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One of the highlights of each meeting of the Canadian Society of Church History is the exchange of ideas and discoveries in the area of specialization of its members.

We acknowledge with gratitude the scholarship of those who prepared papers for the 1971 meeting of the Society at Memorial University, St. John's, Newfoundland. They are here made available to members in good standing in the hope that further discussion and research will ensue.

This circulation is a "private agreement" and should in no way prevent publication of the papers in professional journals. Our only regret is that technical matters beyond our immediate control prevented an earlier mailing.

E.J. Furcha

Secretary

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S U M M A R Y

PART I

It is the claim of this paper that during the life of the Newfoundland Conference of the Methodist Church in Canada (1874 - 1924) the character of her theology was influenced profoundly by enforced and chosen isolation though some courageous attempts were made to deepen the theological thinking within the ministry and laity of the outport communities.

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THE INFLUENCE OF ISOLATION ON THE THEOLOGY OF METHODISM IN NEWFOUNDLAND - 1874-1924

Newfoundland, a rugged, fog-ridden, forbidding, hand-shaped island off the northeast coast of mainland Canada, well out in the rough, cold invincible Atlantic Ocean, was a land of obscurity, loneliness, frugality, and legend. The few Beothic Indians who inhabited the island were visited by Norsemen, Cabot, some adventurous explorers of the seventeenth century, and by some daring French fishermen. These all bounced off the rocky coast until hardy, desperate settlers from the west and south of England and subsequently many Irish immigrants defied the elements, the unfriendly environment and even their home government[1] in order to establish their families in a free land which seemed almost completely separated from ancestral ties or from the exciting New World. Here a meagre but satisfying living was eked out by fishing—although mining and lumbering ultimately developed to considerable financial advantage.[2] Nevertheless the price of separation, seclusion and self-sufficiency was a minimum standard of living and a rejection of the world outside their own island.

From the beginning England boasted about her "oldest colony"[3] while at the same time she exploited it shamefully. Little financial help came from the European fishing vessels that found shelter and obtained supplies in Newfoundland ports—though this business cannot be disregarded. A happier association of trade sprang up with the New England States and the West Indies,[4] although even this did little to bring the main ports

into the stream of world commerce--let alone to lift the cloud of isolation from the outports. In fact, as the glorious colonial period began to wane, Newfoundland was segregated from the rest of the world by her own stubborn choice and by the amused indifference of the preoccupied people of the Atlantic countries.

Nevertheless, during the half century with which this paper deals, (1874-1924), it required an all-out effort on the part of Newfoundlanders to resist the pressure that threatened their treasured isolation. 1866 had seen the successful laying of the transatlantic cable terminating at Heart's Content, Trinity Bay, from which it was later connected with the mainland. In 1901 Marconi received the first signal from England to Signal Hill at the entrance to St. John's harbour, opening up the vast field of intercontinental wireless communication. From St. John's in 1919 Alcock and Brown flew their flimsy plane across the Atlantic, establishing a link with Europe which was to be developed in the next thirty years at an amazing rate. Meantime, steam had revolutionized ocean-going ships, and gasoline engines had augmented or replaced the fisherman's dependence on wind and tides. A railroad had been completed in 1898 connecting the east and west coasts. Coastal vessels became more plentiful and had the advantage of being able to continue later in the season and to begin earlier. By the end of this period roads were beginning to be built. Participation in the Boer War, and especially in World War I, helped to crack the wall of isolation. Teachers, ministers, doctors, and other trained personnel from Britain came to Newfoundland, - but all too frequently they soon returned or moved on to the mainland in search of better prospects. A high percentage of Newfoundlanders who went to the United States or Canada

for education or to find work, did not return. In the comfort of their new environment, they dreamed nostalgically of their native land but this sentiment was so precious they could not risk disillusionment by coming back. One of the beloved folk songs[5] reflects this emotion:

By Pacific's wave I'm sighing for my homeland.
I long to breathe her healthful airs again,
I pine, tho' nature here in all her splendour
And majesty of beauty loves to reign.

The vine trees' luscious load is waving o'er me,
The sweet syringa's petals kiss my hand.
Though all is fair and bright in California
I dream of thee my country Newfoundland.

CHORUS:
The sunset floods the golden gates with glory
The scent of orange groves is on the breeze
Yet the heart within me cries for my home 'neath northern skies
An island far away in other seas.

The friends I love and youthful mem'ries call me,
Their call, my yearning soul cannot withstand.
Take me back! Oh! take me back from California
To the hills, the "Dear old hills" of Newfoundland.

Not only was Newfoundland cut off from the outside world but its many communities were isolated from one another as well. The people had settled in small groups, in coves and inlets around the 6000-mile coastline. Even in 1924 only four towns outside of St. John's had a population of 3000.[6] Hundreds of these pockets of 5-50 or more families formed self-contained units with almost no communication between them. Only a few miles apart as the crow flies, they were often many miles by boat, involving a journey around a headland, the buffetting of the rough sea, the meeting of currents and winds--to say nothing of the sudden storms which were the nature of this high and rocky coast. Winning a livelihood from the capricious sea justified a risk which visiting the

neighbouring community did not merit. Thus in the outports an independent self-satisfied life existed, undisturbed by suggestions or comparisons with others. Those who enjoyed the security of aloofness or lacked the imagination or spirit to resist it, stayed, while those who were restless or rebellious got out. Expurged of the agitators, the folk in the outports were not only out to step with the pipers of the world--they were unable even to hear the pipes.

The ocean made it all possible. It gave them seclusion and a living although it was a constant threat to life and security. "The sea always wins in the end" was an accepted slogan. After the sea came the rocky terrain, the impenetrable interior, the almost insurmountable difficulty of developing agriculture, and the frightening problems involved in road building. Ice and frozen muskeg helped a little in establishing intercommunication, but not enough to counteract the normal barriers. Nature and vocations combined to keep the communities divided.

Isolation is writ large in the religious history of Newfoundland, with Methodism providing the best example. It had an unimpressive beginning under the leadership of a strange character, Lawrence Coughlan. Unfortunately, the definitive study of his life and work has yet to be attempted. His strength and weakness, his religious affiliation and his character are "fogged in", and in some confused areas the historical visibility is zero.[7] Confirmed an Anglican, he was converted by John Wesley during the Irish revival[8] and was accepted as an itinerant local preacher in 1755. Nine years later, for reasons not clearly stated, John Wesley had him ordained by Erasmus, a Greek Bishop who was visiting in England. This arbitrary act on the part of John Wesley aroused such

passionate opposition from Brother Charles and other leaders of the Methodist movement in England that Coughlan was forced to resign his ordination. From this embarrassing situation he was rescued providentially by the Spirit who called him to spread the Gospel in the New World. He arrived in Harbour Grace, Conception Bay, in 1765—one year before Barbara Heck prodded Philip Embury into organizing the first Methodist Society in New York.

Lawrence Coughlan found about 5000 people without religious services in the many coves around Conception Bay.[9] Into this situation he threw himself with vigour and courage. So successful was he that after a year the people sent a petition to London to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel asking that an ordained minister be sent to them. Coughlan himself delivered the request and accepted the appointment after being duly and properly ordained by the Bishop of London. He returned in 1767 to consolidate the Methodist cause around Conception Bay. During the next five years he conducted services, held revival meetings, fought liquor, challenged merchants who, he believed, were cheating the people, and kept the religious life stirred up by his fiery, bold, irrational, and sincere sermons.[10]

In his correspondence[11] to John Wesley this ordained Anglican priest claimed defensively "I am, and do confess myself a Methodist". The confusion would be reduced if we could be sure that Coughlan knew and accepted Wesley's Doctrine of Assurance. At any rate, when Coughlan departed from Harbour Grace in 1772 for England, and obscurity, he left 200 communicants, a number of Methodist Societies, and a group of local preachers to serve them.

Notwithstanding this encouraging statistical record, the societies made little progress in the next 20 years. In desperation Dr. Coke[12] urged William Black[13] of the Eastern British American Methodist Conference to visit Newfoundland with the hope that some order, spirit, and inspiration might come to the divided and discouraged societies there. His visit, which lasted for slightly more than a month, supplied such supervision and direction that a new day dawned for the Methodists in Newfoundland. If this type of supervision could have been repeated even every three or five years Methodism would have profited tremendously. Unfortunately this was not to be the case. It is true that the English Conference did send preachers to serve in Newfoundland (e.g. in 1816 six outstanding preachers arrived). Most of these soon moved on, leaving the people of the outports to work out their own ingrown ideas and practices undisturbed by developments and directives from beyond their respective coves.

The first real breakthrough promising some wider connection and supervision came in 1874 when the Wesleyan Conference of Eastern British America amalgamated with the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada, and the Canadian Conference of the Methodist New Connexion Church to form the Methodist Church of Canada.[14] It was divided into six conferences, of which one was Newfoundland. For the first time in history Newfoundland had a Methodist Conference, organized August 5, 1874 in George Street Church, St. John's with the Reverend George S. Milligan, then minister of Gower Street Church, as first President.[15] This event struck a noble blow against insular separation by bring Newfoundland Societies officially into the main stream of Canadian Methodism. Let us not imagine, however, that the strongly built bastions of isolation could be breached so easily.

The resolute defenders, knowing they were situated in an impregnable position and that they were supported by nature, terrain, tradition, and self-imposed discipline, withstood manfully the halfhearted assault of the General Conference, the letters and infrequent visits of the General Superintendent, the college training of the minister, the influence of the national magazine, The Christian Guardian, and the cautious sallies made by the annual conference to bring in some discipline and progress.

It is the claim of this paper that during the life of the Newfoundland Conference of the Methodist Church in Canada[16] (1874-1924) that the character of her theology was influenced profoundly by enforced and chosen isolation, though some courageous attempts were made to deepen the theological thinking of the ministers and laity of the outport communities. Let us look at some of the theological convictions held, remembering that the Newfoundlanders of this period were practical and concrete thinkers who placed minimal emphasis on concepts and abstractions.

The history of the outports has been recorded to a considerable degree in almost every aspect[17] except in regard to the theology of the people. Religion was a "way" rather than a "truth". The Reverend George Earle, Provost of Queen's College, St. John's--one of the Earles of Change Islands, Notre Dame Bay, illustrates this fact as he writes with insight and wit:

> There must have been something that bound the place together. Beyond question that something was the Church, be it Roman Catholic in the Irish Communities or Church of England in English communities, and in some areas the Methodists. Change Island was divided between the latter two and they did not always love one another but each took under its wing its share of the community and all was not unfriendly. Common to both was the Bible which was not only revered but read in the old-time

> family. It spoke with authority and said among other things that one day should, in fact must, be set aside for worship and rest. Growing up, I felt no sense of compulsion about going to church. It was something the whole community did and this was the only place where the whole population of all ages gathered with regularity. The most objective observer must see in this community custom the cement which bound the outports together and gave a purpose to life in lonely places. The Parson was very much the person of the village for he promoted education and often arranged assistance for the unfortunate and had, in the early missionary days a good idea of medicine.[18]

From such religious and sociological recollections, from three unpublished theses on different aspects of Methodism in Newfoundland, from the files of The Newfoundland Methodist Monthly Greeting, from the minutes of the Newfoundland Conference of the Methodist Church in Canada, from the handwritten sermons of the Reverend Charles Lench and of the Reverend Dr. Levi Curtis, and from the short histories of a number of individual circuits as well as general histories of the Methodist Church in the Atlantic area,[19] data can be found from which the following conclusions are drawn with reasonable certainty.

To begin, Methodism in the isolated outports followed so intensely three of the major emphases of the denomination that these were distorted out of true perspective:

(1) CONDUCT IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN THEOLOGY.

An adherence to a rule of life involving a restricting puritanical moral code coupled with a pietistic dependence on keeping Sunday holy, and attending every possible service, occupied the full attention of the faithful member. While he agreed that works without faith are dead, he was so busy spelling out and defending what he meant by works that there was little time left to consider the nature of the faith.[20]

Isolated from other congregations and unsupervised by authorized overseers,[21] the Methodists failed to understand the faith they had experienced. This impoverished spiritual life accounted substantially for the weakening of the church. They had not realized the danger which Dr. Ralph Chalmers pointed out much later:

> Every church needs a theology even as individual Christians should be able to give a reason for the faith that is in them, that is in order to give an intelligent expression to the belief and experience in Christ, and without which the church like the individual would soon lose its power.[22]

(2) EMOTION IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN REASON

An experience of conversion was essential but an intellectual assent to doctrine was optional at best. The emotionally directed revival meetings and after meetings, resulting in conversions, singing, exhortations, and often uncontrolled hysteria when sins were forgiven, won for the Methodists the not entirely deserved name of "ranting Methodists", "noisy Methodists", and even "mad Methodists". Too often the depth of experience was gauged by the degree of impossibility of describing it.[23] This major emphasis on subjective feeling coupled with a spontaneous and often irrational response made the Methodist look upon theology as unnecessary and indeed as a detriment to true spirituality.

(3) DOCTRINE AND DISCIPLINE ARE MORE IMPORTANT TO PREACHERS THAN TO LAITY.[24]

During his probation and his college training the preacher was supposed to study the faith and to accept the doctrines of the church. At ordination he took his vows to maintain the orthodox view of the denomination.[25] Each year he was questioned lest irregularities appear.[26]

Though there is no record of a heresy trial in this period, provision was made should any such unfortunate situation arise. On the other hand, the church member had no pre-confirmation training, nor indeed had he made any confirmation vows.[27] There was no regular form of profession of faith in joining the society, though a convert was expected to attend class meeting, Sunday services, and prayer meeting. He was required to reject smoking, drinking, and card playing, sexual promiscuity, gambling, and swearing.[28] He could believe as much or as little as he liked and disbelieve any doctrine of the church provided he kept quiet about it. He leaned far too heavily on the testimony of the man whom Jesus healed, who, on being badgered by the Jews to tell what kind of man cured him, replied: "Whether he is a sinner, I do not know . . . I do know that once I was blind, now I see."[29] The member could believe or disbelieve almost anything as long as he felt good and could witness to the dramatic change that had come at a specific time through Christ whom he did not know or specially try to follow.[30] This type of religious freedom leads inevitably to a self-destroying universalism.

On the other hand there were at least three variations exclusive to Methodism in Newfoundland, largely due to isolation:

(1) The Supervising Pastor Plan, so necessary to Wesley's system broke down under the weight of distance, inaccessibility, and inadequate transportation. It was too difficult for the supervisor to give adequate direction, correction, instruction, or examination to the probationer or lay preacher. Further, the isolated unordained preacher was given special privileges to baptize, administer the sacrament, marry, bury, and fulfill all the functions of a minister. He did not need supervision nor did the

circuit look beyond this privileged layman for the conducting of meetings or services. So long as he could do all an ordained minister could do, why worry about training or ordination? Thus both the preacher and the people had a low view of apostolic ordination and a high view of the preacher with a conversion experience--whether he had any grasp of theology or not.

(2) The Class Meeting gave way to the After Meeting.[31] It was a basic principle in Wesley's plan that the converts should be grouped in classes for study, self-examination, witnessing, prayer, and fellowship that they might "grow in Grace". Though the after meeting was not designed to replace the class meeting it tended to do so in the isolated communities. It was held at the close of the "formal" service, usually in the evening, and followed the general pattern of a prayer meeting. It was open to all, with an emphasis on singing, prayers, and testimonies. Study and conversation were replaced by fervour, thanksgiving and expressions of assurance of what had been done for them. While it was rich in fellowship and witnessing, it provided little opportunity for spiritual growth or for an understanding of the faith.

(3) Christian Stewardship of time, talents, and material possessions formed an essential avenue of man's response to the redeeming grace of God in the plan of John Wesley. Although the general experience elsewhere was that Christian Stewardship was a practical successor to the conversion experience, the Methodists of the outports could not use it as a Christian discipline because of their isolation. It was no sacrifice to give them to the church or to neighbours since there was nothing else to do when they were not out fishing. In regard to talents, the only outlet was in

the church. Moreover, the unusual economy made proportionate and systematic giving impossible.[32] The local merchant took the fish and supplied the necessities of life with practically no money changing hands. If a man wanted collection for church, he got an advance from the merchant who charged it against his account. In fact men found it easier to deal with God than with the merchant who, in the end, seemed to have control of all practical things.

To summarize briefly: Three of the regular affirmations over-emphasized by the isolation of the outports:

(1) CONDUCT IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN THEOLOGY

(2) EMOTION IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN REASON

(3) DOCTRINE AND DISCIPLINE ARE MORE IMPORTANT FOR PREACHERS THAN FOR LAITY

The three variations from the Methodist system growing out of the fact of isolation:

(1) THE BREAKDOWN IN SUPERVISION BY ORDAINED PREACHERS

(2) THE DOMINATION OF THE AFTER MEETING OVER THE CLASS MEETING

(3) THE IRRELEVANCE OF CHRISTIAN STEWARDSHIP

PART II

The major affirmations of faith in the Methodist outports, were I believe: in God, Creator and Preserver; in Immortality and in Salvation through the redemption of sinful man by the cross of Christ.

(1) The outport Methodist accepted God as creator of the universe and of man without question or struggle. God made the sea and the rocky land, the fish, the birds, the animals of the forest. He made the berries to

ripen, the vegetables to grow, and the tea for drinking. God made the weather, the wind, the storms and the sunshine. Because the Methodist accepted the natural universe as God's handiwork, he did not rebel or ask why, nor did he blame God or nature when disaster occurred. His fervent prayer was not that the physical condition or situation should be changed to suit his needs, but that he and his family might be saved. In one of the most popular of the folk songs this faith in a God who had all things in his control is declared:

> When I reach that last big shoal
> Where the ground swells break asunder
> Where the wild sands roll to the surges toll
> Let me be a man and take it
> When my dory fails to make it.[1]

(2) He was sure of God as Preserver. He could face the facts of life in complete dependence upon the providence of God, his Father, as he was a son by adoption. The sea was loved, respected, blessed and feared. It provided sustenance for living but took a terrible toll in death. Though a constant struggle went on between the sea and man, the sea was not regarded as an instrument of the devil to destroy man. It was a fair fight in which man believed that if he was really hard pressed he could appeal to a sympathetic God to bring him through.[2] Birth, disease, and death were faced with a minimum of medicine and a maximum of certainty that God had everything in hand. The outport Christian rejoiced if all went well and wept if it did not. God was thanked both in success and tragedy. Fortunately in these secluded communities there were few agitators to ask embarrassing questions of those who held so uncritical a doctrine of Divine Providence.

(3) Immortality in terms of heaven promised and described in the

Bible[3] and assured to the believer through the resurrection of Jesus, was anticipated with delight by the faithful[4] while sinners were threatened with the alternative.[5] The outport Methodist, who gave way to fantastic emotional expression when a loved one or neighbour died, faced death himself in the spirit of Romans 14: 8-9:

> Whether we live, we live unto the Lord and whether we die we die unto the Lord. Whether we live therefore or die we are the Lord's. For to this end Christ both died and rose and revived that he might be Lord both of the living and of the dead.

(4) Salvation was the central and primary doctrine, based not on "what it was" but on "what it did"[6] for man. Man was obsessed with the awfulness of sin[7] from which he could never free himself. Little attention was paid beyond lip service to "who" won man's salvation since it came through the cross. After man's repentance[8] salvation was mediated through an emotional crisis and developed into a way of life. Conversion has been abused by many who have unduly magnified it at the expense of other important truths. To the Reverend Henry Abraham[9], conversion does not accomplish as much as many expect. It changes our relationship to God but does not change us entirely. He maintains a careless sinner is often a careless Christian while a cowardly Christian is doubtless a cowardly sinner. "We bring so much of the old character, thought and habit to the new life. . .Just as any bodily organ can be injured so may the more delicate organs of the soul be impaired. One of the highest gifts of the soul is the sensitivity or quickness to discover and dread evil. The man who lives in sin is destroying the organ". He adds: "Sins before conversion you will never forgive yourself. Only God can forgive and does". Since salvation was not a guaranteed state, backsliding was recognized as

natural and rectified by yearly revival services.[10] Moreover, the monotony of puritanical morality and the frustration of situation ethics were counteracted by periodic "whipping up of the spirit" that salvation might be maintained.[11] In short, the gospel of salvation was simply "repent and believe", untrammelled by complicated theological theories or categories. I conclude, therefore, that it was the activity of God, not His Being, Person, or Nature that attracted the outport Methodists. They were concerned with His mighty acts, not with His majestic Self; with what He could do for them, not with His cosmic plan for the redemption of the world.

The Incarnation was effected for their salvation with all other implications being ignored.[12] The nature and person of Christ were as foreign to their thinking as was the Trinity.[13]

The Holy Spirit was considered only as a power at work in man, producing fruits and enabling man to be victorious.

The Doctrine of the Fall of Man was basic. Sin had entered the world as a force foreign to the divine purpose. Inherited (not total) depravity is accepted.[14]

The Atonement was all important to man on the basis of what was done[15] without emphasis on who did it.[16]

The Church was a gathering of the community with an inner group of saints who alone were worthy to receive Holy Communion. Baptism was necessary to salvation as was church attendance. The Bible was accepted and taught with authority. Prayer[17] was essential to all and public prayer with the prerogative of those "who could pray." Worship was formal in its non-essentials (e.g. hour, frequency, clothing, etc.), was informal

and unadorned in all essentials (order of worship, singing, prayer, sermons, doctrines etc.). Each preacher had so many services to conduct that he had little time for preparation. Thus the denunciation of visible sins and the commendation of accepted virtues, formed a constantly successful theme for any service--and, if the preacher had some quotable mannerism, the triumph of the faith was assured.

PART III

Fortunately, there were some serious attempts made to develop theological thinking in the isolated outports within the Methodist Conference itself, supplemented by powerful influences from the outside. Six of these will now be considered:

(1) THE PUBLICATION OF THE NEWFOUNDLAND METHODIST MONTHLY GREETING

In spite of the national reputation of The Christian Guardian, the official journal of the Methodist Church in Canada, there were few subscribers in Newfoundland in the 1870's and 80's. Indeed even to-day the lack of readers in Newfoundland of the popular United Church Observer is a constant irritation to the editor. It may have been the cost, or the lack of relevant material and news items, or it may have been the problem of distribution which accounted for the pitifully small circulation. At any rate the conference decided to publish its own magazine, electing the Reverend Harry Lewis and the Reverend G.P. Story as the first editors. The initial issue of The Newfoundland Methodist Monthly Greeting appeared in August 1888, costing 40¢ per annum or 11 copies delivered to the one address for $4.00. Soon "The Greeting" as it was affectionately called, became widely read and enthusiastically accepted. With little competition

through the years, it continued successfully until it was forced out of publication late in the 1930's by the depression.

In addition to editorials, articles about religious life in Newfoundland, and news items, there was a letter from the General Superintendent at least yearly and a full account of each annual conference. Temperance education and forceful writing against social evils such as gambling and Sabbath-breaking were found in nearly every issue. Indeed, so necessary did the former seem that for a few years in the early 90's, an auxiliary magazine The Water Lily was published which was devoted exclusively to the cause of temperance. Articles on discipline, conduct, the need for evangelism and special events in the life of the church, filled the pages along with extensive and interesting advertisements. Sermons appeared from time to time, and obituaries received considerable space.

Most significant for our interest, however, was the inclusion of a British supplement which, though the material varied from year to year, contained stories and travelogues about England, along with articles and sermons by leading preachers of the Old Country. Through this medium the reader in the outport around the turn of the century came into contact with such outstanding men as Reverend Hugh Price Hughes, Dr. Joseph Parker and the Reverend J. Scott Lidgett. Later in our period there were reprinted sermons by such distinguished preachers as the Reverend Trevor H. Davies, Dr. John H. Hutton, Dr. H. Waldwyn Hughes, Dr. E Griffith Jones, Dr. C. Campbell Morgan, Dr. A.E. Whitham and Dr. J.E. Jowett—to mention only a few. Not only were these sermons and articles read in the homes but frequently the lay reader, hard pressed on Saturday night, found it valuable to all concerned to read one of these sermons to the congregation

the next day. Undoubtedly many preachers also followed this wide example, believing that the congregation was entitled to the very best.

Two additional comments should be made regarding The Greeting. First, the Reverend F.G. Willey, writing on "ENTIRE SANCTIFICATION" in the June issue, 1890 says:

> As The Greeting is being widely circulated and will doubtless be more and more extensively read, it is not our duty to increase its worth by giving this blessed theme all the prominence which it demands. (Italics mine)

The other fact that cannot be ignored is the prevalence of illiteracy. From the following statistics we can judge the extent of the problem.

Date of Census	Population	No. Unable to write
1891	197,934	94,281
1901	217,037	97,146
1911	238,670	72,808
1921	263,000	42,148

It appears, however, according to oral tradition that someone was found in most homes who could read The Greeting to the rest of the family.

(2) THE THEOLOGICAL UNION

This organization was formed in 1888 to hold its meeting at the Annual Conference. There a lecture would be given by one of the preachers; after which discussion would take place. The membership fee was one dollar, which included a subscription to The Methodist Theological Quarterly. In The Greeting of August, 1889, the first activity of the Theological Union is reported. The Reverend G.H. James, who delivered the lecture on "Christian Liberty" is quoted as affirming that the use of money was a test of character and that man was only God's steward. Men, he added, waste more in godless pleasure than God demands for his cause. The editor

was somewhat dissatisfied with Mr. James's effort as he commented: "So far we have had little of theology proper discussed in sermons or lectures of the union". Apparently the hope was that the Conference Sermon and the lecture of the Theological Union should be discussed, not to pick holes in the arguments presented, but to stimulate debate and thus to promote more theological thinking.

An announcement in the June, 1890 issue of The Greeting reads:

> The members will please notice that the annual lecture of the Theological Union will be delivered on the preparatory day of Conference in George Street Church. Lecturer--Rev. Henry Lewis--Subject "THE RELATION OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE TO ETHICS".

When this event was reported the next north little was said of the lecture itself but much of its enthusiastic reception:

> The event of that date (opening June 24th) was the annual lecture in connection with the Theological Union of the Conference. What about the lecture? Well, as one of the editors[2] of The Journal had most to say that evening about the relation of Christian Doctrine to Ethics, we ought to be mute. But what a fine audience there was; wonderful considering so many think theology a dry subject and the singing that night was really good: but the handsome collection of nearly twenty dollars put a climax on all.

No wonder the members of the Union felt happy.

Probably the renewed emphasis in theology aroused by the Union influenced the preacher of the conference sermon to give greater attention to doctrine. At any rate the Reverend John Pratt announced that year as his theme "The Fatherhood of God," using the text "My Father and your Father" (John 20:17). He traced God's self-revelation through God as Creator, God as Preserver, and ultimately God as Destroyer. To Abraham

he was "God Almighty"; to Moses "I am"; to David "Father of Fatherless"; to Malachi "Have We Not All One Father". But in the time of Christ he is "OUR FATHER". Fatherhood, he claimed, meant love, care, and discipline.

Turning to the related subject of Sonship, he dwelt on the uniqueness of Christ. He reaffirmed that fact that all believers are sons of God but only by adoption while Christ was the son of God by procession--of one substance with the Father. He pointed out that Jesus never referred to God as "Our Father" as regarding himself and his followers, but as "My Father and your Father". It is evident from this brief digest that the preacher was grappling (not too successfully, I fear) with the deeper theological implications of the faith.

The next year (1891) as conference time approached, the interest in the Union was still rising:

> The members of the Theological Union and the general public will please take notice that (D V) the annual lecture will be delivered in the College Hall on the preparatory day of Conference by Rev. L. Curtis, B.A. Subject--"DEVELOPMENT OF DOCTRINE".

This emphasis was continued in June, 1892, when the lecturer was the Reverend A.D. Martin, M.A., and the theme "THE INCARNATION AND ITS LESSONS" which grew out of the text, "For in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead, bodily", (Colossians 2.9). Although the editor did not review the lecture itself, he recognized it as "ERUDITE".

By 1906 however, there is evidence of decline. The Greeting reports:

> The first gathering in connection with the Conference was the theological lecture on Monday night. The Lecturer was Rev. H.J. Creasy who took as his subject "MAN". Unfortunately the attendance was small. The lecture deserved a better company and had the mark of careful and long preparation.

Though the Theological Lecture was not discontinued, it did lose its popular appeal. In 1910 the July issue of The Greeting reports that the Wednesday evening programme of the Annual Conference attracted a good congregation for the Theological Union. The sermon was preached by the Reverend Sydney A. Chancey of Moreton's Harbour who announced his theme as "THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST". No reference is made to a lecture, suggesting that the two were now joined into one operation--thus confining the evening to a worship rather than a discussion emphasis. By 1919 we find in the agenda of Conference:

8 p.m.	-	Theological Lecture
10 p.m.	-	Theological Union

No more than that. The lecturer is not named, nor his theme, nor was this once great institution considered worthy of reporting.

Like many other good ideas, the theological union served its day only to be plagued by lack of interest as time passed. Its value in stimulating and deepening theological thinking, especially in isolated communities must be recognized with appreciation.

(3) IMPROVED TRAINING OF PREACHERS

The academic preparation of preachers underwent a decided up-grading during these fifty years, with a stronger emphasis on doctrinal instruction and more rigid requirements for ordination. At the turn of the century, for example, a probationer spent three years of training on circuit under the direction of a supervising pastor. These years were followed by two more in college where he took a mixed programme of Arts and Theology. If he had some Arts subjects prior to his Theology (and this was very rare), a special course was then provided.

The subjects prescribed included English Bible, Old Testament History, Greek Testament, Homiletics, and Practical Theology, with the addition of Church History in the second and third years. A course in Theology was required each year. The books to be studied were as follows:

(1) ON CIRCUIT

FIRST YEAR: Doctrine of Methodism
Wesley's Sermons(I-LII) Burwash
Wesley, On Christian Perfection
Fletcher, Last Check
Steele, Substitute of Holiness or Antinomianism Revived

SECOND YEAR: Gregory, Handbook for Theological Students

THIRD YEAR: Randle, Design and Use of Holy Scripture
Beet, The New Life in Christ

(2) IN COLLEGE:

FOURTH YEAR: Systematics Vol. I, Miley or Burwash
Historical - Fisher

FIFTH YEAR: Apologetics - Theism and Christian Evidences

Even at best, theological studies by correspondence when the student has little basis or background for the subject and practically no guidance, were less than satisfactory. The Reverend G.P. Story was one of the more scholarly preachers in the 1880's. He left his library to his grandson,[3] Dr. George Story, presently professor of English in Memorial University. I had hoped that some of these prescribed books might still be available through his collection. Unfortunately, this is not the case so it is difficult to check the quality of the works studied.

It seems fair to conclude that the probationer could do little more than read the unfamiliar phraseology, remember as much as possible, and reproduce this as best he could for the examination. If he passed he

would probably follow the same technique in college, without ever coming to grips with the major historical theological issue--let alone an intellectual understanding of his own Christian experience or the faith of the church to which he was committing himself.

However, a decade later (1910), the plan was reversed to require two years on circuit and three years in college. This was a great advantage since the activity on the field left little time or inspiration for proper study. Moreover, the direction of the Professor was essential to the student who had little knowledge on methods of or inclination for study.

Now the requirements were:

(1) ON CIRCUIT

FIRST YEAR: Gregory, Handbook for Theological Students

SECOND YEAR: Dods, Origin and Nature of the Bible

(2) IN COLLEGE

THIRD YEAR: A Course in Logic

FOURTH YEAR: A Course in Ethics

FIFTH YEAR: Systematic Theology (no text given)
Apologetics--Theism and Christian Evidences

The extra year in college would be invaluable to the theological development of the student and thus might filter through to the people he would serve.

The last decade of our era saw even greater advances in theological training. In 1917, for example, the Reverend John Line, then a Professor at Mount Allison University, said in an address to the Newfoundland Conference that probationers coming to Mount Allison would find new courses in theology and in practical training being offered. He said that the

crucial questions of modern life were being dealt with in new courses of sociology and social ethics. He added that their theological work was being materially revised, taking in modern scientific knowledge with special topics such as eschatology being given a prominent place. How contemporary this announcement sounds. It might well be heard to-day from any theological principal announcing the 1971-72 curriculum.

Again in 1918 the Reverend Oliver Jackson introduced a new feature into The Greeting. It was called "The Canadian Library of Religious Literature". Both the books available and the prices were listed from time to time.[4] These are samples of the growing concern for continuing study and for the distribution of books on religion in general and theology in particular.

(4) SIR WILFRED GRENFELL

From 1892 on, Dr. Grenfell exerted a profound influence on the religious thinking of the most isolated area of Newfoundland, the Great Northern Peninsula. While his primary work was serving the needs of the scattered communities as a doctor, and in establishing a hospital at St. Anthony with all the associated medical and health services, he also continued services, read the Bible with people, prayed with the lonely and communicated a practical religion which was appreciated and understood. As a heroic figure his personal religious life and views became a pattern for a host of people.

The theology he propounded was practical and concrete, causing no intellectual struggle nor raising any academic implications. He believed that religion was vital when it had practical and personal bearing. There was no need to apply reason to a living faith. He was not concerned

with the nature or person of Christ since to him the one thing needed was a commitment to follow Him who was the Leader and Friend. In his book What Christ Means to Me he stated: "Christ's religion is primarily for this world and the New Jerusalem is to come down from heaven on to this earth and we are to be the Washingtons and the Nelsons".[5] In describing his Christology, Dr. Grenfell affirms: "Christ means to me a fearless leader whose challenge was not to save ourselves but to lose ourselves, not to understand him but to have courage to follow him".[6] In spite of this apparent tendency to discourage an understanding of the faith, Dr. Grenfell also directed attention to many theological issues. For example: "The danger of losing sight of the conscious personal relationship between God and man that Christ's very incarnation teaches us should exist, must be kept in mind".[7] The Greeting[8] reports that Dr. Grenfell was forced to spend the weekend at Catalina because of rough weather. On Sunday, June 24, 1910, he occupied the pulpit of the Methodist Church, preaching on the subject "CLEANLINESS". A comment made by the reporter who signed W.W.H. reads:

> We were impressed with the preacher's theology which is not narrow or confined to any class or creed, but to the fundamental truths of Christianity which certainly are broad enough to include all denominations who worship Christ in spirit and in truth and live lives consistent with Christ's teaching.

No man was closer to the hearts of the isolated families of the northern part of the province nor more widely known and loved throughout Newfoundland than Dr. Grenfell. The imprint of his thinking and religious life on the people is one of the unique treasures of the life of our province.

(5) WORLD WAR I. (1914-1918):

The influence of the Great War penetrated to the loneliest outports.

Christians were forced to face the implication and inconsistencies of their faith as never before. The Greeting asks in an editorial (January, 1915):

> Has the war driven us as a people to our knees in earnest supplication to Almighty God?. . . Has it disclosed to us the true perspective in our view of things, so that the things of permanent value are sought for and the transient proportionally discounted?

Another editorial (April, 1916), entitled "German Christianity" describes the havoc wrought upon faith and true religion by the German scholars. Apparently the writer equates the destruction by the Hun of life, property and world peace with the devastating Biblical and theological criticisms by these clever, exact, but malicious German teachers:

> It matters but little that their dogmatisms left the Bible shorn of all divine authority and Christ deprived of His divine attributes . . .It is not too much to say that to-day the church of Christ is suffering from these teachings, and the barrenness, the lack of life and power, the dearth of conversions, the decrease in membership may largely be traced to the books made in Germany.

One final editorial (January, 1919), may be quoted to illustrate the theological disturbance, even in the outports, which was perpetrated by the war:

> Even before the great World War men were looking for a wide-spread visitation of saving grace, and now that peace has come, even more intense longing and keener expectations are abroad. Indeed the war has tended to accentuate the need. Society has been bleeding at ten thousand pores and the need for application of Gilead's balm is very real. The people have had to pass through terrible ordeals: their hearts have been wrung with anguish: their spirits have been made bitter by cruel wrongs inflicted by a desperate enemy. They have hardly known whether to love or hate. And now the strife is ended the need of the quickening influences of the river whose waters are for the healing

> of the nations is exceedingly pressing. Of one thing we are sure--that God who has created the longing in the hearts of men is waiting to supply the grace.

Clearly this world-shaking event caused the outport Methodist to examine his faith in a realistic and practical way.

(6) CHURCH UNION

For the first quarter of the twentieth century the subject of union--particularly as it referred to Presbyterians, Methodists and Congregationalists in Canada occupied a priminent place. In Newfoundland there was less interest aroused than elsewhere since the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists had such a small constituency with the Methodists dominating the scene. Religion, not speculative theology or form of worship or church order, held the chief place in Methodist thought. Standards of doctrine were minimized while definite experience of divine pardon and sanctification were emphasised. Consequently the influence on the theological thinking of the outport Methodist was indirect.

For example, the Editor of The Greeting wrote on February, 1905: "In our opinion only one thing will make union possible or desirable, assurance on the part of the churches that this is the Will of God. If that can be made clear union will come as non wished to be found fighting against God". Again in The Greeting (May, 1910), while commenting on the personnel of the Union Committee, the Editor says: "They are men of scholarship, men of conviction, men who fear God and love their church . . .Who is to decide when any section of the Methodist Church has completed its mission as a separate organization and should be merged into a larger whole? Certainly the Church's Lord and Head."

From time to time the General Superintendent wrote letters to

The Greeting to keep the people informed on the progress of the union talks. In the July, 1920, issues, his letter on organic union contained this information:

> I much fear that while we have been working away at forming local union churches, and fitting various bits of ecclesiastical machinery into each other for co-operative activity, that in seeking the good, we have for the time been sacrificing the best and we have to a large extent lost the vision of the tears of Jesus as he stands with uplifted hands, praying the Father that they may be one as thou Father art one in me and I in thee, that they all may be one in us that the world may believe that thou hast sent me. . .We must commit the Spirit of Unity to Him who has inspired it.

The isolation of the Conference, combined with the attitude toward religion of Methodists reduced the influence of the union movement with its urge to re-think the doctrinal and the theological position to a minimum.

I conclude that in spite of entrenched isolation, the publishing of "The Greeting", the impact of the Theological Union, the improved training of ministers, and the significance of the life and work of Sir Wilfred Grenfell, combined to strengthen theological thinking among members of the outport Methodist Church. At the same time the world-shaking events of the Great War and the restless conversations leading to Church Union forced them, albeit unwillingly, to re-examine their doctrines in relation to titanic movements outside the Island. Because of these influences, the theological basis of the Methodist Church in Newfoundland was firmer in 1924 than it had been fifty years earlier.

NOTES

PART I

1. A. H. McLintock, The Establishment of Constitutional Government In Newfoundland 1713-1832, (Toronto: 1941), pp.5-6,14.

2. H.A. Batstone, "Methodism in Newfoundland", (Unpublished thesis: 1967), p. 4. 1895 iron ore on Bell Island. 1909 paper mill- Grand Falls. 1923 paper mill - Corner Brook.

3. Ibid., p. 1.

4. Harold A. Innis, The Cod Fisheries, (University of Toronto Press: 1954), pp. 330-331, 343.

5. D. Carroll, "A Heart Cry From the West".

6. The Book of Knowledge, ed. Arthur Mee, Toronto Grollier Society, Volume XIX, p. 6841. 6000 miles or more of coastline. The Official Records of the Newfoundland Government, Provincial Archives, St. John's. Population in 1924, Bonavista - 4300; Harbour Grace - 4100; Grand Falls - 4000; Carbonear - 3550.

7. D.W. Johnson, Methodism In Eastern British America, (Sackville, N.B.: The Tribune Printing Co. Ltd., N.D.), pp. 241-244. I have followed Johnson as the best interpreter of Coughlan to date.

8. The Journal of John Wesley, Standard Edition, (London), Vol. III, pp. 463-485. Vol. IV, pp. 39-42.

9. D.W. Johnson, Methodism in Eastern British America, (Sackville, N.B.: The Tribune Printing Co. Ltd., N.D.), p. 242. At the time there were only two Episcopal Clergymen in Newfoundland, one in Trinity and one in St. John's.

10. Lawrence Coughlan, An Account of the Word of God in Newfoundland, North America, (London: W. Gilbert, 1776). The archives of the Newfoundland Conference of the United Church.

11. The Newfoundland Methodist Monthly Greeting, March 1901. Letter quoted - Coughlan to Wesley, 1772.

12. Rupert E. Davies, Methodism, (London: Edworth Press, 1963), p. 102. On September 2, 1784 Rev. Thomas Coke who was episcopally ordained was consecrated Superintendent by John Wesley.

13. H.H. Walsh, The Christian Church in Canada, (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1956), p. 126. While attending the Methodist Conference at Philadelphia, 1789, William Black was appointed Superintendent of the Maritime Circuit.

14. Rev. George H. Cornish, Cyclopaedia of Methodism, (Toronto Methodist Book and Publishing House, 1881), p. 19.

15. D.W. Johnson, Methodism in Eastern British America, (Sackville, N.B.: The Tribune Printing Co. Ltd., N.D.), p. 248.

16. Note at the time of the Union 1884 the name was changed from the Methodist Church of Canada to the Methodist Church in Canada.

17. D.W. Prowse, A History of the Church in Newfoundland. A supplement to A History of Newfoundland, (London: MacMillan & Co., 1895), Ch. III, pp. 38-48.
Book of Newfoundland, ed. J.R. Smallwood. (Newfoundland Book Publishing Ltd., 1937), Vol. II. Article by Rev. Levi Curtis, M.A., D.D. The Methodist (now United) Church in Newfoundland, pp. 288-295.

18. Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 235.

19. Note - All these listed are found in the Archives of the Newfoundland Conference of the United Church, St. John's.

20. Note - At least three quarters of the sermons of Rev. Charles Lench and of Rev. Levi Curtis deal with conduct and moral responsibility.

21. The Book of Newfoundland, ed., J.R. Smallwood, (The Newfoundland Book Publishing Ltd., 1967), Vol. IV, p. 98. - Most Rev. James L. O'Donel appointed Bishop 1784, p. 96. Rt. Rev. Aubrey G. Spencer appointed Bishop 1839. Both denominations had resident episcopal supervision after these dates.

22. R. Chalmers, See The Christ Stand, (Toronto: Ryerson, 1945), pp. 241-242.

23. The familiar predicament of Bottom in A Midsummer Night's Dream, Act IV. Scene I.

24. E.L. Morrow, Church Union in Canada, (Toronto: Thomas Allen, 1932), p. 168.

25. Minutes of the Newfoundland Conference of the Methodist Church in Canada 1875. Appendix C., pp. 33-35. An address delivered by Rev. Egerton Ryerson, The President of the General Conference of the Methodist Church in Canada, Toronto, October 14, 1874.

26. The Discipline

27. The Newfoundland Methodist Monthly Greeting, May 1890, pp. 69-70.

28. Note - Even to-day abstention from these constitutes the basis of conduct for a church member in the mind of many.

29. St. John 9:25.

30. The Newfoundland Methodist Monthly Greeting, December 1905, p. 8. Editorial - Conditions of Membership in the Methodist Church.

31. Ibid., April 1890, pp. 59-60.

32. H.A. Batstone, Methodism in Newfoundland (Unpublished thesis, 1967), pp. 18-19.

PART LI

1. Otto P. Kelland, "Let Me Fish off Cape St. Mary's."

2. Rev. Charles Lench, (handwritten Sermon) A Farewell Sermon for the Labrador Fishermen 3John 2. June 13, 1897 - Bay Roberts.

3. Ibid., "The Immortality of the Soul" Gen. 2:7 and Tim. 6:16.

4. Note - It is true that outport Methodists faced the present more realistically than most Methodists elsewhere though they did concentrate on eternal things as well.

5. The Newfoundland Methodist Monthly Greeting, April, 1919, pp. 13-14. Article by F.H. Phillipson. "The Place of Theology in Evangelism" - "A material fire of hell is obsolete but eternal punishment and the reality of retribution are sure though undefined."

6. Rev. Dr. Levi Curtis (handwritten Sermon) "Great Salvation", Heb. 3:2. Outline - I. Salvation deliverance by Christ. II. God did it. III. Provision for all. IV. In completeness- from sin to holiness. V. The danger of neglect. VI. Escape.

7. Minutes of the Newfoundland Conference of the Methodist Church in Canada 1905, "Our land is still polluted with sin. Dancing, card playing, blasphemy, drunkenness, corruption and licentiousness are not banished from our shore. Sabbath desecration, dishonesty, mammon worship are still to be found in our midst and the armies of Satan are

still strong in members and boldness."

8. Rev. Dr. Levi Curtis, (handwritten Sermon) "Redemption in His Blood", Eph. 1:7, The Newfoundland Methodist Monthly Greeting, March 1915 - Rev. H.E. Lewis, M.A. In view of repentance as of other doctrines of grace, the heart of man rebels against the revealed will of God. Repentance is a new start made possible not by our own efforts but by the grace of God.

9. Ibid., August 1890 - Sermon. Preached in Fogo 1890.

10. Note - Sometimes these services were a regular series with sermons preached against sin. Cf Rev. Charles Lench - "Rubbish in the Heart" and "Rubbish in the Church" (e.g. lying, swearing, card playing, gambling, parlour and ballroom dancing.). Series preached from October 20, 1905 to November 9, 1905.

11. Rev. Dr. Levi Curtis (handwritten Sermon) "Methodism of the Future". December 14, 1898 - I. The Evangelistic Spirit. II. The Experimental Spirit. III. The Aggressive Spirit.

12. Ibid., "What think ye of Christ"? Matt. 22:22 - I. Questions of the Centuries. II. Tremendously important. III. With it each one must grapple.

13. The Newfoundland Methodist Monthly Greeting, July 1893, pp. 106-107. Rev. Thomas Wilkinson, the ordination sermon. Here we find a notable exception as he emphasizes the doctrine of the divinity of Christ.

14. Ibid., May 1919, p. 3. F.H. Phillipson on "The Doctrine of the Fall".

15. Ibid., May 1919, p. 3. Phillipson on the Atonement. "Three things stand out. Christ died for our sins. Christ is the supreme manifestation of God's love.for man. God was in Christ reconciling

the world to Himself".

16. Rev. Charles Lench - Good Friday sermon 1898. He pleads the case for the vicarious offering of Christ as his view of the Atonement. Rev. Dr. Levi Curtis sermon on the Atonement (no date) I Peter 2:24 - "Who himself bore our Sins on the tree." - an action not a person.

17. Note. Prayer is a subject treated in almost every issue of The Greeting. The question was not what is prayer? Or to whom should we pray? Or what should we pray for? Or when? The only question considered was - Is it answered? It is the answer of prayer that justifies, encourages and stimulates praying. Thus illustrations of answered prayers are frequently found.

PART III

1. J.R. Smallwood, The New Newfoundland, (MacMillan, New York, 1931), p. 25.
2. Note - Rev. Henry Lewis, the lecturer, was an editor of The Greeting.
3. Rev. G.P. Story died in 1895.
4. Note - Dicks and Co., a popular Book Store in St. John's had advertised in The Greeting as early as 1909, THE NEWEST THEOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS BOOKS giving titles and prices.
5. Sir Wilfred Grenfell, What Christ Means to Me. (Hodder and Stoughton, 1934), p. 53.
6. Ibid., p. 78. (Italics mine).
7. Ibid., p. 19.
8. August, 1910, p. 11.

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3. Grenfell, Sir Wilfred, Story of a Labrador Doctor. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 12th edition (popular).

   ----------, What Christ Means to Me. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1934 (popular).

4. Lench, Charles, Sermons, 1893-1904. Handwritten.

5. Parsons, Jacob, "The Origin and Growth of Newfoundland Methodism, 1765-1855". Unpublished thesis for M.A. degree, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1964.

6. Winsor, Naboth - "Methodism in Newfoundland, 1855-1884". Unpublished thesis for M.A. degree, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1971.

7. The Discipline of the Methodist Church in Canada.

8. Minutes of the Newfoundland Conference of the Methodist Church in Canada. 1874-1924.

9. The Newfoundland Methodist Monthly Greeting, 1888-1924.

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7. Prowse, D.W., A History of Newfoundland, London: Eyre & Spottiswood, 1896.

8. Smallwood, J.R., Ed., The Book of Newfoundland, Vols. II, III, IV. St. John's: Newfoundland Book Publishers Ltd., 1967.

9. ----------, The New Newfoundland, New York: MacMillan, 1931.

10. Smith, W.T., History of the Methodist Church in Eastern British America, Vols. I, II. Halifax, N.S.: S.F. Huestis, 1890.

SECTARIANISM AND CLASS CONFLICT IN SOME NINETEENTH CENTURY ENGLISH INDUSTRIAL TOWNS

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SECTARIANISM AND CLASS CONFLICT IN SOME NINETEENTH CENTURY ENGLISH INDUSTRIAL TOWNS

In his great work, The Making of the English Working Class,[1] E.P. Thompson has stated that by 1832 the industrial labouring masses were fully established as a class with a political consciousness of their own. One would expect, therefore, according to Thompson, that the principal division, both socially and politically, between people living in industrial areas after 1832 would have been that between the working class and the propertied interests--between the "haves" and the "have-nots". This has been a concern of labour historians going back to Marx. There is certainly evidence to suggest that this class division provided the impetus behind some social and political movements--especially Chartism in certain regions[2]--after 1832. Yet, for the most part, the issues of class division and conflict assumed a secondary position in the life of the nation between 1832 and the late eighteen-seventies. Concerted efforts on the part of working men to alter the social order either through politics or by other means had to wait until the late nineteenth century. The reasons for this may have varied in different regions of the country. The purpose of this paper is to assert that, insofar as four towns of the North-West(taken collectively)are concerned, the most important type of organized division between people was that inspired by sectarianism. If one views nineteenth century England with the concerns of E.P. Thompson, or other labour historians, therefore, one must see sectarianism as a

prime inhibiting, diverting or at least subduing force in the development of class conflict in these towns.

The towns selected for this study were four medium-sized industrial communities in the North-West--Bolton, Preston and Blackburn in Lancashire, and Stockport, just across the Mersey in North Cheshire.[3] The towns were originally chosen because they seemed to resemble each other so much—each being about the same size at mid-nineteenth century (mean population in 1851: 58,000), all four having the same pattern of rapid population growth, and all dependent on the same basic industry--cotton manufacturing. Because this study focused on sectarianism, one other criterion was originally added in the selection of towns. By reference to the religious census of 1851, the number of Churchmen on the one hand and the combined number of old denominationalists (Dissenters and Catholics) on the other were found to be roughly equal. I felt in selecting for this additional criterion that one could expect more sectarian conflict in such circumstances than in a situation where one religious group had a gross numerical preponderance over others. As the paper progresses, I am sure that you will also see that this last criterion was not important.

As the research revealed, sectarian conflict was the chief manifestation of sectarianism in these towns. This was not surprising. As early as 1930 the Hammonds stated in their book, The Age of Chartists: "There was more religious strife in Manchester or Bradford in the forties than in the Roman Empire under the rule of Augustus."[4] There is, of course, much more to be said about sectarian conflict, chiefly concerning how it was organized in society. The social mechanism of sectarian conflict reveals how this phenomenon was able to become a more important source of

organized division among people in these towns at this time than that of class.

According to John Foster's excellent article, "Nineteenth Century Towns--A Class Dimension,"[5] there were certain prerequisites which made class conflict a highly probable occurrence in a Victorian town. These are also, I think, the prerequisites of common sense. The chief prerequisite was the existence of a single type of industry which embraced the majority of the town's manual labour force. This situation, Foster asserts, caused almost a single sub-culture to be created in the town embracing most of the local community's propertyless. This single sub-culture then made it easier for the working class to see itself as a unified social group operating against the propertied classes on numerous issues. Class conflict, then, was most probable under such circumstances. This situation was certainly applicable to all four Northern "cotton towns". It is interesting to note that the town most prone to class conflict among those Foster studied was a Lancashire cotton town--Oldham.[6]

All four Northern towns were almost completely dependent on the cotton industry. Mining, iron founding and engineering firms played a very small part in the economic growth of these towns in this part of the nineteenth century. Most male manual workers and most females able to work were employed in the cotton mills.[7] These millhands were ruled by a small number of factory owners, almost all of whom were resident in the towns. Upward mobility was very difficult in the nineteenth century. Millowners were visibly the owning class in the new industrial order and they appeared even more so in some of the industrial suburbs of these towns which they created and ruled almost as private estates. It is easy

to see all of Foster's prerequisites for class conflict in these towns. Evidence both before and after 1832[8] also indicates that industrial relations were bad in all four towns. Yet crystallized class conflict occurred in only one of these towns after 1832--Preston.

The chief reason for this can be found, I believe, in the way sectarianism functioned in these communities. In order to see the operation of sectarianism in these towns, however, it is necessary to see how the various denominations and sects fitted into the social fabric of each area. The uniqueness of the social composition and social outlook of each group must also be noted here. The individual character of each congregation is almost as important as the small but significant differences in the general social structures of each town. Time, however, necessitates the making of certain generalizations. What follows here is a summary of the research done on these denominations and sects in the search for the principal mechanism(s) by which sectarianism operated.

Being numerically but one of the many religious groups in the towns, Anglicanism was really more of a denomination than an Established Church in the context of local society. Its official position in the nation, however, made it function as a sort of registration agency and convenient scene of important events in one's life--baptism, marriage, burial. The hard evidence on adherents to the Church is scant,[9] and suffers from this over-riding problem of just who were believing Anglicans. There was, however, an important group of Anglican laymen who usually safeguarded the interests of the Church in each town. Gentlemen of independent means, professional people, large merchants and wealthy manufacturers formed Anglican elites in each town. These Anglican elites

were the core of the anciens regimes that usually governed the towns until the administrative reforms of the eighteen-thirties. They were usually tolerant toward other denominational groups in society provided their primacy of position in town society was not threatened.[10]

Protestant Dissenters also had an elite group of their own in three of these towns by 1832. Though the sources indicate, quite predictably, that the bulk of chapel members were tradesmen and shopkeepers,[11] there were significant numbers of wealthy manufacturers and other men of means in the chapels of Bolton, Stockport and Blackburn. These men of substance were important not only for the financial survival of chapels but also as living status inducements for people lower on the social scale to associate with Dissent. The number of Dissenters in Bolton, Stockport and Blackburn rose sharply in the period after the Industrial Revolution, well into the mid-nineteenth century.[12] In Preston, where there was no Nonconformist elite, the numerical growth rate of congregations was much less dramatic.

The relationship between the Nonconformist elites in each town and social groups lower in social status--particularly working-class people--is not clear. Benevolence was practised by the wealthy at times, both inside and outside the chapel.[13] Again, attitudes varied with congregation and town. The important relationship between the elites and the lower middle class and upper working class tradesmen and shopkeepers also needs to be mentioned here. These latter groups were the right-hand men of the elites in chapel. In Bolton and Blackburn, tradesmen and shopkeepers were allowed to become trustees--indicating a good relationship and the sharing of power with the elites there. In the very

important Unitarian congregation of Stockport, however, the elite dominated chapel affairs with little respect for the lower orders though they could have been challenged. These factors were of some importance when the Nonconformist elites came to challenge the ascendancy of the Anglican elites over town life. It was in the relationship between the Anglican and Dissenting elites and their relationship, in turn, with other groups in society that the really important mechanism of sectarianism could be found. It was from the conflict between the elites that sectarian conflict in general was successfully organized in towns.

Roman Catholics and members of the new sects were found primarily in the lower ranks of society but were not concerned with upsetting the industrial social order on behalf of the working classes. Roman Catholics were numerous in all four towns.[14] With the exception of Preston, all Catholic congregations were composed almost completely of poor Irishmen. The Catholic Church in all four towns was concerned primarily with ministering to its own, which was quite enough in the way of activity. Catholics had largely a ghetto mentality in these communities. When they engaged in sectarian conflict it was usually in response to external threats.

The new sects, often overlooked by historians, were quite active in all these Northern towns at this time. The Mormon and New Churches, the "religious" new sects, were extremely busy among the working classes. The adherence of workers to these sects reflects, in part, the sense of alienation felt by people in the labouring population. These sects bore all of the withdrawal-syndrome characteristics of Max Weber's sect-type groups.[15]

The so-called secular sects must also be noted. Running from the various organizations of Teetotalism to the ritualistic friendly societies, from groups that approached religious denominations in status to societies greatly inferior to even Weber's sect-types in terms of organization, these groups embraced the bulk of the labouring masses in the towns. Like the religious new sects they were essentially inward-looking and provided no criticism of the social order. There was one exception to this last statement--the Secularists.[16] Appealing primarily to the "aristocrats of labour"--skilled artisans, well-paid tradesmen, etc.--Secularism was a well-organized sect that did offer a criticism of the existing social order and the ideas behind that social order, including sectarianism. Their numbers were too few, however, to disrupt the social order, much less sectarian conflict in a noticeable way.

In Preston, the new sects assumed a more important role in society than they did in the other towns. Part of this was perhaps accidental--both British Mormonism and Teetotalism originated in the town. But the special character of the latter group in Preston was, I believe, a product of the special circumstances of Preston society itself. Teetotalism, in the other towns, was really only a working class society presided over by the old denominations. In Preston, it was much more of a full-fledged sect, with Teetotal christenings, weddings and funerals.[17] Most of the leaders of Preston Teetotalism were lower middle class or upper working class tradesmen and shopkeepers and usually had been Nonconformists--the social groups that would have been the right-hand men of a local Nonconformist elite had one existed. In spite of their limited resources, these Teetotal leaders, probably out of their special concern for social

improvement, wanted a suitable atmosphere for the development of their sect in Preston society. In this endeavour they made an attempt to loosen the grip of the local Anglican elite on town society which happened to coincide with the town's large propertied class. In this instance, then, Teetotalism contributed to class conflict.

In the process of examining the social composition and some of the social attitudes of the various denominations and sects, the principal mechanism of sectarianism in these towns has been suggested--that of the contest between these Anglican and Nonconformist elites for control of local society. This contest was the principal organizing force behind sectarian conflict in general which, in turn, was the main divisive influence among people in three of these towns.

In Bolton, Stockport and Blackburn, the Nonconformist and Church elites tried to organize support inside and outside their chapels in the struggle for control of town society. From the evidence, the force of sectarian conflict was actually not best expressed in direct denominational confrontation itself. There were not enough important issues of a direct denominational nature to make this the main area of the contest. The Church rate and educational matters were probably the two most frequent sources of trouble. Normally these issues were resolved by skillful negotiations between denominations or by swift contests of strength.

The force of organized sectarian conflict was, in fact, best expressed in politics--and most particularly in local politics in these towns. The aim of directing town society was the goal. Control of town government was a prime way to achieve it--it was a prize worth taking. The Anglican and Nonconformist elites formed the backbone of the Tory and

Liberal parties respectively in Bolton, Stockport and Blackburn. In the last-mentioned town the vibrant tradesman and shopkeeping classes in Dissent made up somewhat for the weaknesses of the Nonconformist elite in that town. In Preston, however, the Anglican elite dominated the scene and so supported both the Tory and Whig-Liberal groups in town. The Teetotallers of Preston were the backbone of the short-lived Radical Liberal party thrust of the late eighteen-thirties. These were the core groups in the political factions in these towns. This did not mean that there were not other groups associated with these parties, e.g., moderate Anglicans in the Liberal party and Wesleyan Methodists in the Tory group. The cores of the parties, at least in Bolton, Stockport and Blackburn, were members of these denominational elites. One further note, the Nonconformist elite had a group identity in spite of being composed of denominationalists with theological differences with one another.[18] They were all in agreement that they were opposed to the Church interest and this seemed to give them more than enough group solidarity.

The same sort of political struggles over incorporation, in poor law unions and above all in the corporations described by A. Temple Patterson[19] in the town of Leicester in this period took place in Bolton, Stockport and Blackburn. Much of the population became embroiled in these struggles dividing the societies of these three towns on vertical lines running from the denominational elites downward. The local political leaders therefore resembled the national political leaders in being propertied. The overt expressions of denominational animosities in local governmental bodies were few and not too important for sectarianism. Whatever these demonstrations were, (e.g., refusal by Dissenters in the corporation to participate in ceremonies in the Parish Church), they merely

acted as small reinforcements of the main, well-understood fact that sectarian stances were at the whole base of local politics. Viewing local politics in this way, the issues-orientated approach of Temple Patterson and H.J. Hanham[20] to English local politics seems rather mistaken and superficial when applied to these towns.

In many ways the group taking the most initiative in local politics in Bolton, Stockport and Blackburn was Dissent. Filled with high hopes when admitted into local government with the administrative reforms of the eighteen-thirties, the Nonconformists took a while to realize that all was not sweetness and light when they gained control of the agencies of local government. Some Nonconformists in these towns were imbued with a special sense of localism emanating from the very organization of their own denominations. They took a special interest in local as opposed to national government.[21] Sooner or later, however, it was obvious that the almost equal economic and social power of Dissent and Church would lead to a stalemate in local politics. Nevertheless both groups continued to vie for control of local government well into the eighteen-seventies. In Preston, except for the brief attempt of the Radical Liberal Tee-totallers in the corporation and poor law union to bring in a "mania of reform",[22] things were very quiet in local politics. It is interesting to note that local government in this town was also extremely ineffective from 1835 to 1870.

In the activities of national politics at the local level the electorate was in general smaller and people seemingly less interested than in the activities of local government. One proof of this can be seen in the survival of corrupt practices well into the eighteen-sixties with

little public outcry. In Bolton, Stockport and Blackburn, sectarianism once again dominated the scene, thanks to the work of the local elites. A systematic examination of speeches, propaganda, the presentation of national issues at the local level and what national issues seemed to be important at election time in these towns reveals the great presence of sectarianism. An inspection of pollbooks in existence for some of these towns reveals no startling difference in the social and economic background of Liberal and Conservative voters. Their differences must have been in other areas not recorded and differing sectarian stances are clearly prime possibilities among these differences.

In Preston, however, the activities of national politics, as those of local politics, were different from those of the other towns. The secular issues of free trade versus protection, for example, were very important to Prestonians in the late eighteen-thirties and eighteen-forties. Sectarian issues were almost always imported from the national party centres in London--Papal Aggression, the unification of Italy, the Irish Church Disestablishment.[23] As early as the election of 1830 Henry Hunt had challenged the working classes of the town to vote for him against the Tory and Whig propertied interests. The wide franchise in the town especially before 1832 (Preston was a lot and scot borough) made this possible. The pollbooks indicate that when Liberal candidates presented themselves as Radical Reformers they did get large working class support. Sectarian propaganda after 1832, the special behaviour of Catholic voters and the shelling out of enormous sums for bribery[24] did something to correct this.

In Preston, however, sectarian conflict was just not important

enough to frustrate class conflict. In the case of the Teetotal-Anglican elite conflict it actually reinforced class conflict. Tension between the propertied and propertyless in the town was evident in every decade. Between October 1853 and May 1854 one of the most serious confrontations between capital and labour in nineteenth-century England occurred in Preston. Every millowner opposed virtually every millhand in the so-called Preston Strike. The ferocity of the confrontation and the cost in human suffering received nation-wide attention. It also produced some very militant ideas among the working classes. For example, a certain Mr. Grinshaw,[25] a millhand and a member of the Wages Movement in the town, once suggested during the Strike that the entire labour force move itself physically to another place in Lancashire and build its own co-operative mill town, called "New Regenerated Preston". The man was not treated as a crank by his fellow workers.

Stockport also experienced some serious but short-lived class strife through Chartism in the late eighteen-thirties and early forties. This was probably due to the poor liaison between some of the Nonconformist elite (principally the Unitarian elite) and the lower ranks of Nonconformity in town mentioned earlier. Eventually, however, the waves of sectarian conflict were too strong to resist. Sectarian conflict was also assisted by the intense Anti-Catholicism so evident in the town's masses from 1850 onward.

As we have seen, all four towns qualified about equally as potential sites of class conflict. Yet class conflict on a dramatic scale occurred in only one of these towns, Preston. Preston was also the only town where sectarian conflict was not properly organized. I believe that I

have shown step by step that these two phenomena were connected. With sectarian conflict not being properly organized in Preston, the class issue as well as other secular issues were allowed to come to the forefront of people's considerations.

What seems to be the logical conclusion from all of this is that sectarian conflict, far from being a disrupting influence, ultimately helped to maintain the social order of these towns. It did so by organizing people's efforts into a struggle not concerned with the problems of class conflict. There is no suggestion here of any bourgeois plot behind all of this.

Certain astute political leaders may have seen the benefits to the social order of sectarian fervour as, for example, in the toying of local Tory politicians with Orangeism throughout this period. But what is much more certain is that the very operation of sectarianism itself in these towns, when properly organized, did contribute to the preservation of the existing social order.

POSTSCRIPT

The Need for Further Research

I believe that this paper opens up areas for all sorts of further fruitful investigation. What I would like to do in this small addition to my paper is to suggest some further lines of research that might be pursued concerning sectarianism. Much more work needs to be done on the social roots and the functioning of sectarianism in specific areas of England in the Victorian period. The rich variety of social structures throughout England offers the historian many more situations as settings for its operation.

Here are some which occur to me at the moment, with some comments appended to them:

(1) Towns which have a gross numerical preponderance of one denomination--though the indications from my paper are that numbers do not mean very much in the final analysis.

(2) Towns with more diversified industries, and located in different regions of the country, (such as the West Riding of Yorkshire or the Midlands).

(3) Towns which are located in an area of declining industry. My own work on the cloth region of Wiltshire indicates that sectarianism existed in a very different form here from that found in the four North-Western towns. In the region of Wiltshire it was just as vibrant a force as in the North, but its function is more in the line of being what Edward Thompson has called the chiliasm of despair[26] among the common people. Church attendance was, interestingly enough, much higher in this area than in the Northern towns.

(4) Non-industrial towns such as Bath might be examined. How does sectarianism function minus a proletariat? Again, I have done research in this area and the results are quite interesting.

(5) Work might also be done on purely agrarian areas. Such a study of one county is already well under way by a student at Columbia University.[27]

Local studies of this nature, I believe, no longer require justification. Social history and local history so often go hand in hand. The value of these studies for the broadening and enrichment of our knowledge of Victorian English society is enormous.

NOTES

1. E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class, (London, 1963), p. 807.

2. The regional considerations of Chartism's involvement in class conflict are revealed in Asa Briggs, Chartist Studies, (London, 1959).

3. After municipal incorporation in the eighteen-thirties, one ward of the new municipal borough, Heaton Norris, was actually in Lancashire. Stockport was really a Lancashire industrial town for all intents and purposes, with little to do with the rest of Cheshire.

4. J.L. and B. Hammond, The Age of Chartists, (London, 1930), p. 215.

5. J.O. Foster, "Nineteenth Century Towns--A Class Dimension", The Study of Urban History, (London, 1968),pp. 281-300.

6. The other towns studied by Foster in his Ph.D. thesis for Cambridge were Northampton in the Midlands and South Shields in the North-East.

7. About thirty-five percent of the entire male population of these towns was employed in cotton manufacturing.

8. Wage disputes, strikes, lock-outs, riots, protest meetings, etc.

9. Evidence must be pieced together from a variety of sources for the Church, the denominations and the sects. There were no detailed membership lists per se, with occupations, etc. for any religious group studied.

10. The Anglican elite in Preston seemed to be very tolerant toward Dissenters before 1835. This was probably because Dissent was so weak economically in the town.

11. The best sources for this are the Nonconformist registers at the Public Records Office. For a general survey of Nonconformist records, see Janet Smith, "The Local Records of Nonconformity", The Local Historian, Vol. VIII, No. 4, 1968.

12. A comparison between the census of Dissenting chapels in 1829 (when figures survive) and the figures for Dissent in the religious census of 1851 reveals this.

13. Benevolence in concrete forms such as the various societies instituted by chapels to cater to the downtrodden as well as the professed

attitude of certain leading Nonconformist manufacturers such as Henry Ashworth of Bolton toward the working classes.

14. Catholics in these towns made up, on average, fifteen per cent of the church-going population. In Preston it was closer to thirty per cent.

15. Max Weber, "The Social Psychology of the World's Religions", Essays, trans. Gerth and Mills, (London, 1947). Also see Ernest Troeltsch, The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches, (London, 1931), pp. 331-343.

16. Secularism was very "religious" in its organization, having chapels, regularized ceremonies, etc.

17. Joseph Livesey, the leader of Preston Teetotalism, went into great detail at times to explain the various functions of the sect and its impact on local society. There is a very good passage in Ipswich Temperance Tract No. 133.

18. The attitude of individual chapels toward politics was important when it could be ascertained.

19. A. Temple Patterson, Radical Leicester (Leicester, 1954).

20. H.J. Hanham, Elections and Party Management, (London, 1959), p. 393, refers to Stockport's local politics.

21. The so-called "Puritan" flavour of some of the local regimes dominated by Dissenters was commented upon by many local historians --particularly in the case of Blackburn.

22. An expression used by the pro-Tory press.

23. These issues, of course, were prime material in stirring up controversy about the large Roman Catholic population in the town.

24. According to the political correspondence of George Melly, a Liberal candidate of the eighteen-sixties, the level of bribery in the town was extremely high through the first two-thirds of the century.

25. Preston Guardian, April 8, 1854.

26. E.P. Thompson, op. cit., Chapter XI, part ii.

27. James Obelkevich, "Religion and Rural Society in Lincolnshire, 1825-75", Columbia University, Ph. D. thesis in progress.

SCHWENCKFELDER HYMNS AND THEOLOGY

An Excursus on Some Representative Schwenckfelder
Hymn Writers of the Sixteenth Century

read by E.J. Furcha
Union College of Theology, Vancouver

on May 30, 1971

Memorial University

St. John's, Newfoundland

Luther: The devil needn't have all
the pretty tunes for himself.

SCHWENCKFELDER HYMNS AND THEOLOGY

The early church had the Psalms and the Middle Ages the Plain-song. Sixteenth century Reformers inherited both of these. Nonetheless, they sought new modes of praise which might enable the worshiping community of their day to participate meaningfully in "glorifying God".

Liturgical reform, desired by all prominent reformers of the sixteenth century and actively engaged in by some, necessitated a store of new hymns. Poets, however, were obviously scarce when Luther and Muentzer, Carlstadt and Zwingli- to name only a few of the great liturgists of the age - needed them most.

"Poets are wanting among us, or not yet known, who could compose evangelical and spiritual songs, as Paul calls them, worthy to be used" writes Luther with characteristic frankness.[1] He himself undertook to remedy the situation by encouraging some of his friends to write hymns. The guidelines were plain: "Everywhere we are looking for poets. Now since you are so skillful and eloquent in German, I would like to ask you to work with us in this and to turn a psalm into a hymn. . .But I would like you to avoid new-fangled, fancied words and to use expressions simple and common enough for the people to understand, yet pure and fitting. . .[2] Spalatin, to whom the above-quoted lines were addressed, apparently did not respond. However, by 1524 Luther himself had written some hymns. Others co-operated much in the same fashion in which Canadian hymnwriters today respond to contests, sponsored by Hymnary revision committees.

Luther might well have been a hard taskmaster, difficult to please. The first hymn book within the evangelical camp of the day, the so-called Achliederbuch, published by Jobst Gutknecht (Nuernberg, 1524) contained eight motet-like spiritual songs, four of which were Luther's own. Johann Walther's Geistliches Gesangbuechlein of the same year contained thirty-eight chorales, twenty-four of which were Luther's.

As editions of hymn books multiplied, countless hymns emerged in official Lutheran publications as well as in numerous "underground" publications. In quality and content these hymns are as varied as the entire age itself.

This paper is designed to explore tentatively some of the underground hymnody through an initial survey of some of the Schwenckfelder hymns of the day. Even though such hymns were collected at frequent intervals, little has thus far been said, to my knowledge, by way of analysis of these hymns.[3]

The renewed interest shown in things radical during the last few decades has long led me to gather information on Schwenckfelder hymns that might in some way yield a clue to the manner in which theological ideas of this particular brand were transmitted to followers and to others who were remotely attracted by the nobleman's line.

Two publications known to me have sought to explore Schwenckfelder hymnody. One is Allen A. Seipt's Schwenckfelder Hymnology, published in 1909 under the auspices of the Americana Germanica Press in Philadelphia. The author simply lists Schwenckfelder hymn collections known to him and

provides an occasional hymn text to make a special point.

The second publication is a proposed Ph.D. thesis outline submitted to the Faculty of the Hartford Seminary Foundation in 1910 by Elmer E.S. Johnson, entitled, "Adam Reisner of Mindelheim - Diplomat, Linguist, Historian and Poet." To my knowledge this promising piece of research was never developed beyond the stage of an outline. Mr. Johnson's interest obviously did not lie with the musical and poetic qualities of Reisner's work. He hardly gets beyond a listing of first lines on some fifty hymns found in Reisner's "teglichs Gesang Buch"(1596-1599). Not all of these, of course, are Reisner's own. Family connections, on the other hand, are more carefully followed up and point in the direction of some useful sociological survey of the times.[4]

If then, recent attempts to study Schwenckfelder hymnody yield little information, we must rely on earlier collections of hymns. Here the five volume Wackernagel collection proves the most readily accessible. Extensive comparative studies of the many hymn collections in Anabaptist, Moravian and other groups of the Left Wing of the Reformation will undoubtedly lead to further insights.[5]

Since even within the narrow range of Schwenckfelder hymnody there is a substantial body of material, we must needs limit this exploratory study to some selected writers and their hymns. By a comparison with contemporaries from the Anabaptist camp we may then be permitted to make a few general statements pertaining to these hymns, their theological content and their significance.

Sources

First of all a word about the possible sources from which Schwenckfelder hymn writers have drawn their material. Some of the

hymns, particularly those by Daniel Sudermann (1550-1631) have their musical roots in the Meistergesang. This musical form was particularly prominent in Nuernberg, early in the sixteenth century and later spread to other German cities.[6] Sudermann probably became acquainted with the School in Strasbourg (1589-91), though it is not yet definitely established whether he belonged to the Strasbourg School of master singers.[7]

Another source were the writings of Medieval mystics. These, notably among them Tauler, influenced the teaching of Schwenckfeld and his adherents to a large extent. It is not surprising therefore to find Sudermann, the most capable exponent of Schwenckfeld's ideas and a scholar in his own right, reflecting thought patterns of John Tauler, Meister Eckhardt and others like them.

In Adam Reisner (Reusner, 1496-1577?), we see traces of the Hebrew Psalter. A one-time student of the Humanist Reuchlin , Reisner is one of the most profound Schwenckfelder hymn writers. Four of his best hymns are metrical psalms, one of which (an adaptation of Ps. 31:1-5), is considered to be among the finest Psalm versions of the sixteenth century.[8]

Holy Scripture is unquestionably the most important source of Schwenckfelder hymns. Not unlike Lutheran and Anabaptist hymn writers, Schwenckfelder hymn writers develop Scriptural admonitions, psalms and the like to the popular folk tunes of the period. (We shall return to this observation later in the paper.)

Allow me to cite some authors at this point by way of illustration. Wackernagel records three hymns by Raimund Weckher (1540-1570). Their content is characteristic of the time in combining contemporary concerns with Biblical themes which are interpreted in a rather literal Biblicist

manner. In the sixty three stanzas of "Ich steh in grossen sorgen" (Wackernagel, V, 773) the author reviews the Gospels in historiographical form. The obvious intention appears to be the glorification of Jesus of Nazareth, the "glorious king" who brings to his people "the clear light of God".

Alexander Heldt (1565 ff) concentrates on the Biblical accounts that deal with the Lord's Supper; but he shows interest also in the beneficial aspects of a well-used rod in Christian upbringing. (Cf. Wackernagel, V, 777-780).

Sigmund von Bosch writes a deeply introspective type of hymn in which he describes the spiritual warfare that wages in his inward being between spirit and flesh. But he too returns in the majority of his hymns to the development of Biblical imagery.

Of the twenty-four hymns by Reisner found in the Wackernagel collection, four hymns contain images that can be traced to the Psalms.[9] In at least seven of these hymns images from the Book of Revelation are present.[10] The image of the celestial city of Jerusalem is the subject of a hymn of six stanzas. The opening letters of each stanza form the name of Jhesus (III, 170). Another song, describing the devastating rule of the anti-Christ also draws on the imagery of the Book of Revelation (W. III, 190). The poet describes the power of the Antichrist and warns Christian men of possible snares for them. At the same time, however, he speaks of the liberating effect of knowing Christ.

Nine hymns refer to events or statements found in the four gospels. "Der haan verkindet uns die zeit" (W. III, 171) is but one instance.[11] Other Biblical references are drawn from I Cor. 15, from Romans, the Acts, Genesis, Exodus and Daniel.[12]

In reading Reisner's hymns one is struck with the manner in which the poet uses Biblical language and imagery in a rather free, creative interpretation of the Bible's message of redemption and liberation. It must be stressed further that the work of Christ, his indwelling presence, the comfort and support for the individual seeker and Christ's glorified state at the right hand of God the Father are ever present motifs in Reisner's hymns.

We shall now turn briefly to a similar survey of Sudermann's hymns. Of the thousands of hymns the latter is supposed to have written, only fragments have survived. Wackernagel lists two hundred and ten in his collection.[13] Of these only about forty-five are primarily Scriptural in imagery and content. Several of these draw heavily on the Gospels, while a few contain references to Romans and other Epistles.[14] Only five are expositions of one of the Psalms. However, seven of the Sudermann hymns develop one chapter each of Canticles.[15] It would appear that these are the surviving fragments of a more complete collection or cycle. Genesis, Exodus and Deuteronomy are reflected in at least six hymns. Other Biblical books, however, are used sparingly or else the image has been obscured by extraneous matter. It is noteworthy in this connection that the "believing soul" (glaeubige Seel) is a prominent motif in a great number of Sudermann's hymns. This fact has led Berger to the statement that the newness in these hymns is found in the fact "that the emphasis on Biblical revelation shifts to stress on the revelation in the individual soul" - albeit within the believing community.[16]

We have thus far taken a look at the sources of Schwenckfelder hymnody in general. In this connection we noted some of the more prominent

hymn writers of the period under discussion. Allen Seipt (Schwenckfelder Hymnology, p. 37) lists some sixteen writers who lived and worked within the Schwenckfelder camp during the sixteenth century. Undoubtedly Reisner and Sudermann are by far the most prominent. Berger states rightly that their work has not yet been recognized for its full value.[17] Further searching in European Archives and greater attention to the content of hymn writers of the more radical camps of the sixteenth century promises significant leads to a better understanding of the means by which theological insights and specific "sectarian" concerns were promoted among the common people of the day. The hymn has generally been a means of spreading new ideas in the evangelical cause of the sixteenth century. Next to the German Bible, the sermon and the catechism (and perhaps the tractate or pamphlet) it has been a strong means of outreach for it enabled the common man to rise above the ordinary routine of daily life, usually on the wings of familiar and popular tunes.[18]

Commonly Used Tunes

Rosella Duerksen in her Doctoral dissertation of 1956 lists in some detail all secular tunes she could discover in Anabaptist usage of the day.[19] Frequently also, Anabaptists employed the "sacred" tunes from other groups, freely adapting words and music for their special purposes.[20]

Extensive usage of a variety of singable and obviously widespread tunes becomes apparent. These tunes seem to have been the common property of the age to which Anabaptists, Schwenckfelders and others brought their own individuality and the specific religious and theological emphasis of their respective group.

There is an interesting irony in this observation. The Anabaptists

(and to a large extent, the same is true of Schwenckfeld's adherents), most conscious of the Christian's separation from the world, are deeply involved in the world in their use of secular tunes and styles.

Some of the tunes were naturally more popular than others. The one hundred thirty hymns of the Ausbund are set to seventy-three different tunes (Duerksen, p. 81). More than half of these are used only once. Forty-one are also found in Moravian and Hutterite hymn collections of the day. Which then were the most popular tunes? Miss Duerksen lists, "Ich stund an einem Morgen", "The Herzog Ernst Ton", the "Hildebrand Lied", "Ein Blum steht auf der Haide", "Der Schlemmer" or "Wo soll ich mich hinkehren" and the "Dollerweise"(Duerksen, Chapter 3).

Some of the minor tunes such as "Das Fraeulein von Britannia", "Koenig Laslos Ton", etc. are apparently not found at all among major Protestant groups of the day. (Duerksen, p. 108 ff). One is tempted to wonder whether left-wing Reformers of the sixteenth century already had their very own "gospel-type songs" which were not considered "kosher" in major groups of the period.

A similar review of the most prominent tunes employed by Schwenckfelder hymn writers yields the following list:
Reisner sets many of his poems to the tune "Iambica". Other tunes are "Der Haan", the "Berner Ton", and "Koenig Friedrich's Ton". "Herzog Ernst's Weise", not infrequent among Anabaptists, is found with the Schwenckfelders also.

Sudermann, whose hymns in general are of a slightly later date seems to favour an occasional French tune. I noted at least four different tunes, for which I could not find the musical setting for the purpose of this paper.

Many of the hymns can be sung to a number of tunes. The slow manner of singing hymns, a tendency to carry a syllable through a number of notes or again to shorten it at will, makes it possible to sing any six line stanza, for example, to a given tune. Thus we often find the notation, "Wie alle lieder so vier (sechs) Zeilen haben" (To be sung like any song with four (6) or whatever number of lines.

Types of Spiritual Songs

Allow me to turn, at this point, to a survey of the types of spiritual songs found among Schwenckfelder hymnody. A rather strange kind of "spiritual song" not infrequent among the hymns of this time, is the Apologetic hymn. It is a curious mixture of a "regula fidei" and of open attacks -often derisive- of one's religious opponents. Among Schwenckfelder hymn writers Raimund Weckher (ca 1540-1570) and Alexander Berner (ca 1550) have specimens of this kind of verse making. Undoubtedly there were others, for the apologetic hymn appears to have been a common vehicle for spreading one's own belief while ridiculing the convictions of one's opponents.[21] I have chosen two writers to illustrate this colourful, if "unholy" form of religious poetry.

In a poem of sixteen stanzas of five lines each, Alexander Berner describes the Four Sects and Repugnant Churches by letting the Pope, Luther, Zwingli and an Anabaptist in turn praise their respective peculiarities of doctrine. The unregenerate man, hearing this disagreecontroversy, turns away in disgust:

> Der Weltmensch sprict, was kummerts mich
> das die glerten ietz spalten sich?
> bey keiner sect sich bessrung ich:
> Ich will beim Haufen bleiben,
> sonst mocht man mich vertreiben.[22]

However, when Christ enters, all grounds for argument are removed. None of the four has an excuse:

Christus der spricht, "secht all auff mich,
auff menschen keiner verlasse sich,
den rechten weg muss lehren ich,
Mein Geist kan ich mittheilen,
kein Mittel wuerdt euch heilen.[23]

Another song of this type is an anti-Schwenckfeld contribution by Esaias Tribauer, published in 1571 under the title, Ein gesang wider die Teuflische und verfuerische Sect der Schwenckfelder. Like the former it is set to a popular tune for greater effectiveness. However, the ridicule is more biting and much harsher than in the former case. The author plays on the syllable "Schwenck" (swing, alternate, hence "be unreliable") and begins thus:

Ihr Schwenckfeldischen Schwencker,
Schwencket euch her zu mir.
Ihr seid doch rechte Stencker,
Stinket wohl fuer und fuer
Hoert was ich singen will:
Gott wird es euch nit schencken
wirdt euch zur hellen schwencken
wenn euer noch so viel.[24]

As the writer elaborates on their "false" doctrines, he is not above invoking the Holy Spirit whose teaching he vows to follow by heeding the preached word and by honoring the Sacraments. Clearly, the author appeals to popular sentiment in deriding the inwardness of Schwenckfelder faith. That this form of "religious" poetry was not only tolerated, but even welcomed is indicative of the spiritual unrest of the period. In times of religious stress as during times of awakening, the religious man becomes acutely aware of himself in relation to God and to his fellow men. He reacts fervently against the threats to his integrity by the devices of men or by the forces of evil. It would appear then that the spiritual song of any such period, unless it be of the timeless quality of the finest liturgical material, reflects the

religious tenor of that age, while at the same time it contains the theological convictions of him who sings.

Theological Content

To discover a correlation between theology and hymnody, I have reviewed some two hundred and forty hymns by A, Reusner and D. Sudermann.[25] The question we are asking is, to what extent these hymns reflect the theological tenets to which the nobleman himself subscribed. If one were to state his tenets succinctly one might venture the generalization that Schwenckfeld stood for a concept of the church as the body of believing regenerate men. Furthermore, he closely linked ecclesiology with his understanding of the glorified man Jesus whose "new creation" is God's unique way of sending the Christ to break the curse of man's fallen state.

The "old man", according to him, is capable of this rebirth because of the inward working of the Holy Spirit. By this regenerative work, a man is made participant in Christ's new humanity, thus eliminating the necessity of any outward means of grace. We note further that Schwenckfeld is acutely aware of the shortcomings of the Protestant Reformation. Again and again he speaks out against the apparent degeneration of the once promising reform efforts by Luther which in the nobleman's opinion threaten to turn into a new institutionalism. The marks of inward growth and sanctification are according to Schwenckfeld largely absent from the major Protestant Reformation movement.

In frequent references to "this last evil time, Schwenckfeld shows awareness of eschatological urgency.[26] Above all, he accepts Scripture as the sole guide of the natural man by which he is led to an experience of rebirth and to an opening of the ear of faith so that he

becomes capable of hearing the inwardly active voice of God. Such in brief are the major tenets of Schwenckfeld's theology.

They recur in striking faithfulness to the nobleman's thought in the hymns of his adherents. There is above all the motif of the regenerate man. It is prominent in descriptions of the "old Adam", in the distinction between false and truly regenerate Christianity and in descriptions of the renewing and saving power of Christ.[27]

That such keen interest in renewal would bring with it contemplative songs on the inner light,[28] the power of eternal wisdom, and the concept of union with God is a natural consequence. As we stated earlier, acquaintance with the mysticism of the Middle Ages gave the impetus to an intimate, almost erotic Jesus mysticism. Again and again, the union of the soul with Christ becomes the subject of Schwenckfelder hymns. This motif is enhanced by references to the poetry of the Song of Songs and the vivid bride-husband metaphors that can be found throughout Jewish-Christian literature.[29]

While the subjective element is prominent in Schwenckfelder hymns, hymns of praise can also be found which focus attention on the divine act of creation or else extol God's name because he is Lord of lords.[30]

Among the comparatively few spiritual songs of Reisner such hymns are relatively numerous.[31]

Hymns by other writers are generally not free of subjective concerns, however. The sorrows and despair of the individual are always mingled with expressions of theological significance.

Another type of hymn focuses attention on Christian knighthood. The vivid imagery of the knight, valiant in warfare and gentle in peace

toward the weak and oppressed lent itself readily to comparison with the struggle of the Christian man against sin and the devil. Many of these songs are realistic in their recognition of the ups and downs of such warfare. Thus the author of one such hymn comforts his readers by admitting to occasional defeat, but always anticipating eventual victory. The Christian knight must rise after each defeat and fight on boldly, for the victor's crown goes to the one who counts on Christ and returns to the scene of battle again and again.(Wackernagel V, 908). A delicate balance is suggested between divine grace which is assured and human initiative to be shown by the combatant in the warfare against sin.[32]

There are hymns which sing of the two natures of man, describe the school of Christ and glorify the inward word of God.[33] Other hymns describe the plight of the loving soul which yearns for her husband.[34] Humility, submission, quiet acceptance of suffering are other prominent themes.[35]

Christological considerations are reflected upon in yet another category of hymns. Here either the glorified Christ or the redemptive activity of Christ are prominent.[36]

Some hymns speak of spiritual nourishment and of the significance of the Lord's Supper, conceived as an inward communion with the living God rather than a sacramental act.(Wackernagel V, 777,778, 935, 941). These are undoubtedly most "Schwenckfeldian" in nature. The very concept of inward spiritual communion is the nobleman's unique unitive principle. In place of such outward forms as ritual and "organized" churchmanship, Schwenckfeld advocates the spiritual table as the symbol of the Church's corporate nature in Christ. His followers include this concept of participation with Christ and with one another in their hymns.

It is noteworthy, in addition to find at least five hymns which are expressly directed against "outward" ceremonial Christianity. (Wackernagel V, 776, 790, 792, 894, 897). No such hymns are recorded by Wackernagel for any of the other religious groups of the time.

Other themes could be cited which are shared, however, by Schwenckfeld and contemporary as well as later hymn writers. They would therefore be of less interest to us in this connection.

I should like to give closer attention now to the subjectivist emphasis, noted above. It becomes particularly marked in the hymns that deal with the restoration of the soul, when in distress. This emphasis is pronounced in hymns of comfort, in confessions of guilt and in those describing divine wrath in all its awesome fierceness. The mood is that of surrender, bordering at times on Stoic fatalism.[37] "If it is Christ's will to give life, I'll take it; if not, I'll gladly die." Why is this so? We can state at least two reasons.

The Middle Ages had left their trace with an overly marked emphasis on man's guilt in the sight of God. In the case of persecuted minorities this was, of course, intensified by the pressure of suffering. Radicals of any kind had to fear the arm of civil authority. What recourse was there for people thus afflicted but to turn to God who through his Son offered release from bondage and compassionate love instead of punishment. Seen in this light, even the songs of apparent despair and fruitless introspection ring true with a note of hope and a vision of liberation. There is an unmistakable expression of unshaken trust in the following lines of one of Sudermann's Acrostics, patterned after a "Meistergesang".

Nun bistu ja mein Gott und Herr
Auch Vatter noch, ich dein kind mehr
dein eygen, werds auch bleiben
In Ewigkeit: dis ist allein
auss grosser gnad and liebe dein,
So ich dir muss zuschreiben.[38]

From the conviction that the world is evil and has betrayed the seeking soul, developed hymns with a clear message of renunciation of the world. Again it is Sudermann who best expresses this idea in a poem of 1584, set to the tune of the French Christmas Carol "Chantons Noel pour la vierge honorée".

O Blinde Welt wie hast du mich verfüret
von jugend an bis jetzt und noch zur Zeit.
O arge Welt wie hast du much bethoretT
und abgebracht von rechter ban so weit.
O falsche welt,
wollust and gelt,
wee dem, der allhie auff dich helt.

Realizing the sweet charm with which the world had held him spell-bound, but also aware of the bitter end result, the poet finally tears himself free.

Far hin, o welt, Dir will ich urlaub geben,
Far hin, o welt, ess muss gescheiden sein.[39]

Some hymns are obviously beyond the scope of songs of meditation and inspiration for the public worship of God. Containing anywhere from twenty-five to sixty-four stanzas, they are mere artefacts of end-rhymes, stringing together in one song all possible theological positions which could be held by a Schwenckfelder. There is Christology and Soteriology, Old Testament imagery and the doctrine of the new man. There are baptism and the denunciation of the idolatry of accepting means of grace. All these are contained in one Schon new lied von der gottheyt und herrligkeyt unsers herrn Jesu Christi nach seiner edlen menschheit.[40] The hymn is to be sung to the tune, "Ich stund an eynem morgen". It consists of sixty-

three stanzas of seven lines each.

How much more appropriate and impressive by comparison are the simple thematic songs of D. Sudermann such as, "Regier much Herr nach deinem willen" (Wackernagel V, 824), or "Gottes gefuegen ist mein genügen" (Ibid., 821). In the latter hymn each stanza begins with one word of the theme.

1. Gotts hilff und gnad mich allzeit hat errett.	God's
2. Gefügen wirt der treue hirt.	Designs
3. Ist es wohl war.	Are
4. Mein hertz und gmüt	Quite enough (Sufficient)
5. Genügen soll mir herzlich woll	To me

Many other features of Schwenckfelder hymnody should be discussed; some hymns bear reproduction and translation. A rewarding study in itself would be a comparative analysis of the use of the Psalter among Schwenckfelders and other Radical Reformers of this period. To name the many hymn writers and list their numerous songs, would go beyond the scope of this excursus. Allen Seipt has done spade work for Schwenckfelder hymnody at this point. His work could, of course, be expanded. To do this, however, one would needs have to trace the sources in greater depth than could be done here.

We have by no means exhausted the unique manner in which hymns have served as vehicles for transmitting Schwenckfeld's ideas. With the aid of rhymes, alliteration and other poetic devices, difficult theological concepts were made accessible to the common man. Realizing the unique opportunity of this means of communicating the gospel, sixteenth century

hymn writers sought to provide suitable words to familiar tunes. Much of this material proved of no lasting value. However, it served a need and filled a great void in communal worship. After all, "art for art's sake" ought not be the sole criterion of hymnody. Indeed, good hymns are truly "a sacrifice of prayer and praise". In the hymn both the author and the singing "Gemeinde" give themselves - the best a man can offer. True worship - if it be communal - must be the "spiritual" sacrifice of all participants, not merely of the most gifted.

There is a tendency in such a view of worship to give way to mediocrity or to place undue stress on the subjective element in man's encounter with God. Nonetheless, unless we are prepared to accept the personal cry of despair, or the ego-centered hymn of praise - a continual examination of oneself in the mirror of Scripture or Creed - most of our hymns would never be sung, most prayers never spoken.

As is evident from our cursory investigation, most Schwenckfelder hymn writers of this early period in their development were no nightingales whose song would break the spell of the night; few were even poets. Yet, all they who sang, had a new song of the glorified Christ and his redemptive work among the men "who long in darkness lay". Such a song, at least partially ascribed to A. Reusner, shall conclude this brief survey.

Christ erstanden
macht sein feind zu schanden,
Hatt uberwunden,
dseligkayt uns funden,
Und uns das leben
durch sein todt gegeben
Christus der Herre,
kunig der Ehren.

Diser welt kinder
bleyben immer sünder,
Christus verachten,
ihn zu dempfen trachten
Wirt doch Gott bleiben
und sie under-treyben,
Christus der Herre,
künig der Ehren.

Seyn fleysch empfangen
und am Creutz gehangen
Hatt er ausgefüert,
mitt Gotthaytt gezieret
Ins Reych gesetzet
alles layds ergötzet.
Christus ist Herre,
künig der Ehren.

Das Christus künig
gefelt der welt gar wenig:
Er ist gepreyset,
Gottes Son erweyset;
Die ir vor sünder
Jetzt seid Gottes kinder,
Lobt diesen herren,
künig der Ehren.

Footnotes

1. Martin Luther, "An Order of Mass and Communion" (1523), Luther's Works, vol. 53, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1965), p. 36.

2. Martin Luther writing to Spalatin toward the end of 1523. Cf. Luther's Works, vol 53, p. 221.

3. A.A. Seipt, Schwenckfelder Hymnology and the Sources of the First Schwenkfelder Hymn-Book Printed In America, (Philadelphia: Americana Germanica Press, 1909). The author lists a number of sixteenth century hymn collections, the earliest of which dates back to 1546. He has further provided references to later collections. This author has perused some of the collections in the Schwenkfelder Historical Library in Pennsburg. A recent exhaustive study has not been made, to my knowledge.

4. The Faculty Minutes of April and May, 1911, show that Johnson was granted the degree PH.D., but the work which he proposed to undertake, judged by the ambitious syllabus, was apparently never completed.

5. A most useful study of Anabaptist hymnody is Rosella R. Duerksen's Ph.D. dissertation, submitted to Union Theological Seminary, New York, in 1946 for the D.S.M. degree, entitled, "Anabaptist Hymnody of the 16th Century".

6. The Meistergesang is an art form which enjoyed widespread acceptance during the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. In some manner it replaced the earlier Minnegesang, but differed from it in form and content. When the art became a widely used craft, rigid rules of poetry and music were established. These rules could be acquired in Singschulen which had originated with lay brothers. During the fifteenth century the Meistergesang reached its peak. Its most prominent schools were in Augsburg, Mainz, Nuernberg, Worms and Strasbourg. Richard Wagner has idealized the movement in his "Die Meistersinger von Nuernberg" (1868). For further details, cf. Der Grosse Brockhaus, vol. 7, Wiesbaden: 1953. See also Luther's Works, vol. 53, pp. 221 ff.

7. Cf. A.A. Seipt, Op. Cit., p. 45.

8. The Handbook to the Lutheran Hymnal, (St. Louis: Concordia, 1942), p. 369. Cf. also Corpus V. 828 ff. The hymn is reprinted in German hymn books of the American Schwenckfelder Church, published in Germantown (1762), Philadelphia (1813) and Skippackville (1859). The hymn, In Te Domine Speravi was published in Form und Ordnung Geystlicher Gesang und Psalmen (Augsberg, 1533). It is earlier than Reisner's conversion to Schwenckfeld's ideas, but may well be considered one of the earliest Schwenckfelder hymns.

9. Cf. Wackernagel III, 170-194. Of special interest are, In Te Domine Speravi, a paraphrase of Psalm 31, Mein hertz hat gutes wort betracht (Psalm 45), O mein seel, Gott den Herren lob (Psalm 104) and Auss tiefer not, O Herre Gott (Psalm 130). An echo of Psalm 72 is found in a hymn on the miraculous effects of the work of Christ (III, 128).

10. Cf. Wackernagel III, numbers 171,177,179,190,192-194.

11. For other examples, cf. Wackernagel, III, numbers 175,180,184,185, 186,187,189,190,193.

12. Wackernagel III, 182, is a paraphrase of the Ten Commandments. Number 183 in the same collection expounds Daniel 9, a prayer for forgiveness and redemption. Scattered instances from other parts of Scripture are frequent throughout the twenty-four hymns. At times, however, they are difficult to trace with certainty.

13. Cf. Wackernagel, V, numbers 794-1004. A.E. Berger, Lied-Spruch-und Fabeldichtung im Dienste der Reformation, Reclam Verlag, Leipzig, 1938, states that thousands of hymns by Sudermann were extant at one time. (pp. 46-47).

14. Wackernagel V, 929,944,794,834,849,832,871,932. The hymn "Weil der Mensch nur geschoffen ist" (929), develops Romans 8:4. In "Hoer wunder gross" (944) Romans 5a is referred to in addition to other New Testament references. Some of the hymns allude to Scripture but do not always make specific reference to a given passage.

15. Wackernagel V, 984-989. Each of the hymns develops a key theme from one of the early chapters in Canticles. Cf. also numbers 881 and 960.

16. Berger, Op. Cit., p. 47. The author notes further that the unio mystica with God is significant. "Gott ist nirgends eigentlich so recht als in der Seel fuer sich." Cf. Wackernagel, V, 955 and 855.

17. Berger, Op. Cit., p. 46.

18. Fairly thorough analyses of the relation of hymn and folk tune and of the significance of the spiritual song or hymn during the sixteenth century are provided by numerous authors. Notably among these are F. Blume, Geschichte der Evangelischen Kirchenmusik, (Kassel: Baerenreiter, 1965), Hoffmann von Fallersleben, Geschichte des Deutschen Kirchenliedes bis auf Luther's Zeit, (Hannover:1861), A.E. Berger, Op. Cit., and others. One of the better collections of tunes is R. Liliencron, Deutsches Leben im Volkslied, 1884 (1966 reprint).

19. R.R. Duerksen, "Anabaptist Hymnody of the Sixteenth Century", D.S.M. thesis, Union Theological Seminary, 1956 (microfilm).

20. Ibid., p. 141.

21. Authors of such hymns used them well by setting the words to popular tunes and thus familiarizing common people with points of contention or Christian theology. Cf. Sebastian Franck, On the Four Feuding Churches, for a similar theme. The song is reprinted in Heinold Fast, Der Linke Fluegel der Reformation,(Bremen, Schuenemann Verlag, 1962), pp. 246 ff. See Appendix A.

22. Wackernagel V, 790:12 (translation my own).
The unregenerate man says, "what do I care
That all the scholars are divided?
There is no change in any sect,
So I'll remain with the crowd,
Lest they exile me.

23. Ibid., No. 790:15.
Christ says 'Look upon me,
No one may rely on man.
I must show the right way,
I must transmit my spirit,
No substitute can heal you.

24. Ibid., V, 792:1
You Schwenckfeldian swingers (turncoats?)
Swing over to hear me.
You are indeed real stinkers,
stinking eternally.
Hear what I'm about to sing:
God will not let you by;
He'll send to hell you by and by,
Even though there be many of you.

25. Wackernagel III, pp. 134-144; V, pp. 547-676.

26. When compared to hymns of the Anabaptists, this category is not a prominent one in Schwenckfelder hymnody. Wackernagel V, p. 1415 lists three "eschatological" hymns for Schwenckfelders (774,789, 991) over against twelve such for Anabaptists (e.g. 1023,1038,1070, 1115,1108).

27. Wackernagel V, 903,911,922, and III, 820. By comparison, only one such hymn is found in the Wackernagel collection for Anabaptists, Lutheran, and Roman Catholic hymn writers.

28. Sudermann alone has at least fourteen hymns that contain the motif of the inner light (Wackernagel V, 792,954-956, 986-990). Wackernagel does not list any such hymns for Anabaptists, Lutherans and Roman Catholics of this period although it is not impossible that such hymns were sung by these groups.

29. Cf. Wackernagel V, 886,888,889,950-965. Stress is laid in these hymns on spiritual purity and on the inward unity of the soul with God which is more profitable than learning, etc.

30. Wackernagel, V, 802,831,879,880.

31. Wackernagel III, 172,174,182,193. In Te Domine Speravi as well as the hymn on the tri-une God (174) describe God in an objective fashion. Nonetheless, there is a subjective element when the writer issues a warning to all those who exclude themselves from communion with God by denying the divinity of Christ.

32. Wackernagel V, 908 (Translation mine)

How many a Christian knight
Falls wounded in the fight
'gainst sin, oft nearing death
Yet God gives him new breath.

Just let him boldly stand
Fight on and not relent.
Improve defence and shield;
To Satan never yield.

Then victory is sure,
As long as wars endure
For with Christ's help alone
We gain the victor's crown.

Other hymns depicting Christian kinghthood and warfare are found in Wackernagel V, 877,908,999.

33. Wackernagel V, 779,780,782,846,925,926.

34. Wackernagel, V, 949,952,950,961,974,983,984,985,986,988-990.

35. Ibid., 882,891-893.

36. Christological motifs are found in Vom Reich und Gericht Christi, (Wackernagel, III, 192); Ein Lied vom glorificierten Christo, (Ibid., 184); and in other hymns of the period (Wackernagel V, 773,842,861).

37. Ibid., V, 836,837.

38. Ibid., V, 846:14.

Thou art now my God and Lord
And Father, too, I am thy child,
Thy very own from now unto eternity.
This I owe to thy great grace and love
Which I ascribe to thee.

39. Ibid., V, 815.
O blind world, how thou hast goaded me
From early youth till now.
O evil world, how thou hast enchanted me
And led me off the way.
O false world,
Lust and riches,
Woe unto him who trusts thee.

Pass on, o world, I give you leave,
Pass on, o world, we now must part.

Similar sentiments are found in No. 873("An earnest admonition to leave this world for the sake of eternal heaven"), and in almost all hymns that contrast the new state of man with his previous sinful state.

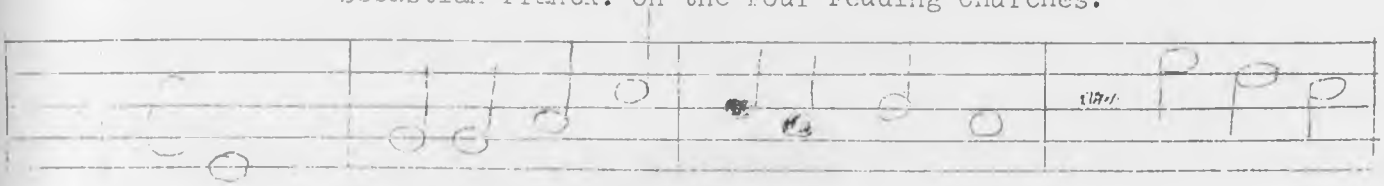
40. The author is Raimund Weckher (Wackernagel V, 773). Another such hymn by the same author is a polemical song entitled, "Ein New Lied" against Coccius. Playing on the similarity of sound, the author likens Coccius to a cuckoo who places his eggs in the nests of other birds. In other words he is a parasite (Wackernagel V, 774).

41. Wackernagel III, Number 184 (Stanza five has been omitted).

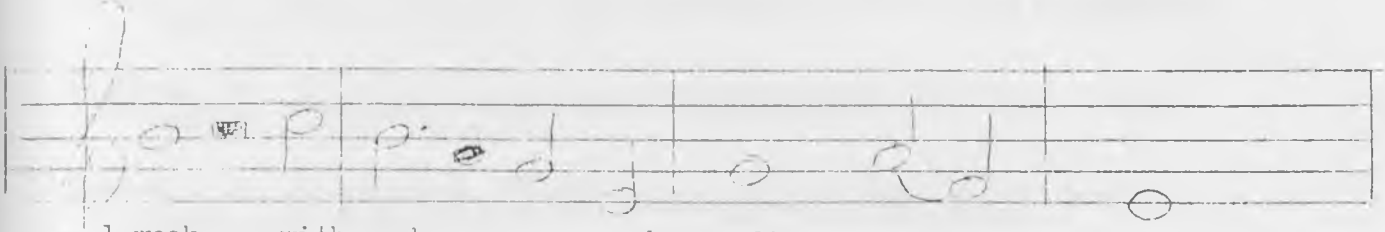
The risen Christ	Taking on flesh
Confounds all of his foes	He hung on the Cross
He has conquered,	And thus did accomplish.
Brought salvation to us	With divinity adorned
In giving life eternal	He placed us in his kingdom,
By his cruel death.	Freed from all woe.
Christ the Lord,	Christ the Lord,
King of all glory.	King of all glory.
This world's children	That he is king
Are forever sinners,	The world does cherish little.
They despise Christ,	He is most blessed,
Seek to keep him down.	Reveals his divine Sonship.
Yet he will remain God	Once you were sinners,
And will thus confound them.	Now you are God's children.
Christ the Lord,	Praise ye the Lord,
King of all glory.	King of all glory.

Appendix A

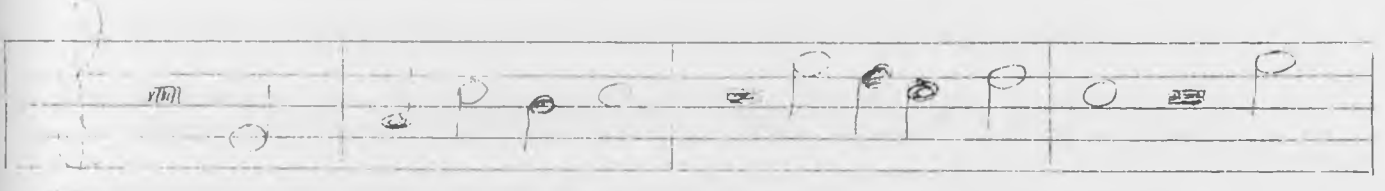
Music written - 1543;
Sebastian Franck: On the Four Feuding Churches.



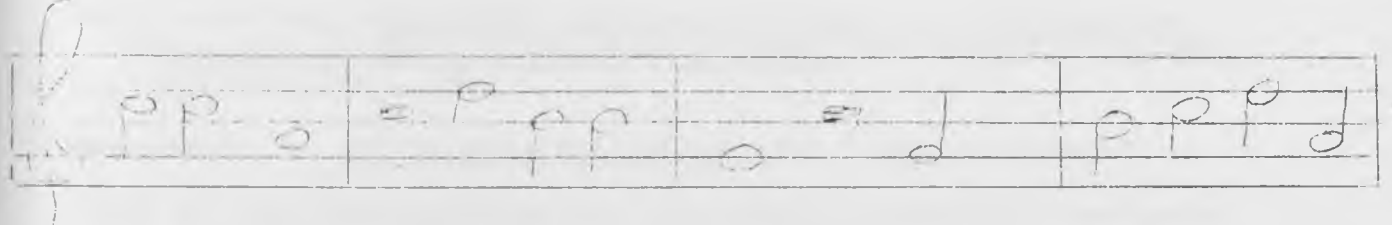
1. Pop- ish I'd ne- ver want -- to be, Faith sure is
   De - spite all out-ward pomp and glo - ry, Their hearts are
2. No A- na- bap-tist would-- I be. Their ground's not
   They scare off oth- er sects--- with ease. They lack God's



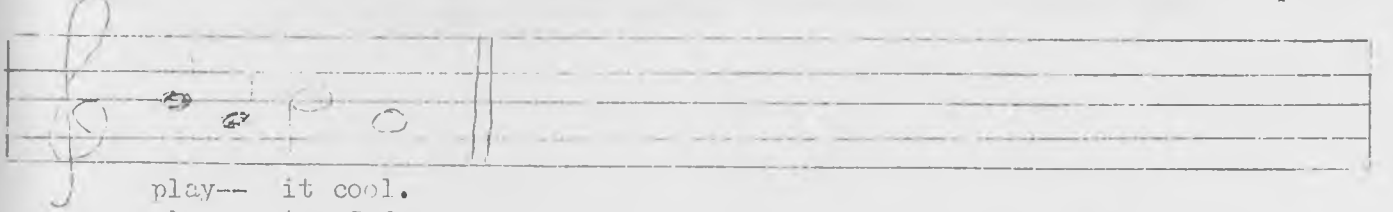
1. weak with monks----------and all the priests.
   bleak. They hold----------us up for sheer fools.
2. firm. It rests on--ly on a dunk----------ing.
   gifts. Since they----------stay quite ----------part



1. Their bel- ly's God Filled with the rot of
2. They of-------ten smart Un--der man's hate. On



1. rites and rules. I'm not a fool, with care------- I'll
2. this account more than the rest, they live-------quite



play-- it cool.
close to God.

Tune: "Mag ich Ungluck nicht widerstehen"; also known as "Der Konigen von Ungarn Lied.

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The New Counter Culture of Alienated Youth

REVIVAL, REVOLUTION, OR HISTORICAL REPLAY

G. P. Albaugh

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Editorial

The writer of the present issue of the Bulletin will hardly need an introduction to most of our readers. Professor G. P. Albaugh has taught church history for many years in the Divinity College and many of you have personally benefited from his wisdom, knowledge and counsel.

This year he is acting as President of the Canadian Church History Society and he will be delivering the substance of this piece of research to the meeting of the learned societies in Newfoundland later this summer.

He wishes me to state that he sees this present article as dealing with the subject previously announced — The Church-Moulder or Mirror of Culture. I think it will be generally agreed when you have read it that he has made a notable contribution to a contemporary problem in which we are all deeply interested and personally involved.

We are very grateful to him for opening up for us a difficult subject, and for many, a little explored one. It will help us all to grapple with the difficult task confronting the contemporary church as to how far it should mould or mirror the culture in which we must all live out our Christian lives.

R. F. A.

THE NEW COUNTER CULTURE OF ALIENATED YOUTH
REVIVAL, REVOLUTION, OR HISTORICAL REPLAY

by

Gaylord P. Albaugh

In 1967 a new song began sweeping the rock circuit in the United States, the heart of its lyric running

> All across the nation, such a strong vibration
>
> There's a whole generation, with a new explanation[1].

This "whole generation with a new explanation" is more than a musical fantasy beamed at us by an eccentric bard to the south. It is a demographic fact both in the United States and Canada. In both countries an accelerated twentieth-century shift of population balance in favor of the young has brought the swing of the numerical pendulum to the nadir of the adult half of the arc and is about to set in motion the upward thrust toward the generation of youth.

According to 1969 statistics, the latest available in all categories where comparison is desired, the total populations of United States and Canada were respectively 203,213,000 and 21,061,000 persons. Of the United States total some 93,519,000 (46 per cent) of the enumerated were under 25 years of age — 20,518,000 aged 10-14; 18,438,000 aged 15-19; 15,776,000 aged 20-24; with 7,697,000 (mostly of the last two age groups, but some older) in pursuit of higher education in 2,374 universities. Of the Canadian total some 10,295,000 (49 per cent) of the enumerated were under 25 years of age — 2,254,000 aged 10-14; 2,015,000 aged 15-19; 1,761,000 aged 20-24; with 270,000 (mostly of the last two age groups, but some older) in pursuit of higher education in 155 universities.[2]

Particularly are the nearly 40,000,000 aged 15-24 making vibrations that are ruffling our North American calm. Mostly residents in or drop-outs from our massive secondary and university complexes, they are rebelling vocally and otherwise at what they have, or have chosen not, to endure. Not only this. We are reading daily of similar uprisings in various nations throughout the world which have traditionally been associated with the same western ethos against which our own young are rebelling.

Alienated Counter Culture

The deeply sobering element in these strong youthful vibrations that are disrupting our domestic calm is the acute sense of cultural alienation from which they seem to stem. It is a new type of alienation which we find difficult to define. It does not fit neatly into any of the commonly recognized categories of the phenomenon.

Marxist talk about the alienation of the worker from his labor doesn't strike deeply into the heart of the estrangement. Relatively few of these young people have been sufficiently involved in the shady employer-employee relationships of industry to understand first hand the growing fragmentation of labor which causes the worker "to be alienated from any sense of his role in the creation of his products" or to have actually experienced the injustices of a capitalistic system which "alienates (the worker) from the economic fruits of his labor and puts him in conflict with his fellow workers."[3] The aesthetic alienation that drives the modern artist to veer from accepted modes of use of paint, brush, chisel, cinema or stage offers at best but tangential explanation. The prophetic view which traces alienation back to revulsion at the prevailing moral climate of the day is to some degree applicable, but this revulsion tends to follow most unusual channels. Nor does the psychological explanation which focuses attention upon the various aspects of the individual's infancy, childhood, adolescence, family and fantasy life which tend to produce the "alienated personality" offer a fully satisfactory interpretation.

Not even the sum total of these various traditional ways of probing at the source of phenomenon of alienation provides an adequate perspective in which to view the acute sense of estrangement that marks the thought and action of today's youth. It seems, as A. J. Tannenbaum notes, that these young people are "malcontents in search of identity in a world they must create for themselves"; and in creating it "they want no part of the world handed down to them by their elders."[4] To this observation Bloy adds the poignant judgment: "They are, in fact, participants in a 'counter culture' which is fundamentally challenging the western cultural tradition."[5] Roszak concurs with this assessment of the situation and carries the judgment a step further. Likening the present youthful uprising to the frightening "Invasion of the Centaurs" recorded in Greek mythology, he concludes:

> Indeed it would hardly seem an exaggeration to call what we see arising among the young a 'counter culture' . . . so radically disaffiliated from the main stream assumptions of our society that it scarcely looks to many as a culture at all, but takes on the alarming appearance of a *barbaric intrusion.*[6]

This tendency of youth to enunciate and live out counter-definitions of the taken-for-granted social routines of our western society resolves itself into a type of alienation that is potentially revolutionary.

Misleading Assumptions of Critics

A considerable group of critics depreciate the revolutionary potential of the new counter-culture by questioning its staying power. But usually they do so by basing their critique on two misleading assumptions: (1) dearth of capable, committed leadership; and (2) predominance of passive over activist following.

The critics using the leadership argument decry the use of demographic facts in assessing the true strength of the new culture. It is one thing, they say, to assert that half the North American population is under age 25 and nearly 40 million of this group aged 15-24, mostly clustered in massive educational complexes. Yet how many of these, even in the ferment of the provocative educational clusters, can be said to be capable, committed leaders? Probably only a few hard core activists, a very small percentage to say the least!

History provides striking examples of the fallacy of this line of reasoning. Christianity began with a core leadership of twelve (including one defector) in a Roman Empire of 60 million people, to the year 300 A.D. never won more than one ninth of this population to its constituency, yet through modes of evangelism depreciated by authorities, instituted a counter-culture which overthrew and superseded that of the Empire in the two centuries that followed.[7] Or if this is an unsuitable religious example encompassing too long a time span in history, what of the French Revolution? Only two per cent of the population of France was involved in this counter-cultural thrust which within the remarkably short span of two decades so violently re-directed the political, social and religious life of Europe.[8]

If such movements of centuries long past could turn their worlds upside down, what of today's youth who have a new powerful ally quite unknown to either the early Christians or to the French revolutionaries — modern mass communication. In our "global village" these mass media are capable of almost instantly multiplying the influence of a single committed leader hundreds or thousands of times over. The main outlets of the mass media — television, radio, press and film — have become saturated with documentaries, teach-ins, talk-backs and rock and roll sessions in which the new culture is popularized. Dedicated sociologists, probing psychologists, learned commentators, sensationalizing journalists, curiosity-motivated tourists, worried parents, confused clergy, vocal youth are all given their opportunity to air, tube or print their views of the developing phenomenon. The climate has become so favorable to the new trend that even the hated "establishment" has chosen to coopt the youth culture for its own purposes of exploitation. The production mechanism is now geared to make the most of the tremendously profitable "teen" and "early 20" market. Through skilled manipulation of the mass media what these age groups choose as fad is commercialized as the national norm, be it in the area of art, education, entertainment, fashion, hair style, manners, morals, music, politics, religion, speech or social relations (including love, courtship, marriage and sexual mores). As a result, probably the majority of those subjected to this assault in the United States and Canada have become willing purchasers within or hung-up victims of the commercialized youth market.[9] Toynbee saw this trend developing as far back as 1968 when on a visit to North America he was asked to pass judgment on the nature of the hippie movement, then at its height. His observation was that its adherents were "only" the "flamboyant . . . unsubmerged tenth part of the iceberg"; that the "same spirit" was "latent among . . .

(their) quiet contemporaries" who had "not advertised their alienation by giving themselves an unconventional outward appearance."[10]

This large body of submerged fellow travellers of all ages evidence their basic sympathy with the new culture in many ways. Sometimes it is through the medium of long or short term moods — a whimsical realization that a long life of work has brought comfort and material success, but little true joy; or an irresistible urge to take off on some temporary odyssey of "kicks" as a means of escaping the slavery of a pedestrian life. Sometimes it is by way of adult realization that the young are actualizing ideas which we in our "square" way of living have had to hide in our secret thoughts — so older graduate students, younger faculty and on occasion senior faculty and administrators give covert or permissive support to undergraduate protests; so young married adults in the inner city and suburbia covenant to live the uninhibited moral life of experimenting youth under outward appearance of normalized home life; so parents retreat from disciplining their teen-agers for errant mores because in these deviations they sense the fulfliment of their own unexpressed adult desires. Meantime the pre-teen children are busy accelerating their own journey on the road of revolt by copying more and more the commercialized youth culture thrown at them through the mass media all hours of the day. Nor does one's racial or religious attachment assure protection against the onslaught. Blacks, Indians, French Canadians, and naturalized Mexicans, Puerto Ricans and Orientals are all deeply affected; while Catholics, Protestants and Jews face alike the "soul trouble" of trying to adjust to youthful defection. Obviously it is misleading to confine the strength of the new culture to any fixed type of numerical count relating either to capable leadership or adherents. Influence of the new culture presses far beyond such norms.

The second misleading assumption of the critics of the counter culture — predominance of passive over activist following — also calls for like refutation. This misconception is based on a generally accepted division of rebelling youth into three main strata — students, the New Left, and the Hippies. The New Left are characterized as being wholesomely-oriented political activists, properly optimistic concerning the future, and pledged to achieve this future only through exercise of the time-honored procedures of the western democratic process. However, students and Hippies are considered to be less solid citizens. The former, it is contended, are rendered passive participants in any culture because they live, as psychiatrist Seymour L. Halleck says, in a constant "state of identity crisis" in which they cry "Who am I, I don't know what I believe, I have no self?"[11] Usually supported in their education by affluent parents, inexperienced in the art of making their own living, and highly apprehensive of the responsibility they will have to assume when thrust out of their academic retreat, they evidence a most "peculiar kind of apathy and withdrawal" from life.[12] Occasionally they may deviate from this general insensibility to life to take part in campus upheavals, but often as embittered, angered participants rather than supporters of a reasoned cause; then they quickly return to the safety of

their academic cloister. Hippies, it is asserted, are even less participatory in the current ferment. They are

> . . . those who do not protest at all, who simply smile, wave daffodils, cover the walls of their *quartiers* with graffiti suggesting we 'Legalize Living', and wear their own variety of campaign buttons the quintessential of which demands with purest obstinacy, 'Nirvana Now' . . . Lilies of the field and bearded and sandaled, they live on air, and love and, alas, drugs. They seek not to change our society, but simply to have nothing to do with it. They are in quest of experiences wholly mystical and internal on the one hand, and tribal on the other. The modern American style of the effective individual functioning in a coherent but competitive society is not for them.[13]

More analytic observers are not so inclined to exalt the influence of the New Left above that exerted by students and Hippies. They see the youth culture as a peculiar compound of all three forces, each making its own contribution, none of the three able to operate effectively when loosed from the creative potential latent in the other two.

This interlocking relationship was pre-determined by the student origins of the New Left. It was among the students of the exasperatingly "Quiet" and "Beat" generations of the 1950s that the contemporary political activism among youth first began to stir. The election of President Kennedy in 1960, coupled with his choice of a young Ivy League Brain Trust and his inaugural plea of "Ask not what your country can do for you" but "Ask what you can do for your country", served as the catalytic agent in Amreican college circles.[14] The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was founded in April of that year, mainly to further the cause of civil rights. The university generation quickly warmed to the challenge of sit-ins, boycotts, lunch-counter protests, school desegregation and voter registration in the South. Negro and white students worked side by side as shock troops; and they saw each other and those they wished to help beaten by local law officers, attacked by police dogs, jabbed by cattle prodders, doused by fire hoses and dispersed by tear gas.[15] Then in June 1962 this student activism moved to the Northern States through formation of the Students for Democratic Society (SDS) which gave philosophical grounding to the New Left in its much publicized *Port Huron Statement,* reading in part: "We seek the establishment of a democracy of individual participation governed by the two central aims: that the individual share in those social decisions determining the quality and direction of his life; that society be organized to encourage independence in men and provide the media for their common participation."[16] There followed "The Day" in December 1964 when these radicals of SDS brought life on the Berkeley Campus of the University of California to a virtual standstill and pressured successfully for educational and political changes that are still being implemented.[17] This new type of political action moved first to other American universities and then to Canada with results too well known to merit further recount; it exhibited a curious combination

of socialism, anarchism and pacificism, but it was "New" with deep moral interests in persons as human beings, in sharp contrast to the crass amoral materialism of the "Old" Marxist Left who placed their faith in the laws of economic determinism.[18] So the New Left owed its origin to student activism.

When the Hippies began to blossom noticeably in 1966 they added a touch that both students and New Left valued. Perhaps never numbering more than 300,000 at any one time,[19] many of them were student drop-outs who sympathized with the educational uprisings of those who chose to stay on campus. Though essentially apolitical in their stance, their political views were basically those of the SDS, except that when stated they were stripped of any sophisticated metaphysical expressions and were more adamant in denouncing the materialism of western culture. It was this latter stand which kept them from participating in civil rights movements designed to secure equal job opportunities and wages for underprivileged minorities; and which in turn alienated these minorities from the Hippie cause, for few within the minority groups were prepared to forsake their enforced poverty for the voluntary poverty of the drop-out who could usually, at any time he chose, return to his former life of affluence.

Despite these meanderings from the main stream of youthful rebellion, the Hippies had something the students and the New Left needed to make their movement effective — a style they could bring to demonstrations. Whether they were street, household, tribal or master Hippies, when they could be persuaded to take part in protests they added what Stuart Hall calls "dramaturgy" to the occasion. They delighted in staging spontaneous "happenings" and "put-ons" which spoofed "straight" society. The act might include anything from the tossing of dollar bills from the gallery of the New York Exchange for which "bread" charcoal-grey-suited executives scrambled on the floor below, to descending upon the local police precinct whose officers had just arrested some of their buddies and offering to paint its dirty walls or to wash the squad cars or to hold a picnic for the officers' children. Sometimes obscenities, drugs and irregular moral acts were added to aid the communication of an idea through shock, but the whole show gave new definition to the political act.[20]

In short, the Hippies, from their origin through their heyday to now, have represented the "expressive" pole of the political movement of youth, while the students and the New Left have, in differing degree, represented the "activist" pole of this movement. The Hippies as "expressionists" have supplied the "psychic fuel", "the Dada-esque scenes", the speech, the manners, the dress, the music and other striking elements of the counter-culture; while the students and New Left as "activists" have supplied the organization and program by which they try to build on the response aroused by the exhibitionist expressionists. To be sure these expressionists opt in and out of society at will, but in their brief "in-moments" their "put-ons" and "happenings" have dramatic effect. Right now they are more out than in, but they will continue

to appear for their "moment" from time to time, if not as Hippies of yore, as a recognizable facsimile.[21]

To discount either the Hippie or the student contribution to the new culture is to misrepresent the true nature of the movement. The New Left owes a sizeable debt to both these groups.

Accordingly, in the succeeding consideration of the provoking factors leading to the youth revolt and of the new value system which these youth are seeking to institute, these three groups will be treated as if in common pursuit of the same goals. Distinctions will not be made between them except in instances where this approach could encourage grossly erroneous conclusions.

Provoking Factors of Revolt

The present rebellion of youth may, for convenience of consideration, be characterized as a six-pronged revolt against: (1) a meaningless middle class background of affluence; (2) parents who have capitulated passively to the materialistic values of the affluent society; (3) the dehumanizing liberal "system" which has made society and parents what they are; (4) the educational machine designed to preserve "the system" as it is; (5) "the bomb" which stands as the symbol of the determined intention of governing forces to export the system abroad by force; and (6) the Christian churches which seem to have forsaken their prophetic role to become allies of the inhumanities of "the system".

To say that the new counter-culturalists are protesting against the meaninglessness of their middle class background does little to limit the societal range of their movement. Since World War II the urban middle class business man's way of life has spread so widely that nearly 80 per cent of all North American families have the cash or credit with which to buy "almost anything mass produced, including higher education"; and also have access to "grants, loans, government handouts and pensions" which provide most of one's basic needs from cradle to grave.[22] In fact our society has become so predominantly middle class in its external expressions that to casual outside observers it could be taken to be "classless", save for the presence of underprivileged minorities of color. At least within the white collar group, financial promise, therefore affluence, is practically equal for all occupations. It is from the 15-24 year olds of our nearly classless affluent white population that the backbone of the counter-culture comes. Their grandparents and parents have achieved relative comfort, security, status and property. Their fathers have succumbed so completely to the concept of the "economic man" as to admit openly that the object of work is not work itself, but to make money with which to buy the status symbols of the affluent class. What Toynbee says of the Hippies applies generally to youth reared in such an atmosphere: "They are people who have had so much cake they have become sickened of it, not people who have cake for the first time and are greedy for it."[23] They find the price their fathers and grandfathers have paid for affluence too high, *viz.*

the spiritual poverty that issues from years of conscienceless manipulation and exploitation of persons and institutions for purposes of accumulating more and more goods and resources; and from increasingly ruthless use of the power that increasing affluence can bring. If this is the price of earning the paycheck the young, in their present state of idealism, are unwilling to pay it.

The revolt against parents is an integral part of the revolt against affluence. Fathers caught on the treadmill of goods-getting tend to discharge their parental duties financially rather than paternally. If a young son asks "What's God like?" "How do the stars work?" or "What do you do when you're in love?", Dad pleads the pressure of work and says "Here, kid, take a couple of bucks and go to the movie or to that championship game!" If not this, Dad is away at work or too often absent from home for "business reasons" to encourage much asking of his advice. This has the result of making the mother the dominant figure in the life of the home, with less than ideal consequences. The educated, emancipated woman left with major responsibility for the care of her children becomes frustrated with the shadowy, elusive husband constantly away in pursuit of money and things. The connubial dream degenerates into resented legal enslavement and an unhappy home in which nothing good seems to be said of the marriage contract. Maintaining lip-service to the sanctity of sex, one or both parents may seek outlet for pent-up emotional capital in escapades ranging from harmless flirtations to frequent adultery — about one of every three marriages ending eventually in divorce or separation. The children of such homes live in a state of pereptual emotional siege, subject daily to the psyhoses of a mother looking desperately to them for affection. This combination of the moral breakdown of the marriage and a mother starved for affection produces the femininely soft, spoiled youth whose permissive training often sends him to college with childhood traits that leave him unprepared upon graduation to face up to the shock of the barbered hair, puncuality, and other conformities required of him in the world of his "square" corporate employers. The emotional hang-ups that surface at this time of his realization of unpreparedness to meet life on terms required by the existing society leads him to review the situation in terms of the family life that has brought him to this crisis. In this critical review he does not like what he recalls. He finds the family life provided by his parents inadequate for the proper training of children. But unlike his status-conscious parents, he openly chooses to reject the traditional institution of the family — sometimes claiming satisfaction in his experimentations in new forms of sexual relations, sometimes experiencing tragic consequences.

Alienated as our young may feel from affluent middle class culture and from their parents, the primary target of their ire is the agency which has made this culture and their parents what they are — the "system" or "establishment". They find this system sick to its core and reject its entire fabric — its urban concentration; its industrialized technology; its "corporate liberalism" which permits an interlocking directorate of corporations to shape decisions and social structures not

with regard to the people affected but with regard to enhancing the opportunity for market and trade; and its centralization of power in a bureaucratic federal government too easily manipulated by its garrisoned corporate industrial interests. So long as this managed "liberal system" of society remains, youth hold no hope for change. It is beyond reform and must be replaced. Tom Hayden, a leading figure in the founding of the SDS, explains his reason for so thinking:

> My own disenchantment with the U.S. didn't really come because of its failures in Negro rights and foreign policy, but with the realization . . . that responsibility for these things lies with the most respectable people in society . . . people in the North with connections with the foundations, corporations and banks and the Democratic Party, who parade in their own suburban communities as liberals, but who happen to own, lock, stock, and barrel the major enterprises in Mississippi.[24]

The current Canadian concern over the economic invasion by the United States should make the core of this message strike directly home. It says that in our North American society "the problem is not man but an evil system which forces men to do evil deeds."[25] Acting as individuals respectable men would not wish to be party to the questionable social conduct indicated, or so wishing would not have the power to carry their desires to conclusion. The aim of youth is to supplant the present "system" which drives man to evil deeds against his brother. We may, therefore, as Moynihan suggests, "be witnessing the first heresies of liberalism" — an aggressive frontal attack on this "nigh universally accepted creed of the ruling elites of the Western world" in "all of its essentials of an optimistic belief in progress, in toleration, in equality, in the rule of law, and in the possibility of attaining a high and sustained measure of human happiness on earth."[26]

For the young the confrontation with "the system" becomes most acute in the higher stages of schooling and reaches its most critical point in the large impersonal structure of the state and provincial universities where demonstrations are frequently organized to protest the "compulsory miseducation" received. The protestors claim these massive institutions to be so subservient to the system that they suffer all of its ills. Run like other "industries" they are designed to turn out "human think machines" which, like all other objects mass-produced, are eventually used to implement the national purpose. What else could be expected from institutions which are an integral part of the general corporate structure of liberalism, so much so that they are governed by regents and trustees who are not educators but the same businessmen who compose the interlocking directorates of the corporations which control the decision-making processes of bureaucratic centralized state, provincial and federal governments? How can education so directed prepare persons to face the specific unique happenings of their own peculiar lives after graduation? Accordingly students strike first at the governing structure of the university. They demand radical redistribution of power within the academic community, the purpose being to

gain student autonomy, at least equal student say, in matters of curriculum, the hiring, firing and tenure of the faculty and the imposition of social and moral restrictions upon campus life. This means the abandonment of the "Big Daddy Complex" which in the past had led administrators to appoint house mothers to set permissible dormitory hours for women, police to determine permissible limits of campus political activity, advisers to rule on the permissibility of a study program, professors to specify permissible readings and approaches. Assuming the granting of such administrative changes, these educational revolutionaries go on to specify the program of the future. The university should open its doors more widely to persons with offbeat and unpopular orientations to ideas and the arts. The educational process itself should become more action-oriented. The traditional teacher/student role should be altered so as not to generate passivity in the student. This can be accomplished by replacing the old lecturer/listener relationship with group-learning situations involving direct personal encounter of teacher with student and student with student in an atmosphere of minimal, nominal or no authoritarian leadership. In these group encounters stress should be placed on seeking solutions to problems in which students are already individually involved. This approach assumes the willingness of teachers to ignore the old artificial barriers between disciplines and the old time divisions that have fragmented their instruction, and to participate as teams in the encounter-group search for answers to students questions. The approach also assumes the willingness of teachers to revise their indices for evaluation of the student's personal progress in his encounter situation, perhaps even the forsaking of a grading system, if not the latter, the forsaking of the coercive standardizing influence of the present system of evaluation. All considered it is an approach that runs quite counter to the concept of the university held in the past. We had best listen with an attentive ear. Unimpressed as we may be with its bizarre extremism that goes so far as to found "anti" and "free" universities where instructors, scarcely out of their teens, offer courses in "anti-cultures", "anti-environments", "anti-poetry", "anti-theatres", "anti-families" — there is a basic apocalyptic message here. Not only this. Similar ideology is filtering down to the high schools and upper elementary grades, in diluted dosage but in sufficient strength to cause vibrations there as well.[27]

The Bomb is the most powerful symbol the young can find to dramatize their horror at the persistent American attempts to export by force their liberal concepts of affluence, family, system and education. All of these young have grown up since Hiroshima, but the documentaries of the mass media have made an indelible impression on their minds. In that ghoulish-looking mushroom cloud which generates almost instantaneously that blinding, all-destructive flash of thermonuclear fire, their dreams are exploded. The most fearful take it for granted that they may not survive another ten years, turn amoral, and ignore almost completely the restraints and responsibilities of preparing for a career or bringing up a family. The more idealistic youth asks "What further proof do we need that the present political leadership is misguided?"; and he presses the logic of his argument to consideration

of the issues at stake in western participation in the war in Vietnam. What right, he asks, have the political leaders of the west to export their liberal culture in this lethal manner when the political, moral, economic, intellectual and religious life is so sick back home. The immediate need is to eradicate the racism, remaining poverty, lingering streak of brutal violence and other moral sickness at home. According to the post-Hiroshima generation, the Vietnam conflict is a "snow-job" inflicted upon us by supposedly honorable men who read maps, issue commands, push buttons and tally the dead — not because they wish to do so, but because the propaganda of the corporate military-industrial system has psyched or forced them into the evil deed. The "Make Love Not War" slogan, the burning of draft cards, the lying to draft board examiners, and the slipping away to Canada are all symbolic gestures of rejection of the faceless bureaucratic system that drives men to evil deeds against each other. These rebels wish a new social order in which the individual has the right to choose for himself whether he will train to kill, or, having so trained, will accept orders to do so without regard to the morality of the specific cause involved.[28]

The final major provoking factor in the revolt of youth relates to a growing disillusionment with western expressions of Christianity. The various Christian churches, in differing degrees, seem to stand as bulwarks of the established system. They appear to represent the faith of the worried adults over 30 years of age, who wish to enforce conformity to the existing mode of life, including its social and racial injustices. Despite the obviously declining mediatorial role of the churches — their growth as a whole having in this present decade, for the first time in over a century, ceased to equal the median growth of the population — they are trying to hang on to the old privileged position by substituting the pressures of institutional coercion for the former intrinsic authority of a message their leaders no longer convey convincingly.[29] The Protestant churches are the harder hit, particularly those of the Calvinist-Puritan tradition. The customary association of this main-line tradition of Protestantism with a this-wordly "asceticism of work" (as if one's work was a predestined "divine calling") appears to the young not only to be a tool that adds zeal to the capitalist quest for goods and wealth; but also a principle of living which leads pointlessly to the premature, joyless wearing out of the bodies and minds of their elders.[30] Similarly the moderate rational ethic of this line of Protestantism is said to reduce the joys of life the more by imposing the principle of sombre dignity in the display of any affluence gained by feverish work.[31] Further, it is contended, the predilection of this line of Protestanism to encourage the principle of the scientific mastery of nature has created the robotized educational system which has supplied the pool of research and executive minds which, unversed in the humanities, have in turn created the faceless bureaucratic corporations which have brought our system to its present social sickness.

So thoroughly have these beliefs alienated youth from the churches that they have been exiting from our western Christian milieu *en masse.* A sample survey of the Hippies at their height revealed that 92 per cent

were either church "drop-outs" or without any previous formal attachment to a church at all.[32] Most held the "Mustang Pledge" and "Apostles' Creed" in equal contempt.[33] The appeal that Scripture has held in the past history of western social heresy is all but absent in this new uprising. These young are rejecting the rationalist skeptical profession of the Christian faith so commonly preached from the pulpit and paraded by church theologians in their recent "death of God" binge. Bored with the absence of God in the early twentieth century and tired of personal spiritual emptiness, the young generation is dropping out of the churches to find a new, committed life-style of its own.

New Life-Style

The new youth culture is at the moment more a "style" than a "system" of living. Amorphous and still emerging, it is too undisciplined, too loosely organized, and as yet too unideological to evidence any set form. Still, it does exhibit a certain consistency and pattern of development. In their own hiplingua this pattern follows the basic sequence of "drop out", "tune in", "turn on"; and "hang loose" with regard to the future. Translated into conventional language this means a voluntary opting out of the present system to pursue a style of life evidencing in dramatic ways: (1) a new personalism, (2) a new communalism, (3) a new morality, and (4) a new religious orientation. The adjective "new" refers more to the intensity with which these characteristics are revealing themselves, than to the uniqueness of their expression, for all, as shall be seen, have been present before in history in other forms.

The nature of the new personsalism is enunciated clearly in the SDS *Port Huron Statement:* "We regard *men* as infinitely precious and possessed of unfulfilled capacities for reason, freedom and love . . . We oppose the depersonalization that reduces human beings to the status of things . . . the vague appeals to 'posterity' cannot justify the mutations of the present."[34] Here is a moving expression of the belief that the basic dimension of life is biographical. No effort to erect a social structure to assure the salvation of man will succeed unless the men involved in creation of structure give first attention to the changing of their own lives.

But this new personalism has deeper meanings as well. It is based on the assumption that a man *can* change his life from what it is to what it ought to be in an environment which places a high premium on individualism, freedom, immediate experience and the importance of the "existential now". The stress on individualism is on the one hand an extreme capital "I" protest against the familiar figure of the over-managed, over-directed, over-routinized middle class "organization" man; on the other hand a strong capital "I" assertion of the uniqueness of every individual as a created being, a concept quite capable of developing into an ego-idealism. The stress on freedom is at its root a psychological thrust, evidencing on the one hand a protest against authoritarianism, paternalism, manipulation, institutionalism and narrow industrial notions of efficiency; on the other hand a positive con-

cern for the creation of a society in which men are actually able to make real choices and decisions. The stress on experience is a reaction against a regimented, status-conscious, experience-starved culture; but also an evangelical assertion of the principle of "consciousness consciousness" which engenders in the person the courage "to do his own thing." The stress on the existential now is fundamentally a reaction against the rationalized Protestant work/play ethic weighted so heavily on the side of work before play; but also an assertion that real life is a day to day happening made joyous only when one is free in mind and spirit to respond spontaneously to the particular event. One must hang loose to the point that he is always free "to do his own thing now" — to speak, to sing, to dance, to love, to serve as the irretrievable existential moment urges. When the new personalism is allowed to operate within the full scope of its deeper meanings, it is assumed that commitment will be to the radical life style of the "changed-man" capable of delivering the *coup de grace* to the discredited depersonalized society of the present.[35]

The new communalism of the young is a natural accompaniment of their intensely personal approach to life. In accord with the SDS *Port Huron Statement,* they feel that "loneliness, estrangement, isolation describe the vast distance between man and man today"; and that "these dominant tendencies" in the lives of persons "cannot be overcome by better personnel management, nor by improved gadgets", but "only when a love of men overcomes the idolatrous worship of things by man."[36] The youth who penned this statement had derived this sense of the need of close communal relations between persons through the school of hard experience. As lonely, frightened, estranged individuals they had set out to reform peacefully an awesomely organized corporate society with all the forces of law at its command. Then, when the law moved against them, they experienced together being beaten by police, sharing the same jail cells, and the subsequent struggle of finding a viable group consensus for the continuation of their cause. The result was the emergence of deep regard for the warmth of personal relations and the potential for effective planning inherent within the small group encounter. The approach developed politically into the concept of "participatory democracy" which was adopted as a plan for introducing the principle of self-help among the disadvantaged classes. Volunteer youth moved into the ghetto and helped form community organizations in which the people gained a sense that they were real persons after all, able to make for themselves the decisions that would effect their futures. This communal emphasis presumes a tolerance which ignores differences of race, religion, sex and political party for the purpose of attaining unified action toward a specific goal. But this tolerance is not wishy-washy. It comes to an end when someone infringes upon the obvious rights of another. Then come direct confrontations ranging from the defence of the right to use definitely illegal marijuana to the open support of conscientious objectors, Black Panthers and FLQ in their struggles with the Establishment. Like the SDS, however, most youth stop short of violence; they find it "to be abhorrent because it requires generally the transformation of the target, be it a human being or a community of people, into a depersonalized object of hate."[37]

The new morality of the new culture is what brings the most wrinkles to the brow of the older generation. Without doubt one can see a basic moral purity of witness in the youthful idealistic emphasis upon integrity of thought and action, compassion for people, advocacy of a more simple form of life, and the refusal to compromise. Yet there is also a polar emphasis evidencing indifference to all traditional morality and an unabashed, deliberate cultivation of a deviant, sensate, often self-indulgent ethic of compulsive enjoyment. Frightened adults level the charge of depravity and hint at or urge the need for more rapped knuckles, stricter supervision in school, stiffer curfews and jail sentences, or a stint of exile in the army. Youth ask, in turn, how their elders, who are busy giving their support to the blowing up of whole countries and peoples with the bomb, can speak with authority on the question of morality. The real flack flies when attention is focussed on matters of love and sex. Here again one can see a basic moral strength in the approach of youth. Love is in a very real way the central point about which all their moral action revolves. They have chosen the flower to symbolize the depth of this love: it incorporates the tenderness, openness, gentleness, receptivenss and passive resistance with which they intend to "super-zap" the whole of mankind into their way of living and thinking. But the idealists within the movement are finding that there are fellow travellers who see the symbolism of the flower in other light and interpret the love it stands for to be the gay, the natural, the wild, the primitive and the various plants from which hallucinogenic drugs can be distilled.[38] It is the element within the movement that gives the new morality the connotation of a crusade bent on liberation of society from all the repressive taboos that surround the middle class concept of sex. The pilgrimage advocated is from an abhorred Christian doctrine of "Original Sin" to the childlike purity of "Original Innocence". So interpreted the concept of pure love is surreptitiously extended to condone covenanted sexual agreements between pre-marital couples and couples who reject marriage by choice; and also mutually agreed upon extra-marital sexual relations of alienated partners in marriage. The picture within this segment of the movement is further complicated by an insistence upon the equality of the sexes in making the above choices, the steadily fading line of distinction between masculinity and femininity, the growth of pan-sexuality and the near complete removal of checks on the literary and visual presentation of the intimate details of all aspects of sex life. Panicky observers see a scene of unrestrained sexuality. Yet on a closer look one gets the impression "that unlike classical hedonism this (trend) is a penultimate, not an ultimate"; the real objective seems to be, perhaps through a purposeful temporary use of shock-technique, "the recovery of the feeling of life in general".[39] These present sexual aberrations appear to be passing extreme expressions of a more solid personalism and communalism which will prove to be the lasting elements of the revolution the young seek to accomplish.

New Religious Orientation

The new religious orientation of the young confirms the judgment that "the recovery of the feeling of life in general" is high in their list of pre-requisites for the founding of their new culture. This orientation is in the direction of mystical experience, but not in the customary forms in which mysticism has welled up and receded from time to time in western culture. The journey this time is to the East, with a bit of nostalgic recall of odds and ends of American Indian religious life added for good measure. The red-man bears consideration because he is the noble descendant of the Asiatic races, fighting a heroic minority battle on American soil to retain a precious eastern heritage. But, except for touches added in the way of primitive apparel and drug-induced passivity, the way of the American Indian become lost in a phantasmagoria of eclectic, erotic, exotic, occultish Far Eastern mystical thought and practice. The mixture tends to defy any known religious classification, but for lack of better designation is called "popularized Zen".

Recognized oriental masters of Buddhism claim that Zen cannot be popularized, basing their contention on the argument that a religion which cultivates personal illumination as the ultimate experience cannot be communicated intellectually. In such a religion the enlightening spark breaks through in utterly unpredictable ways while the devotee is practicing demanding disciplines under the guidance of a master. Nevertheless under the tutelage of self-appointed western popularizers of eastern mysticism — the likes of Gary Snyder, Alan Watts, Allen Ginsberg and Jack Kerouac — North American youth have become convinced that they are being taught the real Zen and are becoming true practitioners of it.

Why are youth so strongly attracted to the practice of popularized Zen? The answer seems to be that the principles emphasized in the popularization fit the style of the new youth culture to a "T". To begin with, the character of Buddha is an attractive one. Though his father was a king, he chose to "drop out" of society, to return later with his begging bowl to convert his father.[10] Far more significant, however, is the vulnerability of Zen teaching to what Roszak calls "adolescentization". As reworked by western popularizers, Zen is made to dovetail remarkably with the main traits of adolescent life. By elevating "wise silence" over the "preachiness" of Christianity, this popularized Zen strikes an alliance with the "moody inarticulateness" of youth. By urging "commitment to paradox and randomness", it brings ready response from youth who are experiencing "the intellectual confusion of healthily restless, but still unformed minds". Being antinomian in ethic, it provides an outlet for the adolescent need for freedom from the conformities and exactions of somber middle class life. Full of sex and "hyperbolic eroticism", it provides a pretext for the license many of the young are taking in the field of sex to mock the post-World War II middle class permissiveness of their parents in this area. Further, the Zen concept of inner enlightenment, or the attainment of Nirvana, is quite without reason equated with the mystical experience of the drug trip. Empha-

size as one will that this adolescentized popularization of Zen is but a crude imitation of the real thing, the young still respond ecstatically to the teaching and take off on sprees of compulsive gay rejection of "the joyless, rapacious and egomaniacal order of our technological society".[41]

Fundamentally this ecstatic response to the popularized Zen is a healthy, instinctive protest against the scientific conception of man and nature that prevails in the West. But it has also let loose among youth a chaotic mumbo-jumbo of religious practice which can be said "to resemble nothing so much as a cultic hothouse of the Hellenistic period, when every manner of mystery and fakery, ritual and rite, inter-mingled in a marvellous indiscrimination".[42] This "Jungian stew" often becomes a *pot-pourri* in which the original base of popularized Zen becomes lost in an overload of parings from Sufism, Hinduism, Primitive Shamanism, Theosophy, Left-Handed Tandra, Satanism, Neo-Gnosticism, Dervishism, Swamism — and yes, even Prophetic Judaism and Hip Christianity. When the last named ingredient is added, one is greeted with such a campaign slogan as: "May the baby Jesus open your mind and shut your mouth."[43] If not this then the mature Christ is likely to be hailed as "the hippiest guy in the world" or "God's Atom Bomb" or some other coined superlative.

Rather than be jarred by such goings-on, we should probably take the view that the young are on another one of their frequent spoofing trips. Quite likely they have conjured up this unintelligible mumbo-jumbo of religion to ridicule the unafthomable jargon that today's physical and social scientists parade before the public with seeming liturgical reverence. Are they not poking fun at the scientific guru who chants morning, noon and night the near incomprehensible methodological mysteries of "structures", "variables", "inputs", "outputs", "correlations", maximizations", *ad infinitum?* What else is this but the witches' brew of black magic — especially when the war set add their mysterious incantations to the strangling potion. They chant "escalation" to indicate their intention of bombing out a little Asian country which would prefer to make its own choice between communism and democracy; "deterrence" to indicate their intention of destroying any civilians who dare resist the military; "kill ratio" to indicate the comparative numbers slaughtered by contending armies in battle; "body count" to indicate the total corpses of the day.[44] If supposed adults conjure up this incomprehensible type of black magic to hoodwink the public, why can't the young roam at will in their own cultic hot-house of eastern mystical *pot-pourri?*

This they are certainly doing, bringing to their cause nearly all of the external features associated with a conscious religious movement. They purposely "drop out" of square society to seek a more meaningful life. This withdrawal serves as the "psychic pause" which brings emotional conversion. The conversion experience is strengthened by commitment to the living of the "good life" in various small group settings apart from the main institutions of the old society. In such settings the new life is often celebrated by the adoption of the use of formalized liturgy, sometimes composed by group members, but more often taken

from Sanskrit literature or phonetically appealing religious pieces preserved in the dead languages. A variety of new sacraments are devised — the communal experience of shared danger; the shared experience of friendly small-group encounters; the ecstatic sharing of sexual union; and especially the shared experience of drug and musical "trips". The drug trip incorporates such shared acts as passing a "joint" like a peace pipe while quoting Genesis 1:11, "Let the earth bring forth grass";[45] then the adding of the group consensus: "It's us against them. It's like the early Christians. You can get fed to the lions for using drugs."[46] The musical trip of rock and roll is the most satisfying of all:

> The music is not merely loud; it penetrates you. You hear it with your legs, your thighs, your belly, and your bowels. Even the lights have more than a merely visual effect; you do not see what is happening, you happen, too — all of you. More than anybody else the musicians are caught up in it . . . when they play, they play with their whole bodies, giving themselves up to a kind of ecstacy. But it's a cool ecstacy if such a thing exists.[47]

To such sacraments are added the various "sacred" books — the printed popularizations of Zen above-mentioned; the erotic code-books of eastern religions; *I Ching;* Kahlil Gibran's *The Prophet;* the writings of Mahatma Gandhi; the novels of Hermann Hesse, especially the oriental *Siddhartha;* the poetry of William Blake and Walt Whitman; the works of Henry David Thoreau; etc. Places of meeting are brightened with various forms of psychedelic art, including the artistic use of lights which flash shifting colors across walls, floors and ceilings at controlled speeds. Distinctive dress adds further to the color of the movement, also symbolic meanings to the new way of life. Oriental robes, sandals, bangles, beads, tinkling bells, flowers, beards, long hair with the Indian head band, even Nazi Swastikas and German Iron Crosses, are worn — all meant to convey specific positive or negative meanings to onlooking members of the Establishment. Peculiar speech is encouraged as another means of dramatizing the unique nature of the counter-thrust. Published vocabulary guides reveal a range of verbal expression running alphabetically from "acapulco gold" (high grade marijuana from Mexico) and "acid" (LSD) to "wig" (your mind) and "zap" (to hit in a figurative sense, to overwhelm).[48] Actual institutional religious organization is rare, the "Neo-American Church" perhaps being the most outstanding example. The devotion is rather to the new style of life itself, with a commendable emphasis on the necessity of losing one's old life to find a wholly new one; and upon the bearing with love any persecution by the Establishment.

This overview of the quest in which the revolting young are engaged substantiates the results of the recent study Karl Garrison has made of "the religious character" of the New Left. Orienting this study to Howard Becker's theory that "when the secular — i.e. the ordinary, neutral and relative — values become dominant in a given culture, then a quest for the sacred becomes manifest in its youth", he concluded after six months of disciplined sociological research that the youth of this

movement "are indeed engaged in that sacral quest".[49] As has been further remarked, "it is not the brand of religion that Billy Graham or William Buckley would choose for youth's crusade, but nonetheless it is religion."[50]

Historical Analogy

The disconcerting element in this scene, especially for the worried adults of traditional western upbringing, is that the young feel so alienated from the Christian faith that they are turning elsewhere for their religious motivation. Unable to detect any real difference between the basic value system promoted by today's Christian churches and that of the detested liberal establishment, they assume moribundity of the former beyond the point of recovery. Thus they introduce a new culture stressing counter values to both those of the churches and society, beginning with frivolous spoofings of the old ways of living and working gradually toward solutions of the deeper problems of religious meanings which have spurred them to revolt.

Only a generation of youth so ignorant of history as those absorbed in today's feverish existential quests could dismiss so casually the lessons of the past 1900 years of western history. Throughout this history the high points have certainly been those in which Christians of New Left, student and Hippie orientations have combined their creative capacities to set in motion, and nurture to maturity, pulsating counter-cultures which have, in remarkably short periods of time, revolutionized the value systems of established societies grown moribund. Western civilization seems to have a built-in (if faltering) rhythm of recurring moral relapses countered by the rise of healthy, strident movements of dissent which lead to recovery of former vital spiritual living. The task of today's adults is to make the totality of Christian history so live and real to our young that they can see that the most potent counter-cultural weapon is perhaps the very faith they are at the moment declaring inconsequential. We must take seriously the fact that youth have been so completely absorbed in an existential conflict with churches that seem to be the bulwark of an oppressive established society that they have not had, or at least have not taken, the time to check back and find that what they are revolting against is but a simulation of the Christian witness which has, on many occasions in the past, set out to upset whole structures of inhuman civilizations and has succeeded in doing just that.

This contention can be illustrated best by turning all the way back to the beginnings of the Christian movement itself. Brought to birth in a Roman Empire which appeared to be at its zenith, the early Christians saw another picture than did the majority of conforming citizenry. True, the marvellous communication system by land and sea was the best the western world had ever known. The arts and sciences had achieved heretofore unknown glory. Internal safety seemed assured by an impenetrable ring of armed forces stationed at all strategic border points where barbarian forces were likely to attack. The affluence of

the governing classes had seldom been more pronounced. But that psyhcic Christian minority saw signs of sickness at the core of society which convinced them that "the world was passing away" (I John 3:13). They perceived clearly that the real god of the Roman Empire was the state, much as the New Left of today see the real god of the United States and Canada to be the liberal establishment. Estranged by ethos and social class from the official Roman culture, the primitive Christians fashioned a minority counter-culture of their own. And a perverse culture it was. Seemingly nobodies at the time, these compulsive nonconformers withdrew from the comforts of safe living within the recognized system, forsook property to live together in a community pattern of hand to mouth existence, and were seized from time to time with a Pentecostal ecstacy that exhibited all the outward manifestations of a drug induced psychedelic trip. They were a thoroughly outrageous set of intruders — a "peculiar people" (Titus 2:4), already decried in New Testament times as "these that have turned the world upside down" (Acts 17:6). Frightened at the presence of this new, obstinate minority in their midst a crowd gathered at a circus in Carthage cried out against them, "How long must we endure this third race" (the previously recognized races being the Romans and the Jews).[51] Tertullian, the most distinguished Carthagian convert to Christianity at this time, added substance to this "third race" charge by becoming a second-century proto-type of the presently exiled but recently worshipped guru of today's psychedelic set, Timothy Leary. The following striking parallels can be found in the instructions given by these two men to their followers:

Tertullian	*Leary*
Political life is to be shunned	It is possible to live in this planet without joining the antilife social systems . . . Drop out.
Trade is scarcely 'adapted for a servant of God' for apart from covetousness . . . there is no real motive for acquiring it.	American social institutions are lustful of material and things. Quit your job . . . for good.
Academicians, typified by the philosophers, having nothing in common with 'the disciples of heaven'; they corrupt the truth, they seek their own fame, they are mere talkers rather than doers.	Present education methods are neurologically crippling and antagonistic to your cellular wisdom. Quit school . . . for good.[52]

Like today's youth, the earliest Christians disdained affluence. To the writer of the *Shepherd of Hermas* and his followers, poverty was as much a mark of the Christian life as it was with the late medieval Spiritual Franciscans. Wealth was a worldly acquisition that it was the duty of the ordinary Christian to renounce, and for the higher orders of the ministry its renunciation was a necessity. Since slaves were in that day a part of the property of the affluent classes, a stand had to be taken concerning this type of wealth. Though early Christians never came to the point of advocating the complete emancipation of slaves, they did sense that in the teaching of Jesus the legal right to hold other men in

bondage was limited by the higher law of love. So Clement of Alexandria came to insist that "slaves are men like ourselves" and should be treated according to the "Golden Rule"; and Lactantius defended newly converted Christians who retained slaves who had earlier been in their household by explaining to outsiders: "Slaves are not slaves to us. We deem them brothers after the spirit, in religion fellow servants." To give further credence to this position, the marriage of slaves was urged in contradistinction to the common practice of unlegalized cohabitation. Most revolutionary of all, this human commodity — which could be bought on auction as an agricultural or domestic "implement" for less than £20 per male head — was, after conversion, permitted to be ordained a deacon, presbyter or bishop in the rising church. Roman governors, envisioning the creation of a rival institution capable in time of arousing the massive slave constituency of the Empire (nearly a third of the whole population) to revolt, did all in their power to seek out bondsmen converted to the new faith and sentence them to the inevitable death of the dreaded concentration camp (ergastulum) which provided free enforced labor for agriculture and the mines.[4]

Also like today's youth, the early Christians found themselves at odds with the prevailing concepts of parenthood and family life. One of the earliest charges placed against them was that of being "a busybody" in domestic relations (I Peter 4:15). When the early Christian missionary entered a Roman household and converted one of its members over the objections of others, he justified the division wrought in family life by quoting Matthew 10:34-36: ". . . I am come not to bring peace, but a sword. For I am come to set a man against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law . . . a man's foes shall be those of his own household." This family tension was sometimes increased by literal application of the saying in Matthew 23:9: "And call no man your father upon the earth, for one is your Father which is in heaven." Accordingly Christians in Gaul and Asia Minor commonly refused to call any man father. Lucian of Antioch went so far in this direction that when hailed before a judge and asked "Of what parents are you born?", he responded firmly "I am a Christian and a Christian's only relatives are the saints." At this point the question of marriage entered to excite other tensions. Many were attracted by Paul's teaching that chastity was preferable to marriage if one could by nature cope with the denials required in this type of life. Those who chose this path were considered traitors to the Roman concept of *familia.* When marriage was chosen over chastity, other problems arose. A mixed marriage between a Christian and a partner who retained the old Roman religion, be it a premeditated union or the result of the conversion of one of the partners to marriage, was quite likely to produce a schizophrenic child such as the daughter commemorated by the second-century tombstone inscription: "She was a pagan among pagans, a believer among believers." Such a marriage could also produce the Christian wife whose reverence for children had been so increased by her devotion to the "Child of Bethlehem" that she refused to obey her pagan husband's legal right of *patria potestas* (privilege to expose unwanted children) when he, away on a trip, wrote about the child ex-

pected to be born in his absence, "if it proves to be a girl throw it out". The early condonement of the marriage of a Christian daughter to a converted freedman brought still more disruption to the Roman concept of marriage. This was outright disobedience to Roman law which prohibited such marriages. Even death brought its family tensions, for rather than permit a Christian to be buried by heathen rites, wives were put to rest in separate Christian cemeteries apart from pagan husbands, and children apart from a heathen parent.[54]

Again like today's youth, the early Christians stood strong against the established "system". They took their first stand in this sphere by refusing to worship Caesar, at designated local altars, as god, affirming with the Scillitan martyrs: "We give honour to Caesar as Caesar; we offer worship to God alone." Tertullian justified this position, explaining: "We engage in these conflicts (with the State) as men whose very lives are not our own . . . We have no master but God." This was the way the early Christians asserted their chosen position as "bond-servants of Christ" their "Crucified Head". Tertullian also urged Christians to extend this obstinacy to the refusal to hold public office, because the duties of magistrates included superintendency of pagan spectacles, the torturing of declared criminals (including recalcitrant Christians) at such spectacles, and the presiding over sacrifices to pagan gods. In all such ways the politics of the Roman "system" were considered "alien" to the Christian way of life.[55]

Still again like today's youth, the early Christians had their version of aversion to "The Bomb". In an age when the army was the symbol of patriotism and a semmingly sure guarantee of safety against the advancing hordes of barbarians, many Christians found themselves faced with a compulsory military service they could not conscientiously fulfil. If one was promoted to officer's rank his position was particularly difficult, for it was the officer's duty to supervise sacrifice and worship at the altar of the emperor. Refusal to perform the duty required resignation of rank and life. Such was the case with a Christian centurion in Trojan's army in Tangiers, when shortly after his appointment to this rank he was ordered to preside over sacrifices to Caesar. Horrified at what he saw he suddenly flung away his centurion's vinestick and cried:

> I am a soldier of Jesus Christ the eternal king. I have done with fighting for your emperors. I despise the worship of deaf and dumb gods of wood and stone. If the terms of service are such that one is bound to offer sacrifices to gods and emperors, then I refuse to be a soldier.

Quickly he was led away and beheaded, but not before he turned to his escorting guards and said, in committed Hippie style, "God Bless You."[56] There are records of scores of early Christian soldiers who were condemned to death for similar offenses, their crime being essentially that of placing their devotion to God above that to the system's all-engulfing oath: "My country right or wrong, but always my country."

In the light of this sampling of the character of early Christian life, one has to ask the self-answering question of Moynihan:

> Can there be any mistaking that the New Left speaks to the rational, tolerant, reasonable society of the present with the same irrationality, intolerance and unreasonableness, but possibly also the same truth with which the absurd Christians spoke to Imperial Rome?[57]

There can hardly be any such mistaking.

The early Christian revolt also incorporated elements akin to the student protest and the staged Hippie theatrics of today's youth.

The student contribution to the early Christian cause was nascent for obvious reasons. As Paul had said "not many wise . . . after the flesh" had been "called" (I Cor. 1:26) to endure the deprivations involved. Had it been otherwise there still was no universal plan of compulsory public or unclassed university education which clustered large number of the Empire's youth in conclaves of potential revolt. Nevertheless, such early Christians as were students had to face what Augustine called "the wine of error held to our lips by drunken teachers." He was referring to an academic curriculum based on the study of pagan literature, including the teaching of the names and myths of the gods of the old system and the ethic of the Epicureans. Some scholars compromised, as those who began each day of study with the covert recitation of a short Christian prayer. But the early tendency was to "drop out" of the official stream of education to share in the clandestine catechetical and disciplinary instruction of small group encounters. Here those seeking church membership were prepared for baptism and thereafter schooled in "denial for Christ" that they might face the tests of persecution, and, if need be, martyrdom.[58] This was, then, a very simple pattern of "drop out" student revolt which added to the effectiveness of the early Christian revolt.

The general style of early Christian living had much more in common with the present day Hippie flair for the dramatic and delight in staging happenings which administer cultural shock. The form and hour of the weekly Christian meeting led worried Jews and Romans to wonder at the sanity of this new breed of religionists. The secrecy in which meetings were held to avoid apprehension by hostile authorities created a thick aura of suspicion concerning purpose. Day and time of meeting elicited further concern. To the Jew the practice of gathering on the "first day of the week" to celebrate the resurrection of the Lord was blaspheming of the "seventh day" Sabbath. To the sleepy, revelling Roman the practice of gathering "before dawn" was meeting at an ungodly hour whatever day of the week. Suspicion mounted with time, until as Mommsen says, the Roman public became obsessed with conviction that "the Christian conventicles were orgies of lewdness, and receptacles of every crime." The "holy kiss" or "kiss of peace" which Paul had encouraged as an act of worship (Rom. 16:16, etc.) brought the derisive Roman comment, "See how these Christians love one another!";

also subsequent malicious gossip about "these unholy kisses, full of poison, counterfeiting sanctity." Hostile outsiders reported that evening agapes, also held in utmost secrecy, were occasions at which all forms of immorality were practiced in "the shamelessness of darkness". "Three things," said the Christian apologist Athenagoras, "are alleged against us: Atheism, Thyestean feasts, and Oedipodean intercourse" — in other words Atheism, in the sense lack of regard for the usual Roman accoutrements of worship such as altars, images, temples, etc.; cannibalism, stemming from the belief that infants taken by their parents to the secret agapes were sacrificed to supply the "body" and "blood" served at the occasion; and incest. New customs of dress and speech added further elements of cultural shock. The new attire was neither gaudy nor special; the emphasis was simply upon use of ordinary dress with purposeful avoidance of ostentation. The new speech was distinctive. Using their favorite symbol, the primitive Christians called themselves "little fish" (in recall of their new birth in baptismal waters), or "the new born" or "the newly caught". They added Christian names to their given names, as Ignatius who added the name "Theophorus" and Cyprian who added the name "Caecilius". As password greeting, and parting benediction they used the Aramaic "Maran-atha" (I Cor. 16:22 — "Our Lord Cometh").[59]

When St. Anthony retired in the third century to take up his hermit life in the remote recesses of the Egyptian desert, the privations of this rigorous life brought to the fore experiences quite on a par with present-day bizarre descriptions of a "bad" Hippie "trip" induced by an overdose of drugs. Says Athanasius in describing Anthony's "trip".

> . . . Assuming the shapes of all sorts of wild beasts and snakes, they immediately filled the place with figures of lions, bears, leopards, bulls, wolves, asps, scorpions and other snakes, each crying out in its particular way: the lions roared as if intent on devouring him, the bulls made as though to gore him and the wolves to leap at him, the snakes slithered over the ground and darted towards him. The appearance of each of these creatures was as cruel as it was fierce and their hissing and crying was horrible to hear.[60]

When erratic Gnostics were attracted to Christian spirituality they sometimes went in Anthony's direction of renouncement of all material possessions, but more often introduced an "Adamite" emphasis which had other deviant implications. Assuming Christ to be the "Second Adam" who had re-won for man the lost innocence of the "First Adam", these "children of love" cried out upon conversion "I am Christ", and, in the pantheistic belief that they were in a state of perfection which was sinless, proceeded from anarchy to anarchy, including in the range of their antinomian activity open sexual promiscuity.[61] Certainly these Hippie-like fringe developments brought alarming dramaturgy to the early Christian counter culture. Then, as now, such happenings injected elements of shock which forced the old society to respond.

Would space permit, similar historical analogies could be drawn between today's counter culture of alienated youth (including New Left, student and Hippie phases) and Medieval, Reformation and early modern religious dissent. For such medieval analogies, it is possible only to refer the reader to two exceptionally fine studies in this period: N. F. C. Cohn, *Pursuit of the Millenium* (Fairlawn, N. J.: Essential Books, Inc., 1957); and J. B. Russell, *Dissent and Reform in the Early Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965). Both works show how the ills that beset Italian and Flemish towns in the Middle Ages contracted the oportunity of their middle class and artisan young and set in motion youth revolts similar to those of today. For Reformation analogies two further books should prove helpful in stimulating thought along the counter-cultural theme: A. Gish, *The New Left and Christian Radicalism* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1970), who stresses the likenesses of the Anabaptist and New Left movements; and P. Goodman, *The New Reformation: Notes of a Neolithic Conservative* (New York: Random House, 1970), who offers random but quite provocative comparison of Reformation and present day youth revolts. These two works evidence clearly the deep feeling of alienation that could lead so theologically conservative a reformer as Luther to cry: "God has turned His face away; things have no meaning; I am estranged in the world." (Goodman, p.49). They also emphasize the youthfulness and high educational status of the reformers. Though Luther was 34 when he posted his 95 theses, Melanchton was only 20, Bucer 26, Munzer 28, Jonas 24; and their supporters were chiefly undergraduates and junior faculty (*Ibid.,* p.61). The prime source from which to gain direction for the study of post-Reformation contra-cultures of religious significance is W. Stark, *The Sociology of Religion: A Study of Christendom,* Volume II (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1967). He contends convincingly that all new modern religious cultures which have survived to operate effectively have embraced and lived out counter-views which have opposed uncompromisingly the views which the existing established culture had institutionalized to rigid form. He finds (see pp. 128-158) that this polarization of thought relates chiefly to differing views of learning, emotional expression, cleanliness, attire, manners, speech, food, drink, civic duties (public office, military service, oaths in courts of law, taxes), and theology. The use of these various sources will guide the reader to further works of merit which pursue the counter culture theme.

Conclusion

It remains only to speak summarily to the question posed by the title of this essay. Is the new explanation of youth which is making such a strong vibration over the nation a "revival", a "revolution", or a "historical replay" of something western culture has experienced before? Actually all three of these suggested characteristics are present in ways that issue warnings concerning the future. Unquestionably there is a turn toward religious revival, but of exotic, erotic eastern mysticism rather than of genuine Christian faith. It seems equally clear that there is

intent of revolution, for a new style of living is proposed the basic values of which are purposely meant to counter point by point the basic values of existing society. No less truly we are witnessing a historical replay — not in specifics, but in general form — of western society's faltering rhythm of moral relapse/moral recovery. Whether the upbeat will in this instance lead eventually to a more humane and expressive Christian culture will depend upon the guidance offered by mature minds fully acquainted with the up/down beat of western moral history. If adults abdicate this task of providing needed histroical perspective and place upon youth the sole responsibility of instituting societal change, they will be placing upon the young a role which their purely existential training has not prepared them to fulfil. History issues us many warnings that the present "feeling is all" approach is inadequate in itself to institute permanent beneficial change. As the latest lesson reminds, though youth are already too young to recall even this by experience, those who know only how "to feel" begin to think with their "body" and "blood". *Hitlerjugend* follow, then the holocaust. If we do not wish this to happen we must teach youth to maintain that delicate balance between the historical and existential that assures sane — and we trust — genuinely Christian culture.

NOTES

[1]"San Francisco", written by John Phillips (copyright 1967 by Trousdale Music Publishing, Inc.).

[2]Statistics relating to the United States are taken from *Statistical Abstracts, 1970* (Washington: U.S. Department of Commerce, 1970); those relating to Canada from pamphlets 81-204, 81-220, 91-201 and 91-202 issued by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics for 1969 (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1969).

[3]M. B. Bloy, "Alienated Youth, the Counter Culture, and the Chaplain", in *The Religious Situation, 1969* (ed. D. R. Cutler, Boston: Beacon Press, 1969), p. 649. This same source (pp. 649-650) notes the additional views of alienation mentioned in the remainder of the paragraph.

[4]"Alienated Youth: Introduction", *Journal of Social Issues,* XXV (April, 1969), 1.
Op. cit., p. 650.

[6]T. Roszak, *The Making of a Counter-Culture: Reflection on the Technocratic Society and Its Youthful Opposition* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1969), p. 42, italics mine.

[7]H. B. Workman, *Persecution in the Early Church: A Chapter in the History of Renunciation* (4th ed.; London: Epworth Press, 1923), pp. 367-68.

[8]Bloy, *op. cit.,* p. 654.

[9]H. Toch, "Anatomy of a Hangup: Last Word on the Hippies", *Nation,* CCV (December 4, 1967), 582-88.

[10]A. J. Toynbee, "As It Was in Rome", *Horizon,* X (Spring, 1968), 26.

[11]D. P. Moynihan, "Nirvana Now", *American Scholar,* XXXVI (Autumn, 1967), 543, who quotes Halleck thus.

[12]*Ibid.*

[13]*Ibid.,* p. 544.

[14]"From the '60s to the '70s", *Time,* December 19, 1969, p. 22.

[15]A. G. Gish, *The New Left and Christian Radicalism* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdman's, 1970), pp. 17-20, provides other basic data on student background of New Left.

[16]J. L. Simmons and B. Winograd, *It's Happening: A Portrait of the Youth Scene Today* (Santa Barbara: Marc-Laird Publications, 1966), p. 135.

[17]*Ibid.*

[18]Moynihan, *op. cit.,* pp. 540-41.

[19]A. J. Moore, "The Revolt Against Affluence", *Religion in Life,* XXXVII (Winter, 1968), 509.

[20]S. Hall, "The Hippies: An American 'Moment' ", in J. Nagel, ed., *Student Power* (London: Marlin Press, 1969), p. 194; also Toch, *op. cit.,* pp. 582-83.

[21]Hall, *op. cit.,* pp. 198-202, gives an exceptionally fine account of this dialectic taking place between the expressionists and the activists.

[22]S. B. Chickering, "How We Got That Way", *Christian Scholar,* XXXVI (Autumn, 1967), 605.

[23]A. J. Toynbee, "On America", *Time Magazine,* December 8, 1967, p. 116.

[24]Gish, *op. cit.,* p. 24.

[25]*Ibid.,* p. 26.

[26]*Op. cit.,* pp. 539-40.

[27]See M. Rossman, "The Movement and Educational Reform", *Christian Scholar,* XXXVI (Autumn, 1967), 594-600, whose main points have been included in this summary of educational factors; also Roszak, *op. cit.,* pp. 45-47.

[28]For elaboration of points made see Chickering, *op. cit.,* p. 606; Moynihan, *op. cit.,* p. 546; Roszak, *op. cit.,* pp. 47-48; and N. K. Gottwald, "Hippies, Political Radicals, and the Church", *Christian Century,* LXXXIV (August 16, 1967), 1044-45.

[29]R. E. Cushman, "The Hippies in Theological Perspective", *Religion in Life,* XXXVII (Winter, 1968), 536-37.

[30]*Ibid.,* pp. 530-31.

[31]Simmons, *op. cit.,* pp. 8-9.

[32]Moore, *op. cit.,* p. 513.

[33]P. R. Woudenberg, "The Egoism of Flower Power", *Religion in Life,* XXXVII (Winter, 1968), 521-22.

[34]Roszak, *op. cit.,* p. 58.

[35]For elaboration of themes suggested in this paragraph see Hall, *op. cit.,* pp. 183, 189-190; Rossman, *op. cit.,* pp. 595-98; and Woudenberg, *op. cit.,* p. 519.

[36]Gish, *op. cit.,* p. 29.

[37]*Ibid.,* p. 44.

[38]Hall, *op. cit.,* pp. 181-84.

[39]Cushman, *op. cit.,* p. 535.

[40]J. D. Brown, ed., *The Hippies* (New York: By the correspondents of Time, Time Inc., 1967), p. 208.

[41]Roszak, *op. cit.,* pp. 134-137, which elaborates upon this adolescentization theme.

[42]*Ibid.,* p. 141.

[43]*Ibid.,* p. 140.

[44]*Ibid.,* pp. 142-44.

[45]Brown, *op. cit.,* p. 10.

[46]*Ibid.,* p. 102.

[47]D. L. Earisman, *Hippies in Our Midst: The Rebellion Against Rebellion* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1968), p. 11.

[48]For two such listings see Brown, *op. cit.,* pp. 217-220 and Simmons, op. cit., pp. 167-174. Of course new uses are being constantly added and old ones dropped.

[49]Bloy, *op. cit.,* p. 656.

[50]Roszak, *op. cit.,* pp. 38-9.

[51]Workman, *op. cti.,* p. 190 note.

[52]H. Smith, "Psychedelic Theophanies and the Religious Life", *Christianity and Crisis, XXVII* (June 26, 1967), 145, who credits the sayings to R. Niebuhr, *Christ and Culture* (New York Harper Torch Books, 1956), pp. 51ff.

[53]Workman, *op. cit.,* pp. 148-52.

[54]*Ibid.,* pp. 130-48.

[55]*Ibid.,* pp. 177-81, 191-96.

[56]*Ibid.,* pp. 181-88.

[57]Moynihan, *op. cit.,* p. 541-42.

[58]Workman, *op. cit.,* pp. 172-75.

[59]*Ibid.,* pp. 157-170.

[60]J. Lacarriere, *Men Possessed of God: The Story of the Desert Monks of Ancient Christendom* (Garden City: Doubleday & Co., 1964), p. 61.

[61]For more detail see W. Herberg, "Who Are the Hippies", *National Review, XIX* (August 8, 1967), 844-47; and P. Schaff, *History of the Christian Church* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1950, c. 1910), II, 457-97.

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