for the exchange of goods between Christ and the faithful."[35]

So although Luther did not speak of imparted righteousness, he did believe that Christ's righteousness really became our possession. *The Freedom of a Christian* exhibits that, in Luther's mind, we are not only united with Christ and imparted with benefits, but imputation effectively communicates Christ's righteousness to us. Christ, including his right-

[30]*Complete Sermons,* 270.
[31]*Complete Sermons,* 275.
[32]*Complete Sermons,* 276.
[33]*LW,* 41: 146.
[34]H. Oberman, *Dawn of the Reformation,* 122.
[35]H. Oberman, *Dawn of the Reformation,* 121.

eousness, is really ours. The Finnish School has helped such a reading of this text by shedding light on the ontological possibility of union in Luther's theology. Is Christ's righteousness really ours? Although it does not rest on any works we perform, it does become ours. Tuomo Mannermaa and the new Finnish School of Luther interpretation have made this affirmative answer possible by critiquing the anachronistic philosophical presuppositions in modern Luther research, as well as by pointing to the systematic motif of *theosis* that lies at the root of Luther's theology. This interpretation is verified by numerous Luther texts, as long as we do not go so far that Luther's other emphases are not allowed to speak.[36] It is a helpful interpretive paradigm for reading *The Freedom of a Christian*. It makes coherent sense out of the themes of union, impartation, and possession found there. The Finnish School has given students of Luther a truly useful way of reading Luther texts. I anxiously await further translations and developments in this school of research.

A Wesleyan Reflection

What relevance might the new Finnish interpretation of Luther have for Wesleyan theology? What is a Wesleyan to do? I suggest that we can now better see if the traditionally held doctrinal differences between John Wesley and Martin Luther are overdrawn. I do not wish to rehearse their respective places in the history of doctrine.[37] I also do not wish to offer a revised account of Wesley's soteriology. Rather, I simply aim to get the ball rolling on a re-thinking of Wesley's relationship to Luther in light of Finnish research. In order to do this, I will quote at length Wesley's *locus classicus* critique of Luther's doctrine of justification. Although Luther is

[36]For instance, it is inappropriate to now use the Finnish interpretation to explain away forensic language, just as the earlier interpreters had suppressed participation language. Furthermore, it is worth noting that the Finnish School's emphasis on the present tense must be careful not to ignore either the past tense of Christ's distinct "once for all" death and resurrection or the future hope assumed by Luther's constant use of "promise." Finally, despite its sparse and critical function in his theology as a whole, Luther's theology of the cross would seem to work against the entire flow of the Finnish interpretation. Until Finnish research can make sense of these and other motifs, it is better to use it as a heuristic device rather than a systematic master-interpretation of Luther's theology.

[37]For an excellent comparison of Wesley with Luther, Calvin and Trent, see Ralph del Colle, "John Welsey's Doctrine of Grace in Light of the Christian Tradition," *International Journal of Systematic Theology,* 4:2 (2002), 172-189.

not mentioned by name, Wesley directly attacks the "legal fiction" idea associated with him. In his sermon "Justification by Faith," Wesley states:

> Least of all does justification imply, that God is *deceived* in those whom he justifies; that he thinks them to be what, in fact, they are not; that he accounts them to be otherwise than they are. It does by no means imply, that God judges concerning us contrary to the real nature of things; that he esteems us better than we really are, or believes us righteous when we are unrighteous. Surely no. The judgment of the all-wise God is always according to truth. Neither can it ever consist with his unerring wisdom, to think that I am innocent, to judge that I am righteous or holy, because another is so. He can no more, in this manner, confound me with Christ, than with David or Abraham. Let any man to whom God hath given understanding, weigh this without prejudice; and he cannot but perceive, that such a notion of justification is neither reconcilable to reason nor Scripture (II.5).[38]

It is crucial for Wesley that God is not duped by the justification of sinners. Such an accusation goes to the heart of a traditional understanding of Luther's concept of imputation. Yet, if Finnish research has successfully cleared space for themes of union and impartation to play their proper role in Luther, then Wesley's critique does not apply wholesale to Luther. For Luther, justification is not some vast plan to trick God into forgiving us. Justification is the union of Christ and the Christian, whereby the Christian really possesses the righteousness of Christ.

The above insights do not smooth over the real, substantive differences between Luther and Wesley. Nonetheless, they may very well open new avenues for dialogue and even constructive doctrinal theology. I commend Wesleyans to the re-reading Luther's works, now taking into account new interpretative schools. If we do so, we may witness a more productive dialogue with Lutherans, a dialogue more constructive than the one that took place between Wesley and Lutheran Pietists nearly three centuries ago.[39]

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[38] *ohn Wesley's Sermons* (Eds. Albert C. Outler and Richard P. Heitzenrater; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1991), 115; italics original.

[39]I would like to thank Donald Dayton and Tim Salo for providing me with a more subtle understanding of Pietism and its appropriation of Luther, as well as suggesting that Pietism in Finland may account for the Helsinki school's reading of Luther. I would also like to thank Scott Hendrix and Bruce McCormack for their critical feedback on an earlier draft of this paper.

"ON EARTH AS (IF) IT IS IN HEAVEN": PRACTICING A LITURGICAL ESCHATOLOGY

by

Dean G. Blevins

Wesleyans regularly incorporate into their worship and personal prayer the petition Jesus taught the disciples, saying "Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done, on earth as it is in heaven." How does such an expression translate into the lives of those praying? Obviously there are "political" and material connotations to such a petition.[1] The petitions of seeing heaven on earth resound throughout the rest of the prayer, inviting the praying community to take seriously its eschatological implications.[2] This specific phrase lends an invitation to attempt to understand what is meant by the presence of the kingdom on earth. It also implies that such understanding will invariably include our participation as well.[3] Historian Jeffrey Burton Russell notes:

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[1]Kenneth Leech, *True Prayer: An Invitation to Christian Spirituality* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1980), 68-93; William H. Willimon and Stanley Hauerwas, *Lord Teach Us: The Lord's Prayer & the Christian Life* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1996), 50-60, 67-69.

[2]Gordon W. Lathrop, *Holy People: A Liturgical Ecclesiology* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1999), 33-34; Urich Luz, *Matthew 1-7: A Continental Commentary*, trans. Wihelm C. Linss (Minneapolis: Frotress Press, 1989), 378-390. Lathrop writes, "But in the midst of these petitions are also two strong indications that the expected, longed-for Day has already dawned in the life of the community itself" (33).

[3] Luz, 387; "Thus our petition aims at the active behavior of the person. But it is not a hidden imperative; instead, it lays the human action before God's feet in the shape of a petition."

> The early Christians believed that the union of the community in God would occur at the end of time, which they thought was at hand. It also occurs right now. It is now because for God every moment is now. It is also now for the reason that Christ has come and brought the kingdom to earth. Heaven comes down and transforms the earth rather than hovering above the earth, waiting for the saved to arrive. Heaven is also now because Christ's saving action is eternal and extends to past, present, and future. The just who lived before Christ, particularly the faithful Jews, are saved by Christ equally with those who live after him. The ecclesia is a community that exists eternally with God, embracing all ages from the beginning to the end of time. The kingdom as already come: heaven is now. More fully, it is both now and also not yet. The kingdom has come; the kingdom is here; the kingdom will come in fullness. Christ has died; Christ has risen; Christ will come again.[4]

Russell's liturgical invocation highlights a crucial theme emphasizing the worshiping context that shapes the early Christian experience. He notes that by the second century there was a philosophical preoccupation with metaphysics, resulting in a shift from the experience of heaven to a concern about the idea of heaven.[5] For those seeking to practice a Wesleyan theology that embraces transformed lives and a transformed creation,[6] the early Christian emphasis on participating in a liturgical eschatology as a way of life provides a more faithful emphasis of experiencing heaven. However, this emphasis should qualify just how far participants can go with their theological assumptions of heaven on earth. One reason for such qualification is to avoid repeating those idealized abstractions of the early church. Another, equally serious reason would be to avoid more violent actions when the church and/or others use such rhetoric to usher in their understanding of "heaven below" through totalitarian oppression.

John Wesley's emphasis on the complementary practices of devotion and discipline reveal a form of "heaven below."[7] But the belief that Chris-

[4]Jeffrey Burton Russell, *A History of Heaven: The Singing Silence* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1997), 41-42.

[5]Russell, 64.

[6]Theodore Runyon, *The New Creation: John Wesley's Theology Today* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1998).

[7]Dean Blevins, "Practicing the New Creation: Wesley's Eschatalogical Community Formed by the Means of Grace," *Asbury Theological Journal*, 57, no. 2 & 58, no. 1 (Fall 2002/Spring 2003 issue), 81-105, cf 88-92.

tians might live out the kingdom of God must also invite some sense of the fullness (on earth "as" it is in heaven) and the limits ("as if" it is on earth) of such eschatological practice. The following seeks to articulate what it means for Wesleyans to live "as" and "as if" heaven was indeed in their midst.

Practicing the Prayer: Wesley's Heaven on Earth?

John Wesley was not deeply interested in eschatalogical categories, including millennial speculation, although he did embrace a vision of the new creation that was significant and offered commentary on end time events.[8] It may be a fair assumption, however, that Wesley did believe that Methodism, like the church in general, was called to live toward an alternative reality, or alternative kingdom. It must be conceded that Wesley did not use such a term as liturgical eschatology, however. His liturgical world was also an eschatalogical one, shaped by the doxological expectation of "heaven come down." Such expectation undoubtedly shaped Wesley's understanding of holy character and liturgical community—shaped through the practices of the means of grace.

One may begin exploring Wesley's liturgical eschatology through his treatise on the Lord's Prayer as doing the will of God. Wesley writes:

> 10. When therefore we pray that the "will of God" may "be done on earth as it is in heaven," the meaning is that all the inhabitants of the earth, even the whole race of mankind, may do the will of their Father which is in heaven as willingly as the holy angels; that these may do it continually, even as they, without any interruption of their willing service. Yea, and that they may do it perfectly; that "the God of peace, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, may make them perfect in every good work to do his will, and work in them all which is well-pleasing in his sight." In other words, we pray that we, and all mankind, may do the whole will of God in all things; and nothing else, not the least thing but what is the holy and acceptable will of God. We pray that we may do the whole will of God as he willeth, in the manner that pleases him; and

[8]David Ingersoll Naglee "Chapter 12: Paradise Improved: The New Creation," in *From Everlasting to Everlasting: John Wesley on Eternity and Time*, 2 vols (New York: Peter Lang, 1991), 605-626; Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast*, 382; Runyan, 7-25.

> lastly, that we may do it because it is his will; that this may be the sole reason and ground, the whole and only motive, of whatsoever we think, or whatsoever we speak, or do.[9]

To achieve this vision, particularly in the harsh environs of eighteenth-century England, Wesley provided a way of life through the various Methodist practices, a way that both challenged the existing cultural climate and created an alternative community as a type of "heaven below" within Methodism.

Overcoming Obstacles via Practicing "Heaven"

Learning to live heaven below was challenging due to the cultural distraction of Wesley's day, particularly popular pastimes that modeled behavior inconsistent with Christian living. Methodism challenged the local popular pastimes of the lower class (drinking, hurling, wrestling, bull-baiting, and cock-fighting as well as certain feasts, festivals, and fairs).[10] Wesley noted how the emergence of Methodism ended practices often destructive either to local inhabitants or others in local communities like Cornwall.[11] He writes, "They who had been eminent for hurling,

[9]John Wesley, "Upon Our Lord's Sermon on the Mount: Discourse Sixth," in *The Works of John Wesley Vol 1., Sermons 1*, ed. Albert Outler (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1984), 584.

[10]Henry Abelove, *The Evangelist of Desire: John Wesley and the Methodists* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1990), 104-105; Douglas Hay and Nicholas Rogers, *Eighteenth-Century English Society: Shuttles and Swords* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 170.

[11]David Hempton*, Methodism and Politics in British Society, 1750-1850* (Stanford, CA.: Stanford University Press, 1984), 13-14; John Wesley, "A Short History of People Called Methodists, *Works,* ed. Davies (Nashville: Abingdon, 1989), 9:438. Wesley writes, "Indeed I hardly know any part of the three kingdoms where there has been a more general change. Hurling, their favourite diversion, at which limbs were usually broke, and very frequently lives lost, is now hardly hear of: it seems in a few years it will be utterly forgotten. And that scandal of humanity, so constantly practiced on all the coasts of Cornwall, the plundering of vessels that struck upon the rocks, and often murdering those that escaped out [of] the wreck, is now wellnigh at an end; and if it is not quite, the gentlemen, not the poor tinners, are to be blamed. But it is not harmlessness, or outward decency alone, which has within few years so increased, but the religion of the heart, faith working by love, producing all inward as well as outward holiness." David Hempton notes that residents in Cornwall were remarkably resilient to this transformation.

fighting, drinking, and all manner of wickedness, continued eminent for sobriety, piety, and all manner of goodness."[12]

The strong moralistic code of Methodism, better known as Methodist discipline, left little room for such activities.[13] Historian David Hempton notes that "serious Methodists could be recognized by their dress, hairstyles and physical detachment from the world of revelry, sports and dancing.[14] Historical accounts describing Methodist behavior were often open to caricature by Wesley's contemporaries, so much so that early Methodist historians developed sophisticated apologies for the derisions.[15] However, it is fair to say that Wesley intended Methodists adopt rather strict lifestyles often opposing the "popular cultural" characteristics of many in the English social system. Wesley also provided new practices alongside the restrictions, intended to guide and empower persons through the creation of the Methodist class structure and Society chapel meetings.[16] Alternative gatherings included watch-night services, love feasts, society and class meetings, and even Eucharist. Henry Rack notes, "Methodist devotions and duties, by accident or design, tended to monopolize the scanty free time of the members. But this they seem to have welcomed, and even members who were not preachers spent much of their

[12]Ibid.

[13]John Lawson, "The People Called Methodists—Our Discipline," in *A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain*, vol. 1, eds. Rupert Davies and Gordon Rupp (London: Epworth Press, 1965), 183-209.

[14]Hempton, *Methodism and Politics in British Society*, 14.

[15]Leslie Church, *More About the Early Methodist People* (London: Epworth Press, 1949), 3, 184-221; Hempton, *Methodism and Politics in British Society*,12-14; John Munsey Turner, *Conflict and Reconciliation: Studies in Methodism and Ecumenism in England: 1740-1982* (London: Epworth Press, 1985), 31; Robert Wearmouth, *Methodism and the Common People of the Eighteenth Century* (London: The Epworth Press, 1945), 239-268. Turner notes, "clandestine class meetings and private love feasts brought similar rumors as those which plagued the early church. Wesley was thought to be a Jacobite or a crypto-papist or bribed by the Spaniards to raise a peasant army—after all, some of the itinerants received horses at about the same time as their Roman counterparts." Leslie Church may be the most apologetic about Methodist practices, emphasizing the "joy" of Methodist obedience (3), while Hempton notes that caution need be given to characterizing all of Methodism with strict codes.

[16]Wesley's Journal, *Works*, eds. Ward and Heitzenrater, 18:268-269; 20:219, 273, ed. Cragg, 11:237.

time this way."[17] Methodist practices, usually described as means of grace, created a new way of life. David Hempton, citing the work of Dr. J. G. Rule, writes:

> Cornish Methodists declared holy war on drink, hurling, wrestling, bull-baiting, cock-fighting, and folk superstitions, but replaced them with revivals, Love Feasts, watch-nights, hymn singing, providential interventions and colourful local versions of the cosmic drama between God and the devil.[18]

In all, adherence to this new way of life was crucial. Acceptance into the Methodist community rest as much on a disciplined life lived as the religious experience of the participant.[19] Methodists were given a new or revitalized set of social practices to help shape the total life of the Methodist people. [20] Nonconformists and Methodists used such practices into the next century. Gilbert writes:

> But in the place of the "worldly pleasure" which they excluded from their communities, Evangelical Nonconformists provided alternative recreational and communal activities. In many social contexts, moreover, the recreational satisfactions available in the chapel community did not have to compete with secular alternatives, at least of the organized kind. In the new settlements of the early industrial era, the cultural equivalents of the wakes, fairs, or sports of pre-industrial society were often monopolized by the new popular religious organizations.[21]

Methodist scholars have often struggled when drawing the line between restrictive discipline and devotional practices like the means of

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[17]Henry D. Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast: John Wesley and the Rise of Methodism*, 2nd ed. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1989, 1992), 430.

[18]Hempton, *Methodism and Politics in British Society,* 27; Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast*, 413.

[19]Lawson, 184. Lawson writes, To Wesley the acid test whether a member of the Society was true or false was not his profession of spiritual experience, but the circumstance whether he lived a sober and upright life, and went regularly to Church, 'The question is not concerning the heart but the life" (citing Wesley's Journal, March 10, 1747).

[20]Abelove, 106. As an example, historian Henry Abelove suggests that Methodists rejected theater-going by "making a theater of their own among themselves." Abelove may be close to the truth with this observation.

[21]Alan D. Gilbert, *Religion and Society in Industrial England: Church, Chapel and Social Change, 1740-1914* (London: Longman, 1976), 90-91.

grace. The dichotomy between categories may be flawed, particularly if Methodism is to be understood as a way of life.[22] These practices provided as much influence for the lower class as Wesley's written endeavors. The practices of the means of grace replaced the older, destructive habits, and ushered in a new version of "heaven below" for the Wesleyan community.

The Means of Grace and Liturgical Eschatology

One approach to combining both discipline and devotional practice emerges through the employment of the liturgical life. If one locates these many practices under the various categories of John Wesley's means of grace, a new question arises concerning their common connection.[23] What held these varying practices together? The clue might be the primary liturgical practice within the means of grace, the Eucharist, and the doxological character of this liturgical practice. Just as Eucharist occurs within a doxological framework of "heaven come down," all of the means of grace might well be attempts to practice heaven below, to live as if the eschaton has/is/will occur. To establish this thesis, the means of grace must be defined and situated within Wesley's sacramental/liturgical framework.

Wesley's most common definition of the means of grace reads, "By 'means of grace' I understand outward signs, words, or actions, ordained of God, and appointed for this end—to be the *ordinary* channels whereby he conveys to men, preventing, justifying or sanctifying grace."[24] Wes-

[22]Lawson, 185.

[23]Dean G. Blevins, *John Wesley and the Means of Grace: An Approach to Christian Religious Education*, Ph.D. diss., Claremont School of Theology, May 1999 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI, 1999), 175-226; Knight, *The Presence of God in the Christian Life*, 4-5, 122. Along with Wesley's categories of instituted/prudential and works of piety/mercy, Henry Knight introduces a larger category "the General Means of Grace" that is indicative of Discipline as well as Devotion. These categories might also fit under Prudential means, but Knight's description is helpful.

[24]John Wesley, "The Means of Grace," ed. Albert Outler, *The Works of John Wesley*, Bicentennial ed., 15 vols., gen. eds. Richard P. Heitzenrater and Frank Baker (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1975-1995), 1:381. Subsequent references to the multi-volume, Bicentennial set, *The Works of John Wesley*, will be cited as *Works*. Since this series is not complete, other citations are taken from editor Thomas Jackson's *The Works of John Wesley*, 3rd ed. (London: Wesleyan Methodist Book Room, 1872; reprint, Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 1986).

ley's term (or the sometimes substituted term "ordinances") emerged during a controversy with Moravians over the Fetter Lane Society and culminates with Wesley's instructions to ministers to utilize various practices (and dispositions) for Godly living.[25] Practicing the means of grace became a standard for Wesley in Methodist polity and ministry. Wesley, in "The Nature, Design and General Rules of the United Societies," stressed that Society members should evidence their desire for salvation in three ways, by doing no harm and avoiding evil, by doing good, and by attending upon all the ordinances of God.[26]

The "Larger" Minutes of 1778 may be one of the most important documents to demonstrate how Wesley incorporated the means of grace as a part of the regular examination of all lay ministers.[27] Wesley encouraged his ministers to view their "helpers" as pupils and to encourage them in using all the means of grace.[28] In this document, Wesley revealed a description of the means of grace that differs from the language of acts of mercy and piety. He now used the language of instituted and prudential means of grace. The instituted means (very similar to his understanding of ordinances or acts of piety) include prayer (private, family, and public), searching the Scriptures (by reading, meditating, and hearing), the Lord's Supper, fasting and Christian conference.[29] The prudential means include particular rules, arts of holy living, acts of ministry, and larger attitudes

[25]Blevins, *John Wesley and the Means of Grace*, 136-166; C. J. Podmore, "The Fetter Lane Society," *Wesley Historical Society Proceedings* 47, no. 1 (May 1990), 156-185. Wesley's detailed argument for the means of grace at Fetter Lane set the stage for his continued use of this term to emphasize an increasing number of Christian practices. Wesley actually described the various practices in the means of grace using different categories in sermons and other writings, particularly in key documents of Methodist polity.

[26]Wesley, "General Rules of the United Societies," *Works*, ed. Rupert Davies, 9:69-73. The ordinances Wesley's list includes are: the public worship of God; the ministry of the Word, either read or expounded; the Supper of the Lord; family and private prayer (family prayer added in the 1744 revision), searching the Scriptures; and fasting or abstinence (73).

[27]Wesley, "A Plain Account of Kingswood School," in *The Works of John Wesley*, ed. Jackson, 3rd ed. (London: Wesleyan Methodist Book Room, 1872. Reprint, Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers,1986),13:299, "A Short History of the People Called Methodist," *Works*, ed. Jackson, 13:322-324.

[28]Wesley, "A Short History of the People Called Methodist," *Works,* ed. Jackson, 13:322.

[29]Ibid.

toward daily living listed under the headings of watching, denying ourselves, taking up our cross, and exercising the presence of God.[30] Wesley's practice and advocacy of the Eucharist grace provides the central sacramental emphasis of all of these practices.[31] He lived a life anchored in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper and the worship that surrounded this key practice. He regularly participated in the Eucharist and encouraged Methodist followers to do the same.[32] The Eucharist also provides a clue to the logic of seeing daily practice and the eschatological worship of the assembly in the same continuum.[33]

Heaven "As" on Earth in Wesley's Liturgical World

John Wesley often avoided advocating a particular "mode" of worship in his writing, allowing diversity of style much like that of varying religious opinion.[34] He, however, apparently uses "modes" of worship to compare Presbyterian, Independent or Anabaptist liturgical practices.[35] It might be a fair assertion that, while Wesley would allow for some diversity in worship practice (as he would in religious opinion), there were some liturgical non-negotiables, much like there were basic doctrines that could not be dismissed as opinion. Apparently, however, he did have a high opinion of specific liturgical practices and expected persons to par-

[30]Ibid.

[31]Ole E. Borgen, *John Wesley on the Sacraments* (Zurich: Publishing House of the United Methodist Church, 1972; reprint Grand Rapids: Francis Asbury Press, 1985; John C. Bowmer, *The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in Early Methodism* (London: Dacre Press, 1951); Steve Harper, *The Devotional Life in the Wesleyan Tradition* (Nashville: Upper Room, 1983); Henry Hawthorn Knight, *The Presence of God in the Christian Life: John Wesley and the Means of Grace* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1992); J. Ernest Rattenbury, *The Eucharistic Hymns of John and Charles Wesley* (London: Epworth Press, 1948); Paul S. Sanders, "The Sacraments in Early American Methodism," *Perspectives on American Methodism: Interpretive Essays*, eds. in Russell E. Richey, Kenneth E. Rowe, and Jean Miller Schmidt (Nashville: Kingswood Books, 1993), 77- 92. Sanders echoes an ongoing belief that Wesley's revival was as much a sacramental revival as an evangelical revival (80).

[32]Wesley, "The Duty of Constant Communion," *Works*, ed. Outler, 3:427-439.

[33]Lathrop, *Holy People*, 40.

[34]Wesley, "Advice to the People Called Methodists," *Works,* ed. Davies 9:126, 130; Wesley, "A Short History of People Called Methodists," *Works*, ed. Davies 9:502-503.

[35]Wesley, "Thoughts upon a Late Phenomenon," *Works*, ed. Davies, 9: 536

ticipate in worship, lest they be guilty of a practical as well as speculative latitudinarianism.[36] Wesley acknowledged that he was faithful to the rubrics of the *Book of Common Prayer* and had a high opinion of its Eucharistic liturgy.[37] Wesley was not only the leader of a Methodist movement, he was also an Anglican priest and made clear that Methodism was not to be perceived as a nonconformist sect by diverging greatly from the Church of England's liturgy.[38]

Wesley's appreciation of and participation in the Lord's Supper cannot be understood unless attention is given to the liturgical context (and the disputes) that surrounded the Eucharist for three generations prior to his day.[39] These ongoing formulations framed the creation and revisions of the *Book of Common Prayer* (*BCP*) and shaped Wesley's own liturgical sensibilities.[40] The structure of the *BCP* began to shape a particular world

[36]Wesley, "Catholic Spirit," *Works* ed. Outler 2:81-95. Wesley writes, "But the man of a truly catholic spirit, having weighed all things in the balance of the sanctuary, has no doubt, no scruple at all concerning that particular mode of worship wherein he joins…. There he partakes of all the ordinances of God. There he receives the Supper of the Lord. There he pours out his soul in public prayer, and joins in public praise and thanksgiving. There he rejoices to hear the word of reconciliation, the gospel of the grace of God. With these his nearest, his best beloved brethren, on solemn occasions he seeks God by fasting. These particularly he watches over in love, as they do over his soul, admonishing, exhorting, comforting, reproving, and every way building up each other in the faith. These he regards as his own household, and therefore according to the ability God has given him naturally cares for them, and provides that they may have all the things that are needful for life and godliness" (93-94).

[37]*The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church* (England, 1663; Ann Arbor, MI: UMI, 1986), microfilm.

[38]Bowmer, 99-100; Wesley, "Earnest Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion," *Works*, ed. Cragg, 11:79.

[39]David Cressy and Lori Anne Ferrell, eds, *Religion and Society in Early Modern England: A Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 1996), 8-9; Dugmore, 48. For instance, Puritans often celebrated Communion at a simple table in the midst of the congregation. Archbishop William Laud created controversy in 1616 in Gloucester by moving the altar from the center of the church to an area dominated by the clergy and demanding all to bow to it. For Puritans, this was an act of idolatry.

[40]Cuming, 45-66; Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England*. Book 2, Pt. 3. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961. Revised, Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1996), 187; Jasper, 19; Louis Weil, *Sacraments and Liturgy: The Outward Signs* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983), 3. Wesley's personal sacramental practices actually agreed more with the Anglican High Church, the Nonjurors, than with the Nonconformists. Horton Davies notes that Wesley actually preferred the first *Prayer Book* of Edward VI written by Bishop Thomas Cranmer.

of praise to God and celebration of the Eucharist. Each successive change in *BCP* included elements of conservatism and controversy.[41] The concepts that emerge from this process did influence Wesley's practice, including the creation of many Methodist hymns.[42] The crafters of the *BCP* sought to create a world for Anglicans through the practices defined by the various rubrics (instructions) to the priests or ministers. The language of the *Prayer Book* indicated a particular view of *both* the nature of the Eucharistic community and the "real presence" of Christ.

Wesley's Eucharistic theology was deeply intertwined with these sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth-century constructions and debates over the sacrament and accompanying liturgy.[43] Contemporary concerns, including the Evangelical revival, also influenced his actions. Wesley, who fenced the table while in Georgia, later opened communion to all willing to receive during the Methodist revival so that full participation in the liturgy was expected of all.[44] Wesley's "liturgical" disposition affords Wesleyans a framework for understanding the sacramental character of Methodist practice. It must be conceded that Wesley did not use such a term as liturgical eschatology; however, his liturgical world was also an eschatalogical one, shaped by the doxological expectation of "heaven come down." Such expectation undoubtedly shaped Wesley's understanding of holy character and liturgical community . . . shaped through the practices of the means of grace.

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[41]G. J. Cuming, *A History of Anglican Liturgy,* 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan Publishers, 1982), 15, 30-44, 104; Edward P. Echlin, *The Anglican Eucharist in Ecumenical Perspective: Doctrine and Rite from Cranmer to Seabury* (New York: The Seabury Press, 1968), 47-63; John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 166-167; Ronald C. D. Jasper, *The Development of the Anglican Liturgy, 1662-1980* (London: SPCK, 1989), 1-7; Bard Thompson, *Liturgies of the Western Church* (Cleveland: Meridian Books, 1961; reprint, Cleveland: William Collins Publishers, 1962), 236-243, 345-405.

[42]Bowmer, 211-15; James F. White, *Introduction to John Wesley's Sunday Service,* (Nashville: Quarterly Review, 1984), 9-37. Even Wesley's abridgement of *The Sunday Service* for American Methodists was a conservative revision, primarily to accommodate the special circumstances of the American social environment and to include extemporary prayer as well as John and Charles Wesley's hymns.

[43]Blevins, "Appendix: Anglican Eucharist in Historical Context," *John Wesley and the Means of Grace*, 409-429

[44]Bowmer, 103-122.

The Eucharistic Community as Doxology

While the battle for the *Prayer Book* included a number of political and social agendas, three theological issues seem to summarize the struggle. They are determining the culture of the Eucharistic community (doxology), remembering Christ's sacrificial life in community (oblation), and understanding the celebration of Christ's dynamic presence via the Holy Spirit at the table and in the world (epiclesis).[45] Doxology provides a reference for entering into the nature of the eschatological community.

Doxology, praise, and worship of God remain key themes describing Wesley's understanding not only of the focus of individual believers, but understanding also the character or culture of the liturgical community that received the Eucharist. Descriptive words were important in connection to the "speech act."[46] While prayers often conveyed meaning, the actions did likewise, suggesting a particular intent to the liturgy.[47]

Doxology, for Wesley and others, emphasizes the corporate context of worship as praise to God. The broader liturgical setting that surrounded Holy Communion, generated a "world" for the participant, a culture inhabited by the God of the Eucharist. The creation of this world included ritual actions, the organization of space and ordering of time, as well as some degree of involvement by the participants. The arrangement of furniture, including the altar, and the order of the liturgy often determined

[45]Dean Blevins, "We are the Church: The Liturgical Construction of the Self," *Doxology: A Journal of Worship.* Vol. 18 (2001); Dean Blevins "A Wesleyan View of the Liturgical Construction of the Self," *Wesleyan Theological Journal*, 38, no. 2 (Fall 2003) 7-29; Clifford W. Dugmore, *Eucharistic Doctrine in England from Hooker to Waterland* (London: SPCK, 1942); H. R. McAdoo and Kenneth Stevenson, *The Mystery of the Eucharist in the Anglican Tradition* (Norwich: Canterbury Press, 1997). Dugmore, McAdoo and Stevenson utilize similar categories throughout their texts.

[46]Teresa Berger, *Theology in Hymns? A Study of the Relationship of Doxology and Theology According to a Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People Called Methodist* (1780), trans. Timothy E. Kimbrough (Nashville: Abingdon, 1995), 19, 163-165.

[47]Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London: A and C Black, 1945; Reprint, New York: Seabury Press, 1982), 2, 13; Cressy and Farrell, 47-48; Cuming, 90, 122-123; Echlin, 50-51, 84-88. The act of kneeling at an altar rail versus receiving the elements in a pew suggested something not only about the authority of the priest in relation to the congregation, but also suggested to communicants whether the presence of Christ was explicitly in the host (an issue of transubstantiation).

who would and would not be a part of the "world" of the Eucharist.[48] The Lord's Supper, in this interpretation, becomes a transformative event in which eschatology, heaven, becomes realized in the midst of the worshiping people. The arrangement of the worship "space" (from placement of the Supper, reception of the elements, and other actions) indicates something of the representation (even nature) of heaven on earth. Tension often occurred in determining who was able to participate in this new community.[49] How persons were included or excluded (including rulers, enemies and even the dead) and how they were treated in the service indicated how they were or would be received in heaven.[50] Doxology, in its fullest expression, became the overall structure that defined our "eternal" relationship with God, best *remembered* in the sacrificial act of Jesus Christ and *practiced* in worship.

Doxology As Eschatology

If doxology describes the communal context of the Eucharist, it might also describe the social world engendered by the practices of the means of grace. The way that the various actions and activities within worship were designed to assist persons in participating in the midst of a "realized" eschatology ("as if" heaven had come down) in worship is similar to how the larger practices within the means of grace might be interpreted as extending this liturgical practice into the everyday lives of the Methodists.

Wesley was not deeply interested in eschatalogical categories, including millennial speculation, although he offered commentary on end-time events.[51] It may be a fair assumption, however, that Wesley did believe that Methodism, like the church in general, was called to live

[48]Dix, 598; John Harper, 156-165; Bard Thompson, 39-51, 98-101, 145-146, 293. As the Gallican ceremonies were added to the Mass, the liturgy around the Lord's Supper became more ornate. The idea of participating in the sacrifice (oblation) shifted away from the activity of the people toward a new understanding of the activity of Christ in the elements, which was mediated by the bishop or priest as the central "actors" of Eucharistic worship. Reactions by the Reformers also included liturgical reform in a variety of expressions.

[49]Dix, 36-37; Keith Watkins, *The Great Thanksgiving: The Eucharistic Norm of Christian Worship* (St. Louis: Chalice Press, 1995), 94-128.

[50]Echlin, 35, 50-69.

[51]David Ingersoll Naglee "Chapter 12: Paradise Improved: The New Creation," in *From Everlasting to Everlasting: John Wesley on Eternity and Time*, 2 vols. (New York: Peter Lang, 1991), 605-626; Rack, *Reasonable Enthusiast*, 382.

toward an alternative reality, or alternative Kingdom. Wesley writes of the church:

> It is a body of men compacted together in order, first, to save each his own soul, then assist each other in working out their salvation, and afterwards, as far as in them lies, to save all men from present and future misery, to overturn the kingdom of Satan, and set up the Kingdom of Christ. And this ought to be the continued care and endeavor of every member of his church. Otherwise he is not worthy to be called a member thereof, as he is not a living member of Christ.[52]

The most persistent vision of this "kingdom of Christ" was nurtured in the eschatalogical elements of doxological liturgy, and lived out through the various practices of the means of grace. This doxological liturgy was extended, via the means of grace, to embrace the full range of Methodist practices (devotion and discipline) so that the link between the transformed assembly at worship and the daily life of Methodists were held together as an expanded liturgy. The question remains concerning to what degree had heaven indeed come down? Could faithful practice of the means of grace (or the rubrics of the worshipping assembly) actually provide heaven on earth?

"As If" Heaven on Earth: Limits to Liturgical Eschatology

To review, Wesley's convictions and practice reveal that he considered the Eucharist the chief exemplar of the means of grace, bestowing a sacramental quality to each practice. However, just as the Lord's Supper and its broader liturgical/worship context are interrelated (so as not to be separated), the broader social context of Methodist discipline and devotion informs and is formed by the means of grace. This broader community practice provides a communal "liturgy" that is by analogy doxological, and therefore eschatological in nature, at least eschatological in the sense of living "as if" in the midst of the liturgical community. Admittedly, these assertions are based as much on Methodist "practice" as on Wesley's written thought. As noted, Wesley acknowledges that one specific mode of worship does not condition this practice, but that there be an overall worshipful participation "desiring only that the love of God and his neighbour be the ruling principle in his heart, and show itself in his

[52]Wesley, "The Reformation of Manners," *Works,* 2:302.

life by an uniform practice of justice, mercy, and truth . . . this 'the way' (called 'heresy,' by Dr. Maclaine and others) 'according to which we worship the God of our fathers.' "[53] While Wesley did not comment extensively on the nature of the liturgical community, he did draw from an ancient-future metaphor that, according to his sources, embodies not only conduct but also worship in defining the Christian life.

Defining "As If" as Margin

When translating the petition of the Lord's Prayer "on earth *as* it is in heaven" into declarative practice (via the means of grace), there is always a tentativeness to the assertion of living *as if* in heaven. Liturgical eschatology, whether in the restrictive sense of the worship of the assembly or in the broader sense of the practice of the people, retains some sense of limitation.

Such a qualification is not without danger in light of earlier uses of such a phrase in the fields of philosophy and psychology. For instance, one need not follow German philosopher Hans Vaihinger, who asserts in his philosophy of "Als-Ob" (as-if) that this tentativeness of language serves primarily as a self-deception or "fiction" to cover humanity's inability to understand reality.[54] Nor does this language reveal a type of Freudian psychological pretense that serves as a defense in the face of natural forces.[55] In many cases, employing such a term will draw such implicit responses.[56] However, the tentativeness of living "as if" heaven has indeed come down resides in an acknowledgement of the limit of eschatological practice.

The limits of liturgical eschatology might best be characterized by as a gap or a "margin" between the most faithful practice and the final realization of God's Kingdom. Theologically theorists might (and do) posit a

[53]Wesley, "A Short History of the People Called Methodists," *Works*, ed. Davies, 9:502-503.

[54]Rolla Handy, "Vaihing and the 'as-if,'" *Free Inquiry*, 15:3 (Summer 1995), 45, available on-line [Feb 3, 2003] Proquest Direct; Vaihinger, Hans, *The Philosophy of "As-If,"* trans C. K. Ogden (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1924).

[55] Sigmund Freud, *The Future of an Illusion* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1961), 15-33. See also Reubin Fine, *The Development of Freud's Thought* (Northvale, N.J.: Jason Aronson, 1987), 197.

[56] Barry Stampft, "Hans Haihinger's Ghostly Presence in Contemporary Literary Studies," *Criticism*, 40, no. 3 (Summer 1998), 437-454.

number of reasons for the "margin," or, as Paul indicates, "seeing through a glass darkly" (1 Cor. 13:12), whether the rationale rests in particular temporal observations or other criteria.[57] For instance, Jürgen Moltmann, one of the primary theologians concerned with eschatology's implications, contends there is qualitative distinctive between past and future.[58] Moltmann acknowledges that worship is essentially "the eschatological celebration of Christ's resurrection in the in-streaming power of the future world."[59] He continues, "Every Sunday points beyond itself to the first day of the new creation, on which the dead will be raised into the life of the future world."[60] This view is consistent with Moltmann's own call for "the redemption of the future from the power of history."[61] However, the "margin" occurs not in the positive affirmation of the in-breaking of the Kingdom, but in the negative affirmation implicit as well, that one can envision the end of the "old."[62]

Moltmann admits that predictions of the passing of the old are difficult, but Christians can posit scenarios of what will pass away.[63] If so, then the presence of those anticipated "endings" remind worshipers that the fullness of heaven below is yet to be realized and that the tension of the struggle with the past/present and the hope of the present/future still remains. If Christians do not seriously entertain the presence of "past things," the brokenness of the present world that needs to pass away, then the hope of the future is truncated. Moltmann, for all of his appreciation of the power of the future to break into the present, demands our attention on the realities of the margin. If Christians ignore the limits of even their most faithful practice (or at least ignore the fact that said practice has failed to remove the brokenness from the world at large), then the very hope of the future may become false hope. Heaven below, without the

[57]Gordon D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1987), 648. Fee notes that "glass darkly" may refer less to a distorted vision and more to an "indirect" vision (vis a vis a mirrored reflection) that is consummated only later in direct sight.

[58]Jürgen Moltmann, *The Coming God: Christian Eschatology* (Fortress Press, 1996), 138-139.

[59]Moltmann, 138.

[60]Ibid.

[61]Moltmann, 45-46.

[62]Moltmann, 140-41.

[63]Moltmann, 140.

acknowledgement of the margin, can be transformed into a false vision, a false metaphysic of heavenly practice that ignores the reality of worldly brokenness.

Beyond the limits of eschatological participation (the most crucial margin), other theological perspectives on the nature of God and the limits of humanity demand attention to the "margin." These perspectives suggest that the phrase "as if" could well be based on the freedom of God, the disposition of persons, and ultimately the actual mystery of humanity's participation with God. Theologians following Karl Barth's work (triumphal as it appears in announcing God salvific action) must acknowledge the margin primarily because of God's freedom in dictating the nature of heaven below. Barth was always careful to preserve God's freedom in the face of human belief and human action.[64] In addition, such a heaven below could never claim this sphere to restrict the range of God's action "on earth."[65] Theologians claiming an exact liturgical eschatology risk negating God's freedom, so the margin must remain in the face of the most confident portrayals of God's intervention in Christ.

If the freedom of God makes problematic any triumphal definition of heaven on earth, theories of deconstruction challenge any notion of human capacity to define heavenly practice faithfully, particularly if heaven is reduced to a truncated metaphysic implied in the earlier treatment of Moltmann. This concern of replacing an authentic expectation of heaven come down with a metaphysical view of "heaven below" makes for strange bedfellows. Theologians note that this concern is shared by Barth and Derrida, although from different perspectives.[66] Following Derrida, most desconstructive thought is designed to "trouble" any idea that human definition can achieve human intention without a modicum of hesitancy.[67] Derrida's larger project need not be embraced fully by theolo-

[64]Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics II:1, The Doctrine of God* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1964), 297-321

[65]Barth, CD II:1, 471-476.

[66]Garrett Green, "The Hermeneutics of Difference: Barth and Derrida on Words and the Word," in *Postmodern Philosophy and Christian Thought,* ed. Merold Westphal (Indianapolis IN: Indiana University Press, 1999), 99; William Stacy Johnson, *The Mystery of God: Karl Barth and the Postmodern Foundations of Theology* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1997), 21-30.

[67]Graham Ward, *Theology and Contemporary Critical Theory* (New York: Saint Martin's Press, 1996), 1-42.

gians. However, his central thesis (stating that human meaning is always, to some degree, illusive) merits caution when ascribing human capacity to defining truly what "heaven below" looks like; particularly when such an articulation is tied to metaphysical assumptions that Derrida and deconstructionists expose.[68]

Finally, this margin might also be found in the very limits of human participation with with God, a concept that resonates with Eastern theology.[69] Eastern Orthodoxy theologians like John Zizioulas often champion humanity's participation in the life of God.[70] Vladmir Lossky echoes the power of participation in mystical theology of Eastern orthodoxy. He writes:

> The goal of Orthodox spirituality, the blessedness of the Kingdom of Heaven, is not the vision of the (divine) essence, but, above all, a participation in the divine life of the Holy Trinity; the deified state of the co-heirs of the divine nature, gods created after the uncreated God, possessing by grace all that the Holy Trinity possess by nature.[71]

Lossky's vision of personal transformation is never simply the transformation of the individual in isolation. Transformation includes the dynamic interplay of person and the church.[72] He, however, alludes to the existence of the margin at least in his understanding of the limits of the assembly, the church, as the current consummation of heaven below. Lossky writes:

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[68]Stanley J. Grenz, *A Primer on Postmodernism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1996), 165-167; Kevin Hart, "Jaques Derrida (b. 1930): An Introduction," in *The Postmodern God: A Theological Reader*, ed. Graham Ward (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1997), 159-165.

[69]Aristotle Papanikolaou, "Divine Energies or Divine Personhood: Vladimir Lossky and John Zizioulas on Conceiving the Transcendent and Immanent God" *Modern Theology* 19 (July 2003) 357-85. It is important to note that Eastern theology is not uniform (evidenced in this article) but nevertheless all significant theologians hold the concept of *theosis* (deification or transformation) is central to the tradition, with perhaps Zizioulas differing most on the means of participation (357-358).

[70]John Zizioulas, *Being as Communion: Studies of Personhood and the Church* (Crestwood, NY: S. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2001).

[71]Vladimir Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* (Crestwood, NY: S. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2002), 65.

[72]Lossky, 124-25.

> (I)t would seem that until the consummation of the ages, until the resurrection of the dead and the Last Judgment, the Church will have no hypostasis of her own, no created hypostasis, no human person having attained to perfect union with God.[73]

Lossky asserts that this limiting of the assembly lies in the fact that the Holy Spirit remains hidden till the end of the age, although humans are transformed.[74] In Lossky's "economy" of the Trinity, each member reveals the purpose of the other. Jesus Christ reveals the hidden purpose of God the Father and the Holy Spirit reveals the purpose of the Son.[75] However, the "margin" remains until the Holy Spirit is fully revealed. Lossky writes:

> This is the way of deification leading to the Kingdom of God, which is introduced into our hearts by the Holy Spirit, even in this present life. For the Holy Spirit is the sovereign unction resting upon the Christ and upon all the Christians called to reign with Him in the age to come. It is then that this divine Person, now unknown, not having His image in another Hypostasis, will manifest Himself in deified persons; for the multitude of the saints will be His image.[76]

For Lossky, regardless of the fullness of our participation with God in "heaven below," the margin remains until the whole church, deified, reveals the fullness of the Spirit.

Ultimately even Orthodox liturgist Alexander Schmemann cautions the depth of human participation at all times. Schmemann clearly sees worship, both as the gathering of the assembly and the entrance to the Eucharist, as an entrance into an alternative world.[77] However, he also notes that the liturgically inaugurated entrance continues and ultimately focuses upon mission to the whole world as well as the worshiping assembly. Schmemann writes:

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[73]Lossky, 193.

[74]Lossky, 192-193.

[75]Lossky, 135-173. See also Alar Laats, *Doctrines of the Trinity in Eastern and Western Theologies: A Study with Special Reference to K. Barth and V. Lossky* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1996).

[76]Lossky, 173.

[77]Alexander Schmemann, *For the Life of the World* (Crestwood, N.Y.: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2002), 29, 41.

> (W)ere Christianity pure "mysticism," pure "eschatology," there would be no need for feasts or celebrations. . . . But joy was given for the world—that the Church might be a witness and transform the world by joy.[78]

With this observation Schmemann gestures toward another resource that might be more fruitful in acknowledging the "margin" of heaven below, that of the liturgical practice itself.

"As If" in Liturgical Practice

While other theological perspectives help to ascertain the "margin" in liturgical eschatology, ultimately the limits of practicing heaven on earth reside within the liturgical life itself. When Wesleyan's engage in faithful practice, via the means of grace, they are confronted with aspects of the liturgical world that engender this margin. As noted earlier, liturgical life may be summarized in the three motifs of doxology, oblation, and epiclesis.[79] While not exclusively Trinitarian, the three-fold movement of the liturgical life expands on the earlier treatment of doxology as heaven below. It also provides an understanding of why our practice is conditioned by a margin.

Mystery Engendered through Doxological Wonder and Grace

Doxology, the praise and glory of God, remains not only an expression of the assembly but also a formative process that shapes participants into the nature of that praise. Participation in the liturgy gives us more than knowledge "about" God; it provides knowledge of God engendered through the liturgical practice.[80] Where the "margin" resides in the doxological world of liturgy emerges in our vision of the mystery of God. Liturgy is not just what is said about God; it is also about what cannot be said/expressed about the Holy One. Liturgy provides a constant reminder (if Barth is correct) of the freedom of God, a sense of God's outpouring of grace beyond our calculations, an abundance also known as the triune

[78]Schmemann, 55.

[79]Blevins "A Wesleyan View of the Liturgical Construction of the Self," 12-22.

[80]Susan K. Wood, "Participatory Knowledge of God and the Liturgy," in *Knowing the Triune God: The of the Spirit in the Practices of the Church*, James J. Buckley and David S. Yeago, eds. (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 2001), 105-107.

mystery of God.[81] The margin resides in our ongoing wonderment of how God might yet do something "new" even in the vision of Heaven on earth retained in worship.

Incompleteness, in this sense, does not emerge out of a feeling of deficiency, but anticipates something "more" awaits. Practitioners experience of "grace upon grace" leaves current liturgical practice open to the future. There is more to the fullness of God than can be grasped, more to the activity of God than can be assigned to "heaven below," even in its fullest liturgical expression. Mystery becomes the anticipation of yet a greater superabundance of grace not yet captured in the liturgical life of the assembly or the ongoing life of devotion/disciplined practiced by the community. Growth in grace remains a communal as well as an individual potential.

Humility Engendered through Oblative Remembrance of Christ's Sacrifice

Gordon Lathrop notes that at the center of the worshipping community resides the resurrected Lord, now King of the Universe.[82] However, this resurrected Lord is also the resurrected and crucified One.[83] Perhaps it is the memory of the death and humiliation of Christ that engenders one more aspect of the margin in calling liturgical participants to humility. The constant anamnesis of the crucifixion reminds practitioners that previous "metaphysics" concerning the nature of heaven below contributed to the very passion of Christ. The limits of previous convictions concerning the eschaton are always before the assembly, in sacred texts and expressive acts of song. These "means" serve as living reminders of the depth of human deception, a depth often echoed in postmodern theories of deconstruction, but with greater force since deconstruction theories often lack the very sense of tradition necessary to carry the memory of self-deception from one generation to the next. The biblical narrative is deeply aware and bears witness to a number of self-deceptions, "cover stories" that mask human insensitivity and human frailty.[84]

[81]Johnson, 43-65.

[82]Lathrop, 52-53.

[83]Jürgen Moltmann, *The Crucified God* (New York: Harper & Row, 1974), 190-196.

[84]Roger G. Betsworth, *Social Ethics: An Examination of American Moral Traditions* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1990), 21-24.

Observation of life beyond the assembly normally reminds participants that the former things have yet to fully pass away, whether in Wesley's or Moltmann's day. But the liturgical community need not trust daily perceptions, since history has shown the depths of human self-deception in the face of injustice and suffering. The liturgical community attends the very testament of Scripture and the ritual reminder of the depth of Christ's suffering to remind the people of the richness of God's grace and the capacity of human self-deception, in times of both triumph and suffering (this is why affluent and persecuted churches oriented to the same Christian calendar hear the same message and practice the same rituals). The response of this practice is a humble awareness of the potential of the "margin" in our own proclivities and seductions to live according to the "former things" rather than heaven below.

Openness Engendered through the Epicletic Movement of the Spirit in the World

Worship entails not only the invocation of the Holy Spirit to gather and bind the people of God, but also the "sending" of those people into the world in pursuit of the Spirit.[85] In many ways the entire rhythm of the Christian calendar suggests the ongoing life of the church in the midst of the incompleteness of time. Often the liturgy demands that people not only see their own forgiveness of God in the wounds of Christ, but also see an implicit command to be sent as expressions of forgiveness to the world at large.[86] In essence the combined effort of accepting and extending forgiveness, of "being" and "doing," is the eschatological life of the community, the time "when the fruits of the Spirit take root in our life together."[87] Where the margin appears is in the ongoing movement of the Spirit in the world and the incompleteness of the church to "catch up" with the work of the ministry of God. As the church is always in pursuit of the Spirit (rather than in possession of the Holy Spirit), the work, as Lossky says, is yet to be fully revealed.[88]

[85]Ray S. Anderson, *The Soul of Ministry: Forming Leaders for God's People* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1997), 115-143.

[86]Lathrop, 40.

[87]Don Saliers, *Worship as Theology: Foretaste of Glory Divine* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1994), 186-187.

[88]Anderson, 163.

To conclude, the liturgical life of the church, both in the assembly and expressed in the discipline and devotion of life, carries with it a reminder of the "margin" between current expressions of "heaven below" and the consummation of the prayer "on earth as it is in heaven." This treatment, however, must concede that the margin need not be large. For most of the theorists mentioned, Moltmann, Barth, and Eastern theologians, the possibilities of transformative power of heaven on earth remains triumphal if not triumphalistic. The most critical opponent, deconstructionism, focuses primarily on a premature metaphysic that, in and of itself, truncates the riches of heaven on earth. Even within the liturgical life, the mystery, humiliation and mission of God do not denigrate the power of the Kingdom ("as" it is in heaven) available for the practicing community. These liturgical limits merely nuance the practice of the people to the "as if" so that a new, triumpalistic metaphysic might be used to either domesticate God, truncate the Spirit's mission, or abuse and humiliate others in the name of Jesus.

Praying/Practicing the Petition

Ultimately, Wesleyans must return to the prayed petition: "Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven" not only as a distant longing, but also a concrete declaration for community life. The communal disposition resident within the liturgical practice of Methodism, reserves the "space" between faithful participation and final consummation of God's Kingdom. However, this margin does not suggest a psychological ploy. If one takes the power of the means of grace as the logic of liturgical living then the very presence of God and the possibility of living "heaven below" must be taken seriously in our day as it was in Wesley's day. Commenting on Matthew 6:10, Wesley writes:

> May thy kingdom of grace come quickly, and swallow up all the kingdoms of the earth! May all mankind, receiving Thee O Christ, for their King, truly believing in thy name, be filled with righteousness, and peace, and joy; with holiness and happiness, till they are removed hence into thy kingdom glory, to reign with Thee forever and ever. Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven—May all the inhabitants of the earth do thy will as willingly as the holy angels! May these do it continually even as they, without any interruption of their willing service; yea, and perfectly as they! Mayest Thou, O Spirit of

> grace, through the blood of the everlasting covenant, make them perfect in every good work to do thy will, and work in them all that is well, pleasing in thy sight![89]

The possibility of living "as if" heaven had come down carries with Wesley both the eschatological tension of future consummation and the existential awareness of the possibility of transformation individually and collectively for the sake of the broader world.

In the same way that perfectionism truncates the grace of God in individuals, utopian triumphalism threatens the quality of community practice. However, as much as perfectionism could not deter Wesley in his day from emphasizing holiness, utopian cautions need not deter the reality of God's power in the community when it lives out "heaven come down" via the means of grace. The means provide an approach to authentic eschatological practice when embraced in their fullness. In short, the distance between "as" and "as is" need not be that long, the limits not that great, based upon the power of the Triune God as the subject, teacher and empower of the "Disciples" prayer when practiced.

The liturgical life, the practice of the means of grace, provides a fulfillment of the theology resident in the Lord's Prayer.[90] Discipline and devotion provide an "ordo" for daily living that extends worship, the gathering of the eschatological assembly. For future generations the challenge may include a willingness to take seriously the interweaving of discipline and devotion once again under this vision of heaven come down. If received as such, perhaps an old-yet-new way of living out our prayerful petitions will be realized.

[89] *Explanatory Notes on the New Testament*

[90] Lathrop, *Holy People,* 75-77.

"APPEARANCE" LANGUAGE IN TITUS: A SEMANTICS OF HOLINESS

by

Jeffrey S. Lamp

That the prevention and correction of false teaching is a significant theme in the epistle to Titus is beyond question. In fact, it would be a fair cursory observation that, in this letter, a strong emphasis is put on placing safeguards in the Cretan churches to prevent the infiltration of false teachers and teaching among believers, and that the primary literary strategy of the author[1] in attaining this end is the juxtaposing of ethical exhortations with profound, yet largely undeveloped, theological assertions designed to support and inform the paranesis.

The theological sections of the letter consist of two passages: 2:11-14 and 3:3-8a. There are two salient features of these passages that will form the basis of our discussion. First, there is a *linguistic* connection between the two passages, the occurrence of what we will call "appear-

[1]The debates over Pauline authorship of the Pastoral Epistles are well-worn and need not detain us here. Given the focus of the present discussion, a decision regarding the authorship of Titus is unnecessary. "Appearance" language does figure somewhat into matters of authorship. P. N. Harrison (*The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles* [London: Oxford University Press, 1921], 139, 147, 149), in his critique of Pauline authorship, cites the verb *epiphainô* as evidence of vocabulary not found in the undisputed Paulines. S. G. Wilson (*Luke and the Pastoral Epistles* [London: SPCK, 1979], 19), noting that except for one occurrence in 2 Thess. 2:8, the "appearance" language cited in this discussion occurs only in the Pastorals and in Luke-Acts, suggesting a possible Lukan authorship of the Pastorals.

ance" language.[2] In 2:11, the writer asserts that the grace of God has "appeared," and in v. 13 he speaks of the "appearance" of the glory of God/Jesus Christ, while in 3:4 he mentions that the goodness and kindness of God have "appeared." The second noteworthy feature of these passages is that within them there exists a similar *structural* pattern that is constructed around this "appearance" language.

This paper will examine the statements built around the three usages of "appearance" language in Titus in order to determine how they might serve as models for merging the concerns of belief and practice in Christian living. One caveat is in order at this point. The focus of this paper will not be to examine the details of these statements—such discussions are legion among the commentators and little consensus exists in the resultant interpretations. Rather, the focus here will be on discerning the significance of the similar presentations of the content and the role these statements perform in the logic of the letter. Anticipating the outcome of this discussion, the "appearance" language in Titus is used in statements that provide the theological basis for Christian living in the present age, which in turn provide the rationale for the specific ethical exhortations of the letter.

"Appearance" Vocabulary

As noted above, in Titus there are three occurrences of "appearance" language, two of which are the verb *epiphainô* (2:11; 3:4) and one of which is the noun *epiphaneia* (2:13). In classical Greek, the noun originally denoted the mere outward appearance or mode of appearance of an object. It came to be connected with a glorious or majestic appearance of a deity, largely in the context of cultic worship.[3] In non-biblical Greek, by the time of Jesus, the noun had almost become a technical term for the succoring presence of an otherwise hidden deity.[4] In biblical usage in the LXX, the word group renders several Hebrew words that have in common reference to the rescuing and redemptive acts of Yahweh on behalf of his

[2]The Greek words that are translated into what we are calling "appearance" language are the cognate words that are often rendered in English by "epiphany." My choice of "appearance" to characterize this language is an attempt to keep the discussion clear of colloquial or otherwise theologically laden connotations frequently associated with the term "epiphany."

[3]*NIDNTT,* 3:317.

[4]M. Dibelius and H. Conzelmann, *The Pastoral Epistles* (Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1972), 104.

people (Gen. 35:7; Deut. 33:2; Pss. 30:17; 66:2; 79:4, 8, 20; 117:27; 118:135; Jer. 36:14; Ezek. 39:28). The word group finds special prevalence in the Maccabean literature, especially 2 Maccabees where the focus is placed on the rescuing intervention of God (2 Macc. 2:24; 14:15; 15:27).

This language is relatively rare in the New Testament, with four occurrences of the verb (the other two are in Luke 1:79; Acts 27:20) and six occurrences of the noun (the other five are in 2 Thess. 2:8; 1 Tim. 6:14; 2 Tim. 1:10; 4:1; 4:8). Apart from the observation that seven of the ten occurrences of "appearance" language are found in the Pastoral Epistles, it is noteworthy that in nine of the ten occurrences (the only exception being Acts 27:20) the focus is on the appearance of Christ, either at his advent (Luke 1:79; 2 Tim. 1:10; Titus 2:11; 3:4) or at the parousia (2 Thess. 2:8; 1 Tim. 6:14; 2 Tim. 4:1, 8; Titus 2:13), and what that appearance entails.[5] In an extension of Old Testament usage, the New Testament uses "appearance" language not in some subjective religious sense, but largely in terms of God's saving intervention on the stage of history, either at Jesus' first or second comings.

The Semantic Pattern of "Appearance" Language in Titus

The "appearance" language in Titus occurs within a semantic pattern that is structured around the "appearance" language.[6] The pattern consists of four components: (1) an attribute "of God," which results from the character of God as savior,[7] relating to the advent or parousia of Christ; (2) the "appearance" language itself; (3) a characterization of salvation; and (4) the desired effect of this salvation for Christian living in the pres-

[5]There is an occurrence of the adjectival form *epiphanç* in Acts 2:20, a citation of Joel 2:11 (LXX) in reference to the "day of the Lord" at the end of history, which focuses on the eschatological dimension of the "appearance" language. It seems that the translation practices of the LXX have made the connection between the appearance of the day of the Lord and the concept of the "terrible," so that the eschatological arrival of divine reckoning brings with it terrifying acts of God (*NIDNTT* 3:318).

[6]The characterization of this structural similarity as a "semantic pattern" is chosen to indicate that the parallels in structure are achieved primarily at the level of meaning, not at the level of exact syntactical parallelism, although, as we will observe, several close parallels in syntax are present.

[7]To use the language of I. H. Marshall, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles* (ICC[2]; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1999), 266.

ent age, presented in a *hina* clause.[8] The first three components of this pattern constitute assertions that provide the basis for the fourth component. We now turn our attention to the occurrences of this pattern in the two theological passages of Titus, 2:11-14 and 3:3-8a.

"Appearance" Language in Titus 2:11-14

In the brief passage Titus 2:11-14, there are two occurrences of the semantic pattern described above, consisting of vv. 11-12 and vv. 13-14. Although verses 11-14 are grammatically a single sentence,[9] we will consider each of the occurrences separately.

Titus 2:11-12: The Appearance of God's Grace. The translation of this text is as follows:[10] (verse 11) "For the grace of God has appeared, bringing salvation to all people," (verse 12) "teaching us, that we should deny ungodliness and worldly desires and live in a self-controlled, righteous, and godly manner in the present age." We may identify the components of the semantic pattern described above as follows:

1. The attribute "of God": "the *grace* of God";
2. "Appearance" language: the verb *epiphainô* ("has appeared");
3. Characterization of salvation: "bringing salvation to all people, teaching us"; and
4. Desired effect of salvation: "that we should deny ungodliness and worldly desires and live in a self-controlled, righteous, and godly manner in the present age."

That the coming of Jesus Christ into the world is in view here is virtually beyond dispute, especially when the statement in v. 11 is taken in

[8]W. D. Mounce (*Pastoral Epistles* [WBC; Nashville: 2000], 436-37) notes the similar structures of 2:11-14 and 3:4-7, but does not develop this observation in the way we seek to do in this discussion.

[9]B. S. Easton (*The Pastoral Epistles* [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947], 94) sees the sentence as a creedal fragment or a hymn. A. T. Hansen (*The Pastoral Epistles* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966], 115) sees the language as liturgical in nature. J. D. Quinn (*The Letter to Titus* [AB; New York: Doubleday, 1990], 176) sees the passage as hymnic and liturgical in character. P. H. Towner (*1-2 Timothy & Titus* [IVPNTCS; Downers Grove, Ill.: IVP, 1994], 243) suggests that this passage may have been originally constructed as part of a baptismal service.

[10]All translations, unless otherwise noted, are mine, based on the NA^{27} Greek text.

connection with the statement of v. 13, which focuses attention on the awaited appearance of Christ in the parousia. Marshall suggests that here the term "grace" is nearly personified, standing for all that Christ did in securing salvation for human beings.[11] This grace, in turn, is characterized in a two-fold manner. First, it is that which "brings salvation to all people."[12] Whether the designation of "all people" is to be restricted to the categories of persons listed in vv. 1-10 or taken in a more universal sense,[13] it is clear that it is the grace of God that makes salvation available. The focus on divine initiative in salvation will receive further elaboration in 3:4-7. Second, grace also has an educative function. Commentators debate whether the negative sense of the verb *paideuô* ("teaching"), having to do with severe discipline or punishment, is present here,[14] but it is clear, from the desired effect of the appearance of God's grace depicted in v. 12, that this teaching process involves both the removal of vices and the development of virtues. This would suggest that some sense of discipline is involved in the teaching component of grace.

The desired effect of this salvation, described in the *hina* clause,[15] is depicted in both negative and positive terms. In negative terms, God's grace serves to teach us to deny ungodliness and worldly desires. In posi-

[11]Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 267.

[12]Grammatically, *pasin anthrôpois* ("to all people") may be taken with the verb *epiphainô* ("has appeared") or with the adjective *sôtçrios* ("bringing salvation"), but most commentators opt for taking it with *sôtçrios* in light of an established classical usage of the adjective plus the dative (cf. BDAG 986).

[13]Those who see a universal sense include D. Guthrie, *The Pastoral Epistles* (TNTC; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1957), 198; and I. H. Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 268. Those who see a restrictive sense include W. Hendriksen, *Exposition of the Pastoral Epistles* (NTC; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1957), 370-71; and G. W. Knight III, *Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles* (NIGTC; Grand Rapids/Carlisle: Eerdmans/Paternoster, 1992), 319.

[14]Most commentators see the punitive sense as either absent or not emphasized, but for its presence, see Quinn, *Titus*, 164.

[15]Whether the *hina* functions to identify the content of the teaching (e.g., J. E. Huther, *Critical and Exegetical Hand-book to the Epistles to Timothy and Titus* [Winona Lake, Ind.: Alpha Publications, 1979; repr. 1884], 301) or to introduce the purpose for which God's grace has appeared (e.g., Quinn, *Titus*, 164) is debated, but it seems that on either reading there is a telic force to the clause, for the content of the teaching clearly has the goal in mind of creating the type of person described in the clause (so Knight, *Pastoral Epistles*, 319; Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 423).

tive terms, three of the four cardinal virtues from Greek philosophical traditions are listed as adverbs (*sôphronôs*, "self-controlled"; *dikaiôs*, "righteous"; *eusebôs*, "godly") describing how God's grace teaches us to live in the present age. The language may have been chosen to demonstrate to a Hellenistic audience that Christianity aims to inculcate virtue in its adherents, but the substance of this language is firmly grounded in the saving work of Christ.[16]

The reference to "the present age" has a couple of foci in view. First, it signals the time frame in which this desired effect of God's grace is to occur, namely, in the present experience of believers. Second, it has in view the eschatological framework in which the present age is characterized as evil in contrast to the blessedness of the age to come,[17] which is the focus of v. 13. The latter focus places in bold relief the effect that the powerful working of divine grace is to make in the lives of believers. The present age is fraught with ungodliness and worldly desires that must be denied in order to live a life worthy of the eager expectation of the blessed age to come.

Titus 2:13-14: The Awaited Appearance of Glory. The translation of this text is as follows: (verse 13) "while waiting for the blessed hope and appearance of the glory of our great God and savior, Jesus Christ," (verse 14) "who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all lawlessness and purify for himself a special people, zealous for good works." We may identify the components of the semantic pattern as follows:

1. The attribute "of God": "the *glory* of our great God and savior, Jesus Christ";
2. "Appearance" language: the noun *epiphaneia* ("appearance");
3. Characterization of salvation: "who gave himself for us"; and
4. The desired effect of salvation: "that he might redeem us from all lawlessness and purify for himself a special people, zealous for good works."

[16]J. D. G. Dunn, *The First and Second Letters to Timothy and the Letter to Titus* (NIB; Nashville: Abingdon, 2000), 871; J. N. D. Kelly, *The Pastoral Epistles* (BNTC; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1960), 245; L. T. Johnson, *Letters to Paul's Delegates: 1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, Titus* (Valley Forge, Penn.: Trinity Press International, 1996), 241; Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 421-422; and Quinn, *Titus*, 166.

[17]Kelly, *Pastoral Epistles*, 245; and Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 272.

Verse 13 is connected to vv. 11-12 with a participial clause (*prosdechomenoi*, "while waiting"), which helps to fix the timeframe of the previous verse to the present. Believers are to live in the manner described in v. 12 as they await the fullness of their salvation as described in v. 13. That for which they await is the "blessed hope," the content of which is described in terms of "appearance" language.[18] It is the appearance of the glory of God/Jesus Christ that is the object of Christian hope. In this occurrence of the semantic pattern, however, the "appearance" language is the noun *epiphaneia* modified by the genitive *tçs doxçs* ("of the glory") rather than the subject-verb construction of v. 11. This divergence of syntax does not materially affect the semantic pattern of the passage, because it is clear that that which appears is an attribute of God, namely, glory.[19] That this "appearance" language refers to the parousia of Christ is confirmed by its characterization as the blessed hope of believers, a designation for the eschatological fulfillment of God's promise.[20] Its depiction is as something that is awaited, and its description is as the appearance of glory, a frequent designation for the coming of Christ at the end of the age (e.g., Mark 13:26 and pars.). Much ink has been spilled in the attempt to determine whether the author has in view one person or two with the words *tou megalou theou kai sôtçros hçmôn Içsou Christou* (literally, "the great God and our savior Jesus Christ").[21] My translation follows the

[18]Although my translation translates the *kai* joining "hope" and "appearance" with the simple copula ("and") in order to maintain the parallel with the construction "God and savior" in the next clause, it is likely that *kai* is functioning epexegetically, specifying that which constitutes the blessed hope. A translation that brings out this relationship would be, "the blessed hope, namely, the appearance…." This understanding is followed by G. D. Fee, *1 and 2 Timothy, Titus* (NIBC; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1988), 195; Huther, *Timothy and Titus*, 301; Kelly, *Pastoral Epistles*, 246; Knight, *Pastoral Epistles*, 322; and Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 274.

[19]*Tçs doxçs* is probably best understood as a subjective genitive, in which the noun in the genitive case is viewed as performing the action implicit in the noun that it modifies.

[20]J. Lamp, "Hope," in *Eerdmans Dictionary of the Bible* (ed. D. N. Freedman; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 605-606.

[21]M. J. Harris (*Jesus as God: The New Testament Use of Theos in Reference to Jesus* [Grand Rapids: Baker, 1992], 173-185) examines the complex grammatical, contextual, and historical factors and concludes that v. 13 refers to Jesus as *theos*. Reaching a similar conclusion since the time of Harris's study are: Dunn, *Timothy and Titus*, 872; Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles,* 282; and Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 431.

position that one person is in view and that v. 13 constitutes one of the rare occasions in the New Testament where Jesus is referred to as God (cf. John 1:1, 18; 20:20; Rom. 9:5; Heb. 1:8; 2 Pet. 1:1; and perhaps 1 John 5:20). However, on either view, it is clear that, at the *parousia* of Christ, what will be manifest is the glory of God.

The characterization of salvation found in this occurrence of the semantic pattern in v. 14 is contained in a relative clause that refers back to Jesus Christ. The same Christ who will embody the appearance of divine glory at the end of the age is also the one who, in the past, gave himself "for us." The formulation is traditional, reminiscent of the ransom saying in Mark 10:45 and found frequently in Paul (e.g., Gal. 2:20; cf. Rom. 5:8; 8:32). This characterization of salvation brings together the past and the future in God's redemptive work in Christ, and prepares for the articulation of the desired effect for life in the present found in the following *hina* clause.

In terms of the substance of this desired effect, again the author casts the description in both negative and positive terms. Negatively, Christ has redeemed us from all lawlessness, while positively he has purified for himself a special people. Both descriptions recall OT language related to Yahweh's action in securing Israel as his covenant people (Ps. 129:8[LXX]; Ezek. 37:23; Exod. 19:5; Deut. 7:6; 14:2; 26:18).[22] The implication of this creation of the new covenant people of Christ is that they will be a people zealous to perform good works. This implication is the component of the semantic pattern that defines the desired effect of the future appearance of Christ for life in the present.

Summary: "Appearance" Language in Titus 2:11-14

In the single sentence of Titus 2:11-14 we have identified two occurrences of the semantic pattern constructed around "appearance" language. Although we have offered brief observations on each of these occurrences separately, a word on their cumulative effect is now appropriate. Two significant moments in God's salvation in Christ are characterized as the "appearance" of two attributes of God, grace and glory. Bringing together God's past act of grace in the appearance of Christ at his first coming, with the expectation of God's future demonstration of glory in the second

[22]E. F. Scott (*The Pastoral Epistles* [MNTC; New York: Harper and Brothers, 1936], 170) suggests that, morally, Christians constitute a new Israel.

coming of Christ, establishes the theological framework within which certain specified effects are desirous for Christians living in the present age. The dynamic interplay of past and future appearances of Christ creates the matrix within which believers evidence their status as Christ's special people in a lifestyle of virtuous living and good works.

"Appearance" Language in Titus 3:3-8a:

The Appearance of God's Mercy and Kindness. The translation of this text is as follows: (verse 3) "For we were formerly foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving passions and various pleasures, spending our lives in evil and jealousy, hateful, despising one another. (verse 4) But when the mercy and kindness of God our savior appeared, (verse 5) he saved us, not from works of righteousness that we had done, but according to his mercy, through the washing of new birth and the renewal of the Holy Spirit, (verse 6) whom he richly poured out upon us through Jesus Christ our savior, (verse 7) that having been justified by this grace we might become heirs according to the hope of eternal life. (verse 8) This is a trustworthy saying."

We may identify the components of the semantic pattern as follows:

1. The attribute "of God": "the mercy and kindness of God our savior";
2. The "appearance" language: the verb *epiphainô* ("appeared");
3. The characterization of salvation: "he saved us, not from works of righteousness that we had done, but according to his mercy, through the washing of new birth and the renewal of the Holy Spirit, whom he richly poured out upon us through Jesus Christ our savior"; and
4. The desired effect of salvation: "that having been justified by this grace we might become heirs according to the hope of eternal life."

This passage begins with a statement about the former way of life of believers, offered as a rationale for the paranesis of 3:1-2. With v. 4 comes the explanation of that which transformed their lives in the longest of the three semantic patterns built around "appearance" language. The increased length is due to a more elaborate characterization of salvation than is found in the previous occurrences. Verses 4-7 consist of one sentence, which is surely the content of the "trustworthy saying" mentioned

in v. 8a.[23] Most commentators argue that the sentence contains features that suggest that its origin predated the letter, most likely in some liturgical form (e.g., hymn, creed, baptismal liturgy).[24]

Some question exists as to the timeframe of the appearance described in these verses. As noted earlier, "appearance" language in the New Testament is used to speak of either the advent or the parousia of Christ (except for Acts 27:20), so such a timeframe would be expected here as well, clearly in reference to the first coming of Jesus into the world. However, some commentators argue that the timeframe should be extended to speak of the existential moment in which individual believers enter into the experience of salvation.[25] While there is some merit to this latter emphasis—especially with the possible conceptual connection to baptism (v. 5) and the reference to the outpouring of the Spirit upon us through Jesus Christ (v. 6)[26]—its very possibility is predicated upon God's saving action in Christ actuated with his advent. Here the coming of Christ into the world is characterized as the appearance of God's "mercy-and-kindness-toward-humankind" (*chrçstotçs kai philanthrôpia*),[27] a designation highlighting the beneficence of God toward his human creatures.

The characterization of salvation in vv. 5-6 begins with its description in both negative and positive terms. Negatively, it is stated that no works of righteousness on our part were involved in us being saved. Rather, positively, it is purely on the basis of God's own mercy that he has saved us. It is with the words *dia loutrou palingenesias kai anakainôseôs pneumatos hagiou* (literally, "through washing of new birth and renewal of the Holy Spirit") that scholarly opinion evidences much

[23]Knight, *The Faithful Sayings in the Pastoral Letters* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1979), 80-111.

[24]Those who see it as a creed include: Fee, *1 & 2 Timothy, Titus*, 203; Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 440; and Towner, *1-2 Timothy & Titus*, 254. Those who see it as a hymn include: Guthrie, *Pastoral Epistles*, 204; and Kelly, *Pastoral Epistles*, 254. Those who see it as a baptismal formula include E. F. Scott, *The Pastoral Epistles* (MNTC; New York: Harper and Brothers, 1936), 175.

[25]Fee, *1 & 2 Timothy, Titus*, 203; Knight, *Pastoral Epistles*, 339; Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 316. Hansen (*Pastoral Epistles*, 120) sees it as a reference both to Christ's baptism as well as to the believer's baptism.

[26]Mounce (*Pastoral Epistles*, 438) and Towner (*1-2 Timothy & Titus*, 257) see a historical reference to Pentecost here.

[27]An adaptation of Knight's phrasing (*Pastoral Epistles*, 338).

diversity. Is the reference to baptism or to a spiritual cleansing for which baptism is an obvious symbol?[28] Are "washing of new birth" and "renewal" two separate concepts or are they to be understood together as the action of the Holy Spirit?[29] No proposed solution to these questions has garnered a consensus. For the purposes of this discussion, none is needed. Rather, what is pertinent is that "rebirth" and "renewal" are words that signal a radical transformation in the mode and pattern of life for believers.[30] This idea finds confirmation elsewhere in the New Testament, often in connection with the imagery of water or baptism (e.g., John 3:3-8; Rom. 6:1-4; 2 Cor. 5:17). The salvation achieved for individuals, based on the saving work of God in Christ, is the antidote for the description of the pattern of our former lives in v. 3.

The *hina* clause (v. 7) introduces the purpose for which we have been saved. In terminology at home in Paul's writings (e.g., Rom. 8:12-25), believers, on the basis of having been justified by the grace of God, are to become heirs according to the hope of eternal life. What is not stated as explicitly in this instance is how it addresses Christian living in the present age. Yet we are not without some direction. First, it is clear that the life setting described in the clause refers to the present. The status of having been justified is the precondition and assumed status of those who are to become heirs. Moreover, their status as heirs is described as being "according to the hope of eternal life."

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[28]Those who see it as a spiritual cleansing include: Dunn, *Timothy and Titus*, 877; Fee, *1 & 2 Timothy, Titus*, 204; Hendriksen, *Pastoral Epistles*, 391; Knight, *Pastoral Epistles*, 350; Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 318; Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 438-39; and Towner, *1-2 Timothy & Titus*, 257. Those who see it referring to baptism include: Easton, *Pastoral Epistles*, 102-103; Hansen, *Pastoral Epistles*, 119; J. L. Houlden, *The Pastoral Epistles* (TPINTC; London/Philadelphia: SCM Press/Trinity Press International, 1976), 154; Huther, *Pastoral Epistles*, 315-316; Kelly, *Pastoral Epistles*, 252; Quinn, *Titus*, 218-225; and Scott, *Pastoral Epistles*, 175-176.

[29]Those who take the terms together include: Dunn, *Timothy and Titus*, 877; Kelly, *Pastoral Epistles*, 252; Marshall, *Pastoral Epistles*, 317; Mounce, *Pastoral Epistles*, 442-443; and Towner, *1-2 Timothy & Titus*, 257. Those who see them as distinct actions include: Guthrie, *Pastoral Epistles*, 206; and R. A. Ward, *Commentary on 1 & 2 Timothy and Titus* (Waco, Tex.: Word, 1974), 270-272. Quinn (*Titus*, 218-25) also sees them as distinct actions, but referring to the renewal of the heart and the resurrection of the body.

[30]Matthew 19:28 uses the term to refer to the renewal of the world in the messianic age. Stoics used the term to describe the renewal of the world after the conflagration (e.g., Plutarch, *Mor.* 379F, 998C).

The collocation of hope with eternal life suggests that it is not the current experience of those who have been justified, but rather experience that lies in their future. Justified believers presently await the inheritance of eternal life in hope. Second, the characterization of salvation in v. 5 describes this salvation in terms of rebirth and renewal as contrasted with the former pattern of life depicted in v. 3. It seems reasonable to suggest that the new life pattern wrought through rebirth and renewal is operative in bringing justified believers into their inheritance of eternal life.[31] So, while the description of the desired effect of salvation does not explicitly say so, there is an implicit affirmation that the salvation described in vv. 5-6 admits to qualitative considerations for Christian living in the present age in order for believers to attain to their destiny of eternal life.

"Appearance" Language and Christian Living

Commentators regularly note that the theological passages of Titus 2:11-14 and 3:3-8a serve as the theological rationale for the preceding paranesis (2:1-10; 3:1-2, respectively), an observation confirmed by the occurrence of the conjunction *gar* in 2:11 and 3:3 that links the following material with the preceding. While it is true on the scale of the logic of the letter that the theological passages do provide an explanation for the validity of the paranesis connected with them, it is somewhat facile to assume that the relationship is simply that of theological justification for practical application. The reason for this, as we saw in our discussions of the "appearance" language in these passages, is that within the theological passages themselves we find statements affirming that there is a desired outcome of the theological content shaped around the "appearance" language, and that this desired outcome is cast in terms of significance for Christian living in the present age.[32] Within the theological passages themselves is found an appeal to practical application, albeit at a more general level than the specific exhortations of the paranetic sections.

[31]Marshall (*Pastoral Epistles*, 314) sees justification as a process whereby God confers, on the basis of Christ's saving work, a righteous status that is then demonstrated in practice through righteous living. Galatians 3:11-29 links justification and inheritance, as here, to show that the heir has a right to future possession of eternal life and is already in a sense a partaker of it (324-325). Cf. Guthrie, *Pastoral Epistles*, 207; Huther, *Pastoral Epistles*, 318; Kelly, *Pastoral Epistles*, 253; Knight, *Pastoral Epistles*, 104; and Scott, *Pastoral Epistles*, 177.

[32]Houlden (*Pastoral Epistles*, 149) characterizes the passages as doctrinal interludes mixed with hortatory material.

The net effect of this observation is that, in the thinking of the author of Titus, there is no sharp division to be made between theology and praxis in Christian existence.[33] It may be tempting to resort to some caricature of Judaism at this point to buttress this observation, one that claims, in large part correctly, that the Jewish mind did not divorce the practice of the religion from its truth claims. So it is understandable, in this line of thinking, that the author of Titus, an early heir of this tradition, followed accordingly.

Perhaps a more insightful approach to understanding the place of the "appearance" language in the logic of the letter is to apply the model described by N. T. Wright in his volume, *The New Testament and the People of God*. The following discussion summarizes his fifth chapter, "Theology, Authority and the New Testament," and applies it to the letter to Titus.[34]

According to Wright, to understand the interaction between theology and praxis, one must begin with an understanding of *worldviews* and the role they play in belief and practice. Wright understands worldviews to be the foundations upon which belief and practice are constructed. They are the presuppositional and precognitive stages in the thought world of a people group. Worldviews consist of four facets that function in interplay with each other to form a matrix out of which conscious belief and practice emerge. First, worldviews provide the stories through which human beings view their reality. Wright understands the contours of the basic story of the Christian worldview to be the story of the creator and his creation, of human beings created in the divine image, of the rebellion of this human creation and a disruption in the larger created order, of the rescuing action of the creator through Israel and Jesus, and of the movement of the world toward restoration through the action of God's Spirit. Second,

[33]C. L. Stockhausen (*Letters in the Pauline Tradition: Ephesians, Colossians, I Timothy, I Timothy and Titus* [Wilmington, Del.: Michael Glazier, 1989], 146-147) argues that the connection between theology and praxis may be because the nature of the opposition in Crete is from those within the churches who articulate theological beliefs but who divorce them from practice (cf. Titus 1:16). F. Young (*The Theology of the Pastoral Letters* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994], 58) views the connection between belief and practice in terms of a characterization of salvation in which salvation is seen as both a gift found in Christ's appearance and as an attainment in living in response to the gift.

[34]N. T. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 121-144.

these stories lead to the posing and answering of the basic questions that inform and determine human existence. Third, the stories and the answers to basic questions give rise to cultural symbols that in some way embody the experience of the group. And fourth, worldviews include a praxis, a "way-of-being-in-the-world" that flows from the stories, answers, and symbols of the group.

As just mentioned, worldviews are foundational to a group's view of reality. Unless the worldview itself is the focus of discussion, it largely remains unconsciously held in the course of daily living. In Wright's scheme, worldviews give rise to *basic beliefs* and *aims*. These basic beliefs and aims are shorthand versions of the stories forming the worldview that those who hold them tell themselves and others about the way the world is and how they should live within that world. The primary function of basic beliefs and aims is to safeguard the worldview by formulating beliefs and practices that are widely held by those who profess the worldview. Another way to say this is that the basic beliefs and aims consist of those beliefs and practices that, if significantly altered, would bring the worldview itself into question. In short, these are the non-negotiables deriving from the worldview. Basic beliefs and aims in turn give rise to *consequent beliefs* and *intentions*. These are areas where diverse opinion, expression, and discussion about belief and practice are permitted. And finally, *theology* consists of the "god-dimension" of worldviews. Since one of the interconnected components of worldviews is praxis, and since the layers of basic beliefs/aims and consequent beliefs/intentions derive from worldviews, theology by its very nature must be concerned with both belief and practice.[35]

With this grid in mind, we may turn our attention to the letter to Titus. We identified two passages that are frequently cited as providing theological support for the preceding paranesis, 2:11-14 and 3:3-8a. Within these passages we noted a pattern of usage built around occur-

[35]A concrete example of this construction might be helpful. In terms of beliefs, the worldview consists of a story about God's rescuing action in Jesus Christ. A basic belief arising from this part of the worldview story would be that this rescuing action is effected in the death of Jesus Christ. A consequent belief would be to describe this death in terms of its exemplary effects. An aim arising from this part of the worldview would be living in conformity with the pattern of Jesus Christ. An intention would be a particular description of holy living (e.g., abstinence from alcohol).

rences of "appearance" language, and we observed that these theologically oriented passages themselves contain statements that might broadly be labeled "practical." This observation is at least somewhat troubling for those whose predilection is to separate neatly the realms of theology and praxis. However, in Wright's scheme, it is quite proper for "theology" to speak of the interplay of belief and practice. So it would be proper, in Wright's way of thinking, to label 2:11-14 and 3:3-8a as theological, but it would be improper to separate these passages from their paranetic material on the basis of some distinction between theology and praxis.

In terms of labeling the components of our observed semantic pattern with the language of Wright's scheme, we may begin by noting that there is no explicit definition of the *worldview* in these passages. As Wright observes, worldviews typically lie beneath the surface of conscious discussion. It is sufficient to note that the matters discussed in the letter in general, and in our specific passages of interest, derive from the basic story of the Christian worldview as outlined by Wright.

As for *basic beliefs*, it seems that the first three components of the semantic pattern discussed above qualify for this designation. Each occurrence of "appearance" language describes either the advent or the parousia of Jesus Christ in terms of the manifestation of an attribute of God, followed by some characterization of salvation. It is interesting to note that, in large part, the content of these assertions is undeveloped. In 2:11, at the appearance of Jesus in the world, the grace of God brought salvation and functioned pedagogically, while in 2:13 the anticipated appearance of the glory of God/Jesus Christ at the parousia will be the appearance of the one who gave himself for us. In 3:4-6, the mercy and kindness of God evidenced by the appearance of Jesus in the world is connected with the redeeming and renewing effects of the Holy Spirit in salvation. These statements describe in more confessional fashion certain facets of the worldview story. The statements themselves receive little elaboration, 3:4-6 being somewhat of an exception. However, the fact that subsequent generations of Christian theological reflection have elaborated upon them quite extensively, and indeed quite diversely, serves to qualify them as basic rather than consequent beliefs. And the lack of elaboration in the letter suggests that, at least in the context of the "appearance" language, there are no *consequent beliefs* present.

As for *aims*, those parts of the semantic pattern labeled "the desired effect of salvation" would qualify. As noted above, syntactically *hina*

introduces that which is to follow what we labeled basic beliefs, and the content of these clauses is stated in terms of Christian existence in the present age. In 2:12, this is stated in terms of the desired quality of Christian living as a godly people. In 2:14, it is stated in terms of being a people desirous of performing good works in light of their status of being a purified people for Christ. In 3:7, it is stated in terms of living as heirs in hope-filled anticipation of eternal life, all on the basis of having been justified by God's grace. Again, these descriptors lack specific elaboration, while flowing both from the worldview story and from the basic beliefs described in the semantic pattern.

While we noted the absence of consequent beliefs in Titus, there are occurrences of *intentions* in the epistle, identified specifically as the paranesis with which the "theological" (in terms of Wright's usage) passages are connected. The paranesis found in 2:1-10, for which 2:11-14 is given as the rationale, is in the form of a "household code" (*Haustafel*), with specific regulations given for such subgroups within Titus' churches as older men and women, younger men and women, and slaves. The paranesis found in 3:1-2 is framed in terms of obedience and subjection, good works, and personal interactions. What constitutes these paranetic passages as intentions rather than aims is that two different modes of expression for the ethical exhortations are based on the basic beliefs and aims expressed in the "theological" passages. In other words, the author felt free to express specific instructions in diverse manners—there was no compulsion to shape every piece of paranesis in exactly the same literary form or content. Moreover, later generations of Christians might develop intentions in ways different from those of the author of Titus. For example, many nineteenth-century American Christians felt that the Christian worldview and its basic beliefs and aims justified the abolition of slavery, so the exhortation of 2:9-10 would find different expression in the later context. And in the context of the recent American political landscape, subjection to rulers and authorities (3:1) would be transformed into civil disobedience by many Christians.

Conclusion

In this discussion of "appearance" language in Titus, we have identified a semantic pattern of usage of this language to develop statements of belief and practice, and noted that the notions of belief and practice are inextricably intertwined, such as to defy the more modern tendency to

divide them neatly into separate categories. Following a model developed by N. T. Wright, we saw that this phenomenon was integral to the worldview of early Christians. As Wesleyans, we are quite sympathetic to this more integrated approach to reality, so much so that we are quite comfortable characterizing John Wesley's theology as "practical divinity"[36] or "responsible grace."[37] This study has shown that our current desire to integrate belief and practice into a holistic approach to Christian living, although finding an advocate in John Wesley, actually predates him to the point of our sacred texts. I hope this study illustrates the need for those of us who are Wesleyan biblical scholars and theologians to return to the scriptural sources of our faith to supplement our interest in Wesley's theological program, thus reinvigorating our own quest for authentic Christian living in our age.

[36]Thomas A. Langford, *Practical Divinity, Vol. 1: Theology in the Wesleyan Tradition* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1983); idem., *Practical Divinity, Vol. 2: Readings in Wesleyan Theology* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1999).

[37]Randy Maddox, *Responsible Grace: John Wesley's Practical Theology* (Nashville: Kingswood Books, 1994).

PRACTICING HOLINESS: A CONSIDERATION OF ACTION IN THE THOUGHT OF JOHN WESLEY

by

Henry W. Spaulding II

Recent discussion regarding a "practiced" Christianity may prove to be fortuitous for Wesleyan-Holiness theology.[1] The connection between holiness and practice is both obvious and difficult. It is obvious because the general exteriorization of inward holiness amounts to the practice of holiness. Describing precisely what exteriorizing holiness means presents a challenge. Practice can easily be understood apart from grace. Since practice is a particular species of action, a thoroughgoing analysis of practicing holiness will require a consideration of Wesley's theology of action.[2]

[1]The following comment by Craig Dykstra and Dorothy Bass will illustrate this point: "The distinctive understanding of Christian practices set forth in this essay focuses on practices as the constitutive elements in a way of life that becomes incarnate when human beings live in the light of and in response to God's gift" (Craig Dykstra and Dorothy C. Bass, "A Theological Understanding of Christian Practices," in *Practicing Theology: Beliefs and Practices in Christian Life*, ed. Miroslav Volf and Dorothy C. Bass. [Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2002]: 21.) This resonates with the words of John Wesley: "And when any of our passions are strongly moved on a religious account, whether for anything good, or against anything which we conceive to be evil, this we term, religious zeal" (John Wesley, "On Zeal", *Works of John Wesley* [Kansas City, MO: Beacon Hill Press of Kansas City, 1872, 1979], 7:59).

[2]The phrase "theology of action" is chosen deliberately in order to make the point that action is never merely arbitrary, but rather it always constitutes a response to the divine. A theology action, therefore, always considers action from a transcendent perspective.

Such an analysis will no doubt evacuate the usual juxtaposition of "being" and "doing." In fact, it shows such a dichotomy to be false, one that denies the very heart of Wesleyan-Holiness theology. Clearly, Wesley's call to practice the faith constitutes action. He refused to allow the Christian faith to be a "mere" inward experience. Instead, he consistently called for action and defined this as "real" Christianity. The central argument of this paper will be that Wesley not only calls for such action, but provides a theology which renders such action intelligible.

The paper will be organized into three general tasks. First, the philosophical and theological issues presented by action will be considered. This analysis is complicated by the manner in which modern philosophy has understood the self and, by extension, action. Part of what must be done here is to trace the broad contours of the self in modernity and its demise in some postmodern philosophy. Agency, moral choice, decisionism, and intentionality are not unique to modernity, but they have certainly been shaped by it. According to Catherine Pickstock, "the Cartesian gaze is inward and reflexive; gazing only at its own projection of order and sign, as if in its own mirrored reflection."[3] The second task of the paper will be to examine the specific parameters of Wesley's understanding of action. For example, what is the relationship, if any, between the "Cartesian gaze" and Wesley's call for an embodied holiness? The final task of the paper will take up the larger constructive attempt to embody Christian practice from a Wesleyan-Holiness perspective. Specifically, I will suggest that gift, participation, and practice combine to transform the meaning of action in Wesley to something that challenges the modern conception of the self and the nature of action itself. Further, the paper will argue that a Wesleyan re-narration of action and self will provide a much more helpful place for addressing the concerns of practicing the faith.

Action, Self, and Character

Part of the story of Western thought and thus Christianity can be told by a consideration of action, self, and character. These three have shaped the intellectual traditions of the West and in turn have helped to define Christian theology. After all, the self has been present as the actor or sometimes the acted upon throughout history. People have deliberately

[3]Catherine Pickstock, *AfterWriting: On the Liturgical Construction of Philosophy* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), 69.

chosen particular ends and in that way stitched together culture. In other words, human agents have intended and acted as they have embodied character. The story told through the lens of action, self, and character comprises the very fabric of human civilization. Sometimes human agents have proudly claimed to be the measure and other times they have lamented human failure. Friedrich Nietzsche, when reflecting on some of this says: "What a mad, unhappy animal is man!"[4] While the mood of human agency changes, its presence in the very fabric of things cannot be dismissed. All of this presents a special problem for comprehending and articulating the Christian faith.

A basic definition of human action is the capacity to envision and the power to accomplish certain ends. According to Maurice Blondel "the will could not find its entire completion in the intention alone; that is why it turns to action; to equal itself, it needs to produce itself."[5] Action reflects both desire and energy. Comprehending the meaning of action requires understanding what desire and energy come to mean. The problem, then, is with the weakened power to act on intentions. Perhaps, the often repeated words of Paul reflect this dilemma, "I do not understand my own actions. For I do not do what I want, but I do the very thing I hate."[6] Yet, the scripture often urges action, "Keep alert, stand firm in your faith, be courageous, be strong. Let all that you do be done in love" (1 Cor 16:13-14). At other places Paul reflection on the relationship between a husband and a wife. He goes on to talk about the relationship between a master and his slave. He gives advice to Timothy and Titus. The epistles often call to action, thus the tension between desire and energy is present in the entirety of the scripture. This is all the more important in light of the words of Blondel: "Action is the cement with which we are fashioned; we subsist only to the extent that we act."[7] There is no honest way to read the history

[4]Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Genealogy of Morals*, trans. Francis Golffing (Garden City, NY: Doubleday/Anchor Books, 1887, 1956), 226.

[5]Maurice Blondel, *Action: Essay on a Critique of Life and a Science of Practice*, trans. Oliva Blanchette (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1893, 1984), 152.

[6]Romans 7:15. All quotes will be from the New Revised Standard Version. While it is not wise to suggest that this verse necessarily reflects an autobiographical statement of Paul, it does get at the tension that exists between the known demands of the law for action and the human capacity to act upon them. This is the very problem that my paper addresses.

[7]Blondel, 178.

of faith apart from a history of sanctity. The idea of a disembodied faith is foreign to the Scripture and especially to the Wesleyan-Holiness tradition.

Part of the argument of this paper is that, in order to talk about Christian practice, either as baptism, communion, prayer or visiting the sick, it is necessary to reflect upon a theology of action. Christian practices at some level must be intended/desired and accomplished. Dykstra and Bass define Christian practices as "things Christian people do together over time to address fundamental need in response to and in the light of God's active presence for the life of the world."[8] A self acts/practices, but what is this self? A full answer to this question requires a broad look at Western philosophy. It is my contention that the theological resources found in Wesley's theology provide a creative place to engage these very issues.

In order to tell this story adequately, it is best to begin in the middle and then move backward and then forward. The analysis will begin in the emergence of modernity and then move back to the ancient/medieval world, finally coming to rest in what some call an "ancient postmodernity."[9] The modern shift as it is sometimes called is a complex event that cannot be fully captured in one philosopher or strand of modernity, but the general shift from practical to the theoretical has significant impact on the understanding of action.

No one philosopher more clearly captures the shift than Descartes. He determined to begin again, thus dismissing experience, what he had learned from tradition, and all that appeared to be common-sense knowledge. He resolved to doubt and was left with a clear and distinct intuition. It is one that serves as the basis for modern philosophy: the self. He explicitly describes what kind of self: "But what, then, am I? A thinking thing it has been said. But what is a thinking thing? It is a thing that

[8]Dykstra and Bass, 18.

[9]This term appears in Gerard Loughlin, "The Basis and Authority of Doctrine," in *The Cambridge Companion to Christian Doctrine*, ed. Colin Gunton. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997. He opens the essay by defining this term, "At the end of the second Christian millennium it has once again become possible for the church to remember itself as a people called to bear witness to the *future now*. It has no settlement in past or present, but looks forward to that which it awaits even as it arrives. Through trust in the promises of Christ the church has hope for tomorrow: looking for that which it recollects in the present, in its ever renewed meeting with its Lord, in the table-fellowship he gives of himself. This is the old news that is forever new: the announcement of an ancient postmodernity" (41).

doubts, understands [conceives], affirms, denies, wills, refuses, that imagines also, and perceives."[10] This characterization plays itself out in Continental Rationalism and with slight mutation in British Empiricism. Yet, a strong argument could be advanced that the autonomy of the self is not a sixteenth-century move as much as it is a further advance of a late thirteenth-century move. Catherine Pickstock observes that "the theology of Duns Scotus (1265-1308) is perhaps the first definite theoretical symptom of the destruction from within of the liturgical city."[11] Therefore, any helpful discussion of action and practice will require some attention be given to the place that self takes in the divine economy/liturgical city.

Charles Taylor reflects on the meaning of agency in the modern world by calling attention to its central themes: inwardness, freedom, individuality, and being embedded in nature.[12] Any attempt to understand the issues that inform a discussion of action will require that we understand these themes as formative. Immanuel Kant makes this clear: "The concept of freedom, in so far as its reality is proved by an apodictic law of practical reason, is the keystone of the whole architecture of the system of pure reason and even of speculative reason."[13] Later in the same work Kant adds, "The autonomy of the will is the sole principle of all moral laws and of the duties conforming to them. . . ."[14] The positing of freedom is central to the idea of the practical reason necessary for morality. Yet, this presents a problem, one that is at the center of modern philosophy. According to Stephen Long, "This poses an irremediable contradiction in Kant's ethical system. The validity of the moral law requires something like God. But the moral law is known from and achieved through freedom alone, separate from any object of the good."[15] Such a contradiction forces freedom to be

[10]Rene Descartes, "Meditations on First Philosophy" in *Ten Great Works of Philosophy*, ed. Robert Paul Wolff (New York: New American Book/A Mentor Book, 1969), 129.

[11]Pickstock, 121.

[12]Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), ix.

[13]Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Practical Reason*, trans.Lewis White Beck. Third Edition (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall/The Library of Liberal Arts, 1887, 1993), 3.

[14]Ibid, 33.

[15]D. Stephen Long, *The Goodness of God: Theology, The Church, and Social Order* (Grand Rapids: Brazos Press/Baker Book House Company, 2001), 64.

either arbitrary and/or absurd. The will is loosened from the metaphysical connections of the ancient/medieval world and left to defend itself in a world where freedom is the sole proprietor of action.

Kant reflects this in another work as well: "A good will is good not because of what it performs or effects, not by its aptness for the attainment of some proposed end, but simply by virtue of the volition, that is, it is good in itself. . . ."[16] Action thus conceived becomes self-defeating. Not long after Kant's observation, Nietzsche made this perfectly clear: "There is nothing of life that has value, except the degree of power—assuming that life itself is the will to power."[17] This very insight finally led Nietzsche to affirm that there is in fact no freedom of the will.[18] Yet, again for Nietzsche, "The will is a creator."[19] The subtle question of modernity that began with Descartes' assertion that the self is a "thinking, willing thing" becomes this hollow affirmation of Nietzsche: "Nothing more delightful grows on earth, O Zarathustra, than a lofty, strong will, that is the earth's most beautiful plant."[20] This story could be told over and over again as we hear the twin moves of affirming the priority of the will and fearing that it is simply not enough.

The dawning understanding in modernity that humans cannot will themselves to happiness manifests itself in an agent and thus a will that is isolated in its inwardness. Nietzsche says, "The sad truth is that we remain necessarily strangers to ourselves. . . ."[21] In other words, positing freedom of the will is the first note sounded toward nihilism. Those who understand the Scripture know exactly why this is the case. Adam and Eve where created for one another. Humans are together as co-humanity. We are called together in the Word through the Spirit to be the "body of Christ." The practice of baptism amounts to the Christian identity performed in the Eucharist. Yet, such a reality is impossible apart from fel-

[16]Immanuel Kant, *Fundamental Principles of the Metaphysics of Morals*, trans. T. K. Abbot (Amberst, NY: Prometheus Books, 1785, 1988), 18.

[17]Friedrich Nietzsche, *The Will to Power*, trans. Walter Kaufmann and P. J. Hollingdale (New York: Random House/Vintage Books, 1901, 1967), 37.

[18]Ibid, 342.

[19]Freidrich Nietzsche, "Thus Spake Zarathustra," in *The Portable Nietzsche*. Trans. Walter Kaufmann (New York: Penquin Books, 1954), 253.

[20]Ibid, 392.

[21]Friedrich Nietzsche, *Genealogy of Morals*, trans. Francis Golffing (Garden City, NY: Doubleday/Anchor Books, 1887, 1956), 149.

lowship with God. The anthem sounded by Nietzsche combines both the freedom of the will and its corollary, nihilism: "This is Europe's true predicament: together with the fear of man we have also lost the love of man, reverence for man, confidence in man, indeed the will to man. Now the sight of man makes us despond. What is nihilism today if not that?"[22]

Perhaps, Nietzsche illustrates more clearly than any other modern philosopher that the love of man is not enough, even if he wishes that it were enough. William Cavanaugh puts it succinctly: "Humankind was created for communion, but is everywhere divided."[23] Blondel suggests that "to act is in a way to entrust oneself to the universe."[24] The primary focus of action as self-creation, without the resources of the Christian faith, is to be finally isolated on a path of inwardness. If modernity makes nothing else clear, it is clear that such a path is one of alienation and erring. Blondel reflects explicitly on Kant with these words, "What does this mean, if not that human action, by its own strength, pretends to assimilate, even to the point of exhausting it, all that knowledge cannot attain or that the will cannot fully embrace."[25] The hopes of modernity must finally be understood as vain. In other words, Descartes' often-repeated maxim, "I think therefore I am" cannot sustain itself. A human being cannot will itself any more than it can free itself.

According to Nietzsche "God died: now we want the overman to live."[26] Yet, the truth which plays itself out in late modernity and early post-modernity is that, when God dies, so does the overman. Charles Taylor puts it this way: "There is a large element of hope. It is a hope that I see implicit in Judeo-Christian theism (however terrible the record of its adherents in history), and in its central promise of a divine affirmation of the human, more total than humans can even attain unaided."[27] Action cannot be fully understood by looking for the will to power, but in a will saturated in the grace of God. The words of the Scripture ring true: "Those who find their life will lose it, and those who lose their life for my sake will find it

[22]Ibid, 177-178.

[23]William T. Cavanaugh, "The City: Beyond Secular Parodies," in *Radical Orthodoxy: A New Theology*, ed. John Milbank, Catherine Pickstock, and Graham Ward (New York: Routledge, 1999), 182.

[24]Blondel, 263.

[25]Blondel, 293.

[26]Nietzsche, *This Spake Zarathustra*, 399.

[27]Taylor, 521.

(Matthew 10:39, NRSV). It is of at least some interest how modernity, in its affirmation of the self, ends up surrendering it and the will to the forces of the arbitrary, isolated, voluntarist journey into inwardness.

Before moving on to the sources out of which the newly freed, yet isolated self emerges, it is important to assess the central conclusions of modern philosophy regarding action. First, action is essential to the self. Second, in order to comprehend such action, it is necessary to posit freedom. Third, because this freedom is posited largely without metaphysical resources or least through the resources of epistemology loosened from metaphysics, action becomes arbitrary. Fourth, such arbitrariness posits a self that is lonely and isolated; it is a self without a face, one that begins to fear the pointlessness of action. Finally, the self that remains is not a self at all, and all action, either as sensation or will to power, can only exist emotively. The fate of this move can best be seen again in the horizon of the twentieth-century. The words of Nietzsche can be heard at the close of modernity with a celebration that sounds more like a dirge: "Dead are all gods: now that we want the overman to live—on that great noon, let this by our last will."[28]

When Socrates stands before the men of Athens to defend himself against the charges of atheism and corrupting the youth, he makes a statement that all students of philosophy know: "The unexamined life is not worth living" [Apology]. This phrase, when understood in its native Athens, is far different than when it is heard by the modern person. Socrates would never have considered this as an inward quest. Rather, he would have understood an examined life to be one that has come to understand itself in light of the "forms". Therefore, when he reflects on the education of the guardians, those who will rule the city, he considers character. Socrates says in Book II of *The Republic*: "The love of wisdom, then, and high spirit and quickness and strength will be combined for us in the nature of him who is to be a good and true guardian of the state."[29] Socrates is arguing in this work that the character of the guardian is the assurance of the will being directed to what is good, noble, and prudent. The distinction made by Socrates between knowledge and opinion is essential for understanding the will and thus the nature of action. He

[28]Nietzsche, *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, 191.

[29]Plato, "The Republic," in *The Collected Dialogues of Plato*, ed. Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns, trans. Paul Shorey (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), 623.

thinks that it is possible to educate a person who will come to see this distinction and therefore be able to live a just life, one where the will immediately attaches to the truth. Augustine presents a clear image of how desire becomes action and finally character:

> The same appetite with which one longs open-mouthed to know a thing become love of the thing known when it held and embraces the acceptable offspring, that is knowledge, and joins to its begetter. And so you have a certain image of the trinity, the mind itself and its knowledge, which is its offspring and its word about itself and love as the third element, and these three are one [1 John 5:8] and are one substance.[30]

Here we can see the will and the self united to the source of being, thus action is defined not by arbitrary assertion but an ordered love.

Robert Jenson underscores this insight: "But I do not arrive at that perfection by a journey of self-realization. I arrive at that perfection by never budging from baptism. . . ."[31] From this point of view, human doing is always a prayer. Jenson adds: "The Eastern Church's language about 'divinization' is the message that the final fulfillment of human being is to become not merely spectator but participant in the triune life of God. . . ."[32] There is a fixed reference for action in the ancient world, one that the Christian faith comes to see as Christian character or holiness. The fundamental insight of Wesleyan-Holiness theology is that action engenders character and character frames action. The touchstone for action is not self-creation, but participation in God. This point is spelled out by Augustine: "For before I was, you were, and I was nothing to which you could grant being. Yet, behold! I am, because of your goodness which preceded all that you made me to be, and all out of which you made me."[33]

The emphasis upon character and ordered love apparent in much of the ancient/medieval world suggest the importance of tradition. "As it was given to me, so I give to you" becomes a standard way in which this takes

[30]Augustine, *The Trinity*, trans. Edmund Hill (Brooklyn, NY: New City Press, 1991, 1997), 283.

[31]Robert Jenson, "The Doctrine of Justification and the Practice of Counseling," in *Essays in Theology of Culture* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1995), 110.

[32]Ibid, 112-113.

[33]Augustine, *The Confessions of St. Augustine*, trans. John K. Ryan (New York: Image Books/Doubleday, 1960), 335.

place. Doctrines are, therefore, vehicles which define how Christians are to think, but more importantly how they are to be/act. The attempt to separate doctrine and ethics is foreign to the Wesleyan-Holiness tradition. Stephen Long calls attention to the fact that modernity gave priority to ethics over theology. This is possible only when the autonomy of the will/good will is assumed to be the most appropriate pattern of life. This leads to a disembodiment of virtue from the life it seeks to inform. So that, for example, justice becomes an ideal distinct from its embodiment and its narrative history. We no longer have the saints to show us what virtue is; rather we have replaced it with an abstraction—a disembodied ideal without a narrative history. Yet, this turns out to be insufficient for the full kind of life that discipleship requires. The will becomes an abstraction and in that way is detached from particular action. An emphasis upon tradition gives us a history and a narrative by which we are to interpret life and to act. This is something that modernity has in large part forgotten and it something to which the Wesleyan-Holiness tradition leans.

The emphasis upon character, ordered love, and tradition is finally located most clearly in the recognition of God. Finally, it is not being toward which the Christian faith reaches, but God. When the will is considered in this light, its true nature is radically re-narrated:

> For will, in God or in creature, names neither a spontaneous arbitrary reduction from indeterminacy, nor even strictly speaking, the relation of cause to effect. Will, which cannot be a composite or contingent relation to God's essence, rather names, paradoxically, the infinite determinism of the Trinity to itself, the threefold determinism of love to the act of love: the lover's loving the beloved who himself fully and simply is the lover loving the beloved.[34]

This analysis makes it rather clear that it makes little sense to posit an inner self that is completely distinct from the outer self. Therefore, the will is both desire and power. Any other conclusion commits the modern mistake of the extended/unextended self, thus contributing to the unhelpful dualism of mind/body and body/soul. Blondel puts this idea forth with great clarity: "Every act tends to become a communion."[35] This same idea

[34]Michael Hanby, "Desire: Augustine Beyond Western Subjectivity," in *Radical Orthodoxy: A New Theology*, ed. John Milbank, Catherine Pickstock, and Graham Ward (New York: Routledge, 1999), 112-113.

[35]Blondel, 378.

can be found in Aquinas according to Randy Maddox: "Aquinas came to value the way that Aristotle's model implied an ever deepening co-operation of God and humanity in the spiritual life, and the way that it made sense of how living in spiritual disciplines provides persons with a progressive freedom for Christian action."[36] The relation between action and recognition of God is essential to a re-narration of action. Jenson makes this same point: "God *crucifies* human personality in order thereby and only thereby to bring it to fruition."[37]

Character, ordered love, and an emphasis on tradition all depend on an understanding of the way in which action is made coherent in the reality of God. This is a God who finds us in our disordered love in a condition of ill-being (sin) and by grace orders our love toward the Triune God. This results in correct desire and grace-enabled energy to engender the kind of character that is capable of freedom. In order to maintain this, certain skills or practices must be defined. This is, in part, the business of a practiced faith. This provides one grammar by which Wesleyan-Holiness theology and practice can be understood. Aristotle puts it this way: "It must, then, be remarked that every virtue or excellence (1) renders good the thing itself of which it is the excellence, and (2) causes it to perform its function well."[38] Finally, from a Christian point of view in general and a Wesleyan-Holiness point of view in particular, everything is to be understood as gift. Hanby reflects on Augustine in the following way, "The doxological self is thus able to participate in the life of the Trinity by virtue of a doxological character which it cannot escape, but can only pervert."[39] Therefore, action is rendered intelligible only by reference to character, ordered love, tradition, and recognition of God. Action exists in this sense as the overflow of gift.

Now that we have considered the issues and themes of action in modernity and the ancient/medieval world, the precise problem comes into focus. The self of Kant and others depends upon freedom to act, but

[36]Randy Maddox, "Visit the Poor: Wesley, the Poor, and the Sanctification of Believers," Theological Symposium Papers: Hope for a Hurting World. Fourth Quadrennial Nazarene Compassionate Ministry Conference (Oct. 29-Nov.1, 1998), 38.

[37]Jenson, 109.

[38]Aristotle, *Nichomachean Ethics*, trans. Martin Ostwald (New York and Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc/The Library of Liberal Arts, 1962), 41.

[39]Hanby, 115.

fails to provide a conception of the self that is adequate to engender a character capable of that freedom. Therefore, action is reduced to an arbitrary and/or pointless act, one without a real criterion for meaningful action. The quandary of modernity is unnecessary in light of the resources already present in the ancient medieval world. For example, Plato provides an argument for character and an understanding of participation in the eternal forms sufficient to engender it. Aristotle develops a political understanding of humankind in light of association and friendship in order to facilitate moral action. He specifically raises the issue of character as a result of habit. These ideas are further developed by Augustine and Aquinas as they are integrated into a Christian understanding. For Augustine it is the conception of *caritas* and *cupidity,* whereas for Aquinas it is the location of this worldly ends in light of the world to come. According to Aquinas: "And since man is rational man must have free choice. . . . But free choice is the subject of grace. . . ."[40] It is this understanding that needs to be told again in light of the modern dilemma.

Action is linked to self and both are made coherent through an understanding of character. The comparison of the modern shift with the ancient/medieval starting place can be approached through the resources of intellectual history. We can, for example, see the results of positing a principle of freedom apart from a sense of the divine or at least a Platonic or Aristotelian conviction regarding metaphysics. Such a circumstance cannot but result in deep anxiety both intellectually and spiritually. Rowan Williams puts this in perspective: "A culture which tolerates the loss of a sense of damage to the moral identity, the loss of shame and remorse, is bound to be one that dangerously overplays the role of the will in the constitution of human persons."[41] His book is about the losses that seem to accompany late modernity. Here he is referring to the loss of moral identity as it becomes evident in the loss of shame and remorse, but there is a deeper problem. This is specifically addressed toward the end of Williams' book:

> The "lost icons" of this book have been clusters of convention and imagination, images of possible lives or modes of life; possible positions to occupy in a world that is inexorably one

[40]Mortimer Adler, ed, *The Great* Books. Vol 19, *The Summa Theologica*, by Thomas Aquinas, trans. The Fathers of the English Dominican Province (Chicago: Encylopaedia Britannica, Inc, 1952), 437-438. Question LXXXII.

[41]Rowan Williams, *Lost Icons: Reflections on Cultural Bereavement* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000), 102.

> of time and loss. But as the discussion has developed, it has hinted more and more at a single, focal area of lost imagination–what I have called the lost soul. And this loss, I've suggested, is inextricably linked with the loss of what is encoded in the actual icons of Christian tradition and usage–the Other who does not compete, with whom I don't have to and can't bargain; the Other beyond violence, the regard that will not be evaded or deflected, yet has and seeks no advantage.[42]

Here is the problem (the loss of reference) and the solution (the re-narration of life as participation in the divine) that I will argue Wesleyan-Holiness theology and practice provides at the dawn of the postmodern world. It is the forward look from the backward glance that some call "ancient postmodernity." Before this can be addressed in a fuller manner, it will be important to address the basic themes of Wesley's theology of action.

The Single Eye: Wesley's Theology of Action

John Wesley's theology of action affirms that human doing is a response to the grace of God. Theologically construed, it is necessary to understand that the currents of the Latin and Greek Fathers flow in his theology. This fact helps to explain the theological genius of his theology, but it also illustrates some of its diversity of interpretation. Most of all, however, it provides a theological basis for holding together faith and sanctity as they shed light on the nature of action. H. Ray Dunning locates a Wesleyan distinctive in the doctrine of prevenient grace: "It could even be argued that this teaching was the most far-reaching and pervasive aspect of Wesley's thought."[43] Dunning consistently seeks to show how a Wesleyan theology avoids the trap of fundamentalism on one hand and liberalism on the other. He argues that Wesleyan theology offers a relational theology capable of sustaining the central claims of Christian perfection.

J. Kenneth Grider argues that the distinctive of Wesleyan-Holiness theology[44] comes down to doctrines that are "peculiarly suited to our homing instinct for the moral."[45] His agenda is to show that the American

[42]Ibid, 186.

[43]H. Ray Dunning, *Grace, Faith, and Holiness: A Wesleyan Systematic Theology* (Kansas City, MO: Beacon Hill Press of Kansas City, 1988), 49.

[44]It should not escape our attention that Grider consistently uses Wesleyan-Holiness theology where Dunning uses Wesleyan. This reflects a theological battle that informs some "camps" within those Wesleyans who particularly emphasize entire sanctification.

Holiness Movement corrected Wesley in certain ways, especially at the point of "Christ's Spirit baptism." He says, "It remained for the American Holiness Movement to elucidate the teaching."[46] Walter Klaiber and Manford Marquardt note: "Despite Wesley's efforts to promote sanctification . . . there remains a tension between the striving for a clearly established perfection and the abiding awareness of one's dependence upon God. . . ."[47] Kaliber and Marquardt are less interested in the tensions apparent between classical Wesleyan theology and the American holiness tradition and more concerned to provide the United Methodist Church with "a clearer exposition of its theological stance."[48] These three comments illustrate some of the range present within Wesleyan theology. The concern of this paper is to show that, in light of the recent interest in a "practiced" faith, a Wesleyan-Holiness tradition provides a theology ready-made for such an emphasis.

The concern of this paper has been to define and finally to argue for a theology of action in the Wesleyan spirit. It is also important to understand the unique intellectual space occupied by John Wesley. It is a lack of understanding this issue that often makes the Wesleyan-Holiness position seem untenable or even anti-intellectual. This is not the place to fully engage this issue, but it is essential to sketch the broad parameters of this intellectual space as a way of locating Wesley's theology of action. The basic parameters of this space are as follows: (1) a vigorous Triune metaphysic of gift; (2) an understanding of knowing as participation: and (3) a practical rationality defined by the means of grace. It should be clear from this basic outline that Wesleyan-Holiness theology is catholic in the broad sense of the word. It should also be noted that Wesleyan-Holiness theology is evangelical in the sense that it understands grace as instantaneous. All of this leads to an optimism of grace, one that holds out hope for humankind's restoration in the saving/sanctifying grace of God. A fuller treatment of these broad parameters will need to wait for later development, but these parameters do locate the Wesley's theology of action as gift, participation, and practical rationality in the means of grace.

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[45]J. Kenneth Grider, *A Wesleyan-Holiness Theology* (Kansas City, MO: Beacon Hill Press of Kansas City, 1994), 36.

[46]Ibid, 434.

[47]Walter Klaiber and Manford Marquardt, *Living Grace: An Outline of United Methodist Theology*, trans. J. Steven O'Malley and Ulrike R. M. Guthrie (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2001), 307.

[48]Ibid, 11.

The larger grammar sketched in the previous paragraph suggests a strong link between action, self, and character: "Let all those who are real members of the Church, see that they walk holy and unblameable in all things."[49] The argument of this section is rather straightforward. First, Wesley consistently calls for Christians to act, that is, to embody or exteriorize their faith. Second, this action is always understood in conscious dependence upon God. This makes it abundantly clear that Wesley construes the self and thus Christian character in dependence upon the ever-present help of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, action is envisioned/shaped and empowered by God. This means that Wesley offers a theology of action and not a philosophy or psychology of action.[50] The re-narration of action found in Wesley presents a challenge to the modern construal of the self and thus conceives of action only in reference to the divine.

Wesley talks about action as a man who knew the current debates in philosophy and theology. He is a post-Descartes and pre-Nietzsche theologian. Wesley breathes the air of empiricism,[51] especially the influence of John Locke. But it is central to the argument of this paper to understand that, while Wesley was an eighteenth-century person, his deepest debts were not to the modern paradigm, but to a re-narrated "ancient postmodernity." I am not arguing that Wesley was a postmodern thinker. Rather, my argument is that Wesley understands the issues at stake in the modern self and intentionally interprets them through the lens of the ancient faith. He says:

> God has made us thinking beings, capable of perceiving what is present, and of reflection or looking back on what is past. In

[49]Wesley, "Of the Church," in *Wesley's Works*, 6:400-401.

[50]Randy Maddox develops this thesis in a recent article in the *Wesleyan Theological Journal*. He argues in this article that Wesley had an "affectional model" of moral psychology. He defines moral psychology as referring "to one's fundamental assumptions about the dynamics that account for human moral choice and action" [Randy Maddox, "Reconnecting the Means to the End: A Wesleyan Prescription for the Holiness Movement," *Wesleyan Theological Journal*, Vol 33, no 2 (Fall 1998), 33]. He observes, "In what Wesley held as the crucial instance, it is only in response to our experience of God's gracious love for us, shed abroad in our hearts by the Holy Spirit, that our affections of the love of God and others is awakened and grows" [40]. This is the basis upon which affections become actions. Maddox's argument clearly shows that Wesley links our actions with a response to God's grace. Therefore, what Wesley offers is a theology of action.

[51]Maddox, Reconnecting the Means to an End," *Wesleyan Theological Journal*, 39.

> particular, we are capable of perceiving whatsoever passes in our hearts or lives: of knowing whatsoever we feel or do; and either while it passes, or when it passes. This is what we mean when we say, man is a conscious being: He hath a *consciousness*, or inward perception, both of things present and past, relating to himself, of his own tempers and outward behaviour.[52]

Several interesting insights into Wesley's understanding should be noted in this passage. First, God made human beings "thinking beings" capable of perception of present and past. There is only a hint of Descartes (or the Cartesian gaze) in this description. While Wesley notes the importance of thinking, he is clear that it is a gift of God. Therefore, it is not difficult to see that, for Wesley, even sensation is to be comprehended as gracious gift. Second, human beings are able to place themselves in history as a way of connecting "inward perception" and "outward behaviour." While on the face of it this may sound like a modern separation of the inner and outer, nothing could be further from the truth for Wesley. He says, "Some late writers indeed have given a name to this, and have chosen to style it a *moral sense*."[53] He prefers "conscience" to "moral sense" because it is scriptural, "because it is the word which the wisdom of God hath chosen to use in the inspired writing."[54] He adds to this by further clarifying the meaning of conscience. It is "a faculty or power, implanted by God in every soul that comes into the world, of perceiving what is right or wrong in his own heart or life, in his tempers, thoughts, words, and actions."[55] Wesley is not afraid to talk about behavior or even morality, but he is clear that such is not an autonomous activity. We have a conscience capable of action, but the only way to understand this is from a theological frame.

Wesley understood the conscience as first and foremost a way of understanding the Scripture and self. He also connects this to an agreement of our attitudes and conversations in light of the Scripture. Conscience is the way our inner self conforms to an outward rule.[56] The link between conscience and Scripture or inner perception and outward behav-

[52]Wesley, "The Witness of Our Own Spirit," *Wesley's Works*, 5:135.

[53]Ibid.

[54]Ibid, 5:136.

[55]Ibid.

[56]Ibid, 137.

ior is of greatest interest in Wesley: "What the eye is to the body, the intention is to the soul. As the one guides all the motions of the body, so does the other those of the soul."[57] There is no sense that one can navigate these waters in an appropriate manner apart from the grace of God. According to Wesley:

> From those which are commonly termed religious actions, and which are real branches of true religion, where they spring from a pure and holy intention, and are performed in a manner suitable thereto—our Lord proceeds to the actions of common life; and shows that the same purity of intentions is as indispensably required in our ordinary business as in giving alms, or fasting or prayer.[58]

Every good action comes from God and every evil action is a perversion of the good that God desires for us.

Wesley understood that action is made all the more difficult in light of the temptations of the world, that is, sin. Apart from God there is no hope for right action and it is equally futile to retreat into some inner self that remains pure in a godless world. Wesley so links the inner and the outer that it is best to talk about Christian character. When Wesley refers to the "Character of a Methodist," he makes this clear. "Whether he lie down or rise up, God is in all his thoughts; he walks with God continually, having the loving eye of his mind still fixed upon him, and everywhere 'seeing Him that is invisible.' "[59] Action for Wesley is a response to the grace of God. Apart from this graciousness we would by our own action build a personal "Tower of Babel" and the result would be the confusion that can be easily documented in the modern world.

Wesley suggests many ways to talk about action, but none of these ways is better than his expression: the single eye. He talks about the single eye "in simplicity and godly sincerity."[60] He adds, "This is what our Lord recommends, under the name of a 'single eye.' . . . If therefore this eye of thy soul be single, all thy actions and conversation shall be 'full of light,' of the light of heaven, of love, and peace, and the joy of the Holy

[57]Wesley, "Upon Our Lord's Sermon on the Mount—Discourse VIII," *Wesley's Works,* 5: 362.

[58]Ibid, 5:361.

[59]John Wesley, "The Character of a Methodist," *Wesley's Works*, 6:343.

[60]Wesley, "The Witness of Our Own Spirit," *Wesley's Works*, 5:138.

Spirit."[61] He further defines this single eye as "a steady view," "a single intention," and the "constant spring of all our thoughts, desires, and purposes."[62] At one level such a description makes no sense at all. It seems that any description of human consciousness as "single" flies in the face of what we know about the unconscious mind or even the multitude of influences in the world. How could one hope to think one thing when the many voices of life call from every corner of the world? Wesley had to know that the memory plays a role in present decisions and thus actions. Yet, he calls for a single eye, one that is simple and sincere. He makes the distinction between these: "Simplicity regards the intention itself, sincerity the execution of it; and this sincerity relates . . . to our whole conversation. . . ."[63] Wesley links intention and execution in such a way as to completely evacuate the false dichotomy between being and doing. He is able to do this because of his own convictions about how action is understood through reference to the divine:

> Accordingly, it implies in this place, that we do, in fact, speak and do all to the glory of God; that all our words are not only pointed at this, but actually conducive thereto; that all our actions flow on in an even stream, uniformly subservient to this great end; and that, in our whole lives, we are moving straight toward God, and that continually; walking steadily on the highway of holiness, in the paths of justice, mercy, and truth.[64]

Once again, Wesley makes it clear that action and the resulting holiness as justice, mercy, and truth is a gift of God. For him, action is an expression of the divine ground of selfhood. It is this conviction that keeps Christian action from sinking to "the beggarly elements of the world."[65] He can say, then, "that all my works are wrought in him. Yea and that it is He who worketh all my works in me. I rejoice in seeing through the light of God, which shines in my heart, that I have power to walk in this way; and that, through his grace, I turn not therefrom, to the right hand or to the left."[66] Wesley sums this up:

[61]Ibid, 5:139.
[62]Ibid.
[63]Ibid.
[64]Ibid.
[65]Ibid.
[66]Ibid, 5:142.

> But we rejoice in walking according to the covenant of grace, in holy love and happy obedience. We rejoice in knowing that, "being justified through his grace," we have "not received that grace of God in vain:" that God, having freely (not for the sake of our willing or running, but through the blood of the Lamb) reconciled us to himself, we run, in the strength which he hath given us, the way of the commandments.[67]

Wesley's understanding of the single eye, therefore, must be understood as suggesting that action tends toward the divine. Freedom in this sense is in dependence, that is to say, it is obedience. Action can never be thought of in the grammar of Wesley's theology as "works righteousness," but it is equally true that human action is the active, not merely the passive response to the grace of God.

Wesley says, "I am conscious to myself of one more property, commonly called liberty."[68] In order to be clear, he adds, "This is very frequently confounded with the will, but is of a very different nature."[69] This clarification is connected to Wesley's attempt to describe the self in relation to God. He does not recognize any attempt to completely separate the self and God. In fact, human life as God intends it can only be understood in light of the divine. Speaking of the will, he always connects it to the soul, which governs all the motions of the body:

> This inward principle, wherever it is lodged, is capable, not only of thinking, but likewise of love, hatred, joy, sorrow, desire, fear, hope, and a whole train of other inward emotions, which are commonly called passions or affections. They are styled, by a general appellation, the will; and are mixed and diversified a thousand ways. And they seem to be the only spring of action in that inward principle I call the soul.[70]

According to Randy Maddox, "The technical way what Wesley expressed this general conviction was by equating the human faculty of the 'will' with our 'affection'. Since the will is usually understood to be the springboard of human action, Wesley's equation allowed him to stress that we must be 'affected' before we can act."[71] This further argues that Wesley

[67]Ibid, 5:143-144.
[68]John Wesley, "What is Man?" *Wesley's Works*, 7: 228.
[69]Ibid.
[70]Wesley, "What is Man?", *Wesley's Works*, 7:226-227.
[71]Maddox, "Visit the Poor," 17.

saw action holistically, that is, springing from a character responding to the work of God in the heart. Therefore, this "will is not a mere cipher for intellectual conviction, nor is it a repository of volitional spontaneity; it is a set of responsive holistic 'affections' that must be engaged in order to incite us to action."[72]

Wesley reflects on the importance of the will and its need to be broken in children in a sermon entitled, "On the Education of Children": "Indeed it may be said that every man is by nature, as it were, his own God. He worships himself. He is, in his own conception, absolute lord of himself. . . . He seeks himself in all things He pleases himself . . . *His own will* is his only law; he does this or that because it is his good pleasure."[73] Because of this, it is crucial as the first order of business in the education of children is "to break their will the first moment it appears. In the whole art of Christian education there is nothing more important than this."[74] The parent is to "teach them to submit to this while they are children, that they may be ready to submit to His will when they are men."[75]

Several things arise from a consideration of Wesley's understanding of self in relation to action. First, the will as it is affected by the grace of God will determine, in at least a soft sense, the nature of action. This goes back to the idea of the single eye, "It is by faith that the eye of the mind is opened, to see the light of the glorious love of God."[76] Second, it is essential to distinguish between the will and the tempers. Wesley talks about the will in light of the single eye. The will can respond to the Holy Spirit; therefore, it can be instantaneously re-oriented by faith. The tempers are historical dispositions and as such are subject to the more gradual re-narration by attending the means of grace and the process of being healed by the Spirit. Strictly speaking, even the process is instantaneous for Wesley. The logic of this is guided by the idea that the healing of the tempers is still a gracious gift and as such it comes in an instant. This safeguards Wesley from allowing the process of healing to be a subtle opening to human effort separate from the gift of grace. This is, of course, the paradox

[72]Ibid, 39-40.

[73]John Wesley, "On the Education of Children," *Wesley's Works*, 7:89.

[74]Ibid, 92.

[75]Ibid.

[76]Wesley, "Upon Our Lord's Sermon on the Mount—Discourse VIII," *Wesley's Works,* 5:363.

of Wesleyan-Holiness theology. All we do is a response to the grace of God, but, apart from the response, the grace is ineffectual. Therefore, we act by way of a response, yet apart from the response good is not done.

The quandary of a Wesleyan-Holiness theology is how to maintain the centrality of the graciousness of God in light of an appropriate understanding of human agency. I am arguing that this is much less a problem for Wesley than it is for many Wesleyans. The reason is that Wesley understood selfhood only as a relation to God and therefore human agency was always a response to grace. This means that action is not a striking out on one's own; it is always a response either as obedience or disobedience to a gracious God. Understanding this will make it clear that sin is a disordered act of love in the thought of Wesley. In other words, we are made in the image of God and we are restless until we come to rest in God. A renewed will is an instantaneous gift of a gracious God. The reordering of the affection is the continually gracious endurance of a person who has fixed his/her eye on God.

Because of the way Wesley understood action, especially in light of the graciously related self, he thinks of zeal as crucial to all action, "for without zeal it is impossible either to make any considerable progress in religion in ourselves, or to do any considerable service to our neighbor, whether in temporal or spiritual things."[77] Yet, it is crucial to see that Wesley understood that "true Christian zeal is not other than the flame of holy love."[78] He says:

> In a Christian believer love sits upon the throne which is erected in the inmost soul; namely, the love of God and man, which fills the whole heart, and reigns without a rival. In a circle near the throne are all the holy tempers;—longsuffering, gentleness, meekness, fidelity, temperance; and if any other were comprised in "the mind which was in Christ." In an exterior circle are all the works of mercy whether to the souls or the bodies of men. By these we exercise all holy tempers, but these we continually improve, so that all these are real means of grace, although this is not commonly adverted to. Next to these are those that are usually termed works of piety;—reading and hearing the word, public, family, private prayer, receiving the Lord's Supper, fasting, and abstinence. Lastly,

[77]John Wesley, "On Zeal," *Wesley's Works*, 7:57.
[78]Ibid, 7:59.

> that his followers may the more effectually provoke one another to love, holy tempers, and good works, our blessed Lord has united them together in one body, the Church, dispersed all over the earth; a little emblem of the Church universal we have in every particular Christian congregation.[79]

The breadth of this statement effectively links all the elements of action in Wesley. First, the key to action is that love sits on the throne of life and in the fullness of that presence guides all behavior. Second, the holy tempers, that is, those historical dispositions that determine much of our lives as they are linked to the love on the throne of the life are manifest as fruit of the Spirit. Third, from these holy tempers proceed the works of mercy. It is in this way that faith connects to the needs of other people. It is the way in which the earth is renewed by the presence of the faithful. Fourth, after the works of mercy, which touch the lives of the hurting, the works of piety follow and the means of grace become the vehicle for a further provocation to action. Finally, all of this comes to rest in the Church as the community instituted by God to engender the life and thus actions of the faithful. This is the expression of zeal for Wesley. Therefore, we come to see that zeal is the expression of the gracious leading of the Holy Spirit.

It is the single eye that describes Wesley's understanding of the relationship between action, self, and character. It suggests that for Wesley the autonomous self is a perversion of God ordered love. Singleness and purity of intention are less a testament to the rationality of human agency and more to the capacity of the self to be doxologically framed. Given that fact, the self is construed not only as a "thing that thinks," but as a "thing that acts." Yet, it is crucial that both thinking and acting be understood as tending toward the divine. In fact, for Wesley, it can be put more forcefully than that. Our entire existence, either as a prodigal or as a son/daughter, is defined by the gracious presence of God. Therefore:

> If we know and feel that the very first motion of good is from above, as well as the power which conducts it to the end; if it is God that not only infuses every good desire, but that accompanies and follows it, else it vanishes away; then it evidently follows that, "he who glorieth must glory in the Lord."[80]

All power is from on high in Wesley's theology of action.

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[79]Ibid, 7:60-61.

[80]John Wesley, "On Working Out Our Own Salvation," *Wesley's Works*, 6:509.

The basic logic of Wesley's theology of action is that a single eye engendered by the grace of God defines a doxological self who over the span of life comes to rest in a Christian character. Maddox points to a crucial point for our discussion: "for Wesley, God does not typically infuse holy tempers instantaneously, further God's regenerating grace awakens in the believer the 'seeds' of such virtues. These seeds then strengthen and take shape as we 'grow in grace.' Given liberty, this growth involves responsible cooperation, for we could instead neglect or stifle God's gracious empowerment."[81] Therefore, the process that results in the gracious gift of a Christian character is ultimately defined by grace.

The general argument of this paper is that the recent emphasis upon a "practiced" Christianity is probably a fortuitous event. The reason for this is that, at the very core of Wesley's theology, a grammar, there exists that which is compatible with a move away from theology as metaphysics to a theology as action. No one would argue that core doctrinal convictions are unrelated or unimportant for theology, but too much modern theology has been content to hammer out doctrine and never truly engage life. When we turn to Wesley we find a clear sense that faith is both intellectual work and faithfulness in life and ministry. At every point behavior is linked to faith and this is in part the meaning of holiness. The tension between faith and action need not complicate Wesleyan-Holiness theology. The reason for this is clear; Wesley provides a theology with the parameters to encourage attending to the means of grace and visiting the sick. His emphasis upon character argues away from a reduction of the Christian life to a moment, but wraps all moments into the endurance that defines character.

Wesley's talks about the single eye, but he refuses to make it our work alone. Still he holds to the conviction that faith is a response to gracious invitation. Wesley reflects on the self, but he refuses to allow it to become the lonely self willing itself to be. Therefore, Wesley can largely avoid making faith to be merely the "courage to be" that is so attractive to many in modern theology. Because of this, he can ground the self in gracious gift and still talk about working out our salvation. Clearly, he does not mean that we do the saving any more than personal faith means that I have designed myself or put God in a box. Finally, it all comes down to the

[81]Maddox, "Reconnecting the Means to the End," *Wesleyan Theological Journal*, 41.

kind of character that is capable of freedom, which knows the freedom that comes in obedience to the Holy Spirit. It is in just this way that Wesley avoids the trap of the modern self and arbitrary action and turns his attention to the single eye caught up in the Triune music of peaceful flight.

Gift, Participation, and Practice

Understanding the issues involved in a theology of action against the horizon of modern theology suggests that the rupture between self/God, self/world, and self/other is avoidable. In other words, it is possible and even advisable to challenge the viability of the autonomous self. Wesley talks about this in terms of the "Character of a Methodist." He defines such a person as one that is happy, prays, has a pure heart, keeps the commandments, presents his soul and body as a living sacrifice, and understands that all doing is to the glory of God. A Methodist is "inwardly and outwardly conformed to the will of God, as revealed in the written word."[82] He also says, "All the commandments of God he accordingly keeps, and that with all his might."[83] These comments illustrate that a Wesleyan theology of action is about a living faith, one that offers an option to a sterile and abstract faith. It is a practiced faith, one that is constituted as gift, participation, and practice. Wesley's theology of action illustrates that resources are available within the Wesleyan-Holiness tradition for repairing the rupture that seems constitutive of modern philosophy and theology.

My final task is to set forth a constructive proposal for re-claiming the intellectual space for doing an authentic Wesleyan-Holiness theology with special reference to action. This will involve three spheres, each of which intersect at the point of action. The first sphere involves a Triune metaphysic vigorous enough to engender a theology of gift. At the most basic level this first move is a challenge to all attempts to understand action autonomously. Likewise, it challenges all decisionistic conceptions of the self. It suggests a theonomous ground for all human action, one that is dependent upon revelation. It is as God as revealed himself as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit and as that life has overflowed to all creation that we come to understand gift. We act not because we are powerful enough to act, but because we have received a gift unexpectedly from a gracious

[82]Wesley, "The Character of A Methodist," *Wesley's Works*, 6:346.
[83]Ibid, 6:344.

God. It is in the power of God that we are empowered to decide and to act.

Blondel makes this very point, "Action is not completed in the natural order."[84] Contra-Kant, Blondel makes it clear that action cannot be fully understood until it comes to rest in communion. Milbank confirms this analysis by saying that "Blondel's phenomenology concludes negatively, with the paradox that human will, from its most native desire, demands a completion that goes beyond its own resources. In its immanent impulses it requires the transcendent, which, though necessary to it, can only be superadded, freely given."[85] Since all action arises in response to and finds completion in the divine life, it is important to consciously understand that the doctrine of the Trinity is the fundamental Christian narrative. It is the reference to the divine that challenges modern theology to heal the rupture. Central to any consideration of a choosing self is the conviction that all choice is predicated upon gift. Crucial to this observation is the understanding of the self as doxological.

Augustine says, "Your works praise you, to the end that we may love you, and we love you to the end that your works may praise you."[86] Action is praise and such a life is a prayer. A Christian life is one that is uttered in the presence of a God who has called humanity in the Word to participate in Him. Hanby observes, "Thus on Augustine's terms, nihilism can arise only when doxology fails, and all that is not doxology is nihilism."[87] A doxological self is one that is framed by a prayer uttered to God that in turn spills over into the world of associations as invitation. Therefore, action is a prayer, one that is first a doxology.

What does it mean to be an acting self? The place to begin this reflection is on the God who exists in everlasting donation and return. It is as the Father loves the Son and as that love is returned in the Spirit that the life of God is constituted as being-in-communion. It is in this way that the persons of the Trinity act. We know as we are known and the only real way to understand this is as a prayer. God has shown us how to be and at the same time evacuated the idea that being is separate from doing. The response in time is the Church. Human beings are called by the Spirit

[84]Blondel, 358.

[85]Milbank, *Theology and Social Theory*, 210

[86]Augustine, *Confessions*, 367.

[87]Hanby, 116.

through the foolishness of preaching to be enacted in the world. According to John Milbank: "Finally in Christianity, God is thought of as asking only for the offering of our freewill, in the return of love to him. This is no longer in any sense a self-destructive or self-division, but rather a self-fulfillment, an offering of the fullness of Being. It is receiving God: 'deification.' "[88] According to Milbank, "Every action, proceeds, outwards, away from ourselves hitherto, and back into a public domain, as something in principle appropriable by others."[89]

The second sphere involves participation. Augustine helps us to see part of the meaning of participation: "God is the only source to be found of any good things, but especially of those which make a man good and those which will make him happy; only from him do they come into a man and attach themselves to a man."[90] Understanding that the starting place for a theology of action is the Triune life of God leads one to see the importance of participation. The subject/object split is part of the grammar of the modern world, but what is often lost in this process is a deeper insight regarding participation. We are able to act because we participate in God. Knowing is not a wrapping of the mind around some exterior reality. Rather, knowing is being known and allowing that participation to define life. Understanding the interpenetration of life in the Spirit helps us to understand the nature of action more clearly.

The self that participates is not the self-authenticating self of much modern philosophy/theology. There is a real sense in which the self is lost only to be found again in a new and better reality. Stanley Hauerwas suggests: "The loss of the 'self' and the increasing appreciation of the significance of the body, and in particular the body's permeability, can help us rediscover holiness not as an individual achievement but as the work of the Holy Spirit building up the body of Christ."[91] Hauerwas is pointing to an inconsistency in much holiness theology at this point. He observes: "The 'self' that theologians now rush to save is the 'sovereign self' that sought

[88]John Milbank, "Postmodern Critical Augustinianism: A Short *Summa* in Forty-two Responses to Unasked Questions," in *The Postmodern God: A Theological Reader*, ed. Graham Ward (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1997), 271.

[89]Milbank, *Theology and Social Theory*, 357.

[90]Augustine, *The Trinity*, 350.

[91]Stanley Hauerwas, *Sanctify Them in the Truth: Holiness Exemplified*. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1998), 78.

to be its own ground."[92] Action, when it is understood through the lens of a Wesleyan-Holiness theology, will always be constituted by participation.

The third sphere involves practical reason through the means of grace. The means of grace become a way of engaging the world. For example, baptism is a way of coming to see ourselves as owned by God. When it functions this way, it is a practical rationality. The same could be said for hospitality to the stranger, visiting the sick, or even discernment. There is a sense in which the means of grace are ways to "reason" the world. They locate the self as recipient while at the same time driving us to act. According to Serene Jones, the means of grace free us and form us.[93] It is in this rationality that the church is able to embody holiness.

All three spheres considered as part of this constructive proposal intersect at action. The Triune metaphysic frames the centrality of gift. Participation drives the human agent to act and invites all other agents as well as creation to join in transformative action. Thus, the agent is transformed and transforms in the economy of grace. Practical rationality through the means of grace becomes the way the world is construed and engaged. The rationality engendered by the means of grace re-narrates all of life, including action. Graham Ward makes this point:

> If the Church is to speak in and to the present *Zeitgeist*, then it must recover its deliberations of desire and articulate again its theology of eros. It must do so in a way that learns from, but goes beyond, the contractualisms of Hobbes and Spinoza, and the hierarchical teleology of Hegel. It must do so in a way which maintains corporeality and emphasizes the formation of substantial communities through shared practices.[94]

These shared practices are the rationality that defines the Christian faith. They serve as the way of engaging the world, whether in doxology or invitation. The means of grace are a practice and as such they represent a way of engaging life, of acting.

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[92]Ibid, 98.

[93]Serene Jones, "Graced Practices: Excellence and Freedom in the Christ Life," in *Practicing Theology: Beliefs and Practices in Christian Life*, ed. Miroslav Volf and Dorothy C. Bass (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2002), 58.

[94]Graham Ward, *Cities of God* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000), 151.

The three spheres set out in this section (gift, participation, and practice) are the first steps to a larger endeavor. Milbank approaches this in the following comment: "For a polity based on virtue, the goal of authority is not simply an effective peace or order, nor the representation of majority will, nor the liberty and equality of individuals, but rather the education of individuals into certain practices and states of character, regarded as objectively desirable goals for human beings as such."[95] The interesting part of this observation is the connection between virtue and character. A Wesleyan-Holiness theology of action is much more connected to character than decision. No doubt there are many decisions that a human agent will make, but the interesting thing is not a decision, but the endurance of those moments into a character. A Wesleyan-Holiness theology of action will seek to comprehend those through the lens of gift, participation, and practice.

I began with the observation that recent discussion of a "practiced" Christianity may prove to be fortuitous. The reason for this is the natural tendency, especially in the modern world, to compartmentalize. When this happens, "orthodoxy" and "orthopraxy" can be separated into self-justifying theological camps. Yet, this separation is unhealthy and unnecessary. I have attempted to argue that sufficient resources exist in Wesleyan-Holiness theology to heal this rupture. A theology of action has been used to illustrate how this might happen, but the same logic can be extended to a wide range of theological concerns. In fact, Wesleyan-Holiness theology requires that faith and sanctity be held together. When this happens the doxology will ring from the actions of those who have been saturated in the everlasting grace of God.

[95]Milbank, *Theology and Social Theory*, 326.

MISSION, INDEPENDENCE, AND NEW COOPERATION(?): THE CHANGE OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE OMS INTERNATIONAL AND THE KOREA EVANGELICAL HOLINESS CHURCH

by

Myung Soo Park

The Korea Evangelical Holiness Church (KEHC)[1] is a denomination that SangJoon Kim and Bin Jung established with missionaries from the Oriental Missionary Society (OMS, now OMS International) in May, 1907, after coming back to Korea upon their graduation from Tokyo Bible Institute in Tokyo, Japan. Thus, it is impossible to understand the history of the KEHC without looking at its relationship to OMS. However, the relationship between the KEHC and OMS has changed in different periods. In the beginning the KEHC was developed under the guidance of OMS. As it grew and developed, the KEHC has become a denomination independent from OMS. The purpose here is to look at the historical development of the KEHC.

The relationship between a missionary and natives is frequently an issue in missionary works. Nevertheless, it is inevitable that the gospel

[1]Titles of the Korea Evangelical Holiness Church have been changed often: The OMS Gospel Mission Hall (1907-1921), The Chosun Christian OMS Holiness Church (1921-1943), and The Korea Christian Holiness Church (1945-Present). In 1974, the English title was changed from the Korea Holiness Church to the Korea Evangelical Church by advice of OMS missionaries; however, the title was changed again to the Korea Evangelical Holiness Church in 1990.

cannot be spread without a missionary. Concurrently, a mission can be completed when natives have established their church independently from the supporting missionary organization. So a mission is not in its completion stage as long as the mission board guides and controls the whole ministry of the mission field. Under this hypothesis, therefore, this paper will examine how the KEHC has become a Korean native-driven church independent from a missionary-driven church.

Gospel Mission Hall, Christian OMS Holiness Church in Korea, and OMS

1. OMS in the Gospel Mission Hall Era. Korea had its first encounter with OMS when Nakada Juji, Japanese founder of OMS, visited Korea in 1904. Nakada visited Korea and Manchuria with Honda, a bishop of the Japan Episcopal Methodist Church while the Sino-Japanese War was still going on. Nakada went all over Korea to spread the fourfold gospel, especially the gospel of holiness, including Presbyterian and Methodist Churches in Korea.

A more close relationship with OMS, however, was made through Myengu Ko, a Presbyterian medical doctor. Ko had stayed at the Tokyo Bible Institute of OMS for a few months. Ko and OMS had shared their opinions on starting a holiness mission to Korea. Ko introduced SangJoon Kim and Bin Jung to the Tokyo Bible Institute later and these two studied there and prepared their mission to Korea. This was in spring of 1905.[2] Just as Kim and Jung strongly wished for OMS to go to Korea, OMS hoped for this as well. So missionary work in Korea began because both parties were interested in having it happen.

The preparation process for the Korean mission by OMS made rapid progress a year later when JangHa Lee arrived at the Tokyo Bible Institute. Kim, Jung, and Lee had already translated three booklets on holiness and made evangelism pamphlets before starting the Korean mission. About 100 gospel songs had already been translated into Korean and published in November, 1907.[3] In May, 1907, Kim, Jung, Mr. and Mrs. C. E. Cowman, and E. A. Kilbourne finally arrived in Seoul, Korea, after intense preparation. OMS helped the Korean ministers organize their min-

[2]"From Korea," *Electric Messages* (July, 1905), 3.

[3]Mrs. Cowman, "How the Korean Work Began," *Electric Messages* (April, 1909), 2.

istry. They began their first ministry at a building in Yumgok of Jongro that could accommodate 50 or 60 people. Then, they were able to move to a bigger place in Gurigae of Ulchiro in the fall of 1908 that could seat around 150 people. The following spring, they started constructing a building in Mugyo Dong and finished it in the spring of 1912. This whole process wouldn't have been possible without financial support from OMS.

From the beginning Korean ministers began working in their ministry with a close relationship with OMS. They periodically reported their ministry to OMS and received financial support from there. In addition, OMS appointed new graduates from Tokyo Bible Institute in Korea to help the ministry.

OMS belonged to the early twentieth-century radical holiness movement. The radical holiness movement is different from the mainstream holiness movement with the National Holiness Association as a focal point. It criticized the mainstream holiness movement for its formality in its religious rituals. It was also one of the holiness movement groups that emphasized the "pentecostal" type of revival movement. This group of people stressed the gospel of divine healing and the second coming of Jesus, as well as the gospel of regeneration and holiness. The International Apostolic Holiness Union is a group that represents this movement, having God's Bible School at its center.[4]

OMS claimed that a radical holiness movement had not yet begun in Korea: "We have not found this radical holiness work in Korea yet. . . . We have not heard any of the radical full gospel holiness work. . . . Dear brethren, let's take on this opportunity."[5] OMS used this as the reason to begin its missionary work in Korea.

There were no missionaries in residence from OMS in the period from 1907 to November, 1910. Cowman and Kilbourne often visited Korea to verify the progress of mission work and to guide field work. Neither the Koreans nor OMS was satisfied with that situation in Korea. Koreans requested OMS to send missionaries in residence. There was a misconception that the Gospel Mission Hall was a pro-Japanese group since it came from Japan. In order to get rid of this misconceived idea, it

[4]A recent study on this subject is William Kostlevy, "'Nor Silver, Nor Gold': The Burning Bush Movement and the Communitarian Holiness Vision" (Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 1996).

[5]"Korea and the Full Gospel," *Electric Messages* (June, 1907), 4.

was necessary for a western missionary to come to Korea to show that the Gospel Mission Hall had a stronger tie with the Western world than with Japan. OMS also agreed and thought that more missionaries in residence, with more knowledge about Korea, should go to Korea in order to lead the work there. Thus, OMS opened the Bible Institute after a missionary in residence was sent to Korea.[6]

The OMS entered a new era when John Thomas, an English holiness preacher, came to Korea in November, 1910. Thomas was a principal of the Kyungsung Bible Institute and a responsible person who was in charge of the Korea work at the same time. However, if there were some important decisions to be made, Kilbourne had to visit Korea from Japan. Throughout this process, interpreters played an important role. Since missionaries were not proficient in Korean, interpreters were unavoidable. These translators sometimes became an obstacle between the missionaries and the Koreans.

The early OMS invited world-renowned holiness evangelists to Korea to spread the gospel of holiness. Among those who visited was H. C. Morrison who visited Korea in 1910. He later established Asbury Theological Seminary. Joseph Smith came in 1911. He served as a president of the National Holiness Association. A Quaker evangelist, McPherson, arrived 1912 and George Watson in 1914. John Paul of Asbury in 1917; Dempsey of England arrived 1918, and so on. These were the most important holiness proponents.

The relationship between OMS and the Korean Church was newly established in 1917. OMS finished the Great Village Campaign in Japan at that time and thought of Korea as a new center of its mission work. Therefore, more OMS missionaries came to Korea from Japan and Korea became an important place for OMS. Along with this, OMS invested about $60,000 and started building a five-story building, the Kyungsung Bible Institute. This was necessary for the Korean ministry. The headquarters of OMS, then, was moved from Japan to Korea in September, 1921.

2. The Chosun [Korea] Christian OMS Holiness Church Era. The vice-president of OMS, E. A. Kilbourne, moved from Japan to Korea as the headquarters of OMS moved there. In the structure of OMS, there

[6]Mrs. Cowman, "How the Korea Work Began," *Electric Messages* (April 1909), 3.

were a president and a vice-president at the headquarters and a director in each region. Cowman was the president of OMS, Kilbourne the vice-president, Nakada the director of Japan and William Heslop the director of Korea who had assumed this role from Thomas. However, Kilbourne served as the vice-president of OMS and the director of Korea at the same time as he moved to Korea.[7]

The more important event, however, took place when the OMS Gospel Mission Hall changed its name to The Chosun OMS Holiness Church. It was significant for the Holiness Church since it showed its characteristics as a denomination rather than a mission organization. In fact, The Japan OMS Holiness Church, which began in 1901 also as Japan Gospel Mission Hall, was formed in 1917. Thus, Japanese ministers could make most decisions on their own. The reason why the name Holiness Church was selected was because OMS was established to spread the gospel of holiness.

There were a few changes in the political structure as the church organization had changed. Pastor MyungChik Lee viewed negatively the politics during the Gospel Mission Hall era. "Thomas had to have an interpreter since he was not proficient in the Korean language. Though he tried to learn how to speak Korean, it was hard for him to learn since he was old. There was no constitution or any political meetings. Only a director made a decision. But he had to use a interpreter as well and did not understand the nature and characteristics of Chosun [Korean] people. Therefore, it was unavoidable for him to make mistakes."[8] Lee pointed out the dictatorship of a director and problems with translators.

One of the problems for the OMS was an interpreter as Lee indicated. Most OMS missionaries had to depend on interpreters since they were not proficient in Korean. Therefore, those interpreters wielded much authority that caused many problems. However, this situation was improved in the 1920s. Since the early 1920s, the native representative of the Korea Holiness Church was MyungChik Lee. Lee was not proficient in English. Samuel (SeokMo) Choi acted as an interpreter without exercising any authority. The more important fact, however, was that Kil-

[7]English titles of positions were different in mission fields; president as general superintendent, vice president as vice general superintendent, director as superintendent.

[8]MyungChik Lee, *A Brief History of the Chosun OMS Holiness Church* (Kyung Sung: OMS, 1929), 17.

bourne had changed the political structure of the Korea Holiness Church. He changed it from a system in which missionaries and their interpreters solely made decisions to another system that had an Advisory Committee that helped the missionaries make decisions. Moreover, Koreans became a part of this advising group. In this period of time, MyungChik Lee, MyungHun Lee, and Samuel Choi served in this group as advisors. Finally, Koreans began taking a part in the decision process.[9]

Koreans began positively taking part in the politics of the Holiness Church when a Board of Managers system was established. When Cowman died in 1924 and Kilbourne left for the US to serve as the president of OMS, the superintendent system was modified and the Board of Managers was formed and consisted of OMS missionaries and Korean pastors. The son of E. A. Kilbourne, E. L. Kilbourne, served as the chairman of the Board of Managers. Harry Woods served as the chair on the board the following year. As the political system shifted to the Board of Managers, the political structure changed from a one-man system to a mutual agreement system in which managers discussed and made decisions on any issue.

MyungChik Lee evaluated the Board of Managers as follows: "It is, in fact, a significant progress and idealistic for OMS to have this system of a Board of Managers." This Board of Managers system had all of the authority over the Korea Holiness Church so that one could see this as a transformed system from the previous superintendent system. Under this Board of Managers system, Koreans began participating in the decision-making process of the Holiness Church. Koreans who took their places in the Board were: MyungChik Lee, MyungHun Lee, Samuel Choi and JaeKeun Kwack.[10] Therefore, Koreans could participate in the politics of the Holiness Church under the Board of Managers system.

Koreans in the Holiness Church, however, were not satisfied with their participation in the system. MyungChik Lee thought that the Board system was good. However, he thought that it was an irony that OMS headquarters selected manager members rather than the Korean Church.[11] In addition, Korean Churches in this period of time actively promoted their independence from mission boards; the Presbyterian church in

[9]Lee, *A Brief History*, 18.

[10]Lee, *A Brief History*, 19.

[11]Lee, *A Brief History*, 19.

Korea already had become a fully independent national church and the Methodist Church in Korea was able to claim its independence from its mission headquarters and form the Korean Methodist Church. Under these circumstances, the Korea Holiness Church had its very first annual conference with the approval from headquarters in 1929. Harry Woods, who was in charge of OMS Korea field, was elected as the president and HyungSoon Park was elected as the vice-president. This was an important event since it became a path for the Korean ministers to directly participate in the affairs of the denomination.

The desire of Koreans for political control was evident when they proposed to OMS that Koreans should participate in the Trustees Board of the OMS Preservation Foundation in Korea. Originally the Korea Holiness Church received support from OMS and heavily depended on OMS for land, buildings, and salaries for pastors. The OMS Preservation Foundation was established for managing assets of the OMS Holiness Church and was registered to the government on June 16, 1923. The trustees at this time were the father and the son of Kilbourne and Woods families. The trustees for the foundation were composed of only missionaries for long time. However, other denominations included and encouraged participation from Koreans in their boards of trustees. Thus, more questions arose among the general congregation about this non-Korean policy.

Even if it were true that most of the Korea Holiness Church's assets had been established by support from missionaries, it was clear that Koreans in the Holiness Church had also contributed to the assets. Therefore, a problem could arise if there were only missionaries on the board.[12] The Korean Holiness people suggested to OMS that there be at least one Korean person as a trustee on the board: "This is not only a matter of regret to our congregation in the Korea Holiness Church, but also a questionable event to the general public in Chosun. It will be more beneficial to OMS if the foundation allows a few Chosun people to be board members as co-workers." OMS accepted this request and appointed MyungChik Lee as a member of the foundation board.[13] Through this

[12]The Minutes of the Second Annual Conference of the Chosun OMS Holiness Church (1942), 10; SooHoon Ahn, *A History of Growth of Korea Holiness Church* (Seoul: Publishing Department of Korea Holiness Church in America, 1981), 117.

[13]The Minutes of the First Annual Conference of the Chosun OMS Holiness Church, 5, 44.

nomination of Lee to the foundation board, the assets of the Korea Holiness Church could be considered as the common assets of both missionaries and Koreans.

One could judge that the reason OMS had established an annual conference in Korea was because it wanted to let the Korea Holiness Church become independent from OMS. OMS had already made the Japan Holiness Church an independent national church and moved its headquarters to Korea. OMS knew that one day the Korea Holiness Church would have to become an independent national church and the missionaries would have to leave soon afterwards. OMS began its missionary work in China in the year 1924 and moved its headquarters to Shanghai, China, in 1929 in order to implement its mission to China at a full-scale.[14]

E. L. Kilbourne explained: "OMS always makes it a rule to hand over leadership to natives as soon as possible when those natives are well equipped to succeed the ministry." MyungChik Lee was appointed as an acting principal of Kyungsung Bible Institute in 1929 and as the principal of the institute in the following year based on this OMS's principle.[15] In addition, Lee was also elected as the president at the second annual conference of the OMS Holiness Church in 1930. One can see these movements as a sign of OMS handing its leadership over to the Korea Holiness Church. As the leadership was handed over to Koreans, the Korea Holiness Church experienced more active growth. According to a survey in the later quarter of 1928, there were 106 churches and 8,083 members.[16] By 1932 there were 196 churches and 10,718 members. One could see a significant improvement in the Korean Church.[17]

This growth and revival movement in the Korea Holiness Church led to its self-governing body. According to the declaration of the OMS Board of Managers after its fourth annual conference in 1932, "The reason why we must declare our self government is because we have

[14]Robert D. Wood, *In These Mortal Hands: The Story of the Oriental Missionary Society* (Greenwood, IN: OMS International, 1983), 83; 124-125.

[15]E. L. Kilbourne, "A Visit to Our Offices in Seoul, Korea," *Oriental Missionary Standard* (April, 1930), 3.

[16]The Minutes of the First Annual Conference of the Chosun OMS Holiness Church, 42-50.

[17]"A Statistics of Holiness Church in 1932," The Minutes of the First General Conference of the Chosun OMS Holiness Church.

received four years of training and have made our resolution to be self-governed. We declare our self government upon our faith and hope that all of the Korean churches and pastors will move forward with determination and bravery." In addition, a self-governing body should run parallel with this self-supporting ability, according to the declaration.[18]

OMS asked the Korea Holiness Church to be a self-supporting church. OMS had been experiencing economic hardship due to the Great Depression beginning in the late 1920s. According to the letter from Haines, the field director, to the Board of Directors of OMS headquarters in April 1932, he clearly wanted the Korean Church to be self-supporting, but he did not have any proper measure to achieve this status. OMS changed its traditional three-year academic system to a six-year curriculum in which students could go to school for one semester per year instead. This move was one of the solutions to the economic problem suggested by OMS. This enabled OMS to pay students for the six years at student work wages and yet let the students open churches. OMS wanted these students to run self-supporting ministries after six years upon their graduation from Kyungsung Bible Institute. In addition, this also enabled OMS to select students who were appropriate for ministry. In other words, it was better for OMS to verify the suitability of the students in the beginning rather than to find them inappropriate for ministry after investing three years of study and wages in them.[19]

The first annual general conference of the Korea Holiness Church was held in this situation in 1933 and MyungChik Lee was elected as the first general superintendent. This general conference decided that the board of managers would be nominated by the general conference, which, the Korean Holiness people thought, had the superior authority over the Korea Holiness Church. However, the superior authority of the Korea Holiness Church belonged to the Board of Managers since this board was established in 1924. These managers were appointed by OMS headquarters. This annual general conference declared that Koreans would nominate the board members from then on. However, OMS denied this suggestion from the Korea Holiness Church. OMS had claimed that a

[18]The Minutes of the Fourth Annual Conference of the Chosun OMS Holiness Church (1932), 31.

[19]Letter from Paul Haines in April 5, 1932. Minutes of Board of Trustees of the OMS, 49-51 (May 19, 1932)

self-governing body should run parallel with the self-supporting ability.[20] However, there were a few self-supporting churches in the Korea Holiness Church. Therefore, the declaration of self-government in 1933 became meaningless and went back to the starting point.

Conflict between the Korea Holiness Church and OMS began to get worse after that. Some Koreans rebelled against OMS's decision and OMS began a circuit ministry system in November, 1934, to prevent any future complications. The circumstances became so bad that the annual general conference could not be held in 1935. Moreover, OMS reclaimed the Board of Managers as the superior legal institute in March, 1935, and declared that any decision of the annual general conference would be nullified without an approval from the Board of Managers. In the same year, OMS also announced that all the male ministers should have a self-supporting ministry. The circumstances did not get better, but only got worse. Young pastor NamSung Byun from Northwestern Korea was elected as the general superintendent of the Korea Holiness Church, when the annual conference was held in March, 1936. This was a clear revolt against OMS and those Korean leaders. The OMS Board of Managers and headquarters were shocked by this election and declared the third annual general conference as an illegal act. Some people left the Holiness Church and established the Church of God (Anderson). This was the first schismatic event in the history of Korea Holiness Church. Under this circumstance, the Board of Managers tried to cope with this situation after the annual general conference of 1936 by promoting itinerant pastors in the circuit system to itinerant managers. These itinerant managers had the responsibility of dealing with these chaotic circumstances.

3. Korea Holiness Church in the Later Days of the Japanese Empowerment. OMS moved its headquarters from China to Korea when the Pacific War began in 1937. One reason why OMS denied the Korea Holiness Church's self government after supporting it initially was because OMS changed its plan to strengthen its missionary work in China. Now, OMS was trying to make Korea its strategic position for its mission work. However, this plan had to be adjusted again. Japan, who declared war against the U.S. as well as China, attempted to deport missionaries out of Korea by calling them agents of the U.S. government.

[20]Minutes of the Second General Conference of the Chosun OMS Holiness Church (1934), 8, 37.

Thus, those OMS missionaries in Korea had to leave Korea on October 15, 1940.

The Korea Holiness Church finally became an independent national church after the OMS missionaries had left Korea. MyungChik Lee declared the Korea Holiness Church's complete independence from OMS at a tentative general conference convened from October 22 to 25, 1940, immediately upon the missionaries' departure.[21] Since the missionaries had left, a Board of Managers was formed with only Koreans. According to a new constitution established in 1940, The Board of Managers was composed of ten pastors and five elders. MyungChik Lee was elected as the chairman of the board, the first Korean chairman. One should notice that the elders began participating in the board. The Korea Holiness Church had an absolute necessity of being able to stand on its own after the missionaries' departure; therefore, participation of the lay leaders became definitely necessary.[22] From then on, the denomination began to omit OMS's name from their title.

The Preservation Foundation Board of Trustees for the Church's assets experienced a lot of changes as well. Though MyungChik Lee was appointed as a trustee of Foundation Board in 1929, it was mainly missionaries who operated the board. The year after the missionaries' departure, Samuel Choi, HyunMyung Park, and SiYoung Kang were appointed as trustees on the Foundation Board—so that there were more than 50% Korean trustees on the board. Moreover, three missionaries who had nominal roles as trustees on the board, were fired in December, 1942, and HyungSoon Park, SeonPyo Bae, and Gun Lee replaced them as the new trustees. By then, Japan had already deported the missionaries out of Korea, so the assets of the Church were handed over to Koreans by default.[23]

The Korea Holiness Church's independence, however, was nothing to be proud of. It was a result of Japanese policy in which Japan tried to separate the U.S. and Korea in order to carry out the Pacific War. Most leaders of the Holiness Church, who agreed with this Japanese policy, criticized the missionaries who shared their pleasures and sorrows with

[21]"News," *The Living Water* (December, 1940), 32-33.

[22]"News," *The Living Water* (December, 1940).

[23]Minutes of the Second Annual Conference of the Chosun OMS Holiness Church (1942), 10-11.

Koreans. These people also wanted to make Christianity a faith of entirely Asian perspectives, forced by the Japanese on Korean Christians. Under these circumstances, MyungChik Lee's question, "Is Christianity really a Western religion?" certainly spoke for the Japanese policy and opinions.[24] In the end, the leaders of the Korea Holiness Church left a document that said they were enslaved by the Western ideology, though they were forced to write it. "Since we have been taught by American missionaries for a long time, we have become the slaves of the Western ideology without noticing it. We regret that it is hard to liquidate the waste of their ideology up to now."[25] Throughout these events, the Korean Church under missionary control became independent from them. However, this was not a true independence. The Korea Holiness Church had still a long way to go to achieve a true independence.

Korea Christian Holiness Church and OMS

1. Reconstruction of the Church Since the Liberation and OMS. The Korea Holiness Church, finally, was able to enjoy its pride as a truly independent church and denomination after Korea's independence from Japan. Gun Lee, Principal of Seoul Theological Seminary (former Kyungsung Bible Institute), in an editorial in *The Living Water*, a holiness monthly magazine in Korean language, divided the Korean Church history into three phases. First was the missionary era, the second was Christianity under Japanese reign, and the third is the Christianity of an independent country upon Korea's independence from Japan.

Lee wrote that one should acknowledge that there were "so many veiled enmities and conflicts with missionaries," even though Christianity had grown significantly in Korea in the first phase. Lee evaluated the second phase as a period in which Christianity had lost its identity after the Japanese control over Korea had been intensified for 10 years in the last period of Japanese Imperialism. Lee wrote about the third phase in which one should repent his/her sins as new opportunities arose along with the independence and the church should be responsible for world mission.[26]

[24]*The Living Water* (July 1939), 3-4; HyunMyung Park, "The Final Revival and A Great Mobilized Prayer Meeting," *The Living Water* (December, 1939), 11.

[25]KEHC Historical Committee, *A History of the Korea Evangelical Holiness Church* (Seoul: KEHC, 1992), 803.

[26]Gun Lee, "The Liberation of Chosun and Awakening of Christians," *The Living Water* (January, 1946), 6-8.

The Korea Holiness Church finally became an independent church upon Korea's independence. There were no missionaries or Japanese officials in the Korean Church upon the independence. The Korea Holiness Church was finally in a position where only Korean run.

The Korea Holiness Church wanted to regain its relationship with missionaries even though it had become an independent church since Korea's independence from Japan. The Korea Holiness Church needed support and help from the missionaries instead of being controlled by them as previously. From this point on, a new relationship between the Korean Church and OMS was established. OMS recognized the holiness churches in Japan and Korea as independent churches and its position was an advisor and partner rather than a director or supervisor. The OMS considered the Korean Church as an independent denomination that would be able to grow and develop on its own since it was able to stand alone in spite of obstacles under Japanese reign in the later days of Japanese empowerment and grew well independently.[27]

On September 22, 1945, a month after independence from Japan, leaders of the Korea Holiness Church sent a letter to OMS in which they asked OMS to resume its missionary work in Korea. This letter was written by MyungChik Lee, Samuel Choi, Gun Lee, and HyunMyung Park.[28] In addition, Choi asked George Lourie, a head chaplain of the U.S. military, to write a letter to E. L. Kilbourne. In this letter, Lourie described how spiritual those congregation members of the Korea Holiness Church were and requested OMS to come back to Korea as soon as possible.[29] The Korea Holiness Church again sent a letter to OMS on December 24, 1945, through Choi in which it encouraged OMS to come to Korea: "The door to our ministry is wide open. Please send missionaries to Korea. We will be waiting for them."[30]

OMS wanted to resume its missionary work in Korea as well. The Oriental Missionary Society Board of Trustees, convened on September 12, 1945, decided to investigate the missionary status in Asia and asked E. L. Kilbourne to be in charge. The Board appointed responsible people

[27]J. Elmer Kilbourne, "The Native Church–Korea," *The Missionary Standard* (March, 1950), 7.

[28]"News from Korea at Last," *The Missionary Standard* (Oct.-Nov., 1945), 9. KEHC, *A History of the KEHC*, 402.

[29]KEHC, *A History of the KEHC*, 406.

[30]KEHC, *A History of the KEHC*, 408.

for each region, with Harry Woods and Paul Haines appointed to Korea.[31] In addition, a letter was sent from Korea and those missionaries who had stayed and worked in Korea sent a reply back to the Korean Church. Representatives of the Korean Church's Reconstruction General Assembly read this letter on November 9, 1945. They all agreed to send a response with joy.[32]

News about Korea appeared in the bulletins of OMS from the beginning of 1946. A fundraising campaign was begun for the Korean Church. Moreover, Haines, a missionary from OMS, came to Korea in October, 1946, stayed in Korea until January, 1947, and left for China as the OMS Board of Trustees decided.[33] OMS clearly recognized the Korean Church as an independent denomination and acted and performed its duties as requested by the Korean Church. The board meetings of the OMS Board of Trustees, which was held from February 10 to 15 of 1947, decided to develop an educational system for female workers in Korea upon a request from the Korean Church.

The independence of the Korean church was accomplished by the U.S. victory over Japan, therefore, this was seen a victory for Christianity. Leaders of the church described this U.S. victory as follows: "God used U.S. to surrender Japan." Thus, the Korean Church since independence became a victorious church. This was different from the latter days under Japanese colonialism. Under these circumstances, American power was almost absolute. Americans were an occupation force and were very supportive of Christianity. Many Korean churches were able to take over Japanese shrines to build churches since Japan had departed Korea. This seemed to be a blessing as well as a privilege for Christians. Lourie, a head chaplain of US military, told Kilbourne that it was a great time to resume missionary work in Korea.

OMS, however, was not active in entering into Korea despite these prosperous conditions for missionary work. The period when the OMS was active in its missionary work in Korea was when the Kilbourne family moved from Guangdong, China to Korea after it had become impossible to do its ministry in China due to the communists. Edwin and Elmer

[31]Minutes of Board of Trustees of the OMS (September 12, 1945). However, Wood did not come to Korea.

[32]Minutes of the Restoration Assembly of Chosun Christian Holiness Church (1945), 31.

[33]*The Living Water* (Oct., 1947), 36.

Kilbourne, grandchildren of E. A. Kilbourne, and Paul Haines were the main force behind the OMS.

The OMS was able to actively utilize its ministry in Korea during the Korean War of 1950-53. OMS supported Korea in those days when Koreans lived refugee lives in Pusan. Seoul Theological Seminary was opened in Pusan with the support from OMS; the Korea Holiness Church was able to continue its work with this help. At the seventh annual general assembly in 1952, the general superintendent, ChangKeun Kim, said, "Even though our denomination has been broken, our spirit is making progress. When we are experiencing an economic hardship and it is almost impossible to stay independent, OMS has not only prayed with tears, but also given us much financial support for us to support our churches and maintain Seoul Theological Seminary. We give thanks to God and OMS headquarters at the same time."[34] At the eighth annual general assembly the following year, MyungChik Lee laid out three different areas in which OMS had supported the Korea Holiness Church. First, OMS had helped the recovery and maintenance of churches, chaplains, and Every Creature Crusade in its evangelism work; second, it had supported leprosy patients, orphanages and old people's homes in its relief works; and third, it had supported Seoul Theological Seminary in its educational work.[35] OMS did not have any exercise or authority over the Korea Holiness Church general assembly after Korea's independence from Japan. However, it participated in the annual general assemblies as a representative in 1952. Moreover, OMS and the Korean Church established the Contribution for Mission Cooperation Committee to manage all the missionary contribution.[36]

OMS had been helping with the living expenses of ministers in Korea even after Korea's independence from Japan. However, the OMS wanted to help those needy Korean churches in a different way from its previous support; it preferred to support special projects for Korean

[34]Minutes of the Seventh General Assembly of the Korea Christian Holiness Church (1952), 4.

[35]Minutes of the Eighth General Assembly of the Korea Christian Holiness Church (1953), 2-3.

[36]Minutes of the Eighth General Assembly of the Korea Christian Holiness Church (1953), 47. For some information about the use of mission fund, see the Minutes of the Nineth General Assembly of the Korea Christian Holiness Church, 6-9.

churches, such as building churches. In addition, OMS had helped the Korean Church to pay for its headquarters office operational expenses for a while after the Korean War, but it stopped doing so in 1956.[37] But OMS still concentrated on supporting specific regions, such as Kangwon Province or islands in Cheonranam Do (Province) where the Korean Church could not stand on its own.[38]

Generally speaking, the Korean Church depended heavily upon OMS after the Korean War. For example, the total budget of the general assembly in 1953 was 110,618 won; OMS paid 65,000 won and the amount of membership fees from the general assembly was 27,665 won. The total budget of Seoul Theological Seminary was 2,905,298 won of which 2,720,400 won was missionary aid from the OMS. From these examples, one can see that the Korean Church still depended heavily on OMS.[39] As a result, almost 50 churches built their buildings a year after the headquarters returned to Seoul; about 100 church buildings were newly built by 1957.[40]

One of the most sensitive matters between OMS and the Korea Holiness Church was their assets. As mentioned above, OMS was forced to leave Korea in 1940 under pressure from Japan. Since then, the Foundation Board was composed totally of Koreans. However, this matter had to be untangled as missionaries returned to Korea. In 1953, the Korean Church received a memorandum of understanding from OMS after consulting with it carefully over its assets. *The Living Water*'s October 1953 edition issued the following under "Dear Minister of Each Church" as a title: "We have reached an agreement with OMS headquarters to reorganize all the assets of the Korean Church except Seoul Theological Seminary's into Korea Christian Holiness Church Foundation. . . . Therefore, we would like you to fully cooperate with us."[41]

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[37]EungCho Kim, "New Things in This Year General Assembly," *The Living Water* (May, 1956), 44-45.

[38]Minutes of the Eighth General Assembly of the Korea Christian Holiness Church (1953), 7. The OMS in Korea Report to the Board of Directors (1959-1960).

[39]Minutes of the Eighth General Assembly of the Korea Christian Holiness Church (1953), 34, 37.

[40]ChunYoung Lee, *A History of Holiness Church* (Seoul, Headquaters of Korea Holiness Church, 1970), 120.

[41]*The Living Water* (Oct., 1953), 61.

In addition, in the following year, the minutes of the annual general assembly said, "On January 16, 1954, we received a transfer certificate of foundation from OMS so that the board of trustees met on March 6. The board decided upon donation certificates, appointment of trustees and so on and submitted these documents along with other documents to the Department of Education. Currently, there are 103 churches that have joined the Foundation of the Korea Christian Holiness Church."[42] At the same time, OMS founded Christian Oriental Missionary Society Preservation Foundation in May 1954, separate from the Korea Christian Holiness Church Foundation. All the assets of Seoul Theological Seminary and other OMS related assets were registered with the OMS foundation. The total amount of assets at the beginning of this foundation was 123,199,000 hwan (an old Korean currency before the 1970s). The trustees of this OMS foundation were all missionaries.[43] As a result, the Korea Holiness Church and OMS were able to have their own separate assets.

One of the major changes in OMS since the Korean War was its active interest in social work. This shows how OMS changed its mission. The OMS had emphasized more direct evangelism rather than an indirect mission such as social work. However, missionaries in OMS, especially Elmer Kilbourne, actively expanded relief work for orphans and the needy since they had witnessed the harsh reality in Korea after the Korean War. Elmer, as a special liaison from World Vision, took an initiative to be in charge of many relief works. J. B. Crouse as well as Elmer Kilbourne put all of his energies in social work as a member of the World Relief Commission, a relief branch of NAE. In addition, OMS received an authorization from the Department of Health and Social Services to make a social work foundation. Thus, OMS operated the following social work organizations according to a report in 1959: 29 orphanages, 5 shelters for abandoned children, 6 facilities for widows, 2 leper colonies, 2 prevention facilities, 2 blind and dumb schools, a juvenile reformatory school, a job training center, and 140 free feeding facilities that could accommodate

[42]Minutes of the Nineth General Assembly of the Korea Christian Holiness Church (1954), 8-9.

[43]KEHC, *A History of the KEHC,* 454-455. The members of trustees were Brothers Kilbourne, Haines, and Wood.

30,000 people per day. OMS operated an extraordinarily active social work system.[44]

2. Schism of the Korea Holiness Churches and OMS. The saddest event in the modern Korean Church history is the schism of the Korean church. This trend appeared in the early 1960s, and it also affected to the Korea Holiness Church. The Korea Holiness Church had worked together with other denominations from the latter days of Japanese colonialism. The early cooperative activity of the Korean Church was made between the Presbyterian and Methodist churches. But this effort to make the Korean Church into one in the last period of Japanese colonialism was Japan's idea and the Japanese government formed the Chosun Council of Christian Churches in 1938 in which the Korea Holiness Church joined. *The Christian News* (KeeDokShinBo) was also established by then. From then on, the Korea Holiness Church appeared as part of the cooperative work of the Korean Church.

As the Korea National Council of Christian Churches (KNCC) was founded on September 3, 1946, the Holiness Church actively took part. HyunMyung Park, the general superintendent of the Holiness Church, became the third president of KNCC after the presidents from the Presbyterian and Methodist churches. The Korea Holiness Church moved into the mainstream of the Korean church through its activities in KNCC. Originally, this council was an association of Christian groups in Korea independent from any international Christian organizations. In 1948, the KNCC became a member of WCC upon its invitation. However, most churches in Korea followed evangelicalism so that it moved on a different path from the WCC that had a more liberal theology. It was unavoidable for the KNCC to accept a liberal theology as the exchange between the KNCC and WCC became more frequent.

[44]The OMS in Korea Report (1959–1960). The social work brought a lot of problem to the Korea Holiness Church that had maintained direct evangelism as a valid method of evangelism for long time. Many pastors gave their time to social work rather than ministry and evangelism. This brought scandals in some cases. For about this, see, EungCho Kim, *The 90 Years of Grace: Autobiography of Dr. EungCho Kim*, (Seoul: Sung Kwang Publishing Co., 1983), 76; Minutes of the Tenth General Assembly of the Korea Christian Holiness Church (1955), 49; MyungChik Lee, "Holiness Church and Social Work," *The Living Water* (December, 1955), 1-2.

It was under these circumstances that the Korea Holiness Church became affiliated with the National Association of Evangelicals (NAE) in Korea. The Korean church after Korea's independence from Japan was very sensitive about the newly appeared progressivism. In 1947, those conservatives, who thought that JaeJoon Kim's theology of Chosun Theological Seminary might be serious problem in the future, made an Evangelical association and began their activities. This association made a contact with NAE in America in 1951 through the UN Korea branch office and OMS after the Korean War. Through this contact with NAE in America, the association was able to find its theological similarity. In addition, this association made an official affiliation with NAE in 1954 and expanded its contacts to other denominations, including the Holiness Church. An interdenominational association was formed in 1955, including the Methodist Church, Holiness Church, and the Assembly of God later as J. Elwin Wright, a director of NAE in America visited Korea in 1955. The Holiness Church joined the World Evangelical Fellowship (WEF) in August, 1955.

The Holiness Church made a denominational decision to join NAE at its annual general assembly in 1955. OMS influenced the Korea Holiness Church to join NAE. The American holiness movement had taken a big role in forming NAE. One of the founding members of NAE, J. Elwin Wright, was originally from the Free Methodist Church and understood the evangelical movement well. In addition to Wright, Wesleyan Methodists actively participated in the evangelical movement of NAE. The people in the Holiness Church were opposed to the liberalism, but were different from the dogmatic and self-righteous fundamentalists. Therefore, it was natural for the Holiness Church to find a similarity in the NAE, which was conservative, but less exclusive.[45] The OMS participated in NAE enthusiastically. OMS was the founding member of an NAE-related association, Evangelical Foreign Missions Association.

[45]For a detailed information on NAE, see Joel A. Carpenter, *Revive Us Again: The Reawakening of the American Fundamentalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 141-160. This characteristic of OMS had well appeared by the participation of OMS in the Winona Lake Bible Conference which was conservative in theology, but different from separative Fundamentalism. Cf. Michael S. Hamilton and Margaret L. Bendroth, "Keeping the 'Fun' in the Fundamentalism: The Winona Lake Bible Conference, 1885-1968," *Re-Forming the Center: American Protestantism, 1900 to the Present*, ed. Douglas Jacobson and William V. Trollinger Jr. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 300-317.

Eugene Erny, a president of OMS, had once served as a chairman of Foreign Mission Committee of NAE. Moreover, when NAE was helping Korea through the World Relief Commission after the Korean War, those people in charge of supporting Korea were OMS missionaries.

Considering these circumstances, it was perhaps only natural for the Holiness Church to join NAE. Joining NAE was a unanimous decision with the suggestion by MyungChik Lee and eleven other pastors. It was recorded as "the unanimous agreement since NAE's theological line is in accord with the Holiness Church's."[46] MyungChik Lee explained in the May edition of the *Living Water* in 1955 why the Holiness Church must participate in the evangelical movement and ChangKeun Kim described the NAE.[47] In these editorials, they emphasize that one must keep a pure evangelicalism against the liberal theology.

Through these series of events, the Holiness Church had joined two associations that had different characteristics from each other. While the NCC was the denominational association in the beginning, the NAE was an association among the evangelicals. Therefore, there might not be any perpetual friction. However, antagonism between the two groups did appear. Thus, at the 15th annual general assembly held in April, 1960, the middle-of-the-roaders suggested that both groups be withdrawn from, but the withdrawals were delayed.[48] The same suggestion reappeared in the following year's general assembly, but again the withdrawals were delayed. This was viewed as a victory for those in KNCC. Finally, those

[46]Minutes of the Tenth General Assembly of the Korea Christian Holiness Church (1955), 48. In an interview with this writer on September 27, 2000, Rev. KyungChan Hwang, a former President of NAE in Korea, said that representatives of NAE in America asked the Korean leaders of NAE to make a solid relationship with the Korea Holiness Church when the American delegates visited Korea.

[47] MyungChik Lee, "Evangelicalism"; ChangGun Kim, "About NAE movement"; *The Living Water* (May, 1955); "About the Confession of the National Association of Evangelicals in Korea," *The Living Water* (July, 1955).

[48] MyungChik Lee represented this position. See his article, "After a Reading of Faith Statements of National Council of Christian Churches," *The Living Water* (January-February, 1960), 1-2. In this article, he wrote that KNCC is still sound, however there were liberalists in KNCC. He also criticized of NAE. He maintained that the Korea Holiness Church should not be influenced ether by NCC or by NAE, but keep the identity of the Holiness Church. This position was same with the OMS.

who opposed this view formed the "Gospel Truth Protecting Association" and split from the Holiness Church. This movement shocked the officers of the 16th annual general assembly, so they declared the withdrawals from both groups by a vote in letter in August, 1960. Nevertheless, the Gospel Truth Protecting Association remained distant from the Korea Christian Holiness Church. The separated group was called the Korea Jesus Holiness Church (KJHC). Some Holiness people were watching this schism and tried to keep a neutrality. OMS was a member of KNCC originally.[49] As OMS concluded that KNCC had made a close relationship with WCC, it withdrew from the NCC on June 19, 1960.[50]

What was the actual standpoint of OMS when facing this situation? A report from Edwin Kilbourne, the OMS director in Korea, can be summarized as follows. First, OMS viewed NCC as a questionable group. However, KNCC had not fallen into the liberalism, yet it would do so someday. Therefore, it would be better for the Holiness Church that it withdraw from NCC at certain point. Thus, the OMS missionaries should suggest to the Holiness Church to withdraw from NCC one day, but not now. Second, NAE in Korea had political motives rather than purely religious ones. For this reason, an NAE representative from the U.S. canceled the Korea NAE's membership when he visited Korea in 1959. Therefore, OMS did not want the Holiness Church to actively join NAE either. Most of all, OMS did not wish the Holiness Church to be disrupted. OMS tried to stay as neutral as possible despite the antagonism between the two groups.[51]

OMS, however, at last supported the decision from the 16th annual general assembly of the Holiness Church because OMS considered the decision of the withdrawal from both groups as reflecting its own position. Therefore, OMS made a declaration of support to the Korea Christian Holiness Church (KCHC) in November of 1961. As OMS supported

[49]KEHC, *A History of the KEHC,* 461; ChangShik Lee, "Some Developments of Ecumenical Movement," *Christianity in Korea History* (Seoul: KiMinSa, 1985), 1097.

[50]"Report of the OMS," Minutes of the 17th General Assembly of the Korea Christian Holiness Church (1961), 82.

[51]Edwin W. Kilbourne, The OMS in Korea Report (1959-1960). Kilbourne wanted to make clear that the OMS suggestion of the withdrawal from NCC was advice, not an enforcement, because the Korea Holiness Church was a fully established national church. Edwin Kilbourne, Korea Report (1961-1962).

the 16th annual general assembly, a conservative group joined Carl McIntire's International Council of Christian Churches (ICCC) at a tentative special general assembly in December, 1960, and received financial support of $35,000 from ICCC. In addition, the leader of the conservative group received an honorary Doctor of Divinity degree from Faith Seminary that was a member of ICCC and three people received scholarships from the seminary.[52]

OMS was wholeheartedly supporting the 16th annual general assembly, in other words, a reestablishment of the KCHC. Moreover, OMS tried its very best to persuade those who had stayed neutral to join the KCHC. Those neutral people had often claimed to be "OMS clique rather than any others." However, they tried to make a new denomination, ordaining graduates of Seoul Theological Seminary, and attempted to make a relationship with the Free Methodist Church. Then, those missionaries of the Free Methodist Church in Japan requested a consultation of OMS. The Free Methodist Church denied the suggestion from those who stayed neutral with the KCHC. OMS stopped this neutral group from being a separate denomination.[53]

The relationship between OMS and KCHC became very close under these circumstances. Thus, the OMS resumed its support of the KCHC headquarters. In addition, OMS tried its best to make a unifying body of Holiness people within the KCHC. Then, KJHC and KCHC could be unified at the 20th annual general assembly in 1965 and a significant number of churches in KJHC united with KCHC. This was called the first unified general assembly. Edwin Kilbourne clarified that there had been a lot of financial support for this unification plan besides support for the usual budget for the general assembly.[54] Therefore, OMS took one of the important roles in this first unified general assembly. However, those who left in KJHC attacked OMS, saying that the unified general assembly was "a highly confidential meeting set by a few officers of the general assembly and others with their emotions and ambition who conspired with missionaries."[55]

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[52]Edwin Kilbourne, Korea Report (1961-1962).

[53]Edwin Kilbourne, Korea Report (1963).

[54]Minutes of the 21st General Assembly of the Korea Christian Holiness Church (1966), 66.

[55]Gospel News (July 28, 1965); Ahn, *A History of Growth*, 255.

OMS contributed liberally to the second unified general assembly again in 1973. In this period of time, the Pentecostal Holiness Church was trying to come to Korea. At the same time, the KJHC was trying to find another way out because of its internal conflict and a few KJHC leaders were in contact with the American Pentecostal Holiness Church. Under these circumstances, a few KCHC leaders appeared to be in contact with the Pentecostal Holiness Church as well. Among those were many who had experienced or experienced the Pentecostal tongues. Everet Hunt, an OMS missionary, pointed out to KCHC, "A denomination shall not join two different missionary societies." In addition, he made an additional remark that those with the Pentecostal faith would be able to keep their faith without leaving their churches and that he wished the Pentecostal Holiness Church would not separate the existing denominations.[56] From this remark, one can see that OMS wanted to keep a sole relationship with the KCHC.

An OMS officer meeting in September 1972 claimed that the KCHC had no tie with the Pentecostal Holiness Church and decided that it would further impose legal sanction on anyone who joined that church. Then, the officer meeting of Headquarters in January 1973 sent a letter to the president of NAE in America to stop the advancement of the American Pentecostal Holiness Church to Korea.[57]

3. Seoul Theological University and OMS. OMS had recognized the Korea Holiness Church as an independent group since the liberation of 1945. At that time, Seoul Theological Seminary was operated by the Korean leaders of the Holiness Church. The Board of Trustees had consisted mainly of Koreans. Koreans had operated the seminary after Korea's independence from Japan. However, many key people of Seoul Theological Seminary were kidnapped by North Korea during the Korean War. As the school temporarily opened in Pusan, OMS again began taking a part in the operation of the school. In addition, Edwin Kilbourne, Paul Haines, and other missionaries of OMS taught at the school as professors. Since then, the OMS missionaries considered Seoul Theological University as their main target for mission.

[56]Everet Hunt Jr., "The Pentecostal Holiness Church," *The Living Water* (May, 1973), 34-42.

[57]Minutes of the 28th General Assembly of the Korea Christian Holiness Church (1973), 23-24, 28.

OMS and Seoul Theological Seminary put a lot of effort into trying to gain government approval as an accredited college in the late 1950s. For the school's accreditation as a college, it was necessary to have a foundation. So the Christian OMS Preservation Foundation changed its character and became an educational foundation. In this process, OMS made an agreement with the Korea Holiness Church in writing that the seminary "will be in accord with the doctrine, policy and activities of OMS."[58] The doctrine here is Wesleyan theology, which can be found in the doctrinal statement of Seoul Theological University. The statement is as follows:

> We believe in the Bible that was written by the Spirit of God and is infallible; in Jesus Christ who was conceived by the Virgin Mary and in His deity, and who was crucified for our sins and was physically resurrected and in His premmillennial Second Coming. We emphasize the fourfold gospel, rebirth, holiness, divine healing and the Second Coming and set evangelical faith of John Wesley as our theological line that intensifies our faith in experience. Therefore, the faculty of this seminary is alarmed against and opposed to any sermons in the modern liberalism.[59]

OMS wanted Seoul Theological Seminary to keep the evangelicalism and the gospel of Holiness. Thus, the school invited renowned people in the holiness movement from foreign countries to come and give lectures on the doctrine of holiness.[60]

According to the previously mentioned agreement, the final authority of the school belonged to the OMS preservation foundation, but if the seminary did not become an approved college by the government, this agreement would be nullified. In addition, the agreement said that OMS decided to form the Seoul Theological Seminary Managing Committee consisting of Koreans and missionaries and mandated the operation of school to the committee.[61] Seoul Theological Seminary became Seoul Theological Col-

[58]Minutes of the 13th General Assembly of the Korea Christian Holiness Church (1958), 80.

[59]"The Regulation of Board of Managing Trustees of Seoul Theological College," Minutes of the 15th General Assembly of the Korea Christian Holiness Church (1960), 59.

[60] Edwin Kilbourne, Korea Report (1961-1962).

[61] "The Statement of Agreement," Minutes of the 15th General Assembly of the Korea Christian Holiness Church (1960), 60-61.

lege in 1959. Along with the accreditation of the school, Edwin Kilbourne, the director of OMS Korea field, became the vice-president of the school. All the members of the board of trustees were missionaries.[62]

On the other hand, the separation of the Holiness Church in 1960 brought an essential change to Seoul Theological College. That is, a long-time leader of the Holiness Church and Seoul Theological College, MyungChik Lee, resigned from his duty and Edwin Kilbourne began working as the president of Seoul Theological College from January, 1961. Through this event, OMS was able to assume its complete leadership and operational authority over the school. This was well recorded in Edwin Kilbourne's report in 1962. Kilbourne said that Seoul Theological College was a place solely operated by OMS; first of all, OMS was responsible for 60% of the school's budget, second the foundation of the school, an actual supervising party of the school, was the property of OMS, and third, a missionary served at the school as the highest ranking officer in school affairs.

Various perspectives according to Kilbourne, however, challenged these circumstances. First of all, the government ordered that foreigners should not control any organization in Korea. According to this rule, the foundation had to have two thirds of its members Koreans. In order to solve this problem, OMS made a contract with the KCHC, including a memorandum that a final decision to sell assets was up to a foreigner and OMS formed a new foundation. A new board of trustees for the school, mainly consisted of Koreans, was formed.[63] The second challenge came from Koreans who brought some problems. Though it was necessary to receive financial support from OMS, the Koreans' self-respect had been hurt since the operation authority of the school belonged to the missionaries. This was related to the issue of nationalism that was frequently found in Asia.

Edwin Kilbroune worked as the president of Seoul Theological College for about eight years. OMS thought that Koreans should lead Seoul

[62]Minutes of the 14th General Assembly of the Korea Christian Holiness Church (1959), 54-55. The Korean Church asked for the OMS to admit 2 delegates from the Korean Church as members of the Board. However, this request was not accepted.

[63]Minutes of the 17th General Assembly of the Korea Christian Holiness Church (1962), 33. The members of the board in the mid-1960s consisted of 4 Koreans and 3 missionaries.

Theological College and OMS had prepared Dr. John Cho for this reason. Cho, who has Emory PhD with Wesley studies, became the president of Seoul Theological College in 1968. Cho rearranged the relationship between OMS and the KCHC. First of all, the articles 1 and 2 of the school foundation were changed. The newly changed article 1 stated that Seoul Theological College was an educational facility that belonged to the KCHC. Article 2 was deleted, which stated: "Seoul Theological College will be in accord with the doctrine, policy and activities of OMS." Along with the Korean president, it confirmed that the KCHC would take the initiative in school operation. However, in order to change any articles of the foundation, including asset matters, an article was included that two thirds of the voters must agree to change any items or articles, which guaranteed OMS the right to a veto. The make-up of the foundation included 5 people from the KCHC and 4 from OMS; each party would send an auditor to the other group.[64] Cho let OMS know that Koreans had been emotionally hurt by the manner of operation of the school, so that he changed the articles of the foundation.

OMS, in addition to the changes in the articles of the foundation, discussed with Cho whether to move the school site. Both parties agreed and decided that two thirds of the site would be used by Seoul Theological College and the other one third would be used by OMS. OMS was able to form a foundation on its own with one third of the property; the existing foundation changed its name to the School Foundation, Seoul Theological College, and missionaries began to participate in this foundation as members.[65] Through these series of changes, OMS formed its independent foundation and the school began to be operated along with the KCHC.

The OMS was satisfied with Cho's activities. Cho was able to increase the denominational interest in Seoul Theological College. According to a report from 1969, OMS was responsible for 80% of Seoul Theological College's budget the previous year, but it would be responsible for only 60% in the current year and the other 40% was made up of students' tuition and support from the denomination. OMS evaluated that

[64]"Regulation of the Board of Trustees of Seoul Theological College," Minutes of the 23rd General Assembly of the Korea Christian Holiness Church (1968), 155-159.

[65]Edwin Kilbourne, Korea Field Report (1968); Minutes of the 23rd General Assembly of the Korea Christian Holiness Church (1968), 130.

this improvement was due to the native Korean leadership, which foreigners did not have before. Even after Cho had become the president, OMS supported Seoul Theological College wholeheartedly. OMS had a special interest in constructing new buildings for the college. Elmer Kilbourne of OMS made a huge contribution to the new construction of buildings for Seoul Theological College. He went to the U.S. and invested his time and energy in fundraising campaigns. As a result, the Theological College was able to own a new campus at Sosa Dong in the city of Bucheon in September, 1974, after leaving its old campus in Ahyun, Seoul.

The Korea Evangelical Church (KEC, English title of the Holiness Church during 1974-1990) was able to grow and make major progress throughout 1970s and its interest in Seoul Theological College grew as well. Along this trend, more authority and rights in the operation of Seoul Theological College were handed over to Koreans. The Board of Trustees for the school had previously been composed of 5 Koreans and 4 missionaries, but its membership was increased to 15 from the 29th annual general assembly in 1974 in which there were 8 Koreans and 7 missionaries. However, the number of missionaries on the board was cut down 2 after 1982,[66] then only one and currently the board is composed only of Koreans. Seoul Theological University, its title being changed in 1992 from Seoul Theological College, has completely become an educational facility of the KEHC (the Korea Evangelical Holiness Church, the name of the Holiness Church since 1990). KEHC has not only contributed to Seoul Theological University institutionally, but financially as well. The Great Sanctuary of Seoul Theological University (the House of Holiness People), which was established in August, 2000, had been completed solely by the KEHC without any support from foreign missionaries.

OMS and Seoul Theological University, on the other hand, have a continuous tie with one another. The tie has significantly been lessened when compared to the past, but OMS has sent faculty members to the university and supported students with some scholarships. Therefore, a new type of relationship between the two remains necessary in this global era.

4. Setting Up a New Relationship between OMS and Korea Holiness Church. There has always been tension between OMS and the Korea Holiness Church. The Korea Holiness Church has claimed that

[66]Minutes of the 38th General Assembly of the Korea Christian Holiness Church (1983), 231.

OMS should continue its missionary work under the authority of the Korean Holiness Church if it would like to work in Korea. This issue was initially suggested at the 14th annual general assembly in 1959.[67] Since then, the Holiness Church formed the Mission Policy Correction Committee and decided the following at the 16th annual general assembly in 1961:[68]

1. The Mission Board of OMS Korea shall merge with the KCHC and work with us. (1) Any appointment and resignation of the OMS missionaries shall be decided upon the KCHC's decision; (2) all the missionaries in Korea shall learn Korean proficiently within two years of their stay in Korea.
2. Those missionaries who are not directly involved with the education at Seoul Theological College must concentrate on their missionary work by going to a region that the KCHC assigns them to be.
3. "World Relief Commission" in the Mission Department of OMS Korea must be authorized by the KCHC and its members will be entrusted by it.
4. The Mission Board of OMS Korea must follow the agreement with Seoul Theological College that has already been set.

One can easily understand why the KCHC requested the above when comparing the OMS to other missionary organizations in Korea. Those Presbyterian or Methodist missionaries belonged to denominations in Korea and continued their ministry. Their Korean language level was proficient, but that of the most OMS missionaries was not.

These problems remained unresolved and tension remained between the two. The March/April edition of the *Living Water* in 1964 dealt with these problems in a special editorial. First, Everrett Hunt, an OMS missionary, represented the position of OMS. He made the point that one of OMS's original purposes and mission policy was to found native churches. Missionaries led the whole ministry in the beginning, but they

[67]"Content of decisions of the 14th General Assembly," *The Living Water* (May-June, 1954), 70.

[68]Minutes of the 16th General Assembly of the Korea Christian Holiness Church (1961), 106.

handed over the leadership of the church to the natives. The current KCHC was a completely independent denomination. The recommended relationship between OMS and the KCHC was not a relationship of father and son, nor teacher and student, nor master and servant. It should rather be one of brothers. For this to be accomplished, the KCHC should become independent not only politically, but also economically.[69]

SungHo Kim, a young pastor of the Holiness Church, wrote a response to Hunt's argument. Though it was explained as his personal opinions, they included thoughts and opinions of other Korean ministers of the KCHC. Kim pointed out that OMS should recognize its identity most of all. According to him, Korean Holiness people should understand that OMS's characteristics were different from other missionary organizations since OMS was an independent faith mission society. Moreover, Kim clarified that the KCHC would be able to make relationships with other holiness churches in the U.S., just as OMS missionaries had made relationships with those American holiness churches. Kim also claimed that one day the KCHC would be able to contribute to the world mission as a member of OMS. Under these hypotheses, he claimed the following: first, the KCHC and OMS should make a clear mission agreement and do missionary work; second, the KCHC and OMS should make a clear distinction in their operation of Seoul Theological College, in other words, the KCHC should be held responsible for the school in order to verify that Seoul Theological College would be the seminary of the KCHC; and third, OMS should make a concrete plan for the KEHC to stand on its own.[70]

Both parties were striving for a partnership according to these editorials. According to a report from the OMS Korea mission board in 1964, missionaries should find new work that the native church could not take care of in a nation where a native church was strongly established.[71] This standpoint was well described in Edwin Kilbourne's report in 1967. The "Doubling Movement" that the KCHC was spreading all over the country impressed him. Though only 50% of churches reported to the KCHC headquarters, 30,000 increased the number of those congregations. OMS,

[69]Hunt, "The Policy of the OMS and the Holiness Church in Korea," *The Living Water* (March-April, 1964), 25-27.

[70]SungHo Kim, "Something Should Be Clarified," *The Living Water* (March-April, 1964), 28-32.

[71]Edwin Kilbourne, Korea Report (1964).

who witnessed this reality, emphasized that the relationship between the KCHC and OMS should rather be a partnership. In order to achieve it, OMS Korea office suggested to the OMS headquarters that more decisions should be made in higher dimensions.[72]

This problem had continuously been a point of discussion. At that time, other mission boards in Korea, such as the Presbyterian and Methodist, were in a process of handing over all the assets and facilities to their Korean denominations and beginning to leave from Korea themselves. Those Koreans who had known this trend of mainline mission boards wished OMS to follow the same path.[73] However, OMS, a faith mission organization, claimed that it would be difficult to follow the same pattern. OMS wanted both parties, OMS and the KCHC, to recognize their own identities while working in those new areas in which the KCHC wasn't able to expand its ministry.[74]

SeungIl Jung, later the founder of HanBeet Evangelical Church in New York, made several suggestions to OMS in his editorial in April/May edition of the *Living Water* in 1971. Jung suggested that OMS appoint a Korean trustee on the board of the OMS International to reorganize it as a well-known international organization since the KCHC had been able to grow and participate in the world mission. Edwin Kilbourne mentioned in his response that this would be a very positive movement and that the KCHC would be responsible for this movement.[75]

The OMS International Headquarters presented guidelines regarding joint missionary efforts with native church in the Asia of the 1970s.[76] According to this guideline, the missionary-initiated colonialism in recent

[72]Korea Field Report (1967), 2.

[73]"An Attitude toward Self Supporting of Korean Church," *The Living Water* (April, 1969), 5.

[74]Edwin Kilbourne, "An Expectation of the OMS with the Korea Holiness Church," *The Living Water* (April, 1969), 24-26.

[75]SungEl Chung, "To OMS Friends," *The Living Water* (April-May, 1971), 55-56.

[76]This guideline, while maintaining that there are three stages regarding the role of a missionary in mission history such as pioneer, pastor, and partner, pointed out that most OMS works have been under the first two stages. This guideline was made to respond to the new situation in which the third stage becomes realized. Robert Erny, Dale McClain, and Wesley Wildermuth, "Mission Partnership in Asia." The English text of this document was included in KEHC, *A History of KEHC*, 635-643.

mission history should be replaced by the native initiative fraternalism in mission works since the nationalism had strongly appeared throughout the whole world. The fraternalism mentioned here did not mean for missionaries to follow commands from a home mission board, but to follow the commands from the native churches. "Everything shall be turned over to the national church. Missionaries shall be sent only when requested by the national church and then called 'fraternal workers,' rather than the stigmatized name 'missionary.' The fraternal workers will work under the national church rather than home denomination."[77]

OMS, in a response, admitted that it could not maintain its colonial relationship in the region where the KCHC had already become an independent denomination, but it could not accept the new pattern of fraternal relationship. The reasons were as follows: first, there should be good preparation for the KCHC to be handed over as a native church, otherwise, it might be possible for the missionary work to be ruined; second, unless a mission headquarters could not keep a close relationship with a mission field, those missionaries in the faith mission groups would be lost as if they became orphans; third, those missionaries neglected in the policy decision making process would become uncreative and would work only for errands in this fraternal relationship. Under these circumstances, those missionaries would lose hope.

OMS partially modified the fraternalism and claimed a partnership for the above-mentioned reasons. The partnership would recognize the independent authority of the native church and guarantee the missionaries their field to work for their ministry independently with their own identity. In other words, missionaries would recognize the authority of the native church in this partnership. However, the native church should concurrently accept the missionaries to expand a new work or ministry under their own plans.

The constitution of OMS in 1968 had already included this partnership. According to the constitution, OMS had already strived for the independence of the native church at the mission fields and "the relationship of such self-government to self-support shall be determined separately for each respective field upon the recommendation of the field executive committee." The new constitution changed the OMS's position. In the past, the independence of the native church would be only recognized if the church

[77]Erny and others, "Mission in Partnership," 636.

would become self-supporting. Second, the native church and the Mission would recognize each other's self-regulation. This did not invade the authority of the native church nor limit new activities of the Mission. Third, the Mission should expand new ministry field only under an agreement with the native church. The manpower and financial assets could be utilized to achieve this; all the developed missionary work done by the Mission could be handed over to the native church when the church grew to handle this task. Fourth, all the assets of Seoul Theological College that OMS had operated should be returned to OMS. Finally, an exception to this must receive an authorization from the OMS headquarters.[78]

What was, then, the real picture of this partnership? The most important area in this matter was theological education. OMS had been actively participating in developing and nurturing ministerial education in Japan and Korea, although the denominational power was already handed over to the natives. OMS viewed here that it had to take part in ownership and appointment authority for professors. This showed that OMS had transformed its colonial type of ministry to a cooperative one. Secondly, it was a special ministry. The partnership enabled OMS and the KCHC to develop many special types of ministry, such as youth facilities, broadcasting mission, and medical mission. Third, it was an international partnership. The partnership would make an international organization having a partnership between the OMS headquarters and OMS churches in the several regions. Fourth, the partnership would be able to help the native church through special programs, such as retreats or visiting churches in the U.S. OMS claimed that it should have a close discussion with leaders of the native church and make a definite agreement between the two parties to make the policy concrete.[79]

The OMS in Korea tried to follow these policies as closely as possible. According to a report of 1971-1972, OMS reduced the budget of those projects under the direct supervision of the KCHC and tried to add more to the budget in new areas in which the KCHC was not able to reach. In addition, the OMS tried to have deeper conversations with the KCHC to set a new relationship, but it failed.[80]

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[78]*Constitution of the OMS International* (1968), Article XI, Section 8, B 2.

[79]Erny and others, "Mission in Partnership—Asia,"Edwin W. Kilbourne, Korea Field Report and Plan (1971-72).

[80]Edwin W. Kilbourne, Korea Field Report and Plan (1971-2).

What was the response of the Holiness Church to this stand of the OMS? It is prescribed in the constitution of the Holiness Church that any foreign mission department must make an agreement with the Holiness Church, those missionaries sent to Korea must belong to the Korea Holiness Church and must abide by all the rules and regulations of the Holiness Church regarding any missionary work.[81] The Korea Holiness Church thought that OMS's ministry in Korea should proceed only under the authority of the Holiness Church.

The Korea Holiness Church has been actively participating in missionary work in foreign countries since 1970s. Moreover, OMS wanted the Korea Holiness Church to prosper in the world missions with each other's cooperation. Thus, leaders from both parties met in June, 1992, and decided to establish the Mission Partnership Committee. They also agreed to have an annual meeting and would join together for world mission. The Korea Holiness Church and OMS are working together in several countries under this agreement. Both are seeking for a new type of partnership.

Conclusion

The Korea Holiness Church was built by OMS. Looking at the relationship between the two historically, there have been times in which OMS and the Korean Church were able to work together and there have been times in which they have had serious conflicts. However, OMS is one of the most important parts in the history of the Korea Holiness Church. In addition, the Korea Holiness Church is one of the most successful missions from OMS's point of view.

The relationship between OMS and the Korea Holiness Church could be explained in several stages. In the beginning, the Holiness Church in all aspects was under the influence of OMS; In the last period of Japanese colonialism, the Church was able to become independent from OMS upon the departure of the OMS missionaries in 1940. However, the Korea Holiness Church created a new relationship with OMS after World War II. The Korea Holiness Church was an independent denomination since Korea's independence from Japan and OMS treated the Korea Holiness Church as an independent church. Nevertheless, OMS kept its support in the rebuild-

[81] *Constitution of the KEC* (1983), Chapter 10, "Missionary and Mission Work."

ing process of the Church after the Korean War. It took some interest in the expansion of a new type of ministry or a special ministry. In addition, OMS exercised much influence and authority on the Korea Holiness Church in its disunion and unification procedures.

Koreans operated Seoul Theological Seminary since Korea's independence from Japan; however, it again began to be operated with the initiative from OMS around the late 1950s when it was certified as a college. OMS was responsible for more than 50% of Seoul Theological University's operational budget in the 1960s and gave major financial support in moving the school's campus in the 1970s as well. However, as the Korea Holiness Church made a significant improvement and growth throughout 1970s, Seoul Theological College was able to be independent from OMS's influence in the early 1980s.

The Korea Holiness Church, on the other hand, wanted a new relationship with missionaries from the mid-1960s that became a main discussion between the Korea Holiness Church and OMS. The Korea Holiness Church wanted OMS to make a new fraternal relationship of with the Holiness Church to do its ministry in Korea as other missionaries in Korea. However, OMS wanted to keep its independence while keeping a close relationship with the Korea Holiness Church.

The Korea Holiness Church, now, is definitely an independent and self-supporting denomination. The churches in the denomination have grown, its theological education has made improvement, and its missionary activity is very buoyant. The Holiness Church can stand on its own without any foreign support. Moreover, it can help many other countries in the world. OMS International is an international missionary organization with 430 missionaries in 20 different countries in the world. They have a long mission history. OMS still wants to work with the Korea Holiness Church for the world mission. From this point of view, OMS and the Korean Church need a new and completely different type of partnership than they have never shared before.

THE RESURRECTION OF THE BODY: THE LITURGY OF MARTYRDOM AND THE HALLOWING OF THE FLESH

by

Craig Keen

I. What might engage us in the face of a woman who stretches out her hand?

We might imagine a fluid motion, an arm extending, fingers reaching to lay hold of a cup or a lover or the shoulder of a teetering child or a torn fragment of bread or the hand of an absent friend. Where do we go to learn what it means, this gesture? What are we to say? That it is the expression of a prior idea formed by and forever secondary to the private soul that occupies and pilots this body? Or that whatever might be declared of this "extending hand" is a sentence imposed by an objective judge upon an otherwise meaningless and isolated datum? Or should we rather think in grander metaphysical terms of a ground that supports and is exemplified in this event, some ultimate reality with or without purpose, some matter or form or creativity or energy or will to power? Or should we perhaps give ourselves to a more originary ontology, one that will open a clearing for the contending and expanding relations that appear when receptive thinking lets this event be? Or are we not at least to understand this extending hand in the light of the motives that lie behind it or of the consequences that lie before it or of the character from which it flows? Or does all of this distract us from the most pressing of questions? Is it that in straining to interpret the world in various ways we have lost the real point, viz., to change it?

These questions do not lie outside the theologian's purview. But they are not the ones first asked. The work at hand is not a kind of psychology, epistemology, metaphysics, ontology, or ethics. If the theologian takes up such questions at all, it is done freely, from the outside, with passion, perhaps with desire, but without need. They have been de-natured in the crucifixion and resurrection of the body of the Christ in whom she now lives and moves and thinks and speaks. Thus, if these questions are to be found in her office, they have come there on loan—to do a job for which they were not trained.

It was not first in the sixteenth century that the church asked about the relation between grace and works. New Testament texts already give one pause to consider the matter. At the close of the Sermon on the Mount, after Jesus has laid out what seem to be impossibly difficult dicta for the lives of those who would follow him, he announces that "not everyone who says to me, 'Lord, Lord,' will enter the reign and rule of heaven, but only the one who does the will of my Father in heaven" (Matthew 7:21). The Letter of James is even more direct: "What good is it, my brothers and sisters, if you say you have faith but do not have works? Can faith save you? If a brother or sister is naked and lacks daily food, and one of you says to them 'Go in peace; keep warm and eat your fill,' and yet you do not supply their bodily needs, what is the good of that? So faith by itself, if it has not works, is dead" (James 2:14-17). And yet, Pauline texts seem to be of a different mind: "To one who without works trusts him who justifies the ungodly, such faith is reckoned as righteousness" (Romans 4:5). "If it is by grace, it is no longer on the basis of works, otherwise grace would no longer be grace" (Romans 11:6). "We know that a person is justified not by the works of the law but through faith in Jesus Christ" (Galatians 2:16). "For by grace you have been saved through faith, and this is not your own doing; it is the gift of God—not the result of works, so that no one may boast" (Ephesians 2:8-9).

The fifth-century collision of Augustine and Pelagius opened new questions concerning the righteousness of which these and other texts speak. The debate that ensued culminated in the Council of Orange (529). While coming short of an unqualified acceptance of all that Augustine maintained, Orange does loudly condemn Pelagius. It declares that the whole human being—"both body and soul"—and the whole human race have been corrupted by sin (canons 1, 2 and 15); that without exception any movement of prayer, will, desire, or assent in the direction of God is

the work of the Spirit's prevenient grace (canons 3-8, 14, and 23);[1] that any holy work at any stage of one's life is the gift of God for which no one can take credit (canons 9-11, 16-18, 20, 22, and 25); that salvation itself does not grow from what *is* ("nature"), but is the coming of the free mercy of God (canons 19, 21, and 24).[2]

It is unclear how much of an impact Orange had upon subsequent theology or even the extent to which it was known. The positions it takes do, however, indicate something of the trajectory of medieval doctrine (Pelikan 1971, 329-330; 1978, 81). Even late medieval nominalists, so often laid into by their Protestant progeny, wanted above all to affirm the priority of God's good favor. It is, however, with Martin Luther that the tensions that play between grace, faith, and works come most radically to light.

Luther gives a vivid account in the year before his death of what he regarded as the moment of the radical transformation of his life, of the irruption into his soul of God's liberating grace thirty years earlier.[3] He had before understood God to be an angry autocrat that demands that the

[1]Canon 6 is particularly strong: "If anyone says that God has mercy upon us when, apart from [God's] grace, we believe, will, desire, strive, labor, pray, watch, study, seek, ask, or knock, but does not confess that it is by the infusion and inspiration of the Holy Spirit within us that we have the faith, the will, or the strength to do all these things as we ought; or if anyone makes the assistance of grace depend on the humility or obedience of [the human being] and does not agree that it is a gift of grace itself that we are obedient and humble, [she] contradicts the Apostle who says, 'What hast thou that thou hast not received?' (1 Cor. 15:10)" (*The Council of Orange* 39).

[2]The conclusion of Orange begins with these words: "The sin of the first [human being] has so impaired and weakened free will that no one thereafter can either love God as [she] ought or believe in God or do good for God's sake, unless the grace of divine mercy has preceded [her]. We therefore believe that the glorious faith which was given to Abel the righteous, and Noah, and Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, and to all the saints of old, and which the Apostle Paul commends in extolling them (Heb. 11), was not given through natural goodness as it was before Adam, but was bestowed by the grace of God. And we know and also believe that, even after coming to our Lord, this grace is not to be found in the free will of all who desire to be baptized, but is bestowed by the kindness of Christ . . ." (*The Council of Orange* 43-44).

[3]That a story which is staged in an individual's inner life has been received with such affection and excitement for so long indicates how much Luther's offspring have longed for privacy—and that long after the passing of Luther's world, a world in which Luther's story was not and could never be private.

lonely sinner rise by her own power to meet the conditions by which her soul otherwise damned to hell might be granted a heavenly salvation. He found that no matter how hard he tried these were conditions that he was unable to meet. Hatred rose in him, he tells us, and cut two ways—toward himself and toward God. In the midst of mutilating anxiety, Luther, by his own account, came suddenly to a revolutionary belief that salvation is not the result of good deeds or good intentions, i.e., good works, but is the gift of the Spirit who moves through one's soul in the shape of a very personal and radical trust in *God's* faithfulness.[4] Although certainly what he maintains does not abandon human embodiment,[5] Luther makes very clear that the question of grace, faith, and works is to be situated in one's own soul. Further, however alien Christ, as God's righteousness, continues to be, by grace I come to be his and he comes to be mine.[6] It is not enough that Jesus died. Jesus must have died *pro me*.[7] No work, no desire, no will can bring this about. It must come, freely, from an insuperably free Spirit.

[4]Luther puts it this way: "I could not believe that [God] was placated by my satisfaction. I did not love, yes, I hated the righteous God who punishes sinners. . . . Nevertheless, I beat importunately upon Paul at that place. . . . At last by the mercy of God, meditating day and night, I gave heed to the context of the words [of Romans 1:17], namely, 'In it the righteousness of God is revealed, as it is written, "He who through faith is righteous shall live." ' There I began to understand that the righteousness of God is that by which the righteousness of God is revealed by the gospel, namely, the passive righteousness with which merciful God justifies us by faith, as it is written, '[The one] who through faith is righteous shall live.' Here I felt that I was altogether born again and had entered paradise itself through open gates. . . . And I extolled my sweetest word with a love as great as the hatred with which I had before hated the word 'righteousness of God.' Thus that place in Paul was for me truly the gate to paradise" (Luther 1961a, 11-12).

[5]For example: "flesh, according to Paul, as also according to Christ in John 3:6 f., means everything that is born from the flesh, i.e. the entire self, body and soul, including our reason and all our senses. . . . The term 'spirit' applies to a person who, in thought and fact, lives and labours in the service of the spirit and of the life to come" (Luther 1961b, 25).

[6]"Therefore through the first [alien] righteousness arises the voice of the bridegroom [Christ] who says to the soul, 'I am yours,' but through the second [proper righteousness] comes the voice of the bride [the believer] who answers, 'I am yours'" (Luther 1961c, 89).

[7]"I believe that it has now become clear that it is not enough or in any sense Christian to preach the works, life, and words of Christ as historical facts, as if knowledge of these would suffice for the conduct of life. . . . Rather ought Christ to be preached to the end that faith in him may be established that he may not only be Christ, but be Christ for you and me, and that what is said of him and is denoted in his name may be effectual in us" (Luther 1957, 20).

Even apart from their function in the legal restraint of the destructive personal and social forces of sin and the manifestation on the way to salvation of our powerlessness before the righteous wrath of God, works have a place of honor in Luther's theology.[8] However, even here they are secondary. Grace alone saves through the dawning of a faith that from the beginning is distinguished from works. Works flow gracefully from a believing heart. And as much as they are acts of utterly other-regarding love, their battleground—no less than the battleground of faith—is where God has touched *my* soul.

It is in the context of this history—from Augustine through the Reformers—that the theology of John Wesley is commonly considered. It is not just because Wesley was born into and nurtured by the century of "the self" *par excellence* that his theology seems so oriented to the "I." The history of the doctrine of salvation in which he is so versed seems anchored there as well. But something else opens in Wesley that breathes a different air.[9]

Wesley's theology is slippery; it tends not to stay put where we would expect it to. Even where we would predict that Wesley would least tolerate interruption—e.g., when he is working out the way by which the particular human being comes to salvation—aporias rise up. Wesley engages them, of course; but he does so by thinking in unexpected and multiple directions, as if his logic were not uniform, hierarchical, and linear, but a complex root system growing through rich, if rocky soil (see, e.g., Wesley's procedure in 1985, Sermon 43 [1765]).

Thus, according to his account, from the beginning every particular human being is utterly ruined by the fall, dead to God, a child of the devil, able only to sin, i.e., to reject God's grace (Wesley 1985b, Sermon 44 [1759]). A person is laid hold of by the Spirit of God, who awakens, opens one to the desperate position of sin and of God's sovereign love; i.e., she is brought to the Christ, hanging powerlessly on the cross on Good Friday, redeemed on Easter Sunday morning. She is carried here

[8]For example: "Our faith in Christ does not free us from works but from false opinions concerning works, that is, from the foolish presumption that justification is acquired by works" (Luther 1957, 35-36; see 21-40 for an extended discussion of the role of works in "Christian liberty.")

[9]It can be argued as well that this, too, is no novelty, that such a space, such air, such breathing were already all over traditional soteriology, but unperceived by thinkers paralyzed under the heavy weight of modern foundationalism.

and in this space is carried farther; through confession, repentance, and faith she moves out into the capaciousness of holiness, renewed in the image of God. Wesley, the great advocate of human responsibility, Wesley, the Arminian,[10] finds that the coming of salvation is wrapped in a mystery that no intent theological gaze can master even by the most complex idea.[11] In a sermon on Philippians 2:12-13 ("Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling; for it is God that worketh in you, both to will and to do of [God's] good pleasure") Wesley writes this: "The meaning of these words . . . removes all imagination of merit from [the human being], and gives God the whole glory of [God's] own work. Otherwise we might have had some room for boasting, as if it were our own desert, some goodness in us, or some good thing done by us, which first moved God to work . . ." (Wesley 1986, Sermon 85 [c. 1785] I.1-2).

There is tension here. Wesley really means that God is sovereign in all that salvation entails, even when it must be said that human beings are active participants in salvation.[12] Unlike Luther, who can speak of faith, hope, and love as the Spirit's flowing through the human being as through a "pipe," Wesley thinks of them much more as the Spirit's engagement of the actions and passions of the human being.[13] And yet, every righteous event in every human life is graced, is God's work; it has no impermeable boundary around itself and certainly no center in itself.[14] The deed I per-

[10]It is important to remember that, when Wesley calls himself an Arminian, he is affirming both his discontinuity from and continuity with Calvinism. Though he denies such characteristically Calvinist notions as unconditional election, he affirms the sovereignty of God's grace in all human righteousness, particularly that of the event of faith. See Wesley 1872b (1770), 358-361.

[11]"It is hard to find words in the language of [human beings] to explain 'the deep things of God.' Indeed there are none that will adequately express what the children of God experience" (Wesley 1984a, Sermon 10 [1746] I.7; cf. I.12).

[12]And it does seem that the Protestant discussion both of monergism and of synergism does not help one understand Wesley at this point. Whether the Orthodox use of the term synergism is helpful is yet to be decided. In any case, Wesley does not play a "zero-sum game"; he is not thinking of the work of God and of our work as making up two fractions the sum of which is the total work of salvation. Were it possible to quantify the work of salvation (and it is not), it would all be God's.

[13]For a twentieth-century account, not unlike Wesley's, of the relation between human action and divine grace, an account that is worked out in contrast to Luther's position, see Barth, 1958, 752-783.

[14]These two sides—the human and the divine—are particularly affirmed in Wesley's sermons "Witness of the Spirit I and II" (Wesley, 1984a, Sermon 10 [1746] and Wesley 1984b [1767]).

form is concomitantly and more significantly *God's* deed. Grace opens the human in a gratitude that cannot find in the human itself a ground for boasting. The in-spiration of the Spirit is an invitation to an ex-spiration of thanksgiving without which the soul would suffocate.

Furthermore, from its beginning this way of salvation entails bodily life, the life in which one is acted upon and performs acts of response. Grace is always the immediate work of the Spirit of God. However, it comes to bodies entangled in a bodily world, a world not only of subtle thoughts and softly spoken words, but also of backs and hands and bellies, of the beaten and the exhausted and the hungry. Therefore, the Spirit comes to us, calling us not out of embodiment, but to it. The *immediacy* of grace comes through certain very worldly *means*. As if to deny our lust to know good and evil, Wesley says that God uses means with no inherent spiritual status. They are means of grace only because they are specifically ordained by God as such, they are *made* to be the site of grace, i.e., from the outside (see Runyon 1998, 62-64).[15] We in turn are called to "wait" for God here.[16]

Wesley's 1781 sermon, "On Zeal," situates the means of grace among a complex of practices that he sharply contrasts with those of the politics of perverse religious power that in recent centuries had torn Europe apart.[17] He knows quite well that it is a short step from excitement to aggression and from aggression to violence. And so, he knows that it is crucial to clarify the distinctive character of the zeal he understands the gospel to be about. In doing so, Wesley portrays the holy life as a life that is pierced more and more by God's love and in response is more and more given away to others. There is a pattern that emerges in Wesley's account. Holy, humble, meek, patient zeal occurs in the specific form of the church, "the entire, connected system of Christianity" (II.1-3, 6). The

[15]"There is no *power* in this [that God uses as a means of grace]. It is in itself a poor, dead, empty thing: separate from God, it is a dry leaf, a shadow" (Wesley 1984c Sermon 16 [1746] V.4).

[16]"We know this salvation is the gift and the work of God. But how . . . may I attain thereto? If you say, 'Believe, and thou shalt be saved,' [one] answers, 'True; but how shall I believe?' You reply, 'Wait upon God.' 'Well. But how am I to wait?' . . . According to this, according to the decision of Holy Writ, all who desire the grace of God are to wait for it in the means which he hath ordained; in using, not in laying them aside." (Wesley, 1984, Sermon 16 [1846] II.7, III.1)

[17]Wesley claims that, since the Reformation, forty million people have died as a result of perverted religious zeal (Wesley, 1986b, Sermon 92 [1781] 1).

church in turn—*qua* church—gives itself to certain works of piety and mercy, hoping not in its own effectiveness, but in God's love, ordering itself wisely, i.e., in accord with what God calls good. And in everything the church loves: "Christian zeal is all love. It is nothing else. The love of God and [human being] fills up its whole nature. . . . True Christian zeal is no other than *the flame of love*" (I.2-3).

The church occurs because the energy of a graced life cuts outward to God and to those whom God has always and already loved. Indeed, the church is nothing but the societal energy of graced life, that gathering of the gifted, of those who are to be given away:

> The several parts of [the church] rise one above another, from the lowest point, "the assembling ourselves together," to the highest, love enthroned in the heart. . . . [God] saw "it was not good for [human beings] to be alone," even in this sense, but that the whole body of [God's] children should be "knit together, and strengthened, by that which every joint supplieth" (II.5-6; III.7; see Maddox 1994, 202).

That is, Wesley's account of the patterns of zeal does not drop a private individual onto a field where lonely spiritual exercises are to be performed. Even when his rhetoric is the most personal, it never calls for detached privacy. As love grows in intensity in "that one" (as Kierkegaard might say), it is the church—where "that one" acts and is acted upon—that is zealous. And so, when Wesley places zeal for the church at the lowest level of his taxonomy, he is not relativizing the church's significance.[18]

It is because Wesley holds that different kinds and different degrees of intensity are called for in response to God's grace that God has formed the means of grace into a certain pattern.[19] Those committed to the church are first to give themselves to works of piety, to open to God's Spirit

[18]Though he does not speak explicitly of care for the church as such as a means of grace, insofar as there is no faithful act, however subtle, that is not ecclesial, it is fair to use the term here, too.

[19]It is because there is a kind of system of priority to what God has ordained that it can be said that we are to be more intensely given to certain actions than others. That is, it is simply *better* to be zealous for some matters than for others; and it is better, because God "sees" it to be better, is more "pleased" with it: "Hence also we learn . . . that [true zeal] is always exercised . . . 'in that which is good,' so it is always *proportioned* to that good, to the degree of goodness that is in its object" (II.6; stress in the original).

through prayer, scripture reading, and the eucharist. These are the means of grace Wesley mentions specifically in his 1746 sermon on the subject and they are obviously important to him.[20] However, Wesley maintains that it is, in fact, for "works of mercy" that one is to have a higher degree of zeal. He says: "Thus should [she] show [her] zeal for works of piety; but much more for *works of mercy*; seeing 'God will have mercy and not sacrifice'—that is, rather than sacrifice. Whenever, therefore, one interferes with the other, works of mercy are to be preferred. Even reading, hearing, prayer, are to be omitted, or to be postponed, 'at charity's almighty call'—when we are called to relieve the distress of our neighbour, whether in body or soul" (Wesley 1986b, Sermon 92 [1781] II.9).

The ecclesial works that rise in intensity through works of piety to works of mercy are to have their open end in grace and what *grace* works (II.5-7). It is because no work is holy unless it stands out into the coming of God's love that promoting "holy tempers" in oneself and in others is to be given the highest priority (II.10).[21] There is no righteous deed—whether aiming at one's own piety or the welfare of others—that pushes off from the hard inner ground of the actor. No work of piety, no spiritual excitement, no deep inner sense of the divine, no "religious experience,"[22] but also no act of compassion is to be left to itself. The sinner saved by grace is gifted by the breath of God's love, a love agape concretely to the outside, an open play within the holy life of God. It is precisely because God is love and the call is to be caught up into that love that any work is to be done. The momentum of this call is not finally toward one's own inner life, but outward into God and with God in every direction that God moves. And so, the child of God—gratefully entangled

[20]Prayer: 1984c [1746], III.1-6; "searching the scriptures": III.7-10; and the eucharist: III.11-12; see V.1. Wesley adds fasting at times: see 1985a [1743], III.9-10.

[21]"As zealous as we are for all good works, we should be still more zealous for *holy tempers*; for planting and promoting both in our souls, and in all we have any intercourse with, lowliness of mind, meekness, gentleness, long-suffering, contentedness, resignation unto the will of God, deadness to the world and the things of the world, as the only means of being truly alive to God" (Wesley 1986b, Sermon 92 [1781] II.10).

[22]This exceptionally problematic phrase is used in part to call it into question. It could be argued and perhaps should be argued that it is a phrase that can no longer be used without qualification in any Wesleyan discourse that has taken account of the dreadful history of modernity.

in the church—is poured out to the neighbor and for this reason can only be saddened if the circumstances of life obstruct the concrete, tangible praxis that embodied love desires.[23]

Zeal for God's love excludes the destructive politics of hatred (Wesley 1986b, Sermon 92 [1781] 1-4; III.1-6). It has no program, no opinions, to push. It has one "foundation": "Jesus Christ and him crucified." "Holding fast this one principle, 'The life I now live, I live by faith in the Son of God who loved *me*, and gave himself for *me*'; proportion your zeal to the value of its object." Therefore, "be most zealous of all for *love*, the queen of all graces, the highest perfection in earth or heaven, the very image of the invisible God, as in [us] below, so in angels above. For 'God is love; and [she] that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God and God in [her]' " (III.12). This is a very different politics, a politics of those whose privacy has been transgressed by God's grace and opened to the outside, a politics of active waiting for the freedom of God's love in the means of grace: works of piety, works of mercy, and what finally is the energy of all the rest: works of love.[24]

[23]Wesley's whole *via salutis* is a double if not a triple movement—simultaneously into the depths of one's heart, soul, mind, and strength and out into the holy God and into those whom God loves. Thus even in the miracle of the repentance that is to accompany justifying faith, one is to *wait actively* upon God. Election to salvation is by grace through faith, for Wesley; however, even this faith is not confined to the privacy of one's inner life. Faith emerges first in an atmosphere of overt action. Thus "fruits meet for repentance" (e.g., the cessation of evil deeds and performance of good deeds) are to occur.

[24]Wesley lays out his taxonomy particularly succinctly in this passage: "In a Christian believer *love* sits upon the throne, which is erected in the inmost soul; namely, the love of God and [human being], which fills the whole heart, and reigns without a rival. In a circle near the throne are all *holy tempers*: long-suffering, gentleness, meekness, goodness, fidelity, temperance—and if any other is comprised in 'the mind which was in Christ Jesus.' In an exterior circle are all the *works of mercy*, whether to [human] souls or bodies. By these we exercise all holy tempers; by these we continually improve them, so that all these are real *means of grace*, although this is not commonly adverted to. Next to these are those that are usually termed *works of piety*: reading and hearing the Word, public, family, private prayer, receiving the Lord's Supper, fasting or abstinence. Lastly, that his followers may the more effectually provoke one another to love, holy tempers, and good works, our blessed Lord has united them together in one—*the church*, dispersed all over the earth; a little emblem of which, of the church universal, we have in every particular Christian congregation" (II.5). More specifically of zeal for holy tempers: "But as zealous as we are for good works, we should be still more zealous for *holy tempers* . . . as the only means of being truly alive to God" (II.10).

The sociality at play in Wesley's soteriology rises to particular prominence in a brief preface he wrote to a collection of poems and hymns in 1739 (Wesley, 1872a; Runyon, 1998, 112). He was worried that a few lines written at an earlier time, when he was under the influence of certain "mystics," might lead readers astray. In an attempt to avoid the erroneous view that salvation is by works, they had opted for a salvation by "virtuous habits and tempers." Wesley declares: "The ground of our acceptance is placed [by these mystics] in ourselves. . . . [And yet] neither our own inward nor outward righteousness is the ground of our justification, but the effect of it." The "cause" of our salvation, he says, is "the righteousness and the death of Christ." The condition for receiving this salvation is faith (Wesley, 1872a, 2). Note the externality of grace here.

Wesley is similarly troubled by the *route* some attempt to take to God. They propose withdrawal from human society "in order to purify the soul." Wesley is adamant:

> According to the judgment of our Lord, and the writings of his Apostles, it is only when we are knit together that we "have nourishment from [God], and increase with the increase of God." . . .When [Jesus' disciples] were strengthened a little, not by solitude, but by abiding with him and one another, he commanded them to "wait," not separate, but "being assembled together," for "the promise of the Father." (3)

" 'Holy solitaries' is a phrase no more consistent with the gospel than holy adulterers. The gospel of Christ knows of no religion, but social; no holiness but social holiness" (5). There is a more extended parallel in Wesley's 1748 sermon on the Matthew 5:13-16. His claim there is no less strong: "I endeavor to show that Christianity is essentially a social religion, and that to turn it into a solitary religion is to destroy it" (Wesley, 1984d, Sermon 24 [1748] I.1). His explicit concern in this sermon is with "externals."[25] That is, "social religion" is that devotion to God which will not stay put in one's private soul, but must always and everywhere move to the outside, to those others whom God loves. And thus the holy life is

[25]His use of the word "outward" in this sermon is delightfully excessive: he speaks of "outward action" (3),"outward religion" (3; III.1, 3), "outward things" (III.1, 4, 5, 6), "outward obedience" (III.1), "outward services" (III.1), "outward works" (III.3, 4, 6), and "outward commandments" (III.4, 5). This externality—cutting from God's irruption into the "soul"—is precisely being agape, loved and loving.

lived ecclesially and missionally.[26] Of course, Wesley knows that outgoing can also be perverted. However, the holiness he finds all over the life of Christ is a holiness that "puts forth branches." This is a "*sacrifice of our . . . bodies*, which [God] peculiarly claims; which the Apostle 'beseeches us, by the mercies of God, to present unto him, a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God'" (III.1).[27] In this way one bears witness to Christ (II.6).

The complex of ideas laid out by Wesley concerning works—that they are called forth by grace, that they are an active waiting upon grace, that they are works of gratitude and faithfulness and mercy and love, that they take place through the righteousness and death of Christ, that they are social, that they are sacrificial, that they are acts of the body, that they are ecclesial—invite one to contextualize those works in a way only softly suggested in Wesley's writings. There is no question that the eucharist is important to him. His sermon "On the Duty of Constant Communion" (1787) stresses the importance of entering into this sacrament not only with great frequency, but with constancy, living uninterruptedly from and to the eating and drinking of Christ's body and blood (Wesley, 1986c [1787], I.6 and II.1). And there is no question that he himself made his way to the celebration several times a week throughout his life and that the "evangelical revival" in England over which he presided was also a eucharistic revival.[28] However, Wesley's treatment of the eucharist seldom if ever strays far from the place he has given it among works of piety. And yet there is a eucharistic *logic* in his theology of works. It is a logic that cuts two ways: out into the life of God, praying in the Spirit through the Son to the Father, and out into the world this God loves, laboring from the Father through the Son in the Spirit. This logic dislodges Wesley's theology from the enclosure of the private self, the individual soul, the "I," and sends it into the space opened by God's love for this world.

In his *Outward Sign and Inward Grace* Rob Staples has explored the significance of the sacraments for Wesleyan thought and life. He lays out

[26]Even though there are indeed to be times of quiet personal meditation, they, too, are to be contextualized within "living and conversing" with others, one's brothers and sisters and one's enemies (Wesley, 1984e, Sermon 24 [1748] I.1-4).

[27]Emphasis added.

[28]See Cummings, 1999, 150-151; Maddox, 1994, 202-203; Stoeffler, 1976, 316; and Runyon, 1998, 128-129, 136-140.

in his chapter on the eucharist the kinship of Wesley's theology to Calvin's, particularly in their similar understandings of "the real presence" of Christ in that event. Like Calvin, Wesley rejected the Lutheran notion that with his ascension Christ's body came to saturate the whole of creation. Like Calvin, Wesley affirmed that the body of Christ has its place forevermore at the right hand of God the Father in the mystery of heaven (Staples, 1991, 221 and 226). In eucharistic celebration it is the Spirit that unites the celebrant with Christ. This is a trinitary "spiritual presence." One meets the exalted Son in the Spirit; and through the Son one worships the Father. This is a "real presence," Staples says, though not one that is fixed geographically, perhaps on a table in a big room. Unlike Calvin, however, Wesley thinks of the real presence of Jesus Christ, Staples says, not primarily as the coming of "power," but as a "divinity" that in that event is bestowed (227).

> Wesley's view of the real presence is what Borgen [whom Wesley excerpts] calls "dynamic" in that it is related to God's action. "Where God acts, there [God] is." It is "real" presence because it is "living presence." Thus the objective presence of Christ in the supper "cannot be thought of as the static presence of an object, but rather as that of a living and acting person working *through* the means." (227)

Therefore, Staples calls the eucharist in Wesley's account the "sacrament of sanctification," the sacrament of the hallowing of life, of a partaking of the divine nature. In it one lives, giving thanks to the holy Trinity (229-232); one lives out of the memory of the life history of Jesus (232-236); one lives in fellowship with the church (240-243); one lives from the coming reign and rule of God (243-249); and one lives a martyr's life, with Christ sacrificing all that falls into one's hands to the Father and to those whom the Father loves (236-240).

If it can be said that Wesley's theology as a whole is a theology of sanctification, it is also to be said that Wesley's theology as a whole is a theology of the liturgy of the eucharist. In it there is a spirited call for a prayer and a thanksgiving and a joy that do not cease, an anamnetic journey out into the infinite space of the exalted history of the tortured Jesus, an entanglement in the whole ecclesial network of the body of Christ, a hope in the coming of the holy mystery of God, and the most unrestricted presentation of the body as a living sacrifice out into the agape love of God.

II. What might engage us in the face of a woman who stretches out her hand?

There is perhaps nothing more characteristic of the thinking of the present than its *élan* to domesticate human life by means of a logistics of eras. The phrase "the postmodern age" is no less a power-move than is the more blatant "Renaissance" caricature "Middle Ages." When it is not easily dismissed as pathological, what seems ill-founded or dis-oriented, excessively heavenly-minded or earthy, unbounded or identity-transgressing, fanatical or traditionalist is turned into some instance of a parenthetical phase through which the human race is going. In this way the masters of knowledge can at least put it in its place. Indeed, the era card can be played to trump any suit. One may even insert oneself imaginatively into a set of parentheses, wearing some designer label with admiring pride: "modern," "postmodern," "progressive," "Wesleyan," "evangelical."

As Jean-Luc Marion reminds us, we are in a day of images, in a television show, 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. We sit and we watch, as voyeurs.

> A "viewer" [*Voyeur*]: thus is defined the one who, under the most neutral names of "spectator" or "consumer," undergoes, governs, and defines the image [*l'image*]. . . . The viewer watches for the sole pleasure of seeing: thanks to technology, [she] is finally able to succumb without limit or restriction to the fascination of the *libido vivendi,* which was always denounced by the fathers: a pleasure [*jouissance*] of seeing, of seeing all, especially what I do not have the right or strength to see; the pleasure also of seeing without being seen—that is, of mastering by the view [*vue*] what does not return to me without exposing me to the gaze of another. (Marion 2004, 50; 1996, 9-92; cf. 2000, 61)

I expect and the image must meet my expectation, satisfy my *eros*. I fix my gaze on the image, demanding that it return to me what I desire. I recline before it in "respectful veneration" (2004, 60; cf. 2000, 65-66) and it becomes my idol. My response is to conform to that upon which I am fixated, however much it is my own gaze that is reflected by it. "I must constitute myself as an image," Marion writes, "no longer first an image of me, but rather an image of the idol expected by the viewers—an idol of a desire, thus of a voyeuristic gaze" (2004, 5-53; cf. 2000, 62).

Not only the brilliant statue of Athena standing forth from her temple on the Acropolis, not only a glistening television star rising and set-

ting upon a liquid crystal display, but also an idea, e.g., the idea "God," may shine before us, like an image upon a mirror that reflects the searchlight of our own gaze. The intentionality of consciousness thus makes an ontological move. My vision pierces space and time until it is fixed upon the idol and from the idol it comes home.[29] In the idol I find that for which I am looking. It conforms to my desire and I can now conform to it; and all else is seen in its light. It is as if I reached out to an object and in reaching embraced everything else, the whole network of being (1991, 2-3; 217-218 n. 67).[30]

The *icon*, on the other hand, signifies differently. For Marion one must still think of an intentional gaze, but of one differently convened. It is the icon that *faces* and it is I who am *gazed upon*.

> The icon does not result from a vision but provokes one. . . . Whereas the idol results from the gaze that aims at it, the icon summons sight in letting the visible . . . be saturated little by little with the invisible. The invisible seems, it appears in a semblance (*eik /eoika*) which, however, never reduces the invisible to the slackened wave of the visible. . . . In this sense, the formula that Saint Paul applies to Christ, *eik n tou theou tou aoratou,* icon of the invisible God (Col. 1:15), must serve as our norm; it even must be generalized to every icon, as, indeed, John of Damascus explicitly ventures: *pasa eik n ekphantorik tou kruphiou kai deiktik* [every icon manifests and indicates the secret]. (Marion, 1991, 17 and 202 n. 18)

The icon of the invisible God faces the one with receptive eyes. The icon, the face, is no abstraction, no graspable idea.[31] It is concrete and specific,

[29]"The gaze precedes the idol because an aim precedes and gives rise to that at which it aims. The first intention aims at the divine and the gaze strains itself to the divine, to see it by taking it up into the field of the gazeable. The more powerfully the aim is deployed, the longer it sustains itself, the richer, more extensive, and more sumptuous will appear the idol on which it will stop its gaze. To stop the gaze: we could do no better than to say, to stop a gaze, allow it to rest (itself) in/on an idol, when it can no longer pass beyond. In this stop, the gaze ceases to overshoot and transpierce itself, hence it ceases to transpierce visible things, in order to pause in the splendor of one of them" (Marion, 1991, 11).

[30]Marion is thinking here of the metaphysical idea of God. However, his work is a post-Heideggerian critique of Heidegger. It moves from a critique of the notion of God as *causa sui* through a critique of Heidegger's ontology to an affirmation of one whom no metaphysical gaze can grasp. (See Marion, 1991, 33-37 and *passim*.)

[31]Marion's dependence upon Levinas is evident here.

as specific as is the face of Jesus, a face that does not exclude, but expansively opens to every concrete and specific face. God peers through his face—and because it is *his* face, because he is the one for others, it is to be said that God peers through every face.[32]

But the icon is not an "in itself," a circumscribed identity. "Christ Jesus only comes to earth to glorify the Father and in on way to draw attention to his own glory. . . . The paradox of iconic monstration of the invisible in the visible would allow only the reception of Christ, without the crucifixion for blasphemy" (2004, 57-58; cf. 2000, 64). The icon, of course, is there to be seen, with the eyes or with consciousness. However, in the icon it is what is *not* seen and *cannot* be seen that comes to vision. The icon "teaches the gaze . . . summons the gaze to surpass itself by never freezing on a visible, since the visible only presents itself here in view of the invisible" (Marion, 1991, 18). The *idol* is caught in a loop, going out to return, like Odysseus. Through the *icon* a call irrupts, a call from the unknown, a call that beckons one out into the unknown, into uncharted territory—like the promise that unsettled Abram and took him away from home, never to return.

It is in the icon that the invisibility of God transcends metaphysical presence—*ousia,* being—and, as is declared in the ecumenical creeds, entails rather a *hupostasis*, a *persona*, a "person" (1991, 18). We may think of paint on a plane of wood. Not fixed by the aim of the artist or the art critic, the incarnate face of the Son of God gazes at us in the icon, a face that does not shine from afar on a visual screen (1991, 19-20). Aesthetics is subjected to crisis. The coming of the iconic gaze is an apocalyptic event, an irruption into the whole realm of being and measure; it is "the pure grace of an advent" not held fast within a network of being. The gaze of the face in fact disrupts ontology and provokes a "read[ing] in the visible the intention of the invisible" (1991, 21).[33] Thus, even a concept might become an icon if it gives up the pretension of apprehending the

[32]"If [the human being], by [her] gaze, renders the idol possible, in reverent contemplation of the icon, on the contrary, the gaze of the invisible, in person, aims at [the human being]. The icon regards us—it *concerns* us. . ." (1991, 19, cf. 21 and 23–24).

[33]"The invisible summons us, 'face to face, person to person' (1 Cor. 13:12). . . our face as the visible mirror of the invisible…. It transforms us in its glory by allowing this glory to shine on our face as its mirror—but a mirror consumed by that very glory, transfigured with invisibility. . ." (1991, 22).

divine, if it ceases its intention to measure "God," if it yields to the envisagement that moves toward the thinker in, through, by, and for the face of the Christ—only, that is, if the eyes that hold the concept are opened "as one opens a body with a knife" (1991, 24).

Marion acknowledges that our natural mode of operation is one that is immersed in the waters of being. Human life happens naturally as the "place" where the forces of being battle. We find ourselves thankful to being for having granted us all that we are and all that those about us are—as beings. A boundary-line is in this way thrown out, encircling every past, present, and future, every here and there. Every region in which the beings of the world are acknowledged is an openness given by being and for being. We fix our consciousness on an entity, but it is elusive in that being is given but not owned (1991, 108). That something different, something not given by being, might break into this realm is impossible by definition. Only a freedom that "does not have to be" might do so (1991, 138). That we fixate on and close to the impossibility of such a "crossing of being," that we do not give ourselves to it with joy, is a sign of the distance of what might come and of our refusal of that distance.

Of course, the mere suggestion of "what crosses being" throws us into confusion. We demand to know what such a thing might *be*. However, no answer will be heard as long as our question demands resolution on our own terms. Nevertheless, if we were to be so bold as to suggest a language of openness to the coming of "the other than being," Marion says, we might venture the word "*agap?*" (1991, 108-109). God, we might say, "is" *agap?*, the love that is free to call into being what is not and reduce to nothing what is (1991, 87-88). Marion draws attention to the New Testament passage that articulates the honored Greek word for being, *ousia*. It is the story of the "prodigal son" who has asked for and received from his loving father what he is one day to inherent, "his" *ousia*. Having received and then squandered this "substance," he returns to his father without demand and finds with surprise that there is no end to the old man's freedom to give, much to the chagrin of the prodigal's older brother who sees his own inheritance (his own *ousia*) ripped from his hands, only to be wasted on his unworthy brother. The father sees differently. The father is free in relation to being. Thus it must be said that "God [is] love." Saying this, however, is no mean feat. It calls for the gift of one's whole heart and soul and mind and strength; it calls for entry into an event that shakes off the abstraction of every ideology. Such an event is the cross of Christ. Such an entry into it is the church.

If theology is the giving text of the God who [is] love, if it is to be understood as the deed in which the radically free God comes to word in the work of a cruciform people, it, therefore, occurs as a gift, a gift of joy "played in distance, which unites as well as separates the [one] writing and the Word at hand—the Christ" (1991, 1). That is, the word that speaks of the free God speaks from and to the gift in which this God de-natures every author from her own authority, goods, and *ousia*. Theology plays in gratitude.

> Theology always writes starting from an other than itself. It diverts the author from [herself] . . . ; it causes [her] to write outside of [herself], even against [herself], since [she] must write not of what [she] is, on what [she] knows, in view of what [she] wants, but in, for, and by that which [she] receives and in no case masters. . . . For theology consists precisely in saying that for which only another can answer—the Other above all, the Christ who himself does not speak in his own name, but in the name of his Father. Indeed, theological discourse offers its strange jubilation only to the strict extent that it permits and, dangerously, demands of its [worker] that [she] speak beyond [her] means, precisely because [she] does not speak of [herself]. Hence the danger of a speech that, in a sense, speaks against the one who lends [herself] to it. One must obtain forgiveness for every essay in theology. In all senses. (1991, 1-2)

To bear witness to the inapprehensibility of God, Marion uses the critical trope "G⌀d," bringing the cross of St. Andrew into play as a reminder both of the temptation to idolatry that lurks in every three-letter word, and also of the hope of God's being-surpassing love in the cross and resurrection of Christ (1991, 46-52).[34]

Such an impossible exercise as theology has a performative site, the body of Christ. Speech here is an act of entry into a history of dis-integration. The Christ is poured out to the one he calls "Father" and his Father is poured out to him. Jesus is the Christ as he sacrifices his *ousia* to the

[34]The cross of Saint Andrew is shaped differently than the cross of Christ, "because it is believed that Saint Andrew, at his own request, was crucified on this form of cross, counting himself not worthy to die on the same kind of cross as his Lord. It is said that, while dying slowly on it, he continued to preach to those around him" (Stafford, 1942, 69).

one who loves, who loves across the vast distance that separates and binds Father and Son—and Jesus' sacrifice is acknowledged and exalted and filled by his Father's holy love. Theology is gifted to speak here. The site of the theology that is kenotically self-effacing, "focused on God's holiness," is the eucharistic work of the self-effacing people of this Christ. Theology is done as a liturgical movement. Liturgy is certainly a perceptible display, overflowing with sights and sounds and smells and tastes and textures. And yet, in these actions and passions, a working class presumes to be given to do all that they do in the person of Christ, to perform the very crucified body of Christ. "Christ speaks in the readings, makes himself seen, touched, eaten, and breathed in his eucharistic body" (2004, 64; cf. 2000, 68). Here these people pray; i.e., gifted, they give themselves to be gazed upon by another, to pour out what they are "so that in this way might appear the splendor that the eyes can neither hope for nor bear, but a splendor that love—shed abroad in our hearts [Rom. 5:5]—makes it possible to endure" (2004, 65; cf. 2000, 69).

It is in the prayerful work of these people that the witness to the Christ remains forever unfinished. The open place of the body of Christ is unsurpassable. There is an interminable deferral moving in every theological act. Everything is given specifically in this body, this church: "space: the nations; time: the days." And yet, ecclesial movement is not progress; it is open liturgy in an open range "accomplished definitively at Easter" and still "pregnant with a future." It is more than enough for such a bodily witness to turn in its work to the incarnate Word of God, again and again, like a rich young ruler, forever selling his goods, his *ousiai*, giving to the poor, and following the incarnate *hupostasis* of God. "We are infinitely free in theology: we find all already given, gained, available. It only remains to be understood, to say, and to celebrate. So much freedom frightens us, deservedly" (Marion 1991, 158).

Theology occurs on the Road to Emmaus. *Our* eyes, too, are unable to recognize the Christ, even when we have sacred texts before us, even when he is walking beside us. It is only in the insuperably new breaking of the eucharistic bread "that the referent in person redoubles, completes, and disqualifies the hermeneutic that we can carry out from this side of the text, through another hermeneutic that, so to speak, bypasses its text from beyond and passes on this side" (1991, 147; cf. 2002, 149–152). Indeed, no text can contain him. It is not enough to know, not even to know the sacred scriptures. All knowing is to be given to that work in

which the body of Christ is broken and his blood shed. The attempt to speak of God elsewhere has averted its gaze from the gaze of the infinitely capacious God who comes in Christ. But the theology at work in the broken body of Christ is gifted by the Sovereign and Giver of Life. There is no "meaning" outside of this event to which it is to yield (1991, 152). Of course, this is not to fixate on a metaphysics of the body of Christ as a delineated present reality as a thing. Nor is it to affirm that the collective consciousness of the gathered people is a presence of the body of Christ (1991, 163-169). It is, however, to affirm that here in this liturgy "the consecrated host imposes, or rather permits . . . the irreducible exteriority of the present that Christ makes us of himself in this thing that to him becomes sacramental body" (1991, 169). In the eating and drinking of this body and blood one does not assimilate Christ to oneself; one is rather consumed by him and enters into his body, the called—alive with the life of his body, moving with its motion, working with its work (1991, 179). To do so is to bear witness that the crucified "Jesus [is] Lord." Indeed, the one who bears this witness in truth has been gifted by an agape love and so is at play in a new creation in which even death is no competitor with new life. To bear this witness is thus already to be a martyr, like Stephen (1991, 197).

III. What might engage us in the face of a woman who stretches out her hand?

Bearing witness to Christ is no solitary's display of disembodied abstractions. Theology is a narrative tempo of an epiktatic martyr-journey into the spacious word become flesh, a deed of worship that is as tangible as bread, as social as the kiss of peace. Alexander Schmemann works this out unrelentingly:

> [Worship is] the public act of the church, in which there is nothing private at all, nor can there be, since this would destroy the very nature of the church. The purpose of worship is to constitute the church, precisely to bring what is "private" into the new life, to transform it into what belongs to the church, i.e., shared with all in Christ. In addition its purpose is always to express the church as the unity of that body whose head is Christ. And finally, its purpose is that we should always "with one mouth and one heart" serve God, since it was only such worship which God commanded the church to offer. (Schmemann 1966, 24)

The speaking of God, Schmemann tells us, is nothing if cut off from this public move. To declare the inseparability of the *lex credendi* from the *lex orandi*—the rhythmic deed of belief from the rhythmic deed of prayer—is not to make theology an exercise for the pious heart; it is to place it in the particular pilgrimage of a particular people: what these people do, how these people work. The speaking of God is thus nothing if excised from its ecclesial tissue (Schmemann 1988, 13).

Indeed, the church itself *is* this liturgy, this work of these people (this *laos-ergon*); it is thus "the *work* of Christ" (Schmemann 1998, 77). As such the church is where these people rise to the hope that plays from the creation of the world. This is not simply to repeat the platitude that the church is no building. Of course, buildings are not churches and churches are not buildings (Schmemann 1966, 118-121; 1973, 20). However, neither is the church some Populist Party notion of "the people," some collection of individuals, say, with their own economic interests.

In the work of these people time is gathered together and renewed. All week the people move from and to the celebration that occurs with Easter Sunday. Christ is raised not on the sabbath, not on the last day of the week—but on a new day that exceeds the old order of a seven- day cycle. Resurrection joy irrupts as the dawning of an unprecedented first day—a first day that will not stand in competition with the old order, but penetrates it, saturates it, and folds it into the new. Thus, this new first day in its relation to the old is also the eighth day (Schmemann 1966, 75-80).[35] And this is the day of the celebration of the eucharist, the day in which a peculiar working class enters into the apocalyptic coming of God. The day of the eucharist is the day of faith, the day that throws together (i.e., as *sym-bol*) the unseen and the seen (Hebrews 11:1).

God's future reign and rule are the redemption of time. Therefore, as we enter that coming apocalyptic event in the celebration of the eucharist, the works of days and hands enter into it, too. This is no ethereal shadow play. It is as actual as is the crop that is threatened in every growing season by drought, flood, disease, pestilence, and fire. But it is also as actual as "the *hupostasis* of things hoped for" (Hebrews 11:1). In the eucharist

[35]"The eighth day is the day beyond the cycle outlined by the week and punctuated by the Sabbath—this is the first day of the New Aeon, the figure of the time of the Messiah. . . . This eighth day (coming after and standing outside the week) is also, therefore, the first day, the beginning of the world which has been saved and restored" (Schmemann 1966, 77-78).

our praxis enters God's peace and is sent back into the world alive with the freedom of God's coming glory. "We can therefore say that the symbol [of the eucharist] reveals the world, [human being], and all creation as the 'matter' of a single, all-embracing sacrament" (Schmemann 1988, 40). It is in the liturgy of the eucharist that we come to what we are created for: to gather the fruit of the earth and to offer it in adoration to its creator.

The church has no sacred function, standing in opposition to the profane. That line of separation is transgressed in Christ's resurrection. The eucharistic liturgy is a gathering of people who *in gathering* bring the "world" with them. Admittedly, in one sense they do leave the world in this journey. The assembly on Sunday is in order to *as*cend to the God who *tran*scends all of creation. However, that heavenly "place" to which these people move is more precisely a time, the future fullness of time, in which all that will have occurred is glorified in God's embrace. "But [heaven] is not an 'other' world, different from the one God has created and given to us. It is the same world, *already* perfected in Christ, but *not yet* in us" (1973, 42). The world as it stands is taken to the world as it is redeemed. The two meet in the glorified Son of God—the deified human temple of God—the pivot upon which the whole liturgical procession turns.[36]

Schmemann's account of the first/eighth day particularizes the time of the world in one day, a day that exceeds and embraces all days. Thus eucharistic liturgy begins when the celebrants get out of bed in their homes (Schmemann 1973, 27). It continues as they trace out a line of movement in their journey to the place of assembly (Schmemann 1988, 11). Their journey eddies as the assembly enters together into the site of Christ's exaltation in heaven at the right hand of the Father (Schmemann 1988, 49-50). There is no fixation here on what is laid out on a plate or contained in a cup. It is the whole liturgy, embracing as it does the works of every day, that is the eating and drinking of the body and blood of

[36]It is also to be noted, however, that every liturgical move is enlivened by the Spirit to whom the prayer of epiclesis cries out in appeal (1973, 213, 222). There is no liturgy—no journey, no assembly, no entrance—without the Spirit. There is indeed no epiclesis without the prevenience of the Spirit. "The liturgy is served on earth, and this means in the time and space of 'this world.' But if it is served on earth, *it is accomplished in heaven, in the new time of the new creation*, in the time of the Holy Spirit" (218).

Christ: food, life. "The purpose of the eucharist lies not in the change of the bread and wine, but in our partaking of Christ, who has become our food, our life, the manifestation of the church as the body of Christ" (1988, 226).

It is because liturgy is the work of the redemption of the whole of time, of every week and day, that departure from the assembly does not bring the eucharist to an end. One leaves heaven precisely to enter back into the world (1988, 244-245). Thus, Schmemann's book *For the Life of the World* is a liturgical study-guide for Christian mission.[37] The church is sent to embody Christ in time. It does so not by marketing a solution to some speculative question. It offers rather a gift, a gift that can never become someone's private property (Schmemann 1973, 47). What the church is sent to offer is Christ, the food of the world. It offers that food not as a product to be owned, but as a life and freedom into which to enter. It is in this sense that the church's mission occurs within the pure gift of the living God—a gift that brings not satiety, but joy. The church goes where life is threatened, taken, undone, and offers itself as the bread of heaven, i.e., as Christ is offered. The church is sent to work as God works in Christ. The church is this work.

IV. What might engage us in the face of a woman who stretches out her hand?

The church as eucharistic liturgy—as the concrete, temporal movement of a people out into the infinite space opened by the Spirit's resurrection of the crucified one—is work: the ecclesial work of hands and backs, of mothers and day laborers, i.e., of bodies. The church is the gathered labor of eating—of life—the dance out into the mystery of the crucified Jesus exalted to the right hand of God the Father, the dance out into the world redeemed in the history of that poor child of Mary. It is a double-movement of abandonment of everything that one might otherwise

[37]Such a mission, Schmemann says, occurs between the times: "We are always *between* morning and evening, *between* Sunday and Sunday, *between* Easter and Easter, *between* the two comings of Christ. The experience of time as *end* gives an absolute importance to whatever we do *now*, makes it final, decisive. The experience of time as *beginning* fills all our time with joy, for it adds to it the "coefficient" of eternity. "There is no new thing under the sun." Yet, every day, every minute resounds now with the victorious affirmation: "Behold, I make all things new. I am the alpha and omega, the beginning and the end . . ." (Rev. 21:5-6)" (1973, 64-65).

have claimed to have devoured: a hunger and thirst for the God of holy week and thus a hunger and thirst for those embraced by that history; a hunger and thirst for the trinitary line of descent and ascent, of ascent and descent, that cuts through the body of Christ and the world his history takes in.

William Cavanaugh's haunting *Torture and Eucharist* speaks to this liturgical movement directly. His case study is Chile in the broken time of the virulent Pinochet regime. General Augusto Pinochet—a self-proclaimed "Christian"—came to power with the declaration that he would right the wrongs of the godless government he had overthrown, that of Salvador Allende, Chile's democratically elected, Marxist president (Cavanaugh, 1998, 72-73). A nation-state with an atheist order was under Pinochet to be cleansed and transformed into a "Christian" nation-state, in which the church was to have a place, though one cordoned off from the body politic.

Cavanaugh's ecclesiology emerges as the church rises out from under the heel of Pinochet's boot. The theology that had informed ecclesiastical operations in Chile—drawing deeply from the work of Jacques Maritain—was a theology that looked first to the deep inner core of the self and in so doing came subtly to abandon the body. Maritain's theology is neither unreasonable nor strategically apolitical. In fact Maritain did his work with an eye to social action. That it produced something utterly antisocial, by Cavanaugh's account, is its particular tragedy.[38] Cavanaugh maintains that, though Maritain is no explicit advocate of individualism (indeed he explicitly condemns it), he does distinguish sharply between "the things of Caesar and the things of Christ" in such a way that a depoliticized individualism emerges (156).

Maritain's distinction between "the spiritual" and "the temporal" is not exactly a dualism, for those who are devoted to the things of Christ also live in and thereby affect the realm over which Caesar rules. A good Christian, then, will bring to bear upon this world the righteousness she has learned in the church, leavening the world, transforming it. Therefore, a transformative Christian patriotism becomes possible, e.g., in the form of a Christian nationalism, an external loyalty to one's nation imbued

[38]Cavanaugh's account of Maritain's influence on Chilean thought is so well documented that one need not seriously question it. See in particular chapter 4 of *Torture and Eucharist*.

with the spirit of Christ.[39] It is through this indirect means that the church is to make an impact on the state in which it is placed. The church ministers to the souls of the faithful. The faithful minister to the state—i.e., once they've heard the benediction and have gone to homes not themselves woven into ecclesial worship.[40] It is "the individual" with a Christian heart, not the church, who is to be politically active. Maritain understood that the political activity invited by the modern state is often undeniably violent. The task of the individual Christian who has been formed by the church is sadly to enter even into that violence, but do so with a purity of Christian intention.

Of course, those raised on a theology informed by Maritain knew that torture is "wrong," that those who subject other human beings to such violence have thrust themselves deeply into darkness. However, they also "knew" that even the most apparently evil deed—e.g., the violence of war—could be justified when placed in the context of the pursuit of a greater good. Thus, even those with hands stained red by the blood of their victims were given a theology that permitted them to claim to have unstained hearts (170). They had entered into darkness that their children and grandchildren might live in the light.

As well-meaning as is the kind of theology given voice by Maritain, its consequences have been so crushing that a radical alternative is demanded. No therapeutic program of soul salvation, however intense and prolonged, can any longer be taken as a doctrine of sanctification that is good news for the victims of torture. What is called for is the body of Christ. A church that has sold its body to the modern nation-state for the sake of the salvation of souls must remember that it is the body that is resurrected from the dead on Easter morning—and it is the body that is gifted by the Spirit at Pentecost.

[39]Chilean bishops trying hard to speak out against Pinochet's harsh measures wrote of their loyalty to and love for their country. In the context of the affirmation that "Jesus was a patriot," they declared that had he been born in Chile, Jesus would have been "one hundred percent Chilean, in love with our countryside and our history, with our way of being and living, an authentic son of our people and our land" (98).

[40]Of course, on rare occasions the church is to get directly involved in politics; but "only to remove some obstacle to the spiritual salvation of the individual soul or the freedom of the church which mystically binds those souls together. . . . However, for Maritain . . . Christian truth is not directly applicable to concrete problems in the political sphere" (159, 169).

To understand the church *as body* is to understand the church as a politics, a politics in contradistinction to the politics of torture.[41] "Torture creates fearful and isolated bodies, bodies docile to the purposes of the regime; the eucharist effects the body of Christ, a body marked by resistance to worldly power. Torture creates victims; eucharist creates witnesses, *martyrs*" (206). The church has already fallen when its people think of the body of Christ not as what they themselves enter, but as what they *watch* in the spectacle of the transformation of bread and wine into supernatural things (213). The eucharistic liturgy is a people gathered into the coming reign and rule of God. It is an entry into the future peace of God. In it one moves in fellowship not simply with those with whom one shares a national or ethnic or civil "identity." One's fellowship is with the categorically irreconcilable many whom God will have gathered into the mystery of God's own reconciliation in their poor brother's crucifixion and resurrection (224). God's peace is the coming peace of all of embodied life. The eucharist is not having one's roots ripped out of the earth; it is having one's roots thrust deeply into an earth made new. Therefore, those who eat the food of heaven are filled with the life that comes to this world and no loss in this present evil age has the last word. It is the fellowship of the crucified who together are raised to glory. For this reason early Christians readied themselves for martyrdom by the liturgy of the eucharist (224-225).[42] It is the eucharist, the church's entering into and becoming the broken body of Christ, that keeps it from being "disappeared." The eucharist disciplines it, teaches its body what the body is to be about, how it is to bear witness to God's gift. The church is the action

[41]"First, there are individual, physical bodies, which are never 'just physical,' but are always already invested in certain social performances or practices. Second, there are social bodies, which are more than just groups of individuals bodies; rather, they are 'bodies' in the sense that they—like individual human bodies—involve the coordination of many different members into certain coherent shared activities or performances." (17)

[42]For a stunning account of the continuity between the eucharist and martyrdom in the early church, see Young, 2001. For example: "early Christian communities trained for their own, quasi-eucharistic sacrifice of martyrdom and expected it; they did this by imitating examples from life or from literary works; they scrutinized their own behavior for conformity to traditional expectations; they envisioned themselves to be fighting in a cosmic battle upon which hinged the salvation of the world and their own participation in the heavenly court and temple" (2).

and passion of "performing the body of Christ," a "eucharistic 'counter-politics' " (252).

Chile had become, in the minds of the faithful, coterminous with the people of God. The *souls* of Chileans were nurtured by the institutions of the church, their *bodies* structured and protected by the nation-state. When Allende came to power, that *pax* seemed threatened. Pinochet's victory seemed at first to have been a defeat of the forces of evil. Once more the soul and the body of Chile seemed in tandem to be saved. When the violence of Pinochet's program beat and cut and broke the bodies of the people, there was no physician to give them care. The church had abandoned families and friends and neighbors. It had only an empty word to speak—and that to abstract, private souls. The church found itself to be in complicity with the atomization of its own "members"—now no longer the organs in a network of organs, but excised, functionless, rotting masses of surgical waste.

At the moment when those institutions of the church which had served the national order so well were unmasked as the unwitting tools of death and despair, another order came to light, an order that had lain dormant, unheeded, and undone in the institutions of the church all along. And behold, the church came to life again, the life in which persons reduced to the isolation of individuality came once more to labor, to practice solidarity with the body of Christ and with the bodies of those he loves.[43] Eucharistic liturgy, now extending from long before the first word to long after the last word of a Sunday service, worked to "knit the people together" (267). This liturgy was once more performed as the movement of a people out into the exalted history of Christ and thereby out into the suffering lives of those with whom Christ was named. This liturgy was once more the movement of a people out into the bodies of the suffering, the poor, understood and performed as a true entry into the history of Jesus.

> Christ's true body is enacted here by the incarnation of the church in the bodies of the poor. The true body of Christ is the

[43]Perhaps the most tangible way in which the church in Chile reappeared under the military regime was through the social program of COPACHI and the Vicariate of Solidarity. Offering a wide range of programs covering legal and medical assistance, job training, soup kitchens, buying cooperatives, assistance to unions and more, these organizations became the focus of church resistance to the regime.

> suffering body, the destitute body, the body which is tortured and sacrificed. The church is the body of Christ because it performs an *anamnesis* of Christ's sacrifice, suffering in its own flesh the afflictions taken on by Christ. In the church's communities of solidarity, the poor are fed by Christ but, insofar as they become Christ's body, they also become food for others. (267)

No longer were a few individuals speaking and acting in outrage against the politics of torture. A whole body of people arose to lay down their lives for the poor and against Pinochet's machine: bishops, priests, laity; not for the sake of a generic "justice," but for the sake of the justice of God. And in the undeniable presence within the liturgical assembly of those who inflicted torture on the very people they were to call brother and sister, who thus violated the solidarity of the church, an anathema was pronounced. The church declared that those who would shatter the ecclesial fellowship by violence were excommunicate, already removed by their own acts. The sham of their bodily presence in the assembly was denounced. They would not be admitted cynically to the celebration of the coming reign and rule of peace.[44]

It is the eucharist that shows that the separation between the sacred and the secular, the spiritual and the political, the soul and the body, is a lie. When the people of God take eucharistic bread and wine upon their tongues and into their bellies, they announce the coming of their crucified sovereign. It is in amnesia, a dis-membering of the church, that these people do not go with that body and blood to the oppressed. Of course, this is a different politics than that laid out by the modern nation-state. It is not occupying some niche carved out by the principalities and powers of this world. Indeed, the politics of the church is a politics of homelessness, of

[44]It is important to note that excommunication is taken very seriously by Cavanaugh precisely as an extreme response to a particular pattern of injustice. "My argument that torture, as an anti-liturgy of absolute power which attacks the body of Christ itself, should be met with excommunication is by no means an argument for the use of excommunication in general for other types of sin. This is *torture,* not theft or masturbation. If accepted, my argument would *limit* excommunication, to keep it from being used in the service of right-wing ecclesiastical politics. Furthermore, formal excommunication is not the only key to the church's visibility. It is not so much a solution as a recognition that something has gone terribly wrong. The church's own ecclesiology had contributed to making the Pinochet regime thinkable in the first place" (264).

being in the world and yet always subversively out of place (268-269). The politics of the church is a politics of what is to come, of the stigmatized Christ. The church is no static entity located here and now. The church is a texture of performances that announces what is to come. It is alive with the question thrust into the present by the future. Note this:

> The body of Christ is not a perduring institution which moves linearly through time, but must be constantly received anew in the eucharistic action. Christ is not the possession of the church, but is always being given to the church, which in turn gives Christ away by letting others feed on its own body…. The eucharist is therefore an "event" in the sense of an eschatological performance in time which is not institutionally guaranteed, but it is an event which is ontologically determinative; as Zizioulas says, the eucharist is *"the reality which makes it possible for us to exist at all."* But the Christian in the world is never able to hold onto that reality as something which can be kept. It is not adequately characterized as a "deposit," nor does it produce virtue as a "sediment" in the human soul. Paradoxically, it must be given away in order to be realized. (269, 270)

According to Cavanaugh, the church is a gift of the God who is alive with freedom. The church is no political party, no institution with its center of gravity in itself, no program among programs. It is in fact nothing in itself. It lives by the breath of the Spirit of God, each day gratefully receiving its bread. "Because the church lives from the future, it is a thing that is not. The church inhabits a space and time which is never guaranteed by coercion or institutional weight, but must be constantly asked for, as gift of the Holy Spirit" (272). The church is thus God's "no!" to the nation-state's imagination of violence. In the power of the Holy Spirit, the church imagines a different order, one that no nation of violence, by violence, and for violence can excise from the earth. If such imagination is not to be a dream, it must be enacted. The church is not the church unless it bears witness bodily to the Christ. The church is the church only as a cruciform fellowship of martyrs. That is, the way to bear witness to the broken body and shed blood of the Christ in a world of torture is for the church to place its body—its bodies—in sacrificial solidarity with the suffering, that no one is to be made an isolated thing cut off from fellowship with the body of Christ, that every victim of the violent imagination of

the nation-state is to be joined—muscles and blood and skin and bones—with the bodies of the church.

Of course, in order to lay one's body down in this present evil age is to believe that the "reality" of this world is not the truth. No one disciplined by the institutions of this world will come to more than a shadow-conviction by an individual decision of the will. It is the alternative cruciform discipline of the eucharistic church that enacts a different order, that enacts the imagination of the God who raised the tortured Jesus from the dead. Only God's imagination can inspire a martyr-church of the Christ.

> If torture is essentially an anti-liturgy, a drama in which the state realizes omnipotence on the bodies of others, then the eucharist provides a direct and startling contrast, for in the eucharist Christ sacrifices no other body but his own. Power is realized in self-sacrifice; Christians join in this sacrifice by uniting their own bodies to the sacrifice of Christ. Christians become a gift to be given away to others. . . . In giving their bodies to Christ in the eucharist, a confession is made, but it is not the voice of the state that is heard. The torturer extracts a confession of the unlimited power of the state. The eucharist requires the confession that Jesus is Lord of all, and that the body belongs to him. (279)

V. What might engage us in the face of a woman who stretches out her hand?

God's grace and human faithfulness are thought to conflict only when God and human beings are thought to be in competition with each other. So long as God is placed within a universe of finite resources, any genuinely human act will require God to step back in self-limitation, to leave an energy reserve for humans to use. However, there is no competition with God in any act of human faithfulness. Indeed, the act of faithfulness claims for itself no native power or merit, no ground for boasting. It is only in sin that competition with God is posited. Bathed in the Spirit, alive with God's life, in the gratitude that lives and moves in God's grace, one rejoices in God's liberating sufficiency. The God who saves is the God with the power to save, the power to hallow. Such power—which is finally the power of love—does not compete. The mystery of faith is the mystery of the transition from "will not"—and so "cannot"—to "may." One no longer thinks of God and God's relation to the world in the same way. One has undergone a *meta-noia*.

Human faithfulness and works are thought to conflict only when human faithfulness is thought to be a deep inner experience in one's private soul, an experience which is then perhaps to be expressed in some external form. The question then is "isn't faith enough?" "Why would works be necessary?" However, if it is not some soul that is saved, but some-body, then everything is changed. If being saved were in some way comparable to what comes on Easter Sunday morning to the Jesus who lay dead in the tomb all of Holy Saturday, then perhaps we should think of it unexceptionably as a bodily event. No less than Adam, no less than Lazarus, no less than Jesus—all dust and ashes at the start of the day—the gifted body of the justified arises to come forth. "Faith without works is dead," because only the dead do not work. What then could Pauline texts mean when in them faith is said not to need works? It is only in faithful response to the Spirit's coming that a work is righteous. The graced work of faith is *given* to be done. Any other work is a work of death, a work in competition with God, knowing good and evil, aiming to hoard one's own glory, grounded in oneself, the god of one's own universe. And so, in that most apparently works-denying passage—"by grace you have been saved through faith, and this is not your own doing; it is the gift of God—not the result of works, so that no one may boast" (Ephesians 2:8-9)—the last word is "we are what [God] has made us, created in Christ Jesus for good works, which God prepared beforehand to be our way of life" (verse 10).

Furthermore, the gifting of salvation is the hallowing of our flesh by the coming of the life of the God who is love. To live a hallowed life is to love—not with good intentions, but with hands and backs and blood. To be hallowed by God's love is to give where God gives, to enter God's gift as it assumes vulnerable flesh, to be gifted with the *meta-noia* that is the mind of Christ. This work throws its center outside itself, as Christ threw his center outside himself. The work of love is given to the faces that we meet. A work that might have been one's own is in Christ the work of friends. The work of these people—the called, the gathered, the fellowship of the cross of Christ—is the work "which God prepared beforehand to be our way of life."

And so, Wesley tells us that the gift of God fills our lungs with the breath of life and we are to empty them, breathing words of praise—suffocating without the renewal of God's inspiration. And so, Schmemann tells us that God fills our bellies with the food of life and we are to empty them, performing works of praise—starving without the renewal of God's

banquet. And so, Marion tells us that God comes to us in the iconic face of Christ: the one in which are inscribed the faces of those for whom Jesus yielded his breath and emptied his belly. And so, Cavanaugh tells us that we together as a church are to expend our bodies in a worshipful politics of love, giving our bodies to be broken, our blood to be shed—for one another in witness to the One at the right hand of God the Father almighty, the One who is forevermore our cruciform food and drink. And surely, when they tell us this, they speak the *a-letheia*.

When not solitary selves, not material forms frozen in a photograph, not the completed tasks of a crew of workers, not the good, the true, and the beautiful are saved, but a working body of people gifted in order to be gifted in the work of Christ—then the church emerges. But then the church is nothing but liturgy, the liturgy of the eucharist.

The narratives of the gospels go to some pains to contrast the holiness of the Pharisees with the holiness of Jesus. The Pharisees in these narratives want no less than Jesus to be holy. They know no less than Jesus that to be holy is to be separate, to be different, to be set aside to the God who is radically other than the ways of this world. Yet the gospels tell us that the holy God to whom the Pharisees give their lives is different from the holy God to whom Jesus gives his life. Jesus proclaims the coming of God. Everything Jesus says and does has the coming of God all over it. And the God Jesus proclaims with his lips and his hands is coming to reign and rule precisely where the Pharisees will not be found: among the poor, the sick, the sinner, the dying, the dead, the damned. Jesus gives his life to the coming God who loves the very world from which Pharisees flee. To be holy according to the proclamation of Jesus is to be separated to God, and with God to be separated to the world.

Since the coming of God is a *basileia*, it is a politics, the politics of God. Where God's holiness is unrestrictedly manifested, where the God who is love is glorified, there is no solitude, no loneliness, no isolation of one body from another. Even the partial and fragmentary manifestation of God's holy love is political in this sense. It is always a sign of pride when the church forgets that it is not identical to "the kingdom of God." It is a sign of faithlessness when the church forgets that it lives from and to God's reign and rule. The church is a narrative politics that bears bodily witness to the story of the passion. Thus, the many are permeable and as such are one body—a work broken together for the life of the world, gratefully trusting in the gift of the Spirit that makes each new breath an occasion for prayerful, joyful, grateful labor.

What if faith had nothing to do with "experience," with the appearance of a phenomenon in the consciousness of an apprehending subject? What if faith were not found anywhere in particular *in me*? What if faith were an entry into something other, something different from and larger than any solitary "I"? What if faith were the gift of life, of an opening out into a future not to be achieved, but coming—coming for the weak, the lowly, the poor, the sick, the sinner, the dying, the dead, the damned? Then faith would be found among a people who in opening to God are sanctified to open to one another and to those who are not yet among them as good friends—traveling perhaps on the road to Jericho or to Santiago.

What it means to be sanctified is not to be learned by turning one's gaze to some deep, inner "spiritual" datum, some experiential idol. It is to be learned by turning to the broken body and shed blood of Christ to whom the Spirit bears witness when we are gazed upon, say, by the face of a woman left beaten, broken, tortured in lonely despair—a woman who stretches out her hand.

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FREE METHODIST WORSHIP IN AMERICA: A HISTORICAL-CRITICAL ANALYSIS

by

Brian D. Walrath and Robert H. Woods

During John Wesley's lifetime, there existed a *de facto* model of authentic worship based on a combination of his validation of the Anglican liturgy and his theology of the "means of grace" (influenced by his contact with the Moravians). A review of Wesley's perspective on corporate worship demonstrates his desire that Word and Sacrament should be the normal model for weekly worship (and ultimately, in America, for Methodist worship).[1] According to Wesley, participation in the "means of grace" would facilitate authentic encounter and be a source for the Methodists to increase in faith.[2] More important, perhaps, for the purpose

[1]"The chief of these means are prayer, whether in secret or with the great congregation; searching the Scriptures (which implies reading, hearing, and meditating thereon), and *receiving the Lord's Supper*, eating bread and drinking wine in remembrance of Him: and these we believe to be ordained of God, and the ordinary channels of conveying His grace to the souls of men (emphasis added)." John Wesley, *Sermons on Several Occasions*, 2nd ed. (London: W. Bowyer, 1754), 229. By listing these three liturgical components, Wesley aligned himself with the worship priorities of the ancient church and provided the church with a basic model for corporate worship.

[2]Quoting Augustine, Wesley declares (as quoted by Borgen),

> ". . . this Sacrament duly received, makes the thing which it represents, as really present for our Use, as if it were newly done. . . ." [Borgen adds:] The memorialist is unable to follow Wesley into. . . [this] essential stage. It is here that we meet with what I have called Wesley's doctrine of the 'Eternal

of our inquiry, is the fact that Wesley desired his Methodists in America to adhere to this model of worship. However, as described herein, circumstances following his death led the young denomination to largely abandon and lose sight of this heritage.

For a variety of reasons, both pragmatic and endemic, the history of American Methodist and Free Methodist worship reveals that each denomination as a whole neglected an important part of its Wesleyan worship identity and drifted into an incomplete understanding of their mission and purpose. Whereas Wesley viewed evangelism as a by-product of one's relationship to God in authentic worship, early Methodists and Free Methodists, modeled after the revivalist preaching of the camp meetings, defined themselves fundamentally as evangelists and only secondarily as worshipers. The early American Methodist worship style moved rapidly from Wesley's three-fold model of Prayer, the Scriptures, and the Lord's Supper to a program of worship based primarily on music and preaching.[3]

We begin this historical overview by developing the worship views of the founders of American Methodism, particularly Francis Asbury, in the context of the post-Reformation worship paradigm of John Wesley. We next examine Free Methodist founder B. T. Roberts' perspective on

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Now': "The main Intention of Christ herein was not the bare *Remembrance* of his Passion; but over and above, to *invite* us to his Sacrifice…"—to a Soul-transporting Feast.'" Ole E. Borgen, "*John Wesley: Sacramental Theology—No Ends without the Means*," *John Wesley: Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. John Stacey (London: Epworth, 1988), 71.

Wesley further succinctly represents the importance of communion in the following hymn:

> Oh what a Soul-transporting Feast
> Doth this Communion yield!
> Remembering here thy Passion past
> We with thy Love are filled.

John and Charles Wesley*, "*Hymn XCIV," *Hymns on the Lord's Supper, The Eucharistic Manuals of John and Charles Wesley*, 1748-1757, ed. W. E. Dutton (London: Bull, Simmons, 1871), 176.

[3]Another major case of this was more or less accidental. Since in England the Eucharist during Wesley's lifetime was largely confined to Anglican (not Methodist) services, the Methodists never acquired the sense of "constant communion" that Wesley had, and then fell into the Quarterly Meeting pattern based on the visits of the ordained elder. See Lester Ruth, *A Little Heaven Below: Worship at Early Methodist Quarterly Meetings* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2000).

worship. Under Roberts' leadership, the Free Methodist Church endeavored to recover authentic primitive Methodism. Our thesis is that the influence of Roberts and the early efforts of the Free Methodist Church in America demonstrate continued denominational movement away from Wesley's three-fold model. Before closing, we will examine some hopeful signs of a growing awareness of the inadequacy of the Free Methodist worship model and of the need to recover a true Wesleyan heritage.

Early Methodist Worship in America

As in England, American Methodism began with small groups of men and women gathering for Christian fellowship to supplement their regular worship. Virtually from the beginning, American Methodists existed as a distinct group, with their own worship, though at first probably some members attended Anglican or perhaps other church services. American Methodists were assisted in the beginning by a small number of missionaries sent by Wesley to preach and organize the societies. Only one—Francis Asbury—stayed in America after the American Revolution to make an impression on the developing church. It is he who is counted to be the primary founder of American Methodism, even as he sincerely attempted to keep it under Wesley's control.

Nurtured in a socio-political climate of dissent, freedom and volunteerism, Methodism soon moved away from ties with British Anglicanism. After the Revolution ended, Wesley wrote (no doubt with some resignation) in September of 1784, "They are now at full liberty to follow the Scriptures and the Primitive Church. And we judge it best that they should stand fast in that liberty wherewith God has so strangely made them free."[4] During Christmastide of the same year, on the advice of Wesley and by a vote of the assembled preachers, Methodism was declared to be a Church. It was furnished with full provision of churchly accoutrements: standards of doctrine, forms of worship (together with an Ordinal, in a slightly revised and abridged Prayer Book called *The Sunday Service of the Methodists in North America*), a "regularized" ministry, centralized polity, a sacramental theology, liturgy and practice, a church hymnody (a collection of Psalm paraphrases common to the English church and Wesley hymns), and a tradition of evangelistic preaching.

[4]*Letters of John Wesley, A.M.,* ed. John Telford, 8 vols. (New York: Eaton and Mains, 1909), 5:237.

Asbury was respectful of the spiritual values and pragmatic structure of Wesley's methods. He desired to keep American Methodism patterned as closely as possible after the British model, but was also aware of the need for flexibility and compromise given the socio-political milieu. He knew that insisting on an exact replica of British Methodism was politically unwise and impractical. He sought to temper the calls of the most radical American members for sweeping change, holding that old methods could be modified as necessary; new methods could be devised and themselves modified as the situations warranted. Radical change was prevented, but the cumulative effect of minor changes resulted in the development of a significantly different form of Methodism.

With regard to worship, changes occurred within the first ten years that turned the fledgling church in a very different direction from what Wesley had hoped. *The Sunday Service* was soon laid aside.[5] The prayer book had defined the form of the new church in 1784. The next year, the new Discipline was appended to it. In 1786, a new edition of both was issued under one cover. Six years later, in 1792, only the *Discipline* was printed. It had incorporated into it the revisions of the forms for administering the sacraments, the Ordinal, and the occasional services; all the rest had disappeared. Wesley had been so devoted to the *Book of Common Prayer* that he had written, "I believe there is no Liturgy in the world, either in ancient or modern language, which breathes more of a solid, scriptural, rational piety, than the Common Prayer of the Church of England."[6]

Nevertheless, despite Wesley's convictions, revisions to the Eucharist liturgy included deletion of the entire Ante-Communion—all the service preceding the Offertory (including all concepts of the Christian Year), the Intercessions, the *Sursum Corda*, along with the Proper

[5]An example of this is reported by Lester Ruth: "Some early [Methodist] itinerants did try to follow Wesley's directions in use of the *Sunday Service* for Sunday worship. Thomas Haskins was one. Beginning in late January 1785 he began to read prayers from it. He continued several weeks but finally quit, noting, 'Altho' this [the service from the *Sunday Service*] is most excellent in itself, yet I scarcely think it will be of much use among us, as a people.'" (Lester Ruth, *A Little Heaven Below: Worship at Early Methodist Quarterly Meetings* [Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2000], 90).

[6]From the preface to the "Sunday Service," dated 9 September, 1784, appeared in every edition except the first. See Trevor Dearing, *Wesleyan and Tractarian Worship: An Ecumenical Study* (London: Epworth, 1966), 101.

Prefaces. Extemporaneous prayer was allowed in the liturgy itself.[7] Most significantly, "a rubric at the end authorized the omission of any or all of the ritual *except the Consecration*. The exact form of Eucharistic observance was evidently thought to be a matter of indifference; but a prayer expressive of an undefined but real relationship between the material elements and their spiritual use was retained as the indispensable minimum."[8] Two aspects of this revision are noteworthy: first, the rite was greatly shortened in that only one prayer before the offering remained, and second, the prayer of consecration was included only if time allowed. In other words, it was no longer necessary or required. The American preference for brevity was clear in this revision.[9] Interestingly, and perhaps ironically, there was precedent for shortening the rite for the sake of expediency from none other than John Wesley himself, who admitted to doing so when he was "straightened for time."[10]

Although there is no evidence of an American edition of the Eucharistic hymns (*Hymns on the Lord's Supper*) until the 20th-century, a few were included in the *Pocket Hymn Book.*[11] The hymns that were included tended to focus on the memorial aspect of the Lord's Supper. Sanders sees this as evidence of a lack of understanding of Wesley's high valuing of Communion. Wesley believed that "the Lord's Supper was *chiefly ordained* for a Sacrament" (emphasis added).[12] Thus, as Sanders observes, "[the memorial aspect]—what Wesley referred to as the level of

[7]This parallels the "innovations" Wesley introduced into Methodist worship in the societies in England, not in the Eucharist liturgy but in worship itself. Note, for example, the use of *extempore* prayer. See John Wesley, Sermon 121, "Prophets and Priests," Cork, May 5, 1789. *The Works of John Wesley*, (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1987), 4:115-151.

[8]Paul S. Sanders, "The Sacraments in Early American Methodism," *The American Society of Church History,* 26 (1957): 367.

[9]Ruth 132.

[10]John Wesley, "Some Remarks on Mr. Hill's 'Review of all Doctrines Taught by Mr. John Wesley,' " 30, *The Works of Rev. John* Wesley, ed. Joseph Benson, 17 vols. (London: Conference Office, 1809), 10:411.

[11]*A Pocket Hymn Book: Designed as a Constant Companion for the Pious. Collected from various authors*, 5th ed. (New York: W. Ross, 1786).

[12]John and Charles Wesley, *The Eucharistic Manuals of John and Charles Wesley*, *1748-57*, 47.

anamnesis[13]—was the least profound meaning of Wesley's teaching; rather it was the pleading of the eternal sacrifice joined with the Real Presence of the Risen Christ which made Wesley's doctrine potent. Of that particular understanding of the matter among the Americans there is no evidence at all."[14] In actual fact, Wesley's preference in worship form went beyond weekly celebration of communion. He took communion two to three times a week, on average, during his lifetime. He urged his American ministers to administer it every Sunday. He thought that the New Testament church should be the guide for the contemporary church and it was his belief that they partook in the Lord's Supper daily.[15]

Lester Ruth, however, disagrees with Sanders, and argues that there is ample evidence of American Methodist familiarity with and appreciation of Wesley's balanced understanding of the Eucharist as expressed in the Americans' use of hymns. Ruth makes reference to the appending of more than a dozen Eucharistic hymns to the *Pocket Hymn Book* and cites evidence of other influential Methodist leaders who utilized them.[16] As to the charge of devaluing Real Presence in worship, Ruth cites numerous accounts of Methodist meetings where the presence of God was so intense that words could not adequately describe it. This most often

[13]According to Wesley, at the level of a memorial or *anamnesis,* we are to remember Christ's sacrifice on our behalf. Since many churches stop at this level of perception and theology, the memorialist concept has been labeled as the doctrine of the "real absence" [of Christ in the Eucharist, as over against the "real presence"]. Yet even at this level, Wesley is implying that it is more than a representation of Christ's death . . . it is a re-presentation (Borgen 71).

[14]Sanders 368.

[15]Irwin Reist, "John Wesley's View of the Sacraments: A Study in the Historical Development of a Doctrine," *Wesleyan Theological Journal*, 6-1 (Spring 1971), 41.

[16]"Beyond this official resource, there is evidence that American Methodists were otherwise familiar with the entire corpus of Wesleyan eucharistic hymnody. The papers of Philip Gatch, an itinerant in the 1770s who was a member of the 1779 schismatic presbytery, contains a manuscript sermon outline book in which fifteen Wesleyan eucharistic hymns are written out by hand. Some bear the hymns' numbers in a British edition of the eucharistic hymnal . . . . Gatch was a well-respected local preacher, first in Virginia and then in southwest Ohio. If Gatch appreciated these Wesleyan eucharistic hymns, he would have had ample opportunity to spread this appreciation to other Methodists such as Bishops Francis Asbury and William McKendree, both of whom were frequent visitors to his home" (Ruth 140).

occurred at the Quarterly Meetings that featured Love Feasts, which concluded with communion. According to Ruth, "early American Methodists would likely be startled by the accusations that they did not value the Lord's Supper, or that it did not hold a central place in their piety. They regularly scheduled it for one of their most important and greatly anticipated settings for worship, the Quarterly Meeting."[17]

The liturgical changes in early American Methodism were influenced by the example of Asbury, who endeavored to keep in close touch with the people by use of *extempore* speech in prayer, in preaching and in the administration of the sacraments. A product of a rural, non-liturgical background, he rarely used the formal prayers in *The Sunday Service*, and some have questioned whether he may have been lukewarm about the sacrament of the Lord's Supper itself.[18]

We must be careful to consider the historical context of these changes in the frequency of communion in Methodist worship in order to accurately understand the situation. They did not occur in a cultural vacuum. By 1784, Methodism in America already had established ritual patterns and worship settings—such as the weekend-long Quarterly Meeting—which they highly valued. When faced with the "extras" of the *Sunday Service*, they had to decide how to best incorporate them into their current worship structure.

Contrary to some assertions of a lack of interest in the sacraments on the part of the Methodists, the problem may actually have been one of lack of availability. According to the "old plan"[19] of John Wesley, Methodist preachers were not ordained and thus were not to serve communion. Methodists were expected to avail themselves of the Services of the Church of England whose priests could administer the sacrament. Yet, as early as twelve years before the establishment of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America in 1784, Asbury reported a "clamoring for their preachers to administer the sacrament. . . .[20]

After 1784 there was an immediate surge of sacramental activity regarding both the Lord's Supper and baptisms at Quarterly Meetings. In

[17]Ruth 215.

[18]Frank Baker, "The Americanizing of Methodism," *A.M.E. Zion Quarterly Review—Methodist History—World Methodist Historical Society News Bulletin* (combined edition, 1975), 1-3, 15.

[19]Baker 119.

[20]*The Journal and Letters of Francis Asbury*, ed. by Elmer T. Clark, 3 vols. (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1958), 1:60.

fact, Karen Westerfield Tucker suggests that "Methodism arguably became a separate denomination in response to the strong desire of the Methodist societies to receive the sacraments,"[21] especially after the Revolution. This was mitigated by the reality that the newly ordained Methodist "ministers" traveled circuits to shepherd members in a number of communities. This meant that there was no ordained minister in weekly residence at a given location, and thus no way of practicing weekly communion.[22] Thus, the quarterly meetings were highly popular and important worship convocations for the scattered Methodists on the circuits. Even Sanders, who questions Methodist commitment to the sacraments, seems to concede that there may be more here than initially meets the eye:

> It may be concluded that the Eucharist doubtless meant less than official definitions and systematic treatises suggest but perhaps more than any overt evidence adduced here shows. The tenacity with which the Methodists clung to infant bap-

[21]Karen B. Westerfield Tucker, *American Methodist Worship* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 155.

[22]The Eucharist was thus an intrinsic part of the evangelical Wesleyan revival. Wesley recognized that in America "for some hundred miles together there is none either to baptize or to administer the Lord's Supper," and that the Methodists longed for the sacraments from their own preachers—a privilege debated from 1772 and a matter that came to a head with the southern preachers' decisions at the Fluvanna Conference in 1779. For these reasons (along with the inaction of the bishop of London, whose jurisdiction included oversight of the colonies), Wesley was finally moved to take into his own hands the irregular task of setting some men apart as Methodist presbyters. But the sacrament that had been the vital core of Wesley's ministry and mission in Britain was, in America, an occasional—though still desired—devotion even after Wesley's bold initiative, owing to the geographical spread of the population, the expectation of an itinerant ministry, and the dearth of authorized ministers who might appear in a given community only quarterly (a meager sum of twelve or thirteen elders was selected at the 1784 Christmas Conference to serve with "Superintendent" Thomas Coke and the already-ordained Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey in the United States, Nova Scotia, and Antigua). Wesley's ideal that the elders would celebrate and the people receive the Lord's Supper every Lord's Day was never realized in practice for the entirety of American Methodism, although congregations at various times and places strove to adhere to the intention of Wesley's advice. Weekly Eucharist may not have survived the transposition to America, but Wesley's eucharistic rite did; of all the orders in the Sunday Service for local use, it was to remain for two centuries the closest to Wesley's original in form and in substance (Westerfield Tucker 119).

> tism, apparently finding in it a grace which their logic was never rightly able to assess, is indicative of their attitude. Without being articulate about it, they may have found in the Supper a means through which their gracious Lord designed to feed their hungry souls.[23]

Others are much more convinced of the vitality and authenticity of early American Methodist worship. In the Introduction to *A Little Heaven Below: Worship at Early Methodist Quarterly Meetings*, Ruth argues that a close examination of the actual writings of the participants reveals the following:

> Instead of liturgical shallowness, early American Methodists practiced an amazing complexity of services and rituals. Instead of mere pragmatism and rabid individualism, they exulted in the communal dimension of their worship to the point where they struggled to find words adequate to describe their liturgical assembly. Instead of a sacramental depreciation, they exhibited a deep piety toward the Lord's Supper, a spirituality in continuity with Wesley in thought and practice. And instead of squandering their inheritance of hymnody and the Christian calendar, they supplemented and adapted what they received. In sum, early Methodists participated in what is now understood positively as enculturation.[24]

Keith Schwanz, in his dissertation on instrumental music in the Free Methodist Church, summarizes Methodist worship this way:

> Instead of using a formal style of ritual as outlined in The Sunday Service, the early Methodists relished the spontaneous worship service. Writing in 1824, Methodist leader Wilbur Fisk stated that
>
> > . . . our lively exercises in devotion on the one hand—our fervor and zeal—our hearty accordance of soul, and sometimes of voice, may be thought by some to savor of enthusiasm; but this is to preserve us from dead formality. Our regularity on the other hand—our strict attention to order and method, may be thought by others to savor of bondage; but this is to preserve us from disorder and confusion.

[23]Sanders 369.

[24]Ruth 14.

Leslie Marston, Free Methodist Bishop, agreed with Wilbur Fisk:

> Religious emotion is a characteristic of worship in all groups. In some, the expression of emotion is ordered by a pattern or ritual which engages all the worshipers in unison. Although all groups normally worship within a general structure or order of service, in some of them individuals may readily break away from the order to "assert their liberty" along individual lines in prayer, ejaculatory praise, song, testimony, exhortation, and the like. Historic Methodism held to such free worships but with restraints on license, for Wesley would have all things done decently and in order.[25]

In brief, the inability of the American Methodist church to perpetuate Wesley's model meant that, by the middle of the nineteenth century, it was a faint memory. When charges of spiritual decline led to the splintering of the denomination, the new "Free" Methodists had a limited understanding of the full heritage of Methodist worship and simply perpetuated a "renewed" Methodist format.

The Development of Free Methodist Worship

An area including the Genesee Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church came to be known as the "burned-over district" because of frequent periods of intense religious revival.[26] From this district came the majority of those who formed the Free Methodist Church in 1860. In the years immediately prior to that formation, it had also produced an influential evangelist, Charles Finney. Finney argued that God had not prescribed any "forms or measures" and that an evangelist was free to use any form that worked to win converts. In this sense, he considered himself free to follow Scripture:

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[25]Keith Duane Schwanz, *The "Wooden Brother": Instrumental Music Restricted in Free Methodist Worship, 1860-1955.* Ph.D. Thesis, Graduate School of The Union Institute, Cincinnati, OH (1991), 53.

[26]The "burned-over district" is generally taken to be a considerably larger area than the area encompassed by the Genesee Conference, including the upstate area where Finney came from—whereas Roberts came from far Western New York. J. E. Johnson, "Burned-Over District," *The Dictionary of Christianity in America,* ed. Daniel G. Reid [Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1990], 202).

> Finney discarded traditions when they did not prove as effective as newer methods. The essential test, then, was a pragmatic one: Does it work? If so, keep it; if not, discard it. . . . According to Ruth, pragmatism had triumphed over biblicism [in the context of frequent American revivalism]. The meaning of freedom had shifted from being free to follow scripture to being free to do what works.[27]

Finney's evangelistic pragmatism had actually been inherited from the Methodists.[28]

The consequence of this pragmatism was an intensive evangelistic strategy known as the "new measures," which employed direct, affective preaching (sometimes degenerating into sensationalism), zealous prayer focusing on clear and immediate results ("if one has faith, then one will receive"), use of the pastoral visit primarily for exhorting sinners to conversion, arousing interest in revival services in a new location through some strategy of community disturbances, and holding lengthy sessions of camp meetings and other meetings (from four to thirty days) in order to gain numerical results.[29] The consequences of this kind of revivalistic conversion model included:

1. A tendency to focus on the converted individual, rather than conversion within a covenantal and nurturing community;
2. A primary emphasis on the centrality of the conversion experience, as opposed to the completeness of historic Christian doctrine;
3. The rise to pre-eminence of the laity in ministry, chosen on the basis of the ardor of the conversion experience, the evi-

[27]James F. White, *Protestant Worship: Traditions in Transition* (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox, 1989), 177.

[28]"As Asbury said in defending camp meetings, 'they have never been tried without success.' . . . More often than not, this sort of liturgical 'success' in America has been measured by the number of converts gained. Perhaps this fascination with numbers and their use to validate liturgical practices are among the enduring legacies of early American Methodism. It was common for Methodists to understand the increased number of converts, adherents, and members as positive evidence of God's activity among them. American Methodists understood their phenomenal growth during the early period as an indication of God's favor" (Ruth 217).

[29]F. Dean Mercer, "The Liturgical Vision of Primitive Methodism," *In the Church and in Christ Jesus: Essays in Honor of Donald N. Bastian*, ed. Felix Sung (Mississauga, ON: Light and Life Press Canada, 1993), 140-142.

dence of a changed life, and willingness therefore to be engaged in ministry; and

4. A new emphasis on mass evangelism.

All of this is very important. The early Free Methodists' desire to "preserve" old time Methodism was largely a desire to preserve this nineteenth-century Methodist pragmatism, not Wesley's original, more complex approach to worship. Dean Mercer articulately captures this conundrum:

> North American revivalism changed the face of Methodism in America. First, revivalism went one step further in undermining the link between believers and the church or covenantal community, having imbibed deeply the frontier spirit of rationalism, personal initiative, and independence. Its emphasis on conversion experience and its tendency to encourage repeat experiences of conversion and sanctification gave short shrift to any kind of religious tradition, placing the emphasis squarely on the here and now.
>
> Second, revivalism re-envisaged Christianity primarily along pragmatic lines, looking for tangible evidence of results in the here and now and, in its optimism, it quickly turned the focus of the newly converted from their own religious state to the conversion of others. As a result, the worshipping community became vulnerable to superficial understandings of Christian conversion and holiness, first by looking for its quick achievement, and second by the use of novel methods that had few links with the historic church and the traditional means of grace.[30]

Yet within a generation of the founding of the Methodist Episcopal Church, this narrow spiritual emphasis on individual salvation and sanctification gave way to increasing focus on political and social issues. The leadership of the church no longer held to the Methodist teachings on heartfelt religion, entire sanctification, or simplicity of lifestyle. Slavery, once vigorously protested, was being tolerated; secret societies, participated in by both clergy and laity, were exercising power behind the scenes at the local and conference levels. The decline of spiritual fervor led to a

[30]Mercer 144. It is possible that Mercer may be overstating slightly here. It is a question of balance. Wesley's work and theology were certainly marked by optimism.

decrease in tithing, so fundraising to build more and more elaborate sanctuaries included holding raffles, bazaars, and fairs, and the establishment of a pew rental system.

It was against this backdrop that in 1858 Rev. Benjamin T. Roberts and other Genesee Conference ministers and laypersons who opposed these developments were expelled from the denomination on charges of "unchristian and immoral conduct." In an 1857 article titled "New School Methodism," Roberts had charged the Methodist Episcopal Church with spiritual decline and having strayed from traditional Methodist values and worship patterns. Such a denunciation of the Methodist Episcopal Church, especially by one of its own members, brought the opposing faction into an attacking posture. In 1857, Roberts was tried and convicted by the members of the annual conference in LeRoy, New York, "on the grounds of unchristian and immoral conduct for writing and publishing those strictures on 'New School Methodism'"[31] Roberts' de facto punishment included his assignment to a small, country circuit.

A year later—after someone published his article as a pamphlet—he was tried again and this time expelled from the Conference and from the Church. In August of 1860, the Free Methodist Church was organized at a convention in New York by Roberts and a number of other expelled ministers and their lay followers. Roberts was elected first general superintendent in the organizing conference in 1860.[32]

According to Wilson T. Hogue, the founders of the denomination intended a return to "primitive Methodism." This meant, in part, the pragmatic spirit of early nineteenth-century Methodism (although it also meant a desire to be a New Testament church, though obviously the conception of that was shaped by the eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century Methodist experience). According to the "Introduction" to the *Book of Discipline* of the Free Methodist Church at the time of its founding, "The Free Methodist Church is an organization designed to conserve and promote that type of Christianity which primitive Methodism so admirably illustrated. . . . As a principle, or a system of truth and righteousness, Methodism is as old as Christianity itself. . . ."[33] The issues

[31]Schwanz 78-79.

[32]Donald N. Bastian, *The Mature Church Member* (Winona Lake, IN: Light and Life, 1963), 18-19.

[33]Qtd. in Wilson T. Hogue, *History of the Free Methodist Church of North America* (Chicago, IL: Free Methodist Publishing, 1915), 6-7.

they sought to redress were those listed above—the hallmarks of *Free* Methodism. They saw these issues as problems that hindered the pursuit of the mission of Methodism—to proclaim the Gospel freely to all. Holiness of heart and life was their standard for the church. But their background of revivalistic worship continued to shape the new church's concept of form and liturgy.

Indeed, the "free" in Free Methodist was interpreted as also meaning freedom *from* any elaborate liturgy in worship. Thus, while they continued to hold to baptism and communion as true sacraments—means of grace, as opposed to mere ordinances, these were both mitigated in practice. *The Discipline of the Free Methodist Church* allowed (and allows) for either infant baptism or "dedication," also providing for adult "believers" baptism.[34] In theory, the Lord's Supper was treated in an authentically Wesleyan manner, in that Free Methodists were encouraged to participate in it as a true "means of grace" wherein Christ is present by His Spirit to those who "receive the [sacrament] by faith."[35] In practice, however, it was almost universally approached from a strictly memorialist point of view and it normally was celebrated only once every three months (as opposed to Wesley's preference that it be celebrated weekly). Following earlier Methodist practice, this was usually at the culmination of the quarterly meeting and as the climactic feature of camp meetings. Ron White summarizes the irony of this situation:

> The service of communion itself was surprisingly formal in light of the church's fervent denunciations of "formalism." The ritual heavily depended on written prayers. Very little was changed from the ritual of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Much of the language came from Wesley's *Sunday Service* which in turn was taken from the 1662 *Book of Common Prayer.* For a church that was greatly concerned about the participation of all believers, the congregation mostly listened to prayers read by the presiding elder. The people were asked to pray with the pastor only twice in the ritual: at the general confession and the Lord's Prayer. There was only one short prayer of praise which was offered by the pastor. Emphasis

[34]This tension goes back to Wesley himself, even though he practiced infant baptism. See Howard Synder's discussion of this in *The Radical Wesley and Patterns for Church Renewal* (Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity, 1980), 104.

[35]Bastian 45.

> upon the suffering and death of Christ clearly dominated the ritual.[36]

In contrast, John White portrays the typical early Free Methodist worship service this way:

> The enthusiasm of newly converted and sanctified believers was welcomed. In Free Methodist worship, shouts of praise, running the aisles, and waving handkerchiefs were [a] sign that the Spirit of God was present and at work. The goal of the worship service was to see sinners and backsliders "praying through" at the altar rail. Everything in the service was designed to achieve that result. The song service was designed "to prepare the hearts of the people" for the preacher. A good song leader was always a great asset. Public meetings were "preaching services" and everything that happened before the preacher began to preach was called the "pre-service" (a term still heard today). Results were measured by the number of converts who came forward. If there were few of these, it was always necessary to call the converted to "entire sanctification." This form of meeting made every pastor a revivalist.[37]

In a somewhat more balanced assessment, Douglas Cullum argues that the nineteenth-century Free Methodist Sunday service was essentially functional, an heir to the frontier tradition, and conceived as a means to an end. The two desired outcomes were personal Christian conversion and "an opportunity for worshipers to experience personal and corporate progress in the life of sanctification."[38]

By the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the church in 1910, the denomination was beginning to define and refine its distinctiveness

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[36]Ron White, "A Sacrament of Joy: The Discovery of the Lord's Table as a Weekly Celebration at the Stanwood Free Methodist Church in Stanwood, Michigan." D.Min. thesis, Northern Baptist Theological Seminary, Lombard, IL (2001), 48-49. Similarly, as Howard Synder observes in "The Lord's Supper in the Free Methodist Tradition," in *The Lord's Supper: Believers Church Perspectives*, ed. Dale R. Stoffer (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1997): "To some degree, the Free Methodist understanding of the Lord's Supper exhibits a tension between Catholic sacramentalism, on the one hand, and free-church themes arising from the believer's church and revivalist traditions, on the other" (214).

[37]White 46.

[38]Douglas R. Cullum, "From Simplicity to Multiplicity: Sunday Worship among Free Methodists," in *The Sunday Service of the Methodists,* ed. Karen B. Westerfield Tucker (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 1996), 174-175.

within the emerging "evangelical" world. During the next thirty years the core of the Free Methodist identity was its doctrine of Christian holiness. In 1939, the church distanced itself from three religious trends of the day—ecumenism, congregationalism, and pentecostalism—as being dangerous to the health of the church. The 1910 *Free Methodist Hymnal* was a major liturgical accomplishment. Replete with Wesley texts (235 of 738 hymns), it provided suitable music for the continuing emphasis on Christian experience, revival services, and camp meetings.[39] It also provided an outline of the suggested order of worship based on guidelines from the *Discipline*: Singing;[40] Prayer (extempore); Lord's Prayer; Scripture lessons from both Testaments; Singing; Notices; Collection; Sermon; Prayer; Singing; Doxology; and Apostolic benediction.

Free Methodist participation in the founding of the National Association of Evangelicals in 1943 was indicative of denominational maturation in the second half of the twentieth century. The church in this period "came to identify itself clearly as an evangelical denomination in the Wesleyan tradition."[41] During the mid-century decades, the use of instrumental music and choirs was finally approved. The Wesleyan Methodists and the Free Methodists published several joint hymnals between 1910 and 1979. The church's understanding of the theology and practice of worship continued to evolve, moving from a strongly free-church statement in 1955, "public worship in our churches shall be free and non-liturgical in form," to the revised position taken in the 1974 *Book of Discipline* which "reaffirmed the denomination's earlier position that 'rites and ceremonies of the church are to be accorded respect' and that no individual member should 'willfully or purposefully disregard the rites of the church.' " The "free and non-liturgical" phrase was replaced with a statement calling for public worship to "seek a balance between freedom and form."[42]

Cullum quotes the 1974 paragraph on the "Order of Public Worship" as a significant change that marks the dawning of a new era of Free Methodist worship:

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[39]Cullum 182-183.

[40]Unaccompanied congregational singing only. It was not until 1943 that even restricted use of instruments could be made, and not until 1955 when unrestricted instrumental use and a choir were officially sanctioned.

[41]Cullum 184.

[42]Cullum 186-187.

> The Sunday morning corporate worship service should provide four basic results: (1) to provide opportunity for the praise of God; (2) to give worshipers insight into the will of God; (3) to lead individuals to commit themselves personally to God's revealed will; and (4) to strengthen the dedicated person to perform the will of God. To accomplish these desired results, each service should include congregational singing, reading from the scriptures, pastoral prayer, the Lord's Prayer, and preaching. The apostolic benediction is recommended for dismissing the congregation.[43]

Free Methodist Worship at the Dawn of the New Millennium

The current state of the Sunday morning service in North American Free Methodist churches is very diverse and is a fair representation of most mainstream churches in modern evangelicalism today. Many, perhaps a bare majority, adhere to what for Free Methodists has been termed "traditional" worship—hymn singing, prayers, Scripture, special music, sermon and some kind of closing call to commitment . . . essentially the three-part revivalist camp meeting model of music, prayers and sermon. A growing number of evangelical churches are either "blending" some contemporary "praise and worship" choruses (with appropriate accompaniment) into the musical mix or becoming completely "worship chorus" oriented during the first part of the service. The rest of the service remains largely "traditional." A third group, which includes some of the largest and fastest growing churches in the denomination (in North America),[44] have moved their worship services (which are non-liturgical and contemporary in style) to other time slots and are using Sunday mornings for outreach programs modeled after the "seeker-oriented" service format of Willow Creek Community Church in South Barrington, Illinois. There are also a small number that are experimenting with a return to a closer approximation of Wesley's *de facto* model of worship, that is, a more traditional liturgical service that assumes an informal, experience-oriented Methodist society meeting format.

Over the past thirty years, discussions on worship appearing in denominational literature such as the official Free Methodist magazine—

[43]Cullum 187.

[44]I.e., Lakeview Free Methodist Church (Saskatoon, SK, Canada), the largest F. M. church in the nation; Crossroads Community Church, Temperance, MI, one of the largest in the South Michigan Conference.

Light and Life—have tended to deal somewhat superficially with worship. For the most part they remind readers of their duty as worshippers to be prepared to actively participate in whatever worship experience they attend.

There have been, however, isolated calls for "more." In 1979, an interesting article appeared in *The Free Methodist Pastor*, a denominational newsletter for ministers. Titled "Needed: A Liturgy for the Free Methodist Church," the author, John Howell, listed several problems with worship in Free Methodist churches that, again, fairly represent the problems experienced in most mainline evangelical churches:

1. Both pastor and people have little understanding of the meaning and purpose of worship. (Preaching is seen as the single essential aspect . . . to the extent that worship becomes not worship at all, but instead, a preaching service);
2. Worship services are often planned haphazardly, often excluding many of the biblical aspects of true corporate worship;
3. Services that focus on preaching, with or without "special music," foster a spectator attitude in the congregation. The people are disengaged from actually participating in worship;
4. Preaching services can become personality focused. (We become too dependent on a particular pastor to "represent" God to the people. This can result in two extremes . . . loss of interest in church, worship, and God because of pastoral ineptitude, or exaltation of the pastor to "prophetic" status);
5. The pastor's personal taste in music and his personal style control the type and content of the service;
6. Selection of scripture readings and sermon topics can be too narrow to cover the whole spectrum of doctrinal and theological education that is needed by the congregation.[45]

Howell recommended the publication of a "worship book" similar to the *Book of Common Prayer* that incorporated a set of approved liturgies from which specific churches could choose in accordance with their needs, and a lectionary based on the church calendar. He saw numerous benefits from doing so:

[45]John W. Howell, "Needed: A Liturgy for the Free Methodist Church," *The Free Methodist Pastor* (March 1979): 1-2.

1. Emphasis on the participation of the congregation in worship rather than spectatorship;
2. Minimizing of the personality of the pastor as a detrimental factor to quality corporate worship. People are attracted to an encounter with God rather than to a certain personality or entertainment. (This would also lessen the trauma of the congregation when a pastor moves on to another church);
3. A higher level of biblical/theological congregational literacy as a result of an emphasis on the church calendar and the lectionary for scripture readings and sermon topics.[46]

He concludes by saying,

> We must realize that the lack of spiritual intensity in any denomination or local church is not the fault of a style of worship nearly so much as it is the fault of the people and the clergy who make up the churches. If the people are not alive in their relationship with God, then their worship will not live either. *Adopting a liturgy in the Free Methodist Church, on a long-term basis, just may result in our becoming more spiritually vital than we are today* [emphasis added].[47]

The current breadth of Free Methodist worship forms in use in Sunday services suggests that in the two decades since this article was published, there has not been much movement toward adoption of such a model. In recent years, however, there have been some hopeful signs of a growing sensibility toward this issue within the denomination:

1. Many of our churches have begun celebrating various aspects of the *church calendar,* such as Advent and Holy Week.
2. The Study Commission on Doctrine, at the request of the General Conference of 1979, prepared a *lectionary* for the Free Methodist Church in North America. It was adopted at the 1985 General Conference and first published in the 1986 edition of the *Pastor's Handbook.* While not mandatory, it is highly recommended for use on a regular basis. It is adapted from the Common Lectionary and based on a three-year cycle. It also includes a focus on scripture passages that emphasize historic Methodist distinctives.

[46]Howell 2.

[47]Howell 2.

3. The 1999 Free Methodist Pastor's Handbook includes two alternative Rituals for Holy Communion. One, the *Alternate Ritual for the Service of Holy Communion,* is patterned after that found in the *Book of Common Prayer,* though couched in modern language, and includes The Invitation; The General Confession (including the *Kyrie Eleison*); The Petition (including the Lord's Prayer); The Intercession; The Dialogue (including the *Sursum Corda*); Thanksgiving (including the Benedictus); Praise (including the *Sanctus*); The Great Thanksgiving; The *Gloria Patri*; the Prayer of Approach; Words of Consecration; Words of Distribution; and The Benediction.

Lastly, as Mercer notes,

> . . . with roots in both English and American Methodism, the [Free Methodist] Church has the opportunity of gleaning the best from both traditions, retaining the fervency of revivalism but balancing it with Wesley's emphasis on the sacraments and Methodism's inherited liturgy in order to keep the Methodist Societies within the boundaries of historic Christianity.[48]

The *Pastor's Handbook* further emphasizes the importance of a balanced view of worship in the Free Methodist tradition, one which values both objective and subjective, ordered and spontaneous expressions of divine worship.[49]

Conclusion

In short, there are hopeful signs of a growing awareness of the weakness of the Free Methodist worship model and of the need to recover a more balanced Wesleyan heritage. Free Methodists seem to be slowly catching up with the awareness that has existed in mainstream Methodism over the last half century.

Early American Methodism, steeped in a climate of freedom and dissent, began the shift away from British Anglicanism and an authentic

[48]"In so doing, Free Methodists . . . would enlarge upon their Free Methodist founders' dream that the Church would restore 'Christianity in earnest' with 'its principle of intense spirituality, of uncompromising righteousness, of experimental and practical holiness, [and] of whole-hearted and unswerving devotion to the advancement of the kingdom of God'" (Mercer 145).

[49]Cullum 192.

Wesleyan worship model. Pragmatism, under the guise of revivalistic fervor, helped to transform the worship experience from a three-fold model to a program of worship based primarily on music and preaching. Free Methodists have remained, for the most part, direct descendents of nineteenth-century Methodist worship.

Now, Free Methodists have the opportunity to recreate a venue through which worshippers of all ages can more deeply experience God's presence each week. Authentic Wesleyan worship, in the spirit of Wesley's "conjunctive" theology and practice, is neither exclusively sacramental nor pragmatic.[50] Beginning in the 1970s and then again in the early 1990s, clarion calls for a more balanced form of worship consistent with Wesley's *de facto* model have been sounded. The timing of such calls seems appropriate given the emergence of a new generation of postmodern worshippers who are looking for a form of worship that "weds dignity and spontaneity, worship that is theologically informed and liturgically intentional."[51]

Wesley's model helps to facilitate authentic encounter with the presence of God in worship. It is a challenge to the dominant pragmatic paradigm of worship focused primarily on evangelism and outreach that is so prevalent among modern worship services today, including Free Methodist worship. The extent to which modern Free Methodists can carry forth this model into the new millennium remains to be seen.

[50]Likewise, in the Anglican synthesis, the Lord's Supper is both a mystery and a memorial. One does not need to denigrate the memorial aspect to emphasize the "true presence" aspect. "As Christ's body, the church is filled with the Holy Spirit and can experience the presence of Christ in both sacramental and charismatic life. Often we are required to choose between sacramental and charismatic modes of the real presence of Christ, which is unfortunate because both are valid and should be integrated" (Clark Pinnock, "The Great Jubilee," in *God and Man: Perspectives on Christianity in the 20th Century,* ed. Michael Bauman [Hillsdale, MI: Hillsdale College, 1995], 97).

[51]Gary M. Burge, "Are Evangelicals Missing God at Church? Why So Many Are Rediscovering Worship in Other Traditions," *Christianity Today* (6 Oct., 1997), 205. See also Robert Webber, *The Younger Evangelicals: Facing the Challenge of the New World.*

DRESS, DIVERSIONS AND DEMONSTRATIONS: EMBODIED SPIRITUALITY IN THE EARLY FREE METHODIST CHURCH

by

Liam Iwig-O'Byrne

The early Free Methodists decidedly saw themselves as a "peculiar people."[1] They were to be distinct from the world and worldly churches. Current Free Methodists (FMs), upon learning the behavioral stands of their denominational forbears, often are struck with just how peculiar they were. In a number of areas there is a marked disconnect between these generations of FMs. Many of these areas fall into the realm of embodied spirituality.[2] Behavioral standards also particularly stand out as dramatic changes in the denomination. The over-arching theme of these standards is the rejection of worldliness. These standards include those of dress, entertainment, Sabbath observance, and the use of tobacco and alcohol. I have not concentrated here on tobacco and alcohol since this stand has been retained by FMs. Also, Sabbath observance is closely related to entertainment, and thus has been largely excluded from this study.

I have selected the first thirty-five years of the denomination's life as the focus of study because it is generally agreed that the 1894 General

[1]B. T. Roberts, "Church Festivals," EC 1:9 (Sept. 1860): 288-291.

[2]The stress on the unity of the self in opposition to the Cartesian dualism of modernism is common among postmodern philosophers such as Craig O. Schrag in *The Self after Postmodernity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 23-31, and among anthropologists such as Catherine Bell in *Ritual Theory: Ritual Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 21-46.

Conference was a significant turning point in Free Methodism, when ministry focus changed and radicals were, in effect, excluded. Primary source material will almost exclusively be articles in *The Earnest Christian* (EC). In the area of demonstrative worship, material from the EC will be supplemented with early biographies. During the thirty-five years in question, the EC published no less than 77 articles, extracts, or editorials on the subject of dress, 59 on diversions, and 17 on demonstrative worship.[3]

Framing the Discussion

The official history for the centennial of the Free Methodist Church (FMC) was written just as the behavioral standards were undergoing some of their most radical changes.[4] Leslie Marston's assessment of the change in behavior standards and worship styles did not provide any suggested cause (although scholars regularly have viewed such changes as largely the result of upward mobility, particularly in urban areas[5]), other than to connect them with the decline of traditional doctrinal views, particularly entire sanctification.[6] Regarding such changes in the FMC, Marston noted that in 100 years the only reversal of a major position of the original FMC was the permitting of instrumental music. This, of course, could no longer be said. While the stands against gambling, tobacco, and alcohol remain largely intact, only general advice is now offered in the areas of dancing, dress, and Sabbath observance.[7] Marston

[3]This excludes 1878-1879. The total number on Sabbath observance was 28, and on alcohol and tobacco the number was 162! Articles, reprints and editorials dealing with worldliness in general, or covering several kinds of worldliness, numbered 42.

[4]Leslie R. Marston, *From Age to Age, A Living Witness: A Historical Interpretation of Free Methodism's First Century* (Winona Lake, IN: Light and Life Press, 1960).

[5]An example of such an assessment of Free Methodism is Walter W. Benjamin and Leland Scott, "The Methodist Episcopal Church in the Postwar Era [sections 1-3]," in vol. 2 of *The History of American Methodism* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1964), 319-320, 356-359. A recent discussion of four significant dissertations dealing with this topic is that of Rodney L. Reed, *Holy With Integrity: The Unity of Personal and Social Ethics in the Holiness Movement, 1880-1910* (Salem, OH: Schmul Publishing Company, 2003), 164-170.

[6]Marston, 150.

[7]*Ibid*., 345, *1999 Book of Discipline* (Indianapolis: Free Methodist Publishing House, 2000), 44, 48-51.

implied an interpretation commonly accepted within the FMC today, that the changes in behavior standards reflect a move away from legalism.

John Wetherwax attributed the FM reaction to the Methodist Episcopal Church (MEC) as a response to secularization; however, it was not a conservative response to secularizing modernists, but a modern response to secularizing conservatives. Weatherwax provided only one criterion in describing FMs as modern instead of the MEC, the concept of equality, manifested in the stands on pew rental, secret societies, and slavery. It is clear that Wetherwax was attempting to counter the assumption that the FMC was a conservative reaction to industrialization.[8] John McNeil took issue with Weatherwax's understanding of modern. The MEC was modern on each of the issues McNeil believed the FMs to be modern (slavery, and pew rental, and Free Masonry), if modern is understood less as egalitarianism and more as benevolence as the maximization of utility. The FMs instead had a duty-based view, which McNeil believed was naturally prone to legalism if duties were focused in on, particularly as lines of distinctions between the church and the world rather than ways to be set free.[9]

A more thorough attempt to explain FM distinctives was provided by Paul Livermore, using a study of the structure of the *Discipline*. Livermore believed the rules of the *Discipline* best illustrated the community of the early FMC. Members willingly agreed to strict standards that established clear boundaries between the FMC and those outside of the church. Members could function in society maintaining these standards, yet within society the rules made them distinct since many things legal in society were regarded as evil by the FMC. The worldview supporting this sees human experience and behavior as determinative of who people really are. Belief and knowledge must be acted upon. By ordering one's outer life, the church was attempting to nurture one's inner life. "The religious movement functions as a complex of wheels within wheels, highly syrchronized [sic] and constantly moving, to provide the atmosphere for

[8]"The Secularization of the Methodist Church: An Examination of the 1860 Free Methodist–Methodist Episcopal Church," in *Methodist History* 20:3 (April 1982), 156-163.

[9]"Consequences and Principles: A Reexamination of the 1860 Free Methodist-Methodist Episcopal Schism," in *Methodist History* 24:2 (January 1986): 98-106.

common people to experience inward and outward order in their lives and, indirectly, to influence society."[10]

Robert Wall has provided a thorough study of the FM *Discipline,* commenting on the role of behavioral standards in establishing the boundaries between FMs and those outside the FMC, and in defining the relationship between the two. "From its beginning, then, [the] FM[C] has been defined by its prophetic impulse—a reactionary and deviant tendency which views itself as tradition-bearer and reformer of the larger group gone astray."[11] This impulse is expressed in terms of self-renunciation (simplicity and temperance) for the community's moral boundaries of personal existence, and in terms of abolition for the community's moral boundaries of public existence. Abolition might not at first glance seem to apply to behavioral standards, but the rejection of ornamentation is in the spirit of abolition, which stresses the equality of all, including the poor.[12] Class issues were also raised by the FMC in connection with tobacco and alcohol use.

Paul Bassett engaged in a detailed study of the changing definitions of sanctity following the Civil War.[13] He suggested that holiness was seen as Christ-likeness (as opposed to worldliness) until about 1880 and then as submission (as opposed to pride) until about 1900. It will be seen that the concepts of worldliness and pride were both quite important issues for embodied spirituality in the early FMC. The sin principle, or worldliness, was seen in dynamic terms, the active human agent apart from the Holy Spirit. Bassett noted growing uncertainty in the 1880s as to whether all the behavioral standards could be expected of those justified but not yet entirely sanctified. This issue does appear in the FMC very early on. In time, holiness people came to agree with their opponents that the idea of

[10]Paul Livermore, "The Formative Document of a Denomination Aborning: The Discipline of the Free Methodist Church (1860)," in vol. 2 of *Christianity* of *Religious Writings and Religious Systems: Systemic Analysis of Holy Books in Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, Greco-Roman Religions, Ancient Israel, and Judaism*, ed. Jacob Neusner and Erich F. Frerichs (Atlanta: Scholarly Press, 1989), 193-194.

[11]Robert Walter Wall, "The *Embourgeoisement* of the Free Methodist Ethos," *Wesleyan Theological Journal*, 25:1 (Spring 1990), 118.

[12]*Ibid*., 121-125.

[13]Paul Merritt Bassett, "Culture and Concupiscence: The Changing Definition of Sanctity in the Wesleyan Holiness Movement, 1867-1920," *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 28:1, 2 (Spring-Fall 1993), 59-127.

entire sanctification had outward ethical implications, requiring changes in behavior beyond those experienced in justification. With the movement away from defining holiness in more inward terms and toward defining it in more outward terms came the tendency to see the problem in terms of pride, requiring utter plainness and simplicity "in dress, in manner, in possessions, and even in church architecture and worship." Bassett observed that this resulted in "considerable legalism and fanaticism" despite efforts to counter such tendencies as just a more subtle form of pride. He also contends that this way of defining sanctity was at odds with Wesley, who measured sanctity in terms of love, although outward behavior was part of what attested to this love. For Wesley, behavior did not cause one to receive or maintain grace. Bassett was contrasting the inward-working-out religion of Wesley with the outward-working-in religion in the later holiness movement.

> In about fifty years, the Wesleyan/Holiness people had moved from seeing the life of Christian perfection as a life of love manifesting itself in attitudes as well as deeds and disciplines, with due recognition that inconsistencies in behavior are not necessarily evidences of inconsistency or inconstancy in love, to seeing the life of Christian perfection as the product or consequence of a life of consistency-seeking disciplines.[14]

Thus, holiness behavioral standards are not inherently legalistic, but they easily become so.

William Kostlevy placed the behavioral standards in two important contexts. Primarily he placed them in the context of the "preferential option for the poor." The concern for the poor meant concern for equality between classes in worship, leading not only to a desire for simple architecture and free pews, but to an avoidance of Christians dressing expensively or using entertainments as fundraisers. Secondly, he places them in the context of the Yankee migration. The FMC succeeded early on in places dominated by this migration, which carried with it much of the cultural milieu inherited from the Puritans, including behavioral standards. This Yankee culture was strong enough in Free Methodism to undermine its efforts to evangelize in the South.[15]

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[14]*Ibid*., 68.

[15]"Benjamin Titus Roberts and the 'Preferential Option for the Poor,'" in *Poverty and Ecclesiology: Nineteenth-Century Evangelicals in the Light of Liberation Theology*, ed. Anthony L. Dunnavant (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1992), 55-56, 61, 64.

Previous work on my part dealt with the early FMC regarding embodied spirituality. While I give some attention to behavioral standards,[16] I give far more focus to demonstrative worship. Particularly relevant to a discussion of demonstrative worship is a recent presentation by Craig Scandrett-Leatherman, "Styles in Afro-Pentecostal Ritual and Segregation in American Society."[17] He employs the term *style* rather than culture, in part because it suggests the use of the body. He examines styles of dress (dramatically at odds with the standards of the early FMC) and bodily expression in worship. An appendix provides "Examples of Body Styles in Free Methodism," providing examples of physical demonstrations in worship in meetings led by B. T. Roberts and John Wesley Redfield, as well as the worship practices of the Lighthouse Mission in St. Louis.

In his response to Scandrett-Leatherman's presentation, Darrell Whiteman made reference to Victor Turner's concepts of *communitas* and liminality. The application of Turner's concepts of ritual to embodied spirituality in the early FMC can add additional depth of understanding to the behavioral codes and style of worship frequently so foreign to today's FMs. Turner's anthropological studies of the Ndembu people of Africa led him to develop a theory of ritual based on Van Gennep's work on *rites de passage*. Van Gennep suggested three stages of ritual: separation; margin; and aggregation. People were separated from their old state (pre-liminal stage), acted upon in a between state (liminal stage), and rejoined in a new state (post-liminal stage). It is in the liminal stage that transformation happens through communication of the sacred, deconstruction and recombination of culturally familiar objects, and a simplified social structure. This simplified social structure, which Turner termed *communitas*, temporarily decreases or eliminates traditional hierarchical relationships and represents an opposition to structure.[18]

[16]Liam Iwig-O'Byrne, "A Progression of Methodist Radicalism: An Examination of the History and Ethos of the First Sixty Years of the Nazarites and Their Heirs (1855-1915) in Their Social and Religious Context," Master's Thesis, Asbury Theological Seminary, Nov 1993, 137-158, 177, 191-192, 218.

[17]An unpublished paper presented at the Graduate Student Theological Seminar at the Free Methodist World Ministry Center in Indianapolis, September 20, 2003.

[18]Robert A. Segal, "Victor Turner's Theory of Ritual," *Zygon: Journal of Religion and Science* 183 (Sept. 1983), 333.

In communitas, ritual subjects have no status or property that distinguishes one from another, and so they are radically equal to each other, but at first quite thoroughly submitted to the instructor.[19] Structural order in societies is necessary, in Turner's view, but arbitrary. This is precisely what is suspended in liminality, in the experience of *communitas*. With this suspension is a reception of sacred power as a result of receiving sacred knowledge. This knowledge is communicated through "the complex semantic systems of pivotal, multivocal symbols and myths which achieve great conjunctive power and possess what Erikson, following Rudolf Otto, would call 'numinosity.' "[20] Turner saw such symbols as multiple in meaning, capable of uniting social values with emotional needs. Rather than Emile Durkheim's understanding of ritual as merely reflecting society,[21] Turner saw a dialectical relationship; ritual reflects and helps construct society.[22] His understanding of symbols fits quite well with the understanding of a number of other anthropologists. A seminal work on this subject is Mary Douglas' *Natural Symbols*. Her term for such symbols was "multi-referent." Multi-referent symbols are on a continuum ranging from having a great deal of detailed connotation (condensed) to having a much more loose connection of meanings (diffuse). Catherine Bell's alternative for multi-vocal and multi-referent is ambiguous.[23]

For Turner, Douglas and Bell, these symbols constructed the ritual person and the ritual tradition. In short, ritual creates a process that suspends social structure for the transformation of individuals and the shaping of society. This is accomplished through altered consciousness (including trances, hyper-quiescence, and rhythmic activity or vocaliza-

[19]Victor Turner, *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1967), 96-99.

[20]Victor Turner, *Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors: Symbolic Action in Human Society* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1979), 259.

[21]*The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, translated by J. Swain. New York: Free Press, 1965 (1912).

[22]Matthieu Deflem, "Ritual, Anti-Structure, and Religion: A Discussion of Victor Turner's Processual Symbolic Analysis," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 30:1 (1991), 11, 19-20.

[23]*Ritual Theory: Ritual Practice*, 182-187.

tion such as music or chanting),[24] through the manipulation of physical and/or verbal symbols, and through the communication of sacred narrative (myth). These combine to change neurological activity, cognitive content, and social relationships, often in lasting ways. I suggest that ritual, broadly defined, was particularly important and transformational for the early FMs.

For the early FMs, sacred narrative included, of course, Scripture, but it also included testimony, particularly stressed by FMs.[25] Narrative strategies employed in preaching, testifying, and other forms of speech interacted with demonstrations and behavioral standards.[26] Ideas were usually expressed in the community within a limited number of known frameworks. These expressions can include specific terms (such as using *entire sanctification* rather than *perfect love*), which scriptures are used for support these ideas, and the ways of framing experiences in testimony to uphold these ideas. Physical symbols included church architecture, dress, and bodily demonstrations. Altered consciousness was common in the early FMC, including the radically altered state experienced among the "fallen" or "slain," but also including less radical or unusual experiences such as an intense quiescent state or a stimulated state—as evidenced by shouting or crying.

Community Boundaries

Superficial exposure to the materials of the early FMC might lead one to conclude that their behavioral standards and physical demonstrations were merely carry-overs from their Puritan and revivalistic roots.

[24]For more detailed information, see Andrew Newberg, Eugene d'Aquilli and Vince Rause, *Why God Won't Go Away: Brain Science and the Biology of Belief* (New York: Ballantine Books, 2001), 86-96. They also note that another way to stimulate various parts of the brain is through the quiescent system, by means of such activities as prayer and mediation. James McClenon has provided a description of how this process may have evolved though time, and why; "Shamanic Healing, Human Evolution and the Origin of Religion," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 36:3 (1997), 345-347.

[25]Iwig-O'Byrne, 126-127.

[26]James Day's understanding of performance, religious audience, and narrative strategy are particularly complementary to this understanding of ritual. See, e.g., "From Structuralism to Eternity? Re-Imagining the Psychology of Religious Development After the Cognitive-Developmental Paradigm," *The International Journal for the Psychology of Religion* 11:3 (2001), 180-181.

While partly true, these bodily expressions were vital and dynamic parts of the FM experience. FMs were very engaged in understanding and promoting them, and often viewed them as the physical signs of what it means to be a FM. For early FMs, holiness was an unending and uncompromising war on worldliness (which could also be described as pride, selfishness, love of pleasure or love of display). This also explains physical demonstrations in worship (as well as the lack of musical instruments). There was a worldly way to worship and a holy way to worship, and FMs were carefully instructed (or quickly caught on) as to which was which.

I found twenty-one articles in EC with some form of the word *world* in the title. Of the twelve that also contain some form of the word *conform*, seven[27] are primarily about dress, one primarily about diversions, two primarily about both, and only two more general in nature.[28] The early FM understanding of spirituality was at once fiercely dualistic and decidedly dynamic. A person was on one side spiritually or the other. "This world is unchangeably evil, opposed to God, and bound over with its head to the judgment of the Great Day."[29] One anonymous author bemoaned how little difference there was between the church and the world, but declared that any such likeness is only made possibly by apostasy, by the Church not being what God had called it to be.[30] Roberts stressed that there are only two options, the path to heaven and the path to hell, and the path to heaven involves being a "peculiar people," separate from the world.[31]

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[27]For example: C. D. Hayes, "Worldly Conformity," 3:2 (Feb. 1862): 42:6; A. Fuller, "Worldly Conformity," 10:4 (Oct. 1865): 113-4; excerpt from *Methodist Home Journal*, "Worldly Conformity," 17:2 (Feb. 1869): 52-53; excerpt by G. Hughes, from *Advocate of Holiness*, "Entire Holiness Opposed to Worldly Conformity," 26:1 (July 1873): 11-12.

[28]Excerpt by Bridges, "Worldly Conformity," 6:4 (Oct. 1863): 102; n.a., "Worldy Conformity," 34:2 (Aug. 1877): 57-58; extract of personal letter written by James W. Alexander, "Worldly Conformity," 41:3 (Mar. 1881): 82-83; Jennie Cathey, "Worldly Conformity," 48:2 (Aug. 1884): 59-60; n.a., "Worldly Conformity," 34:2 (Aug. 1877): 57-58.

[29]E. P. Marvin, "Separation," 63:3 (Mar. 1892): 79.

[30]"The Church and the World," 84 (Oct. 1864): 112-113.

[31]"Church Festivals." A similar approach is seen in n.a., "Worldly Amusements," 1:6 (July 1860): 220.

There is a form of worldliness left in a justified but not in an entirely-sanctified believer. Does this mean that there are worldly behaviors that may remain, for a time, in the lives of believers, or only worldly attitudes or "tempers"? There seemed to be some genuine disagreement among the contributors to EC. A reader asked concerning sisters who felt no condemnation over ornamentation: "How can you, that are thus guilty, expect to escape, without reform, the *damnation of hell*?"[32] Another contributor questioned whether euchre players were actually converted, because if they were they "would no longer relish the empty pleasures to be drawn from such a source."[33] B. T. Roberts described such individuals as seeming to be converted, but have only taken "one step towards the cross and feel better," lacking the Spirit's witness and salvation's joys and remaining just as fashionable in their outer lives.[34] Another article stated that while a certain level of non-conformity is accomplished in entire sanctification, justification must result in the giving up of worldly dress, amusements and associations. All who came to the altar to give up such things, while seeking entire sanctification, is deceived regarding their justification, and would accept the lower standard of the justified state, believing *that* to be entire sanctification.[35] A. Sims noted that one of the "Marks of a Justified State" was salvation from love of the world. He defined love of the world to include following custom and fashion.[36]

Traditional Methodism saw salvation as a matter of the heart, and behaviors as an expression of the heart. Upon conversion, the heart has submitted to Christ and any love of anything else is made completely secondary. Many would immediately see love of display and pleasure as inconsistent with love of God and would have ceased to act upon these baser loves. Others needed time to understand this. Still others would reject this understanding and would lose their spiritual state. Even those who had submitted on these issues needed the further deliverance from any desire for the original objects of these baser loves.[37] Construction of the FM self allowed for personal variation in specific areas for a limited

[32]"Ornaments," 9:1 (Jan. 1865): 34-35.

[33]n.a., "Games and Pastimes," 3:3 (Mar. 1862): 94.

[34]"Be Not Deceived," 12:6 (Jun. 1867): 187-188.

[35]Hughes, 12.

[36]42:3 (Sept. 1881): 83-84.

[37]See Iwig-O'Byrne, 101-30.

time. In addition, the early FMC's Puritan/Yankee heritage encouraged social reform.[38] Extravagant churches and church members kept out the poor. Use of alcohol and tobacco fed into the power of oppressive businessmen. Sunday travel and work hurt the working man. While issues of dress and diversion usually were not connected with efforts for reform laws, other stands on behavioral worldliness were, and even indifferent sinners were deemed to be in danger from worldly dress and amusements and advised to cease from them.

Internal references of commitment are either to oneself, leading to self-indulgence and pleasure seeking, or to an indwelling God, leading to reformation and internalization of His standard. B. T. Roberts believed that a majority of Christians sought delight in the world. This was demonstrated by the inability to raise money in many churches except in an atmosphere of pleasure.[39] This seeking of pleasure may seem entirely innocent, yet it is the very same principle, the very same type of feeling experienced by people engaged in gross sin. This is why seemingly harmless diversions lead to more dangerous activities. The excitement craved by players of games is the excitement of a diseased heart. The excitement itself is the real source of amusement. This is different from the experience of a "jaded" gambler only in degree, not in type. One then is "in the gulfstream of perdition."[40] Similarly, Finney noted that the wife's desire to please the husband in matters of dress in violation of Scripture is no different in kind to offering incense to him and worshipping him as one's God![41] Children were frequently referred to as easy victims of seemingly innocent pleasures that parents must guard firmly against. "In order to do this, you must give to your precepts the power of a pious life, a holy example, and let not your household be contaminated by cards, checkers, dice, the New York Ledger, novels, and the like. Spurn them as you would a viper or one that would administer to you poison."[42] Another author described those parents who refuse to maintain the standard as reminiscent of fallen Jews passing their children through the fire to Molech.[43]

[38]Briane K. Turley, *A Wheel Within a Wheel: Southern Methodism and the Georgia Holiness Association* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1999), 28-50.

[39]"Healed Slightly," 4:3 (Sept. 1862): 65-69.

[40]n.a., "Games and Pasttimes," 3:3 (Mar. 1862): 94.

[41]"Pride," 13:3 (Mar. 1867): 88.

[42]William M. Sullivan, "Christian Card Playing," 9:3 (Mar. 1865): 82-83.

[43]Excerpt by Dr. Olin, "Fashionable Piety," 7:3 (Mar. 1864): 91.

People's commitment is either directed toward themselves, puffing them up to pride, or toward God, resulting in obedience and humility. Pride is particularly powerful and subtle. If one is not proud, but engages in the appearance of pride, actual pride is sure to follow.[44] Pride is behind the love of display, and thus affects the poor, whose shame about their dress can lead them to hell.[45] While pride is regularly referred to in the context of worldly behaviors, it is referred to in many other contexts as well. It is regularly mentioned as part of the intermediate state between justification and entire sanctification.[46]

I have observed elsewhere the uniquely strong emphasis on the concept of crucifixion in FM testimonies.[47] Also, a number of prominent second-generation radicals, particularly those connected with the Pentecost Bands, stressed the "Death Route" to entire sanctification.[48] Our worldly desires, our besetting desires, need to be crucified. We need to die to them. Self-denial is another term commonly used. In contrast to this are ease, softness and self-indulgence. These are often depicted as the result of prosperity and the accompanying lower standards. FMs seemed particularly sensitive about these issues. Regular persecution was discussed in the context of the opposition to self-indulgence. Some of the strongest early FM rhetoric is reserved for self-indulgence. "Piety . . . is to be clothed in gay dressing-gown, slippered, and lodged in well stuffed easy chairs. The road to heaven is to be traveled in railway cars, with ample accommodations for the world, the flesh, and the Devil, in suitable portions on the train."[49]

[44]n.a., "Pride," 62:5 (Nov. 1891): 159. An interesting confirmation of Bassett's thesis.

[45]Amanda Northup, "Pride," 10:2 (Aug. 65:91): 91.

[46]Two examples are provided in Iwig-O'Byrne, 118-119.

47I provide examples from three early general superintendents in Iwig-O'Byrne, 114-115. Many examples could be provided from testimonies in the EC and *The Free Methodist* or in various biographies.

[48]Iwig-O'Byrne, 231-232. I reviewed this information and included additional information about the death-route in "

the Graduate Student Theological Seminar at the Free Methodist World Ministry Center in Indianapolis, September 20, 2003.

[49]Extract from *Guide*, Dr Wise, "Easy Chair Piety," 13:4 (Apr. 1867): 115. A similar article is George W. Anderson's "Soft-Cushion Piety," 18:4 (Oct. 1869): 108-109. Portions of Anderson's article are nearly identical to Wise's.

Worldly spirituality was seen as being expressed in a formal style, rather than a spontaneous or heart-felt one. This provides a significant connection with the issue of demonstrative worship. Parents become formal in worship when worldly compromises for their children's sake have cooled their faith.[50] In ministers, worldliness could be expressed by an air of spiritually inappropriate refinement in interacting with people (not being a "poor man's preacher"), and in manner and language while preaching. Wesley refused to be so refined and received demonstrative responses more refined ministers would be most uncomfortable with. Another article asks, "Does God's Spirit need to be taught politeness by the cold, impassive frigidities of modern conventionalism?"[51]

Commitment for or against worldliness can be expressed through extravagance and display, or in plainness and simplicity. Extravagance was normally connected with dress, although it was also occasionally associated with church architecture. A poem, entitled "Fashionable Piety," describes a church's ornate architecture and well-dressed attendees, and suggested that Lucifer "could gaze at this crowd with its paniers [sic] and paints," and ask, "Oh, where is All-Sinners if this is All Saints?"[52] The choice of extravagance over simplicity was seen as hindering ministry to the poor and causing a decline in the church, not just by Methodists but by Presbyterians as well.[53] In general, religion is supposed to make a real change, which for an early FM meant a change obvious to all. This brought honor to God who made the change. An anonymous author suggested that believers need an appearance of humility and of purity.[54]

Physical Symbols

While Puritanism, at times unfairly, is associated with an extremely negative view of the body, the transplanted Yankees that made up the bulk of early FMs (as well as Wesley and Finney) did not have such a negative view. The human spirit may be more important, but both are created by God, both are good, and the two are closely connect in God's work in our

[50]Emma J. Sellew, "Compromise," 29:1 (Jan. 1875), 14.

[51]Excerpt from *Gift of Power*, "Spiritual Manifestations," 6:5 (Nov. 1863), 139.

[52]n.a., 23:1 (Jan. 1872), 18. Panniers were the hoops of hoop skirts.

[53]Extract from *N. O. Adv.*, n.a., "Presbyterians and Dress," 12:6 (Jun. 1867), 187.

[54]n.a., "Appearances," 34:1 (July 1877), 32-33.

lives. Our bodies display God's goodness and power. Indeed, God took on a human body and took it with him into heaven.[55] Thus, the human body itself is perhaps the ultimate physical symbol in Christianity. An author makes reference to Paul's command to present our bodies to God. This means to give it over to God's control. The body is given over so that we may be entirely at God's disposal, so that he may preserve us and so that he may regulate and control our outward and inward life.[56]

A tremendous amount of attention is given to dress in EC. During Roberts' tenure as editor an article, extract, or editorial on dress was published an average of every five issues. Many more articles make extended or at least passing reference to dress. Such references were more frequent than references to diversions. In the first eleven years a lengthy letter from well-known missionary Adonirom Judson in Burma was extracted no less than four times, the first time in the very first issue.[57] Judson's complaint was about the worldly dress and ornamentation of female ministers, and the impact on female converts. The defense provided by such missionaries was that they dressed more plainly than female church members and even ministers' wives in the United States. Motivations provided by Judson for putting off ornamentation were laying aside pride, obeying scripture, loving Christ, and fearing the last judgment. Wesley, of course, was also excerpted on matters of dress.[58] After all, his sermon on dress was required yearly reading to the society for nearly a century in the FMC. Dress was seen as a window to a person's internal spiritual state.

The role of dress in the burgeoning legalism of the second and third generations was actually a small conceptual step from the original perception of internal spiritual principles that in well-informed and open individuals must, in time, have some specific predictable and behavioral results. As noted in an excerpt, the command to avoid conformity to the world not only involved avoiding inward sympathy for the world, but also

[55]Jesse S. Gilbert, "Christianity as Related to the Human Body," 47:1 (Jan. 1884), 24.

[56]Excerpt by Thomas D. Marshall, "Giving the Body to God," 33:6 (Jun. 1877), 178-179.

[57]1:1 (Jan. 1860), 52-57, 5:3 (Mar. 1863), 77-81, 16:3 (Sept. 1868), 81-5, and 22:3 (Sept. 1871), 84-88.

[58]3:5 (May 1862), 146-149; 18:5 (Nov. 1869), 152-155, and 34:6 (Dec. 1877), 179-182.

involved avoiding "outward and visible imitation," which led to friendship with the world, which was enmity with God.[59]

One startling description of the role of dress as a mark of one's spirituality is that of Annie Wittenmyre in an article on "Ear Rings." Those who raise livestock have always marked their animals in the ear. Wittenmyre suggests that, shortly after the fall, the Beast placed his mark upon women's ears (presumably in the besetting sin of ear jewelry). "Satan still holds women by the ears, and the more besotted a nation or tribe, the heavier the badges of his power in the ears of women."[60] A wedding ring could be perceived in much the same way. Another woman, following her conversion, laid aside all other jewelry, but two years later she was convicted regarding her simple wedding ring and was required to give it up. Once done, she felt great joy.[61]

The reasons for avoiding extravagant dress were many. It warps and deforms our shape and appearance from its God-given beauty. It involves a "sacrifice of moral principles, time, comfort, health and life, and to the disgrace of the Christian name."[62] Even a political motivation for plain dress is offered.

> To be compelled to the humiliating confession, that our free-born wives and daughters are daily bowing in the most abject and servile bondage, at the beck of a clique of the most dishonoring specimens of silly humanity that modern civilization has produced amid the fetid moral atmosphere and polluting associations of Paris, does make our republican blood boil, and forces us from a hearty rebuke of fawning and cringing degredations.[63]

The desire for fine dress seemed particularly odd to one author, who witnessed a member become baptized while extravagantly dressed and

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[59]Excerpt from *Common People*, "Christian Attire," 32:5 (Nov. 1876), 142.

[60]22:5 (Nov. 1871), 145.

[61]L. C. Edeler, "My Gold Ring," 18:6 (Dec. 1869), 170-171.

[62]Excerpted from *Christian Adornments*, n.a., "Fashion," 8:4 (Oct. 1864), 111-112.

[63]*Ibid*., 111. One could see this understanding of republicanism simply as an extension of the secularized, political version of early America, particularly New England; that is, as part of the move from Puritan to Yankee. The early FMC owed much of their political as well as their religious views to their New England forbears.

looking triumphant, "little thinking how soon the casket might be broken and her naked soul stand before God without 'the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit.' "[64]

The frequent refusal to enforce the community's standard within Methodism was particularly frustrating to FMs. One contributor noted with approval how a minister grabbed the hats of two women coming forward for baptism and membership.[65] Ornamentation was a violation of Scripture, as well as of the "Special Rules" and the baptismal vows. It was an inconsistent witness and reflected a desire merely to please men,[66] or specifically to please the opposite sex.[67]

Diversions were a sign of something subtly different than that of dress. Dress could indicate the elevation of human (and arbitrary) opinions over God's standards, while diversions indicated an elevation of excitement in objects over spiritual joys and responsibilities. This can be seen as two different ways of affirming liminality. Plain dress was a rejection of the arbitrary structures suspended in liminality, while somber living affirmed the attraction of the core values of communitas over the attractions of the outside alternative. Hence, the idea of a Jesus who condoned such diversions was ridiculous. "You fun-loving Christian, I ask you a question. How would Jesus have looked upon playing croquet or participating in any of the fashionable amusements so popular among professors."[68] Why might Jesus feel this way? Perhaps because amusements were seen as a dampener to zeal. Play and devotion were strictly at odds, in light of "the nightly offerings made to the demon of play, on whose cruel altar the fortunes and happiness of wives and children are offered up without remorse."[69]

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[64]Augusta C. Barnard, "Dress," 6:6 (Dec. 1863), 181.

[65]C. D. Hayes, "Worldly Conformity," 46. In a letter now located at the Marston Historical Center at the Free Methodist World Ministries Center in Indianapolis to "Brother Perry" from Akron on March 20th, 1862, Asa Abell specifically decried this kind of strategy. "Remember it is of no use to get persons to alter their state of dressing, unless you can convince them it is duty. In doing *that*, be faithful but kind and gentle." To, for example, remove the handkerchief from people praying at the altar is something "no minister nor anybody else has a right to do. . . . It is a meddling which can do no good, and would be likely to do harm."

[66]Excerpt by Wood from *Perfect Love*, "On Dress," 18:2 (Aug. 69), 49-50.

[67]Barnard, 181.

[68]H. E. Haydin, "Amusements for Christians," 30:1 (July 1875), 31.

[69]Hannah More, "Fashionable Amusements," 12:5 (Nov. 1866), 139.

Dancing was the diversion often inspiring the most intense rhetoric. An excerpt by Bishop Morris suggested that no fashionable diversion was more ridiculous. Rather than preying on children, dance-masters should simply import monkeys, as "it would be more excusable in monkeys to dance than in rational beings."[70] Dancing was often portrayed as particularly unhealthy, leading to exhaustion and breathing in dusty, foul air. It inflamed passions, and "seems to have been invented expressly to excite sexual desire."[71] Indeed, this connection to sex is likely why it received so much attention. Dance was seen as existing "to excite the instincts of sex, however subtle and disguised at the moment, and in its sequel the most bestial and degrading." The same article presented a conversation with a prostitute, who attributed the beginning of her fall to the dance her mother took her to as a child.[72]

Other events were deemed dangerous. Parties were seen as a serious problem, being magnified by the desire to "return the compliment" and host a party of one's own. An excerpt complained of parties being held on a schedule throughout the winter rather than prayer meetings, costing a great deal and involving tremendous gluttony.[73] Skating rinks were given one entire article.[74] One cannot help being amused today that the first issue of EC following Lincoln's assassination used the occasion to decry theatre attendance. The theatre was "no place for a Christian," and its tendencies were only bad. "The fatal results of the President's attendance upon the theatre should be a warning, instead of encouraging others to go to such places. Who can say but that the attempt at assassination would have failed had he been in another place?"[75]

A prisoner visited by a minister chided him for having introduced him to gambling as a boy by having a Sunday school raffle (and what is worse, the prize included a gold ring).[76] Church dramas received criticism

[70]"Triflers," 13:5 (May 1867), 147.

[71]R. V. Lawrence," Dancing," 14:1 (July 1867), 16-17.

[72]Excerpt from *Layman's Christian Advocate*, "Dancing is Lasciviously Immoral," 44:5 (Nov. 82), 143.

[73]Excerpt by C. J. Finney, "Parties: The Trying They Do," 10:5 (Nov. 1865), 150.

[74]n.a., "Skating Rinks," 49:4 (Apr . 1885), 125.

[75]B. T. Roberts, "Theatres," 9:6 (June 1865), 189.

[76]Excerpt from *Sabbath Reading*, "Church Gambling," 54:4 (Oct. 1887), 123.

as well, especially for Sunday school.[77] Similarly, there is an article attacking decorating the church for Christmas and having parties there for it.[78] Sunday school picnics were also attacked. The children's excitement for the upcoming entertainment consumed them. The spiritual was being lost sight of "in the animal."[79] This suggests that it is how the body acts that establishes us as truly human, and, of course, as truly FM.

In this time period fiction began to be used in some Sunday Schools, but FMs consistently rejected its use for some time. However, opposition to fiction was not just a ministry preference, but was meant to be a life-style choice. It is difficult for one to imagine today the past intensity of feeling on the subject. An example is provided of two brothers. One became a church elder and successful, refusing to allow fiction in his house. The other brother insisted that his daughter could read what she wanted to, but the expectations of novel reading led her to leave home and die an early death. "Golden dreams of sinful pleasure—the creation of novel-reading—ended in disgrace, ruin, disease, a broken heart, and an untimely grave!"[80] Another author demanded,

> Away with them! such reading destroys all taste for the Bible, for history and the sciences. Nature decorated in her loveliest May is too homely for the intoxicated fancies of the novel reader, and life itself becomes a weariness—a disappointment. Religion, so pure, and peaceful, and precious, cannot find a welcome or home in the heart of the passionate novel reader.[81]

If this were not strict enough, all joking and levity were deemed dangerous and unscriptural. Joking ministers, doing so no doubt to influence others for Christ, received special attention. One young man told an attending minister at his deathbed that he had turned from God because of

[77]E. P. Marvin, "Sunday School Dramas," 39:3 (Mar. 1880), 92-93; E. P. Marvin, "Ecclesiastical Amusements and Money-Making," 41:4 (Apr. 1881), 109, item no. 5.

[78]Clara Leffingwell, "Church Desecration," 50:6 (Dec. 1885), 185-186.

[79]D. F. Newton, "Pic-nic Religion," 3:6 (June 1862), 177-178.

[80]Excerpt from *The English Wesleyan Methodist*, n.a., "The Harm of Novel Reading," 2:6 (June 1861), 172-173. A similar cautionary narrative can be found in n.a., "Effects of Novel Reading: A True Sketch," 8:5 (Nov. 1864), 149-150.

[81]n.a., "Vicious Literature," 3:2 (Feb. 1862), 47-48. Later in the same article Aaron Burr's choices are attributed to early novel reading, and such reading is called Satanism.

the lightness and levity he had witnessed once in the minister following a particularly convicting sermon.[82] Edeler mentions being grieved over witnessing a minister joking with young people.[83] Bishop Hamline suggested that ministers who joked were in need of conversion. At one time, he contended, the solemnity of Methodist ministers led sinners to tremble in awe at the sense of the presence of God.[84] This suggests that early Methodist ministers, by their attitude and mode of conversation, invoked liminality in outsiders even while not being in the cultic setting as such. The body of such a Methodist became so ritualized that it *was* the location of ritual, of liminality. It *was* the cultic setting.

This standard of solemnity was for all Christians. Levity was at odds with contrition, self-knowledge, watching and praying, charity, common sense and heart devotion. Seriousness allowed the Spirit to work.[85] All this threatened to make the early FMC seem to be a very dour group. This concern was acknowledged. "We must correct the impression among young people that religion is gloomy and long-faced, and that it is a sin to laugh."[86] One can well imagine how such an impression could have been arrived at. However, the laughter and smiles suggested by the author are not in connection with jokes or casual conversation, but only in terms of religious joys, familial joys, etc. Casual conversation of any sort was prohibited as well, and thoroughly excoriated in a quite lengthy two-part article by Elias Bowen.[87]

It should be noted that the articles focusing on the more radical and more specific stances against casual conversation, novel-reading, and joking were concentrated in the first six years of EC. Even the specifics of dancing and parties had fewer articles dedicated exclusively to one or the other after this time. This may have more to do with the promotion of core ideas early on. After a few years these ideas could be largely assumed by readers, albeit with regular reminders. This may well explain the frequency of the articles on demonstration as well, 9 of which are in

[82]n.a., "Foolish Talking and Jesting," 3:1 (Jan. 1862), 15.

[83]"First Fruits of My Conversion," 7:6 (Dec. 1864), 181-183.

[84]"Joking Ministers," 12:5 (Nov. 1866), 148.

[85]Excerpt from John Fletcher, "Seriousness," 3:6 (June 1862), 183.

[86]E. P. Marvin, "The Church Attracting the World Through Pleasure," 43:2 (Feb. 1882), 43.

[87]"On Idle Conversation," 3:3 (Mar. 1862), 90-92; 3:4 (Apr. 1862), 101-104.

the first 6 years, with only 8 appearing in the next 26 years.[88] Articles on dress and diversion, counted together, did not vary much in frequency. The lessening of interest in attacking dancing, fiction and levity may be the result of an increased attention to alcohol and tobacco at approximately the same time. In the first 7 years there are about 2 articles a year on dress and 4 a year on entertainments, but in the remaining 25 years, while there continued to be about 2 articles on dress a year, there was only about one article a year on entertainment. In the first 4 years there was only an average of one article a year on tobacco, and only one every two years on alcohol, while in the remaining 28 years there is an average of nearly 3 articles on each per year.

A Final Physical Symbol: Altered States and Liminality

The behavioral standards may still seem quite foreign and purposeless, but they need to be placed in the final part of the ritual context. Whether it was in an unconscious or semi-conscious state on the ground or in shouting, weeping or deep quietness, an early FM would receive instruction on sanctity vs. the world/pride and would hear and see testimony concerning it. The saints with glowing faces were the plainly-dressed ones. Those fellow attendees one heard engaging in light conversation were not likely to be powerfully testifying later unless a crisis at the altar or on the ground intervened.

A very important physical symbol of sacred narrative and doctrine in the early FMC was the human body itself.[89] One's own body could be such a symbol to oneself and to others, as well as the bodies of those around him or her. In this community, God worked bodily. A reader can pick up any FM historical text, including biographies, histories, and peri-

[88]Note that the years 1878-1879 are excluded.

[89]The idea of the body as symbol in ritual has received prominent attention by Mary Douglas (69-87), who saw it as reflecting the social body. "The social body constrains the way the physical body is perceived. The physical experience of the body, always modified by the social categories through which it is known, sustains a particular view of society. There is a continual exchange of meanings between the two kinds of bodily experience so that each reinforces the categories of the other. As a result of this interaction the body itself is a highly restricted medium of expression" (69). Bell (*Ritual Theory: Ritual Practice,* 94-117) saw the purpose and dynamic of ritual as the creation of a "ritualized body." "Ritual produces the ritualized body through the interaction of the body with a structured and structuring environment" (98).

odicals, and encounter afresh these powerful liminal experiences.[90] Several articles defend the experiences and/or provide examples from the past, but rarely is any significant effort made to explain them. They are signs of spiritual power and life ("dead people are noiseless," Roberts declared.[91]), signs that accompany genuine revival, and will be opposed by the formal and fastidious. It was easy to provide instruction regarding how to dress and not to dress, and to avoid diversions, but what instruction was available regarding demonstrations? They were described more often than defined, something members learned by watching and by doing.

Frequently, articles on demonstrations provided examples from other revivals or affirmation from respected revivalists, particularly Jonathan Edwards, John Wesley, and early Methodists in the United States. This is true of nearly every article on demonstrations in this time period. In the first issue of EC, reference is made to an 1818 (presumably Methodist) revival[92] and there is an entire, quite lengthy article on "Shouting Among Scotch [sic] Seceders," and the bitter opposition they faced.[93] An excerpt from the *Gift of Power* referred to accounts of early Methodist revivals in Virginia and to Edwards,[94] and an extract from Steven's *History of Methodism,*[95] indicating that Whitfield's intensity for some time did not produce these effects, but that Wesley's "more logical" preaching did, even though after his visit to Germany there is no record of any of his sermons being taken from a "severe" text.[96] Another article provided a very detailed first-person account of a Congregational minister who, upon

[90]For an excellent study of such experiences in early American Methodism as a whole, see Ann Taves, *Fits, Trances and Visions: Experiencing Religion and Explaining Experience from Wesley to James* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 76-117.

[91]"Demonstrations," 55:5 (May 1888), 160.

[92]n.a. "'Spiritual Manifestations," A Few Words Respecting Alleged 'Evils' Connected with Certain Meetings," 1:1 (Jan. 1860), 14.

[93]n.a., 1:1 (Jan. 1860), 28-30.

[94]n.a., "Spiritual Manifestations," 6:5 (Nov. 1863), 139.

[95]Abel Stevens, *The History of The Religious Movement of The Eighteenth Century, Called Methodism: Considered In Its Different Denominational Forms and Its Relations to British and American Protestantism* (New York, Eaton and Mains, 1858-1861).

[96]"Physical Effects of Religious Excitement," 7:2 (Aug. 1863), 63. Stevens' claim regarding Whitefield does not match even the evidence in Wesley's *Journals*.

experiencing entire sanctification, experienced many intense times of trembling, shouting, crying and fainting,[97] and another provided extensive quotes from Wesley's journals regarding "Religious Excitement."[98] In an editorial two years before his death, Roberts used the examples of Phoebe Palmer's meetings in Belfast in 1859 in a Presbyterian Church, with its accompanying "slaying power" and cries for mercy equal to those seen in early Methodism.[99]

Defense of manifestations often relied heavily on scripture as well. W. C. Cooley commented on Paul's statement on the Spirit authorizing order rather than confusion in worship (1 Corinthians 14:33, 40), and how it was used to squelch demonstrations. He defended demonstrations by reference to several revivals.[100] A year and a half later Cooley wrote another article, this time on "Spiritual Manifestations." He listed "shouting, groaning, trembling, falling, jumping and screaming." He answered the objections that they are unscriptural first by repeating Edward's assertion that an argument from silence in the New Testament regarding demonstrations is not enough. Cooley then noted the Philippian jailor as such an example. He then quoted, in their entirety, twenty-one passages, some twenty-seven verses.[101] Co-editor D. F. Newton defended shouting in urging readers to "Shout! Let them shout if they feel like it—live like it. There is no harm in shouting, when it comes from a full, overflowing heart, of faith, love and good works. Shouting is scriptural, a Bible doctrine. It was customary for good men, holy men, to shout in olden time. God commanded it." Newton acknowledged that a verbal expression of praise that was insincere or hypocritical (that is, from someone with an ungodly life or heart) "is awful! grating, like the crackling of thorns under a pot!"[102]

One article (in the first issue) countering the claim that leaping, falling, and screaming were merely human in origin, proof of fanaticism

[97]n.a., "Manifestations of the Spirit: Experience of a Congregational Minister," 14:6 (Dec. 1872), 171-175.

[98]28:3 (Mar. 1874), 76-78.

[99]61:3 (Mar. 1891), 93.

[100]"Order and Confusion," 1:1 (Jan. 1860), 81-83.

[101]In the order he quoted them, Ps. 32:3-4, Jer. 22:9, Dan. 10:7, 8, 16, Ezek. 3:23, Ps. 45:5, Hab. 3:16, Matt. 28:4, John 18:6, Acts 22:7, 10:9-10, 2 Cor. 12:2-3, Rev. 1:17, Is. 42:11, Is. 12:6, Ps. 47:1, Acts 3:8, John 11:33, 2 Cor. 5:4, Ps. 38:9-10, Rom. 8:26, 9:1.

[102]"On Shouting," 10:5 (Nov. 1865), 148-149.

and a disgrace to Methodism, maintained that such events had been exaggerated and were generally present in God's work because "in the process of salvation, in the extending of the cause of Christ, the *divine* and the *human* are combined." It would be good to have mostly divine and little human, but wherever God has worked deeply "there will be more or less of the distinctly human manifestations." They are certain and necessary "accompaniments of the mighty operations of the Divine Spirit in renovating our moral nature."

> In all religious meetings that continue for several hours or days, where there is a deeper work of the Holy Spirit on the hearts of the people, the manifestations of the human spirit, under the influence of the divine, will necessarily take coloring from those constitutional, or other peculiarities, with which they are connected, as evinced by moderate liveliness or deep solemnity, or excessive weeping, or extreme joyousness; the occasional extravagance of such manifestations, being as natural and as necessary as the spray and foam of the deep, mighty, majestic Niagara.[103]

This continuum of divine versus human is not as simple as it appears. If this had been described more exactly by the author, it would likely have been the human empowered and employed by the divine versus the human on its own (which actually is under the dominion of sin, the control of the world).

In an excerpt from the *Gift of Power*, examples of pride are listed; love of dress and display, undue concern over the opinions of other people, and a "man fearing spirit" which forces silence about religion in social situations and ignores physical demonstrations. The Spirit's work is to humble and purify. "Often pride clings so closely to the so-called proprieties of religious demeanor that the only way to loose its grasp is to trample upon the assumed proprieties themselves." True order is to follow the impulses of the Spirit. It is difficult to distinguish between what are "the genuine effects of the Spirit's influence and those simulated acts" produced by the devil to discredit God's work. Extravagances should not be encouraged, nor "in our zeal to steady the ark" should the "laws of Heaven" be violated.[104]

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[103]n.a. "'Spiritual Manifestations," A Few Words Respecting Alleged 'Evils' Connected with Certain Meetings," 1:1 (Jan. 1860), 13-14.

[104]n.a., "Spiritual Manifestations," 6:5 (Nov. 1863), 139.

Emma Ray told of a testimony she heard at Mt. Carmel Mission about being under conviction for wearing false hair. As she heard it, Ray became convicted, having worn false hair since she was eleven, some twenty-five years. She excused it at first because the other woman was white, her husband wanted her to wear it, and because she was partly bald from the hairpins holding the false hair in place. Still, she felt an ongoing conviction regarding it. In another service she renounced the use of it, and went home to tell her husband. He said he prayed for grace to go out with her because it so changed her looks, and she threw the false hair into the fire. The next day she made a hospital visit and one man in response "prayed clear through and began to shout the victory," and she joined him in the shouting. She felt tremendous joy at that conversion, and was convinced it happened because of her faithfulness in what seemed to be such a small area. This was her first convert.[105]

Thomas Scott La Due wrote of being made a "John Wesley Methodist" in doctrine as well as experience. Thus he felt led to preach "as plainly as he against pride and worldliness." Rarely was the connection between behavioral stands and manifestations in worship so direct.[106] Behavior standards and demonstrations both signified a life (body and soul, as it were) within God, under the control of His Spirit. God's presence, His Spirit, dramatically demanded adherence to the behavioral standards. Adherence to God's standards set one free to fully express God's presence in life by demonstrating. One's demonstrations encouraged others to adhere to the standard and be immersed in the Spirit. There was no strict code requiring one before the other. Both were required, and there was room for someone who had grasped either to take some time to move on the other one.

Specific physical experiences, especially during conversion and entire sanctification, are revealing. Edward Payson Hart was the second General Superintendent of the FMC, and strongly influenced, as was B. T. Roberts, Mother Cobb, Auntie Coon and a number of other significant figures in the beginning of the FMC, by John Wesley Redfield. Edward Hart, second general superintendent of the FMC, told of Redfield holding

[105]Emma and L. P. Ray, *Twice Sold, Twice Ransomed: Autobiography of Mr. And Mrs. L. P. Ray* (Chicago: Free Methodist Publishing House, 1926), 92-96.

[106]John La Due, *The Life of Rev. Thomas Scott La Due, With Some of His Sermon Sketches and Other Writings* (Chicago: Free Methodist Publishing House, 1898), 36.

meetings in Marengo, Ill., in 1858. Redfield seemed to inculcate a certain atmosphere. Hart wrote:

> I shall never forget the service of that night. When the doctor, in his quiet, unassuming way, arose and announced the hymn beginning with the words, "Am I a Soldier of the Cross?" and at the end of the line in a quiet way, with rising inflection, repeated the words, "Am I?" it seemed as though each person in the congregation was silently putting the question to his own conscience—"Am I?" His manner and utterance in prayer were almost oppressive with reverence. When he announced his text—"And holiness without which no man shall see the Lord"—it seemed like eternity. In a quiet, conversational tone he spoke of the nature and necessity of scriptural holiness; with more emphasis and power he spoke of the conditions to be met in order to obtain the experience, and closed by relating some thrilling instances of the power of this grace in meetings he had held. He spoke for forty or forty-five minutes, and every person seemed spell-bound. A person of the area regarded as odd by the congregation began to shout "Glory! Hallelujah!" as loud as he could. Redfield simply looked at him and quietly thanked God that there was one spiritual thermometer there.[107]

One is struck here with how a preacher acted as an instructor to those separated out in the pre-liminal stage. The "instructor's" cues, as clearly discerned from the above quote, involved a great deal more than verbal content. Both content and cues were built upon a received tradition that many present were well aware of. Upon sufficient response by the "instructed," the liminal phase ensued, and the accompanying demonstrations reflected what Turner described as anti-structure. In this liminal experience,participants' spirituality was constructed. Sometimes a liminal experience would forever shape the participant's future life, being looked back upon as a vital spiritual turning point. This is apparent by Hart in two later passages, describing how these ritual experiences shaped him as an FM, indeed, as the second FM General Superintendent. They help demonstrate how early FM's were made, how they constructed themselves spiritually, religiously and ritually.

[107]Edward Payson Hart, *Reminiscences of Early Free Methodism* (Chicago: Free Methodist Publishing House, 1903), 11-12.

Redfield asked the young Hart what he thought of the meetings, and he replied he liked them well, but mentioned the noise level. Redfield asked if it hurt Hart, and Hart replied that it didn't, but perhaps some there had not liked it. Redfield responded, "Young man, has God Almighty made you ear-inspector-general of this town?" Hart answered meekly in the negative. Hart noted that with Redfield's revival efforts in Marengo, the shouting of "Glory! Hallelujah!" of those returning home from the meetings seemed no more odd than the swearing of men in the streets.[108]

Hart went forward in a later meeting to receive pardon. When he seemed to sense "a single ray of sunlight" upon his soul, he offered a weak "Hallelujah." The local preacher reached through the altar and grabbed Hart's hand and shouted "Hallelujah!" as loudly as he could. Then "the cloud broke." A few weeks following his conversion, Mother Cobb announced that he needed entire sanctification. Having seen people seeking it in Redfield's meetings with tears and groans, he determined to do the same. This began an exchange with the Lord that resulted in "the baptism of the Holy Ghost and fire." For several hours all Hart could do was praise God.[109]

Another prominent pioneer in the beginning of the FMC, although never a General Superintendent, was Thomas Scott La Due. After experiencing entire sanctification at St. Charles, Illinois, La Due was tempted to believe he did not have the experience. Sometimes his distress led him to writhe on the floor "like a worm on live coals," and he felt that he was barely escaping hell. This and later similar times of darkness seemed to La Due to reflect the "presence of a powerful spiritual being filled with fiendish hatred against him." La Due began to see frequent demonstrations in his meetings. Others would fall in their homes, lying helpless for hours. Previously La Due had assumed such events were more a "Methodist habit" than the result of the supernatural, but was persuaded otherwise in a reply to a letter he sent to evangelist Charles Finney. "An experience of over forty years has convinced me that such demonstrations nearly always accompany powerful outpourings of the Holy Ghost. My advice is to let them alone. It is dangerous to court them, and awful to oppose them."[110]

[108]*Ibid*., 14-15.
[109]*Ibid*., 28-31
[110]La Due 38-42.

La Due's initial perception of demonstrations as a mere habit carried the idea of symbol emptied of meaning, a strict dualism common to the FM's between form and function. Indeed, this dualism was writ large in their psyche, seeing themselves as abandoning the empty forms of "New Methodism." However, here La Due had assumed a symbol of "Old" Methodism was an empty form, as assumption probably common among the opponents of the initial FMs in the Genesee and Rock River Conferences of the MEC. It indicates the conflict between the two groups centered, at least to a significant part, on the use and understanding of these physical symbols.

In one of La Due's meetings a rather large woman would often express her joy in the Spirit by going "through the aisles as if treading on air." She became ashamed of this and determined not to do it again, even if it meant hell. She became irritable and violent to all around her, but particularly to FMs. "She would kneel in her door-yard, and, tearing hair in agony, pray the Lord to deliver her from the torments of Free Methodist prayers."[111]

C. M. Damon described the Nazarites expelled from the Genesee Conference of the MEC, including those converted or sanctified in meetings Roberts had held. Things these Nazarites did which caused opposition included kneeling in prayer when entering church ("in accordance with old Methodist custom"), sing and rejoicing (presumably in a specific style or at a certain volume) and refusing to make cheese on Sunday (and successfully charging more to make up the difference!). Damon longed for "manifestation of the supernatural works of God" as he had heard of or read about, but was told that this was from early Methodism, the Reformation, or during the "days of miracles," and was not to be expected now.[112] However, to lack the tools for constructing the tradition of Methodism, including the manifestations Damon craved, would be to steadily de-construct the tradition. To renew the use of these tools was to renew the construction of that Methodist tradition. By tying demonstrations to the "signs and wonders" of the early church, Damon makes more explicit the feeling in the FMC that they were re-constructing not just

[111]*Ibid*. 51-52.

[112]C. M. Damon, *Sketches and Incidents: Or, Reminiscences of Interest in the Life of the Author, With an Appendix Containing Treatises on "The Ministration of the Spirit," "National Religion," and "On Holiness," With Other Matter* (Chicago: Free Methodist Publishing House, 1900), 30-31.

Methodism and "John Wesley Methodists," but the early church and apostolic Christians as well.

Damon believed that before exercising faith, no promise of God's actual conscious presence was provided. Upon exercising faith, God manifests his presence. Damon also noted that Scripture and history attest to "joyful commotion" as generally attending this presence, although he clarified that God still desires to be appreciated for His own sake. One is to develop consciousness of divine presence and fellowship rather than looking for the after effects.[113] This approach to demonstrations seems reminiscent of the sacramental debates that so carefully distinguished between the sign and that signified, or in Anglican and Methodist terms, between the outward sign and the inward grace. Here demonstrations are quite intentionally and consciously understood as a symbol by those experiencing them.

The determination to bodily express one's godly sorrow, and then joy, in the face of feeling foolish in front of others, is a common theme not just in the EC articles**,** but also in FM biographies. At one set of Sage's meetings, one woman decided to stay, as she had not "seen the elephant" yet, apparently a reference to someone engaged in demonstrations. It turned out to be her, as she "fell under the power," and after some time, to proud to confess sins, she managed to get home. That night C. B. Barrett, the "happy Alleghanian,"[114] made three small jumps and sat down. One woman felt this was foolish, like other previous acts of his, but then she herself fell. She recovered and went home, but the next meeting she was determined to leave, fearing to make a spectacle of herself again, but she fell before she could. "She prayed, confessed and was gloriously converted, and the Holy Ghost fell upon her. . . . She had been much annoyed with Brother Spears because of his laughing, and now she was blessed in the same way."[115]

Vivian Dake was perhaps the most prominent leader in the second generation of the FMC. While highly respected, he was the center of considerable controversy because of his Pentecost Bands. Their aggressive

[113]*Ibid*., 278-279.

[114]See his biography, M. L. Rhodes, *Clifford B. Barrett, The "Happy Alleghenian,"* (Salem, OH: Convention Book Store, n.d.). This book can be read at http://wesley.nnu.edu/wesleyctr/books/1501-1600/HDM1530.PDF.

[115]Sage, 52-3. Embarrassment (as a tutor in humility) played a significant role in the experience of demonstrations, at least initially. This fit well with the FM understanding of sanctity.

evangelism was generally appreciated by other FMs, but their existence apart from the annual and general conference structures caused some consternation, as well as their understanding of the "death route" to entire sanctification and the stress on "marital purity," that sexual intercourse was for procreation only.[116] Nelson, one of his lieutenants and later his first biographer, described Dake's understanding of opposition to worldliness that illustrates how closely tied manifestations were to behavioral standards. Dake believed that if believers fully renounced the world, their godly life, plain attire, righteous principles, self-sacrificing spirit resulting in satisfactory and joyous experiences would dispense with the devil's counterfeit religion. Hence his opposition to separation from the world.[117] However, Dake, more than many FMs, placed demonstrations in the context of evangelism.

Nelson provided a lengthy account of a band arrested for creating too much noise on the street because of holding their meeting there. The prisoners were loud in their worship in jail as well, which greatly irritated the sheriff. Dake wrote concerning this, under the title "An Unusual Noise." "It could scarcely be heard two blocks away, yet the marshal of Morris shook; and the rum holes of Morris shook; and the pit of hell shook; and while they shook they shrieked, 'That man is making an unusual noise.' " He noted that shouts of drunks and of people being rude or swearing were never subject to such a response of law enforcement. Dake provided a number of scripture passages to support "unusual noise."[118] Indeed, band members getting arrested for vigorous worship[119] and the accompanying publicity seemed to be a regular tactic for evangelism with Dake's bands.[120]

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[116]Iwig-O'Byrne, *A Progression of Methodist Radicalism*, 211, 230-231, 242.

[117]Thomas H. Nelson, *Life and Labors of Rev. Vivian A. Dake, Organizer and Leader of Pentecost Bands: Embracing an Account of His Travels in America, Europe and Africa, With Selections from his Sketches, Poems and Songs* (Chicago: T. B. Arnold, 1894), 98.

[118]Isaiah 62:11, Luke 2:14, Isaiah 12:6, Ezra 3:11-13, and Revelation 19:6.

[119]Arrests were often by law enforcement in Midwestern towns that were of Catholic German immigrant stock, and rather antagonistic toward revivalism. To be persecuted by Catholic immigrant powers for quintessentially American religious activity was particularly attention getting, although a few decades removed from the heyday of Know-Nothing movement.

[120]*Ibid*., 166-171.

It is worth noting that the bands found behavioral standards to be a vital accompaniment to effective evangelism. A Pentecost band in Neoga, Illinois, held highly successful meetings, and when visiting house to house the occupants usually wept. One of the band workers had been a band worker for only a few days. He began to react against reproof (an important feature of bands was intense spiritual accountability), and he declared to the people, "Chew your tobacco and smoke your cigars, dress as you please and belong to your secret lodges too, only get this love of God in your heart and I won't question your experience." The converts eventually saw his life as inconsistent with his profession, and supported the band, but further progress with the public was halted.[121]

Conclusion

The gulf between the early FMC and the current FMC will remain vast, no matter how much understanding of previous mindsets and experiences is achieved. Two beliefs have taken hold of the FMC as it has engaged with the broader Christian church and struggled with its own past. The first is that aesthetics have a created, positive value.[122] Here the Puritan heritage of the early FMC severely limited them. Simple and plain need not be synonymous. God provides recreation not directly connected with religion, and we are the better for having experienced it. The second is that God calls us to be friends to sinners. Now the picture of Jesus in the FMC is more complete and more biblical. Now we have many more ways to accomplish our mission, many more ways to love people.

There are a number of ways that the bodily expressions of the early FMC remain instructional. We may take issue with their refusal to befriend sinners, but we can appreciate their refusal to befriend the world system. In this area we can appreciate their utterly uncompromising spirit. We can value their demand that every action, no matter how apparently trivial, fit with our commitment to God rather than our commitment to our own comfort. The material world of a believer is a collection of physical symbols. Do we know what our collection of physical symbols attest to inside and outside the community? The early FMC certainly did know. Finally, we can respect the transformational power of the community through the radical stress of their radical liminality. Where and how can current FMs make sense of their doctrine, stories, feelings, memories and lifestyles in any cohesive fashion?

[121]*Ibid*., 272-274.

[122]E. P. Marvin provided a thorough-going attack of material aesthetics in "Art in Christian Worship," 40:5 (Nov. 1880), 156-157.

TOWARDS A SECOND CONFERENCE ON FAITH AND ORDER IN NORTH AMERICA: A PROGRESS REPORT[1]

by

William G. Rusch

Throughout the history of the church, some Christians have always been aware of the scandal of Christian disunity. Whenever the church of Jesus Christ has been visibly rent asunder, members of the church have acknowledged that they were less than faithful to the prayer of their Lord that his people be one. They recognized that their division hampered the mission of the church to the world and their witness to the Lordship of Christ.

A Brief History of Faith and Order

Thus in 1910 a movement began. It was at first a movement of individual Christians and then of churches. Its purpose was to seek the truth as it is found in Jesus Christ and into which the Holy Spirit leads. This movement embodies at its best a search for the will of God in every area of life and work. At the center of this movement, with its many dimensions, is the Faith and Order movement, which endeavors to serve the

[1]This article is a revision of an article that will appear in an issue of the *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, whose editor, Dr. Leonard Swidler, gave permission for its inclusion here. The material is based on a presentation I made to the North American Academy of Ecumenists in September of 2003 in Montreal, Canada. Printed here is the text of the presentation I made to the 2004 Annual Meeting of the Wesleyan Theological Society convened in March, 2004, in Rochester, New York.

churches by leading them into theological dialogue as a means of overcoming the obstacles to and opening ways toward the realization of their unity as given in Christ. Thus, Faith and Order has always been inherently theological, but never for its own sake. Rather, it is theological so that it can be a resource to all the churches to assist them to move beyond their visible disunity to a visible expression of their oneness in Jesus Christ as Lord and Savior.

With leadership of such figures as Bishop Charles Brent and the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Temple, Faith and Order helped formed the first phase of this modern movement. It held international conferences from 1927 until the founding of the World Council of Churches in 1948. After this date, the Commission on Faith and Order of the WCC conducted several world conferences, including Lund in 1952, Montreal in 1963, and the last in 1993 in San Diego de Campostella.

No doubt the most significant achievement to date of the global Faith and Order movement has been the document *Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry.* This text has become the most widely known and circulated document of the ecumenical movement.[2] Over the years the Commission on Faith and Order has come to have ever more members, including from the Roman Catholic, Orthodox, Evangelical, and Pentecostal churches, as well as from other churches of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Its agenda of studies has increased and broadened during the years.

Interestingly, the first impulses of the Faith and Order movement took place in North America. Both the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church and the General Assembly of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) took action in 1910 to appoint a commission to bring about a conference on the questions of Faith and Order. These energies flowed first into the international arena and into a series of world conferences and eventually the formation of the World Council of Churches.[3] It was only after the third International Conference in Lund in 1952 that the need was recognized to formalize Faith and Order in the United States. This resulted in the North American Conference on Faith and Order in

[2]*Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry,* Faith and Order Paper 111 (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1982).

[3]L. Vischer, ed., *A Documentary History of the Faith and Order Movement, 1927-1963* (St. Louis, MO: Bethany Press, 1963) and Günther Gassmann, ed., *Documentary History of Faith and Order, 1963-1993,* Faith and Order Paper 159 (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1993).

1957 at Oberlin, Ohio and its influential report, *The Nature of the Unity We Seek*.[4] One of the results of the Oberlin Conference was the creation in 1958 of a Commission on Faith and Order within the structures of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA. Even then that organizational decision caused some debate.

Over the years this Commission has engaged in important studies dealing with such topics as the ecclesiological significance of councils of churches, the confession of the apostolic faith among historic Black churches, racism, and teaching church history ecumenically.[5] Early in its history it promoted Living Room Dialogues and published several volumes on this topic. It became the most broadly based theological forum in the United States dealing with issues dividing the churches. The membership of the Commission extended beyond the membership of the National Council of Churches with the active involvement of Roman Catholic, Orthodox, classical Protestant, Pentecostal, and Holiness theologians.

Since 1958, however, a number of disturbing signs appeared. They increased with the passing of the years. The potential harvest of the Faith and Order movement was indeed rich, but Faith and Order was being more marginalized in the life of the National Council of Churches and in some member churches. Within the ecumenical movement the concern about the theological differences separating the churches gained less attention.[6] Political and social agendas, as important as they may be,

[4]Paul S. Minear, ed., *The Nature of the Unity We Seek: Offical Report of The North American Conference on Faith and Order, September 3-10, 1957, Oberlin, Ohio* (St. Louis, MO: Bethany Press, 1958).

[5]See, for example, David T Shannon and Gayraud S. Wilmore, eds., *Black Witness to the Apostolic Faith* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1985); Thaddeus D. Horgan, ed., *Apostolic Faith in America* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1988); Timothy J. Wengert and Charles W. Brockwell, Jr., eds., *Telling the Churches' Stories: Ecumenical Perspectives on Writing Christian History* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1995); Susan E. Davies and Paul Teresa Hennessee, eds., *Ending Racism in the Church* (Cleveland, Ohio: United Church Press, 1998); and Norman A. Hjelm, ed., *Out of the Ashes: Burned Churches and the Community of Faith* (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, Inc., 1997).

[6]Concern about the loss of the center of the ecumenical movement found expression in such works as Ephraim Radner, *The End of the Church: A Pneumatology of Christian Division in the West* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1998); Harding Meyer, *That All May Be One: Perceptions and Models of Ecumenicity* (Grand Rapids, MI: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1999), esp. 151-156; Michael Kinnamon, *The Ecumenical Movement and How It Has Been Impoverished by Its Friends* (St. Louis, MO: Chalice Press, 2003).

overshadowed serious theological work. The question arose concerning the future of Faith and Order on the North American continent.

A New Beginning

A group of church leaders and theologians met twice to discuss this question. In January of 2001 they formed a Foundation for a Conference on Faith and Order in North America. They did this because they believed that the time had come for a second conference and that no existing organization had the resources and international character to conduct such a conference on the North American continent. They selected a tentative date for the Conference to include the churches of Canada and the United States of 2004. This date was subsequently changed to 2005. The theme of the Conference was at least provisionally selected, "The Church: Its Faith and Its Unity." The intention is to stand very much in the tradition of Faith and Order and the Oberlin Conference and to rekindle an enthusiasm and support in the churches for the full unity of Christians. The Conference and its preliminary study process hope to prepare a new generation of leaders and to offer the occasion for a vast spectrum of Christians to make a statement about the nature and truth of the Christian faith at the beginning of a new century.

During the week of Easter, 2001, at a time when Eastern and Western Christians shared the same date of Easter, the newly established Foundation sent a letter to some 328 churches in Canada and the United States informing them of the intention to call such a conference and asking for their prayerful consideration of this possibility. A similar letter updating the churches was sent on Pentecost in the West and Easter in the East in 2002. In October of 2001 some 120 Christians from a wide variety of traditions and churches gathered for two days at the University of Notre Dame because of the hospitality provided by the Department of Theology of that University. The task was to consider the feasibility of such a conference. The conclusion was that a consensus existed among that group to proceed towards the conference.

Clearly, the challenges for the Foundation on the road to a Second Conference on Faith and Order in North America are daunting. They include the present preoccupations of the churches, the pluralism of religious life in Canada and the United States at this time, the difficulties of reception of ecumenical progress by the churches, and the sorry state of conciliar ecumenism in many places. Nevertheless, the call and the oppor-

tunities of such a conference are equally hopeful. The document issued by the Foundation, "A Call to the Churches for a Second Conference on Faith and Order in North America" begins with a reference to John 17:20-21 and goes on to declare: "We cannot predict what would come from such a conference."[7] This is indeed true. Yet many now believe that faithfulness to their Christian calling includes the active support and encouragement of a Conference on Faith and Order on our continent.

The Foundation is presently establishing a series of study groups which will involve learned societies, Bible colleges, seminaries, and divinity schools. It will be launching a modest publication program with a short history of Faith and Order in North America and interpretative materials for interested lay groups. The Foundation is also exploring a model for the Conference which would root the Conference deeply and firmly in the life of worshiping congregations. A collection of local congregations would host this American and Canadian Conference, provide space for its plenary and sectional meetings, and provide a measure of financial support. Should this model be adopted, it would provide a new way for Faith and Order to work. Some of its advantages are obvious. They would include the close identification of the theological tasks of the church with the local churches' worship in Word and sacrament, as well as a recognition of some of the practical gifts of church unity and of some of the operative hindrances caused by the disunity of the churches. In November, 2002, the board of the Foundation adopted a shorter statement of its goal and purpose by describing the Conference on Faith and Order in North America in 2005 in the following way: "The 2005 Conference on Faith and Order is a *call* to the Church and the churches for unity in *identity*, power in *mission*, and faithful *continuity* in witness.

This is an enterprise of heavy theological commitment and not for the faint-hearted. It involves assisting churches to (1) reach back to their biblical and patristic roots, (2) overcome their denominational labels, (3) proclaim their unity in identity, (4) acknowledge the essential character of the church as one in mission, (5) acknowledge that, apart from the search to realize the unity given in Christ, the church cannot fully realize its power in mission, and (6) declare that this can only be, not by social or political agendas, but in faithful continuity with the witness to Christ

[7] *A Call to the Churches,* unpublished text of the Foundation for a Conference on Faith and Order in North America, 2001.

through the centuries. That witness has come from women and men, apostles, martyrs, people like Athanasius, Augustine, Luther, Calvin, and the Wesley brothers.

It is to be hoped that Christians from a wide of range of churches and traditions will follow this call with interest, contribute from their own extensive experience, see a fresh opportunity to proclaim the Lordship of Christ in this divided and confused world, and promote the visible unity and mission of Christ's followers.

THE WESLEYAN-HOLINESS STUDY PROJECT
An Informational Report

by

Kevin W. Mannoia

Many years ago while attending a theological conference on holiness at Asbury Theological Seminary, I recall hearing this statement made around the lunch table: "the Holiness movement has lost its ability to renew itself and the Church and has become merely a repository of historical information." I bristled but did not speak, since I was still a student and overwhelmed at the capacity of the scholars around me. I did not agree, nor do I today.

Upon beginning a term as president of the National Association of Evangelicals, I told a press conference that evangelicals are being called to reintegrate social holiness and personal holiness; our task is the transformation of hearts and of culture; we are not so much to define the perimeter as to define the center from which our identity proceeds. The block walls of division must give way to picket fences in a new day of missional growth toward impacting culture. A few years later I stated to the NAE executive committee that evangelicals were becoming more Wesleyan, they just didn't realize it.

Perhaps these comments sound defiant or even arrogant. They are not intended to be. They may not be precise, surgical statements, but at closer inspection of the moves of God across the church they remain accurate. In recent years we have seen broad discussions seeking truth beyond the "solas." The old tactic of isolation and takeover in cultural politics by precept has been declared ineffective. The defense of the

rational side of the gospel has given way to a rise in the relational, personal dimensions of truth, exemplified in a new generation of pastors and upstart churches for whom doctrinal purity is second to the relational nature of faith in Christian community. Does this mean there is equivocation at the point of the Christocentrism of the faith? Certainly not in those churches.

The integrating of social and personal transformation is no longer merely the extreme rhetoric of warring councils and denominations. The old battle lines have become blurred and groups which historically would never have conceded to one or the other are talking similar language and calling for authentic engagement. Throughout denominations and new networks of churches alike there is interest in centered-set theology that is generous. Allowances for grace unlimited in context are growing; and a call for the convertive piety described by Donald Dayton is coming from unexpected pulpits. In truth, the church is agreeing that we believe in right practice along with right belief. These are in great measure indicative of the influence of the Holiness message and call to the Church today.

Before us is a new door requiring a compelling, guiding vision that is theologically rooted and outwardly directed toward transformation that is not sectarian, isolationist, enclavish, or dogmatic, but integrative, transformational, apostolic, and missional. That can come from the holiness call. It requires new terms, new constructs, new voices, new alliances, but old, very old principles. It cannot involve fighting artificial enemies along shadow lines that puff up our institutional existence at another's expense. This is a discussion and a call regarding the identity and mission of the church for the next generation and beyond. This is a time for those with the Wesleyan-Holiness tradition to generously share their heritage, and confidently rise to clear articulation in perfect harmony with the call of God upon the church for the coming decades.

The future of the Church will be much more defined by missional and theological streams of thought than by institutional and structural lines. Organizations will morph into networks. Contracts will become partnerships. Negotiated statements will become relationships. In this dynamic and messy environment, the clear voice of God's call to holiness can serve in unprecedented ways for unity and direction.

To that end, the Wesleyan Holiness Study Project (WHSP) was begun in Spring of 2004 after nearly two years of work to bring the initial groups together in commitment to the project. In a providential conver-

gence of my own vision, the conviction and expertise of David Bundy, and the interest of Donald Dayton, the concept of the project was hatched. Bundy's driving interest represents a lifetime of study and experience.

The initial meeting of the WHSP on May 10-11, 2004, in southern California included 28 scholars/leaders from various denominations in the Holiness tradition. Academic exploration by the group is intended to serve the mission of the church. Hence, the commitment of denominations has secured the partnership of those churches with academicians in achieving the outcomes. Commitments have been made by:

1. Board of General Superintendents—Church of the Nazarene
2. Board of Bishops—Free Methodist Church
3. National Commander—Salvation Army
4. Executive Director—Church of God Ministries (Anderson)
5. Board of General Superintendents—Wesleyan Church
6. Moderato—Brethren in Christ
7. Superintendent—Evangelical Friends

While others that represent a broader diversity of the Holiness tradition are in process of engaging, these were the founding groups who captured the vision.

The WHSP is not intended to be an institutionally centered project. The desire is to work across denominational lines with theological compatibility in the Wesleyan/Holiness tradition. It is intended to provide ecclesiastical support for a common issue, not simply relegate the matter to an academic effort. It is the denominations mentioned, and others, that have most represented the influence of the Wesleyan/Holiness movement to date. These denominations can once again assert their interest in and focus on a re-articulation of the Holiness impact on the church. The fastest growing segments of the church worldwide have roots in this tradition. The hope is that these denominations will come together with the recognition of our collective stewardship of this unique message that has so affected the church and will increasingly impact the future of the church.

Many other groups are looking for clear understanding of the holiness message. This includes mainline Protestant, as well as upstart groups like Vineyard and Calvary Chapel. We have a leadership responsibility to provide better articulation of this message, its influence on the history of the church, and, more importantly, its potential impact on shaping the future of the church's global mission.

In the commitment of the various ecclesial leaders is the synergy not only of compatibility in a common heritage, but unity in a future mission. Further, by engaging the churches in forming the WHSP, the dynamic force is centered in the church, not the academy. Each denomination has committed funds as well as scholar/leaders for the duration of the anticipated three-year project.

Outcomes of the Project will be varied. Specifically, the plan is for publications that will capture the consensual wisdom of the groups. Academic publications may be useful for teaching and reference, while popular publications can serve to raise the consciousness of laity and communicate clearly to the wider church. Beyond these specific outcomes, confidence in the relevancy of the message of holiness, as well as strength in its unifying force that transcends institutional lines will result. Most importantly, we pray that a renewal in the passion of our pastors and people in preaching and living a thoughtful life of holiness will be the greatest outcome, all to the glory of God.

BOOK REVIEWS

E. Dorothy Graham, *Saved to Serve: The Story of the Wesley Deaconess Order, 1890-1978* (Werrington: Methodist Publishing House, 2002). ISBN: 1-85852-224-2

Reviewed by David Bundy, Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California.

The Wesley Deaconess Order was constituted in 1890 when several intrepid pioneers began their own itinerant ministries. It was a movement of women seeking to fulfill their ministries in the Wesleyan Methodist Church and the United Methodist Free Church. They eventually won the confidence of the church. The founder of the deaconess order was the Rev. Dr. Thomas Bowman Stephenson who also the first "Warden" of the Order, serving from 1890-1907. Throughout its history, the Order was required to submit to the supervision of the clergy and a male warden was always named. Initially, training was undertaken in the Wesley Deaconess Institute. Then, in 1902, the movement reached a new level of establishment with the opening of the Wesley Deaconess College at Ilkley, once again a male-led establishment. Success was such that the Wesleyan Methodist Church sanctioned women as preachers in 1910.

The Wesley Deaconess Order began its work in the cities of Britain, both as service/social ministers and as evangelists. Already in 1894, Deaconesses began to expanded their purview overseas. Mission areas included South Africa, West Africa (Gambia, Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone), India, Ceylon [Sri Lanka], China, New Zealand, the West Indies, Canada, Peru, Spain, France and the Falklands. Many of these ministries were quite important to the development of the Wesleyan Methodist churches in these areas and several ministries probably deserve a more

fulsome treatment. Graham's account of these developments is an important contribution to the history of Methodist mission.

By the 1960s the movement was in trouble. Ilkley House was closed in 1968; the training center and headquarters were moved to Handsworth Theological College, which later (1970) merged into The Queen's College, Edgbaston, Birmingham. Declining funding and the faltering prestige of women in ministry led to the closing of recruitment in 1978. However, after a lapse of eight years, in 1986, the project was renewed in a drastically changed form. The Methodist Diaconal Order was created to provide a structure for ministry for both women and men.

Graham has made a major contribution to the history of Methodism and to the study of the role of women in British Wesleyan Methodism. Out of a wide range of sources, she has woven the complex and volatile story of the Deaconess movements. Special mention should be given to her careful use of the Deaconess publications. These include contributions in *Highways and Hedges and Children's Advocate* (1891-1901), as well as their own *Flying Leaves from the Wesley Deaconess Institute of the Wesleyan Methodist Church* (1901-1915), *The Agenda* (1922-1948), *Wesley Deaconess Magazine* (1949-1959), *Doers of the Word* (1964-1972) and *A Way of Serving* (1973-), as well as the *Stations of Appointments of the Wesley Deaconess Order* (1892-1961). Graham also used the extensive report literature of the Deaconess Institute as well as assorted published minutes and archival sources. The numerous photographs reproduced as well as the salient quotations provided from a diverse set of publications and archival resources enhance the volume.

Two lacunae await further research. The first is that there must be significant material in local newspapers of the century that would elaborate the story. The other is that the context of Deaconess (and related) work in late nineteenth-century Britain is not discussed. Questions abound. How, for instance, was the Wesleyan Deaconess movement like or different from the deaconess work at Mildmay, the women of the Salvation Army, or among the German Pietists? How did the British phenomenon relate to the development of the deaconess movements in the U.S.A. under the influence of Moody, Lucy Ryder, and the Free Methodists? That Graham does not deal with these issues does not detract from the significance of her contribution, which, it is hoped, will serve as a stimulus to other studies of the contributions of this remarkable organization.

J. Steven O'Malley, *"On the Journey Home": The History of Missions of the Evangelical United Brethren Church, 1946-1968* (The United Methodist History of Mission, 4; New York: General Board of Global Ministries, The United Methodist Church, 2003). ISBN 1-890569-50-X. xvi, 285 pp.

Reviewed by David Bundy, Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, California

The Evangelical Church (EC) and the United Brethren in Christ (UB) merged in 1946 to form the Evangelical United Brethren (EUB). The new body merged with the Methodist Episcopal Church to form the United Methodist Church in 1968. These mergers frame the experience of EUB missions and O'Malley's institutional history of this aspect of the denomination's short twenty-two year history. The story of these decades of mission is marginally known except to a small group of specialists. O'Malley has made a major contribution to the study of mission history with this carefully documented contribution to the "United Methodist History of Mission."

The period presented by O'Malley was a turbulent time of North American and international history that required the churches of established Christendom to revise their approaches to mission. The North American "mainline" churches reached their apex in 1959 and began to visibly lose their grip on the USA and Canadian religious economies and their privileged position in North American culture. O'Malley, as most denominational historians, see this as a population shift from rural to urban, but the fact remains that the urban churches rarely grew and most shrank during the same period. O'Malley also notes but does not elaborate on the fact that most EUB missions were begun as evangelistic projects, but the emphasis shifted to institutional development and social service. In this way, the EUB fits quite precisely the pattern of the mission of the other "mainline" churches described by William Hutchison [*Errand to the World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987)] and bears little resemblance to the trajectories of the non-mainline churches profiled by Shenk and Carpenter [*Earthen Vessels* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1988)].

As O'Malley indicates, nearly all of the mission efforts of the EUB denomination were initiated by the earlier denominations, although considerable effort was invested in rescuing mission projects in post-World War

II Germany and in efforts to deal with events in China during the first five years of the EUB existence. New mission efforts were limited to included only Brazil (1949), where the EUB "took over" an existing mission, and Indonesia (1955) where expelled EUB China missionaries replaced Dutch missionaries expelled by the newly independent Indonesian government. EC and UB mission fields included Germany, Switzerland, Puerto Rico, The Dominican Republic, The Philippines, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Nigeria, India, Japan, and China. Projects in North America included the Kentucky Highland Mission, the New Mexico Mission, the Latin (Ybor City, Florida) Mission, the Italian (American) Mission, as well as efforts at church planting. Throughout the two decades in question, there was an increasing identification with and cooperation with the mission projects and approaches of the World Council of Churches. O'Malley describes the post-WWII state of the mission churches as "indigenous," but there may be room for debate about the nuances of meaning of that term as applied to churches still dependent on North American "leadership development," institution building, and financial support.

The volume is based on a careful sifting of denominational mission report literature and on published sources. If any stone has been left unturned, it is that there has been little use of personal papers of missionaries and correspondence between missionaries and indigenous leaders with the mission board, correspondence between the mission board and ecumenical agencies and other denominations, as well as the minutes of the Mission Board meetings. Perhaps the most interesting issue that is not explored is the EUB experience by non-North American adherents whose initial experience was of the separate UB and EC mission administrations. What was their participation in the merger with the Methodist Episcopal Church? That history is still recent enough that some significant oral history work could be done. But that would be another book! The book is replete with useful charts and graphs, as well as a superb index. One does wish that a list of EUB missionaries had been provided with indications of their fields of service, earlier denominational affiliations, and information about whether they continued as UMC missionaries. In 1949 there were more than 187 missionaries under appointment (pp. 194-195), but most of these individuals remain unnamed.

These comments are not meant to detract from the significance of this book, but rather to suggest avenues of additional research. As it is, the volume is an important contribution to our understanding of the Methodist family of churches.

Maxine L. Haines and Lee M. Haines, *Celebrate Our Daughters: 150 Years of Women in Wesleyan Ministry*. Indianapolis: Wesley Publishing House, 2004. 418 pages. ISBN: 0-89827-282-3 (pbk).

Reviewed by William Kostlevy, Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena, CA.

While it has become commonplace to celebrate the pioneering role of the Holiness Movement in the history of the ordination of women to Christian ministry, prior to the publishing of this fine book no scholar had ever attempted to identify all women ministers in any holiness body. The principal author and compiler, Maxine L. Haines, an ordained Wesleyan minister, aided by her scholar-administrator husband Lee M. Haines, selected nearly one thousand ordained women for inclusion. As Lee Haines notes in his preface, Maxine had actually identified over two thousand women. As a result, women who were merely licensed were generally not included. She did include some non-ordained women with extensive pastoral experience or had extensive public careers as preachers and evangelists.

The result of years of extensive research in the Wesleyan Archives, Haines examined all district and conference journals from the fourteen bodies, known under over twenty names, now merged to form the Wesleyan Church. Further, as her footnotes demonstrate, she contacted numerous women in ministry, families of deceased women ministers, and church leaders and informed laity to obtain information concerning women in ministry in the bodies that now constitute the Wesleyan Church. Given the nature of her sources, I am very impressed with how few errors mare this work. The book is divided into seven chronologically ordered chapters and includes a detailed index and extensive footnotes.

Perhaps the most significant finding of this book is the geographical breadth of Wesleyan women clergy. While in many traditions, women's public ministry was largely restricted to areas and denominations related to the New England migration, Unitarians, Universalists, certain Congregationalists, and even Wesleyan Methodists and Free Methodists. Wesleyan Methodist, Holiness Church, and Pilgrim Holiness women ministered in not only New York and Michigan, but also the far West and South.

While wisely avoiding polemics and allowing the overwhelming evidence to speak for itself, the message of this book is clear. In the fami-

lies of churches that came together to form the Wesleyan Church, women have routinely served as congregational and denominational leaders. In fact, women leaders such as Mary Kinney Depew and Clara Tear Williams were the central figures in the Wesleyan Methodist Church's evolution from an antebellum reform denomination into an active holiness body. While left unsaid, it is hardly surprising that one of the most notable results of the waning of the holiness experience among Wesleyans has been the decline of the ministerial leadership of women. As a movement, we continue to pay a high price for not fully embracing the gifts that many women have to offer. As this book makes clear, our own history suggests that as a movement we have done better.

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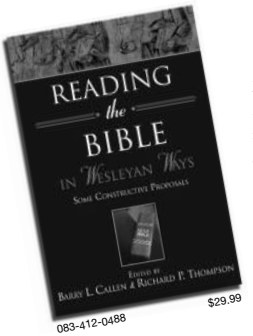

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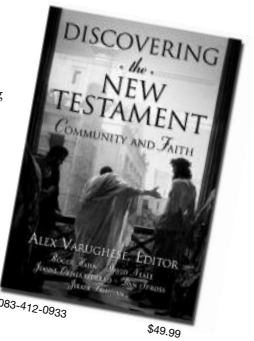

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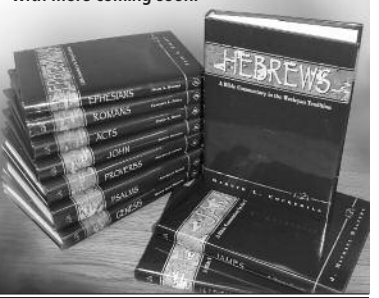

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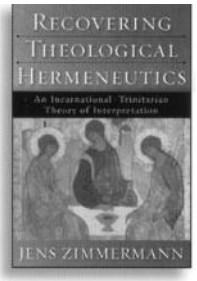

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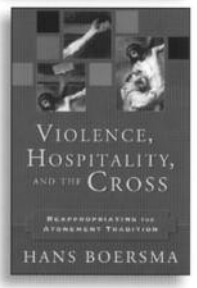

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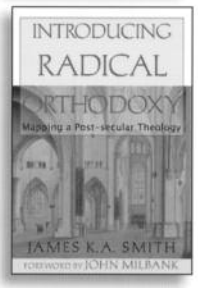

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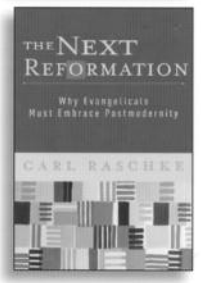

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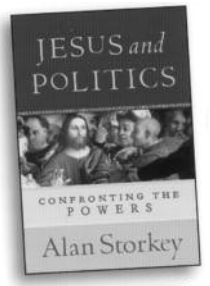

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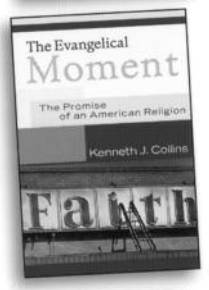

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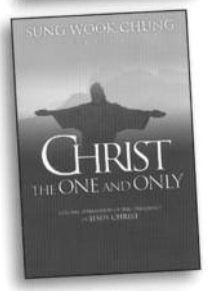

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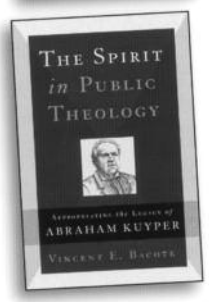

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