MENTAL THERAPY AND THE FORGIVENESS OF SINS


Austin Philip Guiles
14 Mason Road
Newton Center, Mass.
I am convinced that of all experiences open to people at this time, the most needed are those which the Christian Doctrine of the Atonement has attempted to make clear. I believe that the psychopathologists are outstandingly one group of workers in our day who are coming to grips with the emotional problems of people. And I believe that their principal theories and methods, as well as the Work of Christ, ought to be understood by pastors who would help people make real for themselves the forgiveness of sins which has been always at the heart of the Christian Religion.

My work has taken the following form. In Part One I have endeavored to show the inner conflicts in the lives of a considerable number of people by way of placing before us the facts of emotional and mental suffering, which problem it is the task of religion and medical psychology to face and to deal with. In Part II, representative theories of the Christian Doctrine of the Atonement, beginning with St. Augustine, are tested by psychological studies of the originators of the doctrine or its operation in religious leaders. Part III applies the Work of Christ in forgiveness experienced by parishioners coming to a pastor's consultation room in a city church, and suggests clinical training in pastoral psychology by way of meeting changed conditions.

I am grateful to Professor Walter Marshall Horton, of the Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin College, and to Professor Anton T. Boisen of the Chicago Theological Seminary, for criticising and discussing with me the material used in this study. And without the initial prompting from the Very Reverend Professor W. P. Paterson, D.D., LL.D., and the kindly assistance and patience of the Reverend Principal T. Hywel Hughes, D.D., D.Litt., I could not have found my way into this study at all.

Austin Philip Guiles
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PART I

A CLINICAL VIEW OF THE RESULTS OF SIN
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The problem presented by the sense of guilt in personality has occupied the minds of theologians through the centuries. In fact the forgiveness of sin has been central in the Christian Doctrine of the Atonement since it was first indirectly expressed in the Apostle's Creed.

Psychopathologists of the present day have been giving more and more of their attention to guilt factors in neuroses. And recently the leading psychopathologist of them all wrote a book which had for its purpose "to represent the sense of guilt as the most important problem in the evolution of culture, and to convey that the price of progress in civilization is paid in forfeiting happiness through the heightening of the sense of guilt".

The sense of guilt, sin, or the sense of sin, terms which have been used through the centuries to indicate a condition of peculiar wretchedness in a human being, have been differently defined and variously understood. Our purpose here will not be to begin with definitions. Instead, we shall try to get before us facts about specific individuals regardless of whether these facts are expressed in psychological or religious terms. In fact,

(2) S. Freud: "Civilization and Its Discontents"; Cape and Smith, N.Y., 1930.
(3) For Stekel's, Prince's, McDougall's, Brill's and MacCurdy's explanations of guilt see MacCurdy: The Psychology of Emotion; pp 322, 323, 338.
so far as the emotional and mental life are concerned, no matter whether life-struggles, life-performances, human behavior, feeling, thought, or any other so-called functional processes of the human organism, take place in the clinic of the hospital, the laboratory of the psychologist, the consultation room of the minister or at the altar of the priest, - the same life or death processes are going on.

Insistence upon reducing life processes to their lowest terms in this manner, is bound to offend technicians in all fields who spend their lives sifting new truth and making their fine distinctions in order that reliable structures may be built according to the rules of the discipline under which they work. In the front lines, however, in times of battle, distinctions and disciplines are stripped of all except the real and it is so in times of crisis in human personality. It has been in times such as these that the Work of God expressed in the Christian Doctrine of the Atonement has been seen or experienced in operation most clearly. It is from the midst of the struggles and conflicts actually going on in the eighty Mental Hospital Patients and the forty Theological Seminary Students studied here, that we are getting our observations in the first part of this paper. There is a certain appropriateness therefore about considering the Work of Christ from such an angle, and a reason for disregarding differences in terms which at such times are unreal.

It is assumed that the psychoanalysts, and the increasing number of psychiatrists, are right when they hold that large groups of patients suffering from mental disorders have originally no organic basis for their troubles. These illnesses are said to be of the functional type. Psychopathologists hold that disease groups such as the schizophrenia and the affective psychoses may have causes which are psychogenic in nature.

Not only is the psychogenetic nature of the illnesses of these patients whom we shall study assumed, but we go the step further and agree with the psychoanalysts and the more liberal psychiatrists, that in these functional disorders no element appears in the state of disease which is not present, in some measure, in healthy personalities. This gives point to our study of mental patients for in them we shall see, one might say, crystallized, that which in the healthy personality is held in solution.

It should be made clear that this does not mean that psychotic material can be lifted out of its content and considered as identical with emotional or mental conditions in pre-psychotic states, in either normal or neurotic people. With the conscious self out of control, such as we find in the psychoses, the economy of the forces within the personality no longer nearly enough resembles that balance which is maintained in normal or neurotic people, to enable us to get very much value from specific factors of the psychotic person for our understanding of the so-called normal individual. But this does not alter the fact that identical processes are at work in the normal, the neurotic and the psychotic person which, if left unto themselves in their own settings with their particular symptom and content material, ought to supply us with most satisfying views of life and death processes going on in human personality.

Therefore, our idea in coming to the clinic, where chaos and crisis experiences in patients are all about us, and where conflict rages within students who not yet have found their adjustment to life, seems not out of keeping with our purpose of getting at the problem of the Cross today.

II The 80 patients suffering from Dementia Praecox studied here, (called by most psychiatrists schizophrenia since Professor Eugene Bleuler

(9) For opposing view see Baillie, The Interpretation of Religion, p 136.
(7) For statistics on this functional illness in the United States see: a) art. in Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry, April, 1929, Pp 887-900. b) art. by J.V. May in the Psychiatric Quarterly 1932, 6, p 40 f.
rescued patients suffering from this disorder from the category of the hopeless (8) and made clear that all are not necessarily in a demented condition), were not hand-picked for our study but instead were taken over as a group. They had been set aside by a medical school professor for research purposes. Facts which go to make up the histories of these patients, and from which the chart and tables used here are constructed, were compiled from the hospital case records containing the psychiatrist's and the psychologist's notes, and the social service worker's reports, also from the records of the research group, and from the files of the hospital chaplain.

In this study these 80 patients were given numbers which were written in the vertical columns across the top of a sheet of graph paper; space was left at the left of the sheet and the facts in order of their appearance in the case histories were listed in the horizontal spaces down the side. Care was taken not to duplicate entries and the effort was made to arrive at consistent meanings for synonyms and observations. When the histories of the 80 patients had been searched through and all facts checked in the proper columns and spaces, these facts were then grouped under the headings: Parental Background, Childhood, Personality Material, Reaction Patterns (ways of handling problems) and Further Facts about Personality. All facts then were transferred to another sheet of graph paper in this rearranged order.

The 40 theological seminary students, whose personality studies are used here with those of the 80 mental hospital patients, represent eight theological schools and seven protestant denominations. The 40 who responded to the request that they permit their personality study to be used for our purpose, are selective only in the sense that they may be more mature than those who refused.

Facts about these students were gathered in the following manner:

(8) Eugene Bleuler, TEXTBOOK OF PSYCHIATRY, p. 373 f.
The saying about there being three views of every man: the man he thinks he is, the man others think he is, and the man he actually is, fits in well here as we remind ourselves of the limited value of subjective material. Psychoanalysts would throw such material out altogether. It may surprise us, however, to see how greatly the new frankness, which certain writers have singled out as the distinguishing mark of young people of the present time, has contributed to an objective knowledge of self among these students for the ministry.

The same procedure was followed with these students in transferring facts from personality studies to the graph paper to make the basic chart, as was described in handling the material of the mental patients. The outline for both patients and students under which the material from the original charts has been grouped is as follows:
TABLE I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mental Patients</th>
<th>Theological Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Background:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Background:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parental:</td>
<td>Parental:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Childhood:</td>
<td>Childhood:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Personality Material:</strong></td>
<td><strong>Personality Material:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mood</td>
<td>Mood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symptoms</td>
<td>Symptomatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General: (a) Emotions</td>
<td>General: (a) Facts about emotions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Thought Content</td>
<td>(b) Ideas and beliefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Behavior</td>
<td>(c) Behavior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reaction Patterns</td>
<td>Ways problems were handled</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some will question the value of the fact material in these two groups of cases because of the great gaps in these people's lives about which we know nothing. The same charge of course can be brought against the most completely analyzed case yet presented in medical or psychological literature. In our study we can use only what we have been able to find. But it should be made clear that our purpose is not to work out new theories of personality interpretation, nor is it to try to make our fact material corroborate existing theories whether recent or old. Instead, with the facts we have secured, it is our purpose to get before us in each instance the actual state of misery in individuals, to walk around it, turning it this way and that as we examine it, so that we may have clearer eyes and keener senses to appreciate what has been claimed for the Cross in Christianity, that undeniable fact which has been called "the greatest act of history".

The course we shall follow in placing before us our clinical material from these mental patients and theological students will be first to gain a certain concreteness for our study by singling out specific patients and students who have had similar battles to wage in various fields of personality development.
Secondly, we shall get the total groups of patients and theological students before us and make a superficial acquaintance with them through knowing their ages, their particular civil status, nativity, parentage, occupations and church affiliations.

Next, we shall look at their home and family background and shall examine the facts about their childhood; here we shall be able to see some of the obstacles and handicaps in spite of which they were expected to grow.

Having done this we shall take a closer view of the patients and students by seeing them as they actually are at the dead level of their lives, the places where they are tied-up and anchored, or the degree to which they have regressed. Then we shall be able to see, through his self-condemnation, self-disparagement and the like, the judgment which each individual passes on himself; and, through the self-punishment features that follow, we shall see the sentence which each is trying to carry out.

In an attempt to learn something more about these destructive forces which have been at work within these individuals, we next shall study the facts about them which are not psychotic, arranged according to the degree of insight present in the patient or student. After this we shall consider the psychotic features of the patients bearing in mind the possible insipid stages through which they passed before reaching their end-results.

The answers to the questions, what solutions have the patients and students tried in the midst of their crisis-experiences? And what have come to be their habitual ways of reacting to difficult situations? - will be taken up next and will serve to round off our clinical view of these people who suffer.
CHAPTER II

ATTEMPTS AT ADJUSTMENT IN CERTAIN THEOLOGICAL STUDENTS
WITH LIKE CONFLICTS SEEN IN THE FAILURE STAGE IN MENTAL
PATIENTS.

In line with the assumptions mentioned, we see growth processes going
on in all individuals in various fields of personality development with a greater
or lesser degree of success and failure, depending upon the activity of creative
and destructive forces within them. And we assume that the man who would live
the most acceptable Christian life will find the best soil for growth in his
unhampered creative relationship with God and his fellowmen. Forces detrimental
to his success in striving for this end are on the side of death not life.

Here let us add concreteness to our study as we single out specific
patients and students who have had like problems in particular fields of growth.

1. The field of experience or growth which we shall take up first is
that of work or vocation. One of the calls to battle which comes to each ris­
ing generation is the need to get ahead in the world as judged by the world's
standard. In the briefs of the two cases which follow, we see Patient III and
Student VII wrestling with this need.

STUDENT NUMBER VII.

This student is doing graduate work in education and is about to
re-enter theological seminary. He is of medium height, athletic build, and is
24 years of age. His facial expression shows some state of inner conflict. He
is honest and interested to represent facts with fairness to himself. His
maternal ancestry was German, and paternal ancestry, Swiss. Neither his father nor his mother went further than elementary school. There was harmony of a certain type in the home. The economic feature was a problem previous to their moving to the country when subject was eight years of age at which time his mother inherited property left at the death of a relative. SOCIAL ADAPTATIONS: Moving from the city to the country gave the subject a leadership among the boys in his group. When he finished elementary school he went to work on his grandparents' farm because of the economic needs of the family. His social life during these two years was limited because of his attention to his work. Later while he was working in the city, he became interested in night school and found his social recreation mainly through church life on Sunday. When he returned from the army he entered a denominational preparatory school where he spent four years. At this school he made normal social adjustments with his fellows, played on the football team and took part in social activities in the churches in the town. Later he entered theological seminary and attended classes in a university nearby. He became attracted at this time to a young woman, whom he considered his social superior. This caused some difficulty in his social life which is at present unadjusted; SEXUAL DEVELOPMENT: Subject became interested in sex experience at adolescence. He continued his masturbation habit alternating with long periods of continence until he was 23. Coincident with the appearance of awakened sex activity in adolescence, he found himself under the influence of a street evangelist who was holding a meeting on a street corner. He says at this time he was in a quandary whether to identify himself with a girl of easy-going life, who stood near, or to join with the religious group in the service. He chose the latter and experienced what he calls a mystical conversion. He believed that at this time he received a definite call to the ministry; Subject states that his control over his sex life has been successful since he studied with an
expert in mental disorders, a professor in the theological seminary where he lived, while attending the university. The attachment to the young woman mentioned is associated with what he feels may have been a sense of inadequacy, which accounted for his self-depreciation and sense of social inferiority.

OCCUPATIONAL ADJUSTMENT: He was a good worker on the farm for his uncle. He was inclined to be careful with his money, the funds being turned over by the grandfather directly to the mother while he was working on his grandfather's farm. In general he gave satisfactory service to the employers for whom he worked. Subject has worked at the same time that he has studied, and has entirely paid for his own education to-date. He has developed a certain antagonism toward the present industrial order and believes he does not have an objective view of this because of his own uphill fight. His school record has been broken by periods of work and the war, and was interrupted by his failure to get a high school training. When he finished preparatory school his attempt to enter theological seminary on a special provision without a college degree caused him to have a feeling of inferiority and to believe that he was laboring under a handicap because of the organized nature of society as to education. Finally he came to the university where he has been able to complete requirements for his A. B. degree. He now looks forward to graduate work in theological school in preparation for religious training, combined with a sociological or educational approach.

PATIENT NUMBER III

This patient is a man of twenty-eight years. He has dark hair and clean-cut features. His height is 5'7" and he weighs 127 lbs. He is of Irish Catholic parentage. He had an 8th grade education and his occupation was that of a shipping clerk. His physical findings were negative.
REASON FOR COMMITMENT: Two years ago he entered trade school, attending five nights a week after working all day. At the end of a month he gave up, saying that he was tired and needed a rest. He had been becoming gradually more over-sensitive, and self-accusatory, and inclined to worry and blame himself when things went wrong at the shop. He developed ideas that the other workers did not want him. Just before admission he became much disturbed. After a number of nights of sleeplessness he began to act as though in great pain and kept saying "Goodbye" and "I want to be clean". PERSONAL HISTORY: The father is a mill-worker and is said to be a peculiar-looking individual of nervous type. The mother is reported to be a poor house-keeper. There are five brothers and one sister. No abnormalities are recorded of his childhood; but he is said to have been "fussy" as a baby. In school he ranked high in his studies, played normally with other children and was fond of out-door sports, especially of base-ball. He was a regular attendant at the Roman Catholic Church. He was quiet, neat, conscientious and steady. He worked 8 years as shipping clerk with a Wire Company. He never showed any interest in girls. He is said to have been a "good boy" at home and a "great comfort to his parents". PSYCHOSIS: As to Field of Attention, he is self-absorbed, reacting to inner stimuli rather than to what is going on around him. Regarding his mood, for several months he was unresponsive and mute; he seemed gloomy, sombre and depressed; he would occasionally laugh to himself. His intellectual functions showed him to be normal as to memory and Orientation. His answers were relevant and his speech coherent. Regarding his Social attitude, he spends much of his time sitting still lost in his own thoughts, every now and then getting down on his knees, or at other times, smiling and grimacing. As to content of thought, he does not disclose much of what is going on in his mind. He is now given to erotic sexual practices. He was quoted as remarking "they are trying to make me a perfect man in here. I can't swim and they are trying to put me in water". He frequently kneels down or performs other acts which have for him religious significance. He speaks of voices telling him to run away,
and of some power which keeps him from eating. His REACTION PATTERN is that of a man who is facing the sense of defeat and inadequacy. For two years he moped around home, then began to get disturbed. This disturbance was apparently the attempt to rouse himself and to effect some sort of reconstruction. The attempt was not successful.

The parents of Patient III had come from Ireland and the going had been hard. They had a different view as regards advancement in life from his own. In school and among his companions he was in the intense competitive struggle to get ahead, whereas at home, he was rooted in partial squalor of his parents and their jangling. At his church he had acquired an exalted view of sex, and his battle with masturbatory difficulties had told on him. In a final effort, after eight and a half years of faithful work in his company, dotted with frequent failure in his moral life as judged by his accepted standards, he fought for a month in night school tugging away under increased burden at the weights that held him anchored to discouragement and failed completely. The life-sketch of Student number Seven reads in many respects the same. His grandparents had come from Germany and Switzerland and had never been able to get much of a foothold in this country. His father had not been a strong character, so his dominating German grandfather became his idea. The story of his ambition to get ahead is much the same as that of Patient III, except perhaps, this student had the ideal in his grandfather driving him on. Worries over arrested development in the sexual field at adolescence would hit this student all the harder considering that there was added to his more tender aspirations derived from his mother, the terrific condemnations sure to come from his grandfather ideal because of his hard and rasping morality. This student's growth too, was complicated by the incident of his religious experience.
with the street-corner evangelists. His overpowering ambition to get ahead must now be swung into the most sacred field of service that he knew. It is interesting to note here, that he came out of this religious experience with a sense of the importance of his personal mission in the world; his was to be no ordinary minister’s contribution. An account of his uphill fight has been given. In spite of handicaps and interruptions by war service and being required to work his way through school, and in spite of the unsuccessful love affair which all but drove him crazy, he has kept going. His strained facial expression and his tendency to go-it-alone, too intent on his purpose to have time for friendships along the way, indicate the absence of Christian poise and sureness. The fact stands out, however, that he is putting up an excellent fight in his determined attempt to get ahead.

Why in one case was there personality failure and defeat and in the other case continued struggle with partial success? Let us look at the attitudes and reactions of these men under fire. Patient III had, in his approach, very little interest in anything outside himself, whereas Student number Seven, at the normal time in adolescence began to identify himself with a cause greater than himself. From the minute he started, in spite of the load of self-love that he still clung to, his failures along the way appeared to him against a larger background. But it was not so with Patient III. He fought and went down without ever moving from the island of self-love where every adolescent spends considerable time. His reactions form a long-delayed, half-hearted attempt to grow. His training had afforded him danger signals but the confessional with ritual and sacrament had failed to remove his judgment of himself or his load of worry and consequent isolation. The student's reaction on the other hand was a partial facing-up at the first early signs of danger. No doubt in this half-frank early admission of failure lies the secret of continued ability to grow. His battle still rages in the field of attainment. And perhaps it is unequal because he has insisted upon growing faster in one field of personality than in another. There is little of
what we assume to be the salvation experience in him for he endures intense pain in connection with everything he undertakes.

II Another problem which looms large for most young people in this field of occupational or work adjustment, is that of deciding about a vocation. They know they must settle down to their life-work sooner or later and do their best to overcome the resistances and remove the obstacles which further growth in this direction involves. This conflict is apparent in the lives of the patient and student that follow:

STUDENT NUMBER 19

He is a tall, retiring-looking theological student of 32. He has light hair, blue eyes, and wears glasses. He is quiet, capable, and has an honest and frank way about him when approached. His paternal ancestry is English with touch of German, and maternal ancestry, English. His parents have been considered rich for farmers. His father is a prosperous farmer and timber owner. His mother was a former high school teacher. She kept the home orderly and neat and their house was considered "the prettiest home for miles around". There were disputes between the parents (student's mother was the second wife) as to which one would have the authority in certain situations. Student 19 was often as a boy the embarrassed spectator upon these occasions. The children in the vicinity were of the tough variety; and he often fought with them but he generally held his own. SOCIAL ADAPTATIONS: Student 19 was the only child. He played with the rough children just mentioned with whom he invariably fought. Also there were the hired men; but subject's companionships during childhood were really with the animals on his father's farm. He went to Sunday School affairs and community parties held in connection with the Grange Order. When he went to high school there were occasionally school functions which he attended. In college he continued to be retiring and shy; he did however win friends through his ability as an athlete. He was active in the Y. M. C. A. in the university.
Spinsters of the country-side gave him a good deal of trouble but he managed
to steer safely through. He married about the time he came to theological
seminary and now he says he has a satisfactory social adjustment. He attains
his ends in his parish work through being a good listener and seeming to be
managed by more assertive types of people. SEXUAL DEVELOPMENT: There was his
life-long competitive relationship toward his father. Also he responded readily
to the courtship which was carried on toward him by a mother who was never
satisfied in her married life. The hired men with whom he was allowed to sleep,
were a bad influence. He saw sex acts of the animals on the farm and became
curious at an early age. He learned masturbation from older boys of the
neighborhood and was encouraged in this practice by the farm-hands mentioned.
There was always a sentimental attitude toward girls, but all expression here
was suppressed. There were no love affairs before the one which resulted in
marriage. He mentioned a continuous history of nail-biting which was not
controlled until he was 30; this was finally stopped; as he put it, "shame and
will-power won". OCCUPATIONAL ADJUSTMENT: Student 19 began school at 6-1/2 years
of age and finished high school at 17. He completed college at 21. He ranked
at the head of his grade in elementary school and held this position through high
school. He says he lost Phi Beta Kappa honors in college by 1/4 of a point. He
always has enjoyed study, and says all have put opportunities in his way as he
has gone along. Ever since he can remember he has been rising in the morning
at 5 or 6 o'clock and has worked all day on the farm with two hours chores to do
after supper. This schedule was not altered much when he attended school; he
merely took time out actually to attend sessions each day. Between school and
college terms he would work on his father's farm with no pay. After college he
worked on the farm for 6 months and was paid laborer's wages; he then managed
the farm for 6 months. He always disagreed with his father so he gave this up
and returned to work as laborer for his father which job he held for two years. These two years were unhappy ones. He did not get along with his father and wanted to become engaged in church work. This his father opposed tooth and nail. Here came a conflict between loyalty to parents and response to his choice of life-work. This conflict was solved partly by war coming on. The ministry was decided upon. At first Student 19 doubted himself disastrously; then with the growth of the parish and a measure of success, confidence came to him with a feeling of certainty about his choice of vocation. Here he decided to undergo a more thorough training so he came to the theological seminary.

PATIENT LXXIV.

This patient is a tall slender young man, (Ht. 5' 10\(\frac{1}{2}\)" Wt. 129 lbs.) of twenty-eight. He is of English extraction; his religion is Methodist; he has had a high school education; he works as a clerk; and his physical findings were negative. The onset of his illness was sudden. He came home with splitting head-ache one day and feared he was going to die. He thought some one was after him. That night he came into his mother's room, got into bed with her and complained he was blind. He begged his mother not to leave him and in his panic nearly choked her.

PERSONAL HISTORY: His father now 75 years old, has been doing nothing to support the home for the last 15 or 20 years. It is reported that he always has been "queer". The patient's mother states she has not loved her husband for years. The Patient's mother is extremely nervous; in fact, she is almost irritable at times. Her troubles make up her main topic of conversation. She has been the driving force of the household. At time of patient's birth, his mother was 40; he was her first and only child; the delivery was instrumental and difficult. As a child he was slow but otherwise normal; always throughout his
life, however, he had to be forced up and out. After two years of mediocre work in high school, he took a superficial course in electrical engineering and held a series of unimportant jobs along electrical lines. He kept one clerical position for almost two years. He lost his jobs through irregularity as much as from inability. He was recognized by his family as a singer; he never did much with his voice, but thought of himself as of opera caliber. At twenty-one, he was given a book "What a Young Man Ought to Know", which led, he says, to masturbation. He always showed less than normal interest in girls and has had from the start a marked attachment to his mother. It is reported that previous to his admission to the hospital he had been reading the Bible a great deal.

PSYCHOSIS: His attention is apt to jump from one thing to another. He is given to talking to himself and seems to respond both to internal and external stimuli. His mood shows swings; at times he is cheerful and euphoric, then he becomes dull and even stuporous. He laughs a good bit in an amiable and silly manner. As to his Intellectual Functions, in Orientation he is correct, his memory is intact; his answers however, are often irrelevant and show a good bit of scattering. Regarding his Social Attitude, he is generally amiable and irresponsible and shows some interest in other patients. His Content of Thought showed Persecutory trends at time of onset. He thought people were after him and had ideas his food was being poisoned. Death ideas were present at time of onset; he thought he was dying. He felt Self-Important and talked a good deal about big financial transactions in which he expected to take part. He showed some Symbolism and interest in hidden meanings. He was given on occasion to kissing the walls and the floor. At time of the onset of his illness, he wanted to be circumcised. His Erotic Interests were well guarded. He felt some Religious Concern and spoke of hearing God speak to him. His Reaction Pattern has been that of evasion with hopeful view taken as to the future.

The father of Patient LXXIV is a weak type given to telling about what
a remarkable man he was when he was young. The Patient’s mother is a large
cock-sure woman who early in married life took the reins completely from the
hands of her husband. She ran a boarding house to support the family, put up
with her shiftless husband for 30 years, but exchanged affection mainly with
Patient LXXIV, her only child. He sang in the church choir and did some amateur
singing for the boarders; he pictured himself as a grand opera star. But his
mother, who for so many years had been up against the cold hard facts of grocer’s
bills and rental fees, had other plans for him. She had him take short courses
in electrical engineering and accounting and whatnot. He worked as stockroom
clerk for garage companies, he filled out blank sheets for insurance firms; he
did this and that. Finally he struck out on his own hook and joined a third-
rate opera company as one of the chorus; it was after only a few weeks of this,
the happiest ones he ever had, when the company failed, that he came back to
stand the "I-told-you-so" of his mother, and in the midst of other conflicts,
to take the way of the psychosis as the most satisfying disposal of an exceed­
ingly unpleasant situation.

This patient reached the age of 21 before he ceased his baby-hood relation­
ship toward his mother; he then began overt auto-erotic practices with forbidden
phantasying which brought down on him the inevitable wedge which split him apart
at the time of the first great crisis of his career. He has a high intelli­
gent quotient as showed by the psychometric tests; he would have proved capable
in the jobs which he held had the condition of his love-life and his scheming
mother permitted him to remain long enough in one place to have gotten the hang
of the business. His conflict which precipitated his difficulty lay in the
field of life-work; he had never however, grown up emotionally and the chain
could not have been expected to hold.

In the instance of the theological student used along with this Patient,
we have also an only child practically courted by his mother in order to make up
for her unrequited love in her marriage relationship. There had been for him,
however, the many interests and the hard work of the farm all through his growing years. And the family life which he lacked in his home he found in the simple country church. Of course he always fought with his father for aside from what mother attachment there may have been, his mother had actually brought him up to do so. As he moved into each new opportunity in school and university, he welcomed it with eagerness because of his background of hard work and narrowed interest. His return to the limited horizon of his father and mother was bound to call from him inner protest and demands for larger service and more universal values. The security of his home, the best established farm in the community, and his loyalty to his parents perhaps led him to choose the extension of home on a far grander scale and he went into the church. This not only had been his ideal of family life from boyhood but it had been his one enjoyed diversion; also his father had fought it "tooth and nail", which particularly gave point to his choice. Marriage and small children helped to clinch this solution to his conflict. It will be noticed that although this student remained tied to the emotional life of early childhood in some respects, there was in him that urge which causes a man "to leave father and mother and cleave unto his wife"; this student saw in his struggle simply the vocational emphasis.

Now, what attitudes and reactions do we see in these two instances? In the Patient we see the impractical approach of the child,—that of the superficial person "who thinks he will be heard for his much speaking". Reality it appears never was sought by him at first hand, possibly because he had been reserved by his mother for other purposes; that is, to help her get away from the unpleasantness of real work in the affection they bore to each other. In fact, this Patient was just going to talk and sing his way into success in his vocation without expecting any great amount of opposition from the balconies. The Theological Student on the other hand, when yet a child, had
inquired of the doctors in the temple" beginning at the country church and schoolhouse and continuing into University and theological school. There had been something in him from the first which had drawn away from the heckling quarrels of his parents. Life meant for him something outside himself and something outside the baby-relationship to his mother. As to their reaction patterns, the Patient sought to avoid reality; to face the truth and admit himself a child at 28 was too much for him, for he had been depending on his mother too long.

This jolt which he had received in his initial fight by himself had struck home, and as the full force of it broke upon him it is little wonder that he sensed the threat of losing his mother and behaved accordingly. After a year at the hospital he became accessible to psychotherapy; he welcomed partial insight but would accept nothing which would tend to remove his mother from the center of his world. He has been out of the hospital on visit under the care of his mother for the past three months; he is expected back however, for he exerts little effort in the face of trying situations. The Student, on the other hand, in spite of a shyness and tendency to withdraw which his mother encouraged, struck out by himself, compelling himself to seek contact with social groups and growing minds. He went to school, high school and university in the face of discouragement from his parents. He faced up to his sexual indulgences according to his standards and sought the help and prayers of other people. When his crisis came in marriage with the changing of his home ties from dependency into appreciation, he stood his ground and went through the motions of his usual routine work until the new level became secure.

It is of interest now to look for a moment at what happens in ideas and behavior to certain self-judgment features of an individual when he passes into his psychosis. This Patient's easy-going, bantering way, which covered up the true state of affairs underneath, passes into a mixture of amiable silly laughter, a scattering of ideas and projected self-judgment in ideas of persecution and threats upon his life by others. His partial awareness of sexual indulgence with
his forbidden phantasy love-object may have passed into his idea that he was dying, - a fitting self-punishment no doubt for his indulgent regressive experiences. And his sense of failure and talkativeness passes into increased verbigeration with ideas of self importance and talk of grand-scale business deals.

III. The problems which arise in the sexual field of personality development appear to have such a close bearing upon conflicts arising in the vocational and social spheres that it is difficult to escape the charge that there is too much importance being given to the sexual roll in life. Under the heading of Work in Vocational Adjustments, we referred constantly to the conditions of the love-life of these patients and students. And probably the same thing will be done in the section which follows this one which deals with conflicts in the sphere of Social Adaptations. The problem however, which we shall single out here in this Patient and Student, has unmistakably to do with adjustments in the sexual life alone.

STUDENT NUMBER 32.

He is a theological student of 26 in his 2nd year at the seminary. He is tall, of slender build, has a high forehead, black hair, dark eyes and wears glasses. He tends to be assertive, and is capable; he is direct in his approach to tasks and endeavors to be thorough. His heaviness of voice and readiness to speak-up may be compensatory for his receding chin. His maternal ancestry was Scotch and Irish and his paternal ancestry, English. His father is a large well-set-up man, who has hosts of friends. He was considered a big business man for a rural district but crashed from over-expansion just following the war. The Student's mother is a large but well-formed woman of puritanical up-bringing who managed to get her way in family matters, and succeeded in binding her
children to her. The Student has a brother four years his junior; a sister died at 5 when the Student was about 15. He lived on a farm until he was 8 at which time his parents moved to a nearby town of 600 population where he lived until he went to college at 18.

SOCIAL ADAPTATIONS: He was always surrounded by people much older than himself; until he was 8 he was practically isolated on the 400 acre farm except that he was taken to school when he was 5; and when he moved with his parents to the small town he was placed in grades with boys and girls much older than himself which fact kept him from mixing in their games and rough fun. He was not allowed to go to the rough dances held a few doors from his home; he did however, attend the parties connected with the church and the limited social life of the boys and girls of the town. During his first year in the university he became aware of his not being able to assert himself as he wished in a social way, although he became identified with one of the better fraternities as a pledge member. He was glad of his transfer, his second year, to a smaller college. Here he worked with a group of dissatisfied under-classmen and organized a new fraternity in order to more effectively protest against the state of politics on the campus. After college during his teaching experience and in theological seminary, he has felt no lack of success as to social adaptation. There were the normal attachments for girls beginning early in high school; and such affairs have increased in number since the break-up of an engagement during the year before beginning seminary. His mother was his chief confidant until his graduation from college, at which time he began to swing free from his mother and found in his father the type of understanding which he felt he needed.

SEXUAL DEVELOPMENT: The first interest in sex that he recalls was in connection with breeding stock on his father's farm. His father tried to prevent him from watching the animals. The Student, however, felt it all the more necessary to be on hand when anything of this nature was going on. Soon he
asked his mother about such things and she explained to him the story of reproduction. He was struck by the story of his birth it having been reported a difficult one; also at this time he had been told of a baby in the neighborhood whose birth almost caused the mother's death. This impressed him deeply; he threw his arms about his mother's neck and asked if he had caused her to be dreadfully hurt. He had a tight foreskin which gave him trouble until he was circumcised just before he finished high school. When he was 14 there was attempted intercourse with an easy-going type of girl in the vicinity. During the first experience he had been impotent. Before this time he had not remembered having had an erection and had never masturbated overtly. Upon succeeding occasions however he had had no trouble as to erections and he enjoyed masturbation per vagina without emission. This he describes as positively the most rich and glorious experience he has ever had. At first he felt no blame about what he and this girl were doing; soon however he became disgusted with it all and immediately broke off the relationship. Following this, he learned to masturbate by manipulation having become stimulated from the warm water during his bath. This gave him some feelings of anxiety and shame and he tried hard to break the habit which was growing upon him; he used method on this habit resorting to setting four day, then five day, and then six day intervals during which period he determined he would remain continent. During his travels in his father's business, he saw occasionally a girl of his mother's type whose father had married a cousin of his family; with this girl he had erotic experiences repeatedly at times ending in copulation. Following his first copulation experience there were erotic practices with a hired girl who had large breasts like his mother's. Through high school he fondled girls with the ordinary amount of erotic experience outside of actual intercourse; this was kept up with varying intervals during college; also the habit of masturbation was continued. Since coming to the seminary there would be times when subject would relâche himself in this manner. Whenever there has been masturbation there has been definite
anxiety and shame; he states that his first experiences of overt masturbation left him with a feeling that he had committed an offense deserving of great judgment, "there was something of the idea of potential life-spilled-upon-the-ground or a gesture-toward murder in the feeling"; always he says there has been the feeling of defeat following the experience. While yet in college a medical missionary friend had decided she would not go into this field of service and approached him again for renewed friendship; they became engaged and kept from erotic practices of all sorts until during summer school before subject's last year of teaching; the last two evenings before they parted they mutually responded to erotic excitement stopping short however of copulation. After this he began gradually to lose interest in the prospect of becoming married and, through the suggestions received from an older woman with whom he worked in teaching profession, he wrote a letter which terminated his engagement. The following summer, while serving a small church in a mining town, he gave in to his need and became intimate with a widow, a college woman 10 years his senior. An operation on his nose and a general run-down condition caused him to accept the use of her summer home in the mountains; here they came to have all the relationships of married life with the intention of marriage in the near future. As time came for subject to enter seminary the fear of conception loomed up and they awaited with impatience for the menstrual period; need for alarm passed and with pressure removed and the new environment of the seminary around him, the Student took the difference in their ages as the loop-hole by which he withdrew from what to him was an entanglement. He feels at this time that he is suffering from certain unconscious conditionings and is desirous of any assistance which can be given him.

OCCUPATIONAL ADJUSTMENT: The student states that he always did remarkably well in school. The rural school which he attended from 5 until he was 8 gave him a good start. In the elementary school in the small town he was in grades with those much older than himself but help up his end among the first.
He took six years to go through high school because of his interest in his father's business. He knew from his 16th year that he was going to college because at that time he had taken a life-dedication step during a revival meeting in his home church, and he felt he must prepare for this by going to college. Speaking from the pulpits of the churches during his high school years in connection with his interest in young people's work tended to point him toward the ministry. At the end of high school he won a scholarship by taking competitive examinations. His first year in college was spent in the school of commerce; he soon found however, that in spite of the encouragement received from older people as to his business ability, he did not have the interest to specialize in any of the fields opened to him during that year. A college Y.M.C.A. leader influenced him a great deal during this first year at college, and their friendship resulted in his going to another college with definite intentions of preparing for the ministry. While here he became involved in philosophy; this, together with his emotional life and practices at the time, turned him into a cynic and he swung over from the church to education. He followed his teaching work for three years. But in answer to a deep urge within him, together with encouragement from the principal of the high school where he was teaching, he decided to go to the theological seminary. His vocational problem is not definitely settled at the present time. He feels he is a high B grade student and could easily rate an A were it not for his other interests which appear to him to be of sufficient importance to justify the usual division of his time.

PATIENT LIII

This patient is a man of thirty-nine of athletic figure; height, 5'6" feet, 9-1/2 inches, with rather clean-cut features of the aquiline type. He is of English extraction; his religion is Protestant; his education includes first year
high school; his occupation was that of a housepainter; his civil condition, married; and his physical findings were negative. PERSONAL HISTORY: His father was at one time a patient in the hospital, with a diagnosis of alcoholic hallucinosis, but has now been getting along well for twenty-nine years. Patient LIII is said to have been a real boy, full of fun and always happy. He has never talked freely in regard to his sex difficulties, but he has admitted genital auto-erotism, and some homosexual practices are hinted at by certain of his ideas of reference. He had copulation with his wife before they were married and he knew she had been with other men. He states that he loved her but had not always been faithful to her nor had she been true to him. His wife was a Roman Catholic, and at the time of their marriage he signed an agreement to the effect that the children should be Roman Catholics. There are two daughters, one of them 14 years old, the other 12. The Patient was of a quiet, sensitive type and was inclined to be seclusive. He was fond of dancing and enjoyed going to the theatre. Two or three years previous to his admission to the hospital he began to be concerned about his children and insisted upon their going to a Protestant Sunday School.

PRESENT ILLNESS: The onset had been gradual. On admission to the hospital the patient stated that his troubles had begun three or four years before; he said he had at that time noticed a gradual change in the attitude of his friends toward him. A year and a half before his admission to the hospital the patient manifested a sudden interest in the Klan; he began to hear remarks on the street or at his work, indicating that people thought him to be a member of the Klan; finally, he heard people saying that they were going to torture him and punish him. He would hear remarks to the effect that he was on the side of the Catholics; and again he would be given to understand that the Knights of Columbus were working against him. He began to notice definite signs; and he finally came to the conclusion that he was being persecuted because he had never joined any organization, and had never taken any definite side. He was greatly disturbed by the fact that his father made signs and his wife made signs. His condition became
gradually worse until he could no longer be kept at home.

**PSYCHOSIS:** He has been absorbed in his own troubles and little interested in his surroundings. He is gloomy and anxious and shows little variation in mood. He is correctly oriented; his memory is intact; his answers are relevant and his speech coherent. He has heard people plotting against him planning to make an end of him; and he has thought that his food was being poisoned. He is apprehensive of some great catastrophe which is to befall his friends and family. All self-judgment appears to be projected. Yet there are indications now and then of acceptance of blame. His religious concern which was marked at first is at present absent.

**REACTION PATTERN:** This patient apparently has fallen short of the standards for which he holds himself responsible, and at the age of 36 attempted to face the facts. The onset had been gradual; it had been forced upon him rather than coming from any deliberate effort of his to square things up. He is dominated by ideas of persecution which represent a tendency to shift the responsibility of the real cause of the trouble.

When Patient LIII was about 8 years old his father was an inmate of what his playmates called a "bug-house". This may or may not have left a lasting impression in his mind. What is clear, is that his father had a powerful hold on him which he was unable to break from the time he left school at around 15 and went to work for his father, until he came to the hospital at 36. His telling that he had been greatly troubled by masturbation, that he had had homosexual experiences and that he had had heterosexual experiences before marriage and promiscuous relations with women after marriage, point to his failure to make a monogamous sexual adjustment which, considered merely on the biological plane, requires a highly organized emotional life. Also his failure in monogamous relationship in marriage, as well as promiscuous heterosexual experiences before marriage, point to his level of adjustment having been at best vaginal masturbation.
These facts, together with admitted auto-erotic practices and homosexual affairs, point to arrested growth in that phase of sexual development which enjoys the dominance of the father and identification with the mother.

The Student whom we chose to consider along with this Patient has a Mother who is a highly repressed puritanical type of woman; both parents are strong positive types. This Student's mother bound him to her and brought out his finer feminine qualities; his father was masculine, business-like, interested in doing things on a large scale. During adolescence while the receptive sides of his nature were uppermost he confided in his mother; later when he was all astir to do things in the world, he switched over to his father. Now perhaps this is exactly the opposite from what ordinarily would be expected to occur. There is a time for the boy when the all important parent is the father, but for the boy this is not usually at the age of 18; usually at this age the boy is taking issue with his father in most matters whether there could be said to be a mother attachment present or not. To return to the Student, it will be remembered that he did not react normally in his heterosexual skirmishes at adolescence. Also there was the history of his prolonged and serious wrestle with masturbation, a condition which is with him yet. In the heterosexual experiences with his cousin while in high school and with the widow just before he entered theological seminary, he readily admitted he wished to enter into no relationship involving responsibility. Also upon three occasions he has come up to the brink of marriage and has managed in each instance to slide out by some loophole or other which has saved him from taking the dreaded step.

At the risk of having been wearisome by going so much into detail with these highly speculative matters, can we not now with greater fairness conclude that we are dealing here in both cases with tangled affections, with forces which have evaded the normal channels of growth? As to the attitude of these men
in their test situations, there is indication in each instance of a genuine
desire to put his best foot foremost. The reaction pattern, however, in the
case of each has been that of concealment; not concealment from the standpoint
of not telling about themselves, but rather concealment as regards facing-up
to themselves and the seriousness of their situations. Patient LIII has gone
all the way and totally disowns any sense of responsibility in the matter,
having projected all blame upon religious groups and secret organizations who are
persecuting him and having fortified himself with argument-tight systems of
defense; whereas Theological Student 32 has constructed for himself a philosophy
into which everything must fit and take its place. He has balanced his passive
tendencies by certain mannerisms such as loudness of voice, over-assertiveness,
and compulsion toward work and accomplishment; and he has completely side-stepped
any self-judgment and responsibility thus escaping lack of confidence and self-
blame. He confesses that he is not able to cope with his periods of intense
loneliness, misery and depression. In both men there is noticeable, a marked
lack of reverence.

Little can be said about contrition and concern for failure in such
cases as these, for there isn't any. What we have been seeing is that these
unfortunate warpings of the affective life in man, touch so vitally upon the
actual existence of the individual, as identified with one sex or the other,
that he appears to be driven into a hole of self-defense and isolation, - armed
only with what ability God has given him, and to be left there to fight out a
lonely existence. Comparison of his failures with a larger justice than his
own threatens his dug-out and he will have none of it; projectiles in the way
of possible insight glance from his armor like so many shafts of paper. One
of the outstanding differences between these two men seems to be, - one is try-
ing to turn to the Christian religion and other lines to help him fight his
battles, whereas the other has gone into complete isolation rendering him
unserviceable to God and society. And we note in concluding, that, just as
these young men were unable to establish themselves definitely in one role or the other sexually, so they seemed to be slow to identify themselves with a specific task in life, even the occupations of their fathers.

IV. One of the most common sources of conflict among certain young people in our country in the field of Social Adaptations, is racial discrimination. It will be interesting to observe how Patient XIV and Student 38, whose briefs follow here, have handled this prickly problem.

STUDENT NUMBER 38

He is a third year theological student 25 years of age. He is of short muscular build, has dark hair, dark eyes, a ready smile, and is quick to respond to friendship although inclined to be reserved. His father is an Armenian, who sees but one day ahead and believes his responsibility is met when he has provided for his family. Occasionally he has explosions of anger. The Student's mother, who is of Portuguese extraction, is the back-bone of the family and what she says goes. She has the equivalent of a university education and comes from a long line of professional people. Besides his mother, the person who has influenced the Student most, is the minister of his church; and the book besides the Bible which has meant the most to him has been a boy's Life of Theodore Roosevelt. His greatest deprivations have been a physical weakness in childhood which produced a certain seclusiveness and feeling of inferiority, and having to stop day school at 14 to go to work having to rely for the rest of his college preparation on night school work which was a long and not too fruitful uphill grind.

SOCIAL ADAPTATIONS: He was born and has always lived in a large city
where there have been weaving mills. His physical handicap in childhood prevented his getting into the games with the others; also he was not so tall as the other boys. After reading the Life of Roosevelt he began a life-long struggle to overcome this physical handicap; he would practice long hours by himself to become proficient in the more severe games. He made up for his lack in sports in those early days by inventing different games for the others to play and managed to make of himself somewhat of a leader. He has always been quiet and has prided himself on having the goods-to-deliver when this has been expected of him. He has been inclined to be quick-tempered if reflections were cast upon his integrity; He has been shy of girls, always, however, picking out one girl whom he has especially admired. His friendships have always been built upon earnestness and sincerity. Parties used to interest him but more recently he has found more satisfaction in his books and in talks with his mother than he might have had at dances and other functions of the sort. He is now engaged to be married. There has always been in his social relationships a consciousness of his appearance for he has often been taken for a Jew or a foreigner.

SEXUAL DEVELOPMENT: His first sex experience happened when he was about 4 years old; he was walking down an alley-way and inside a dry-goods box he saw two boys somewhat older than himself playing with their genitals; they invited him in and showed him all about it. Later at home, as he was trying this out for himself he was discovered by his mother. Instead of punishing him she explained to him a little about it and suggested that this was not really what he wanted. He apparently agreed with his mother for it ceased to be of interest to him until puberty. Another incident of this sort happened to him when he was about 8; he came accidentally upon a little girl who was naked; she was about his age; a rather crude man present suggested that he and the little girl play together and enjoy themselves. He was a bit frightened at this and ran home to tell his mother; he remembers, however, how surprised he was to find that the little girl had nothing in the place where he expected to see a penis like his own.
When he was about 13 years old he awoke one morning and discovered he had passed semen in his sleep. This interested him and he set about to find out how this all happened; he developed the habit of masturbation which lasted until he was 18. Soon after the practice commenced his mother gave him a book on sex-life which emphasized the fear psychology. This he believes was what he needed; there went on a drawn battle between masturbation and "self-mastery" as he calls it. He would lose out each time but instead of feeling down and out afterward along with his shame feelings, he would brace up and say "there will be a longer period next time before I will give-in to this practice." And he states he usually would be able to realize this longer period of continence. At the age of 18 he says he had become sufficiently interested in his books, and had formed such a helpful tie with his mother, that he attained a type of sublimation. At present he feels his sublimation is sound and he states he has no trouble with this problem. He admits a streak of jealousy running through him. When he confines his interest to one girl he expects to be very much the center of attention himself, in return. His mother likes now to have him sit on her knee and tell her all that's going on. He says he feels a bit self-conscious in doing this, but he does it to please her.

OCCUPATIONAL ADJUSTMENT: His mother believed that one's energies should not be scattered, so he was kept in school steadily until he was 14 years old without anything to disturb his play and studies. At the age of 14 he went to work in the mill; he worked during the day and went to night school in the evenings. At the age of 19 he went to college, his main side interest being his religious work. In theological seminary he has been stressing preaching and general church work along with his studies. His factory work was highly commended by the foremen for whom he worked; when he stopped in the mill to go to college he was earning $56. a week. In elementary school his marks were low, in night school they were fair, in college he got cum laude honors, and in semi-
nary he expects to receive honors and possibly a fellowship.

PATIENT XIV.

He is a stockily built boy of twenty; (Ht. 5' 4", Wt. 143 lbs.) His race is Hebrew; his education, second year high school; his civil condition, single; and his physical findings are negative.

PERSONAL HISTORY: He is the youngest of a family of four brothers; he tended to be more shut-in and sensitive than they. He had to stay out of school for a while because of worry over his standing; in his first year of high school he became melancholy and depressed and he worried about his work and about his appearance. He claimed that his face had changed. At his own request he was removed from school and shifted to a private school. There he was the only Jewish boy and was the butt of all jokes because of his race, his appearance, and his sensitiveness to such forms of joking. He retaliated by mischief of different kinds, and he frequently stole things from the other boys. The worry about his appearance kept increasing and he seemed to be retiring more and more into phantasy life. His family background was apparently one of his sensitive spors; the parents although now moderately wealthy, have many of the attitudes, interests, and habits of thought of the poorer Jewish groups. As a child the patient was strongly inclined to be bookish and shy.

PRESENT ILLNESS: The first marked system of extreme illness showed itself when he was in the eighth grade in school; here he kept by himself and said he was different from the other boys, that his nose was different and his eyebrows wrong. He often stood before the mirror examining his face. He complained about the excess of hair on his arms and body and stood for long periods grimacing or making gestures. Later he became mute and kept his eyes closed. There were many impulsive acts; he assumed strange attitudes; and he would shout out obscene and vulgar words. He showed some improvement; then he became
noisy, untidy, and he exposed himself. He asked why poison was put in his food; and tube feeding became necessary; gradually he became apathetic and his conversation became inconsequential and irrelevant. He improved sufficiently to be discharged; but after a few months he became mute again, untidy and indulged excessively in masturbation; periods of excitement would alternate with catatonic stupor.

OTHER FEATURES OF PSYCHOSIS: Sometimes he would be depressed, troubled and quiet. At other times, he would be absorbed in erotic interests; at still other times, he would be talkative and frivolous. His answers were often irrational and foolish. He was mischievous and negativistic. He showed many marked mannerisms such as walking with an exaggerated military gait, moving the pictures or flower pots in the halls as he walked through, picking off leaves and other things and eating them while out walking and stepping in mud puddles. Several times he has urinated on the floor and then stood at attention beside the spot until told to clean it up. He has had ideas of rebirth; once he remarked, "everybody's going to be babies again". When asked what he is thinking about, he will frequently reply, "I am worrying about my eye-lashes and the pimples under my eyes"; there have been recurring periods in which his attitude seems self-accusatory and his mood depressed. He has talked of cutting off his penis. He thinks of himself as coach at Harvard, as President Coolidge or as God.

REACTION PATTERN: He has shown awareness of danger; he has put up some struggle but has slipped into deep regression.

Patient XIV had been a shy and seclusive Jewish boy; he had undoubtedly found it more pleasant to live in the world of the story books than put up with the antagonism he was compelled to face on every side because of his family and racial background. This antagonism was doubly severe toward him, because by the time he entered the competitive life of the public school as an adolescent,
his father had succeeded in business sufficiently to lift up himself and family where they would be struck at by less financially successful gentile acquaintances. This Patient stood the pressure as best he could but with the approach of puberty the real became less and less attractive to him and the calls of more infantile pleasures took on fresh glamor with the newly released energies of adolescence. While yet in grammar school he sensed the approaching danger of living two lives at once; he felt blame because of his self-indulgence; and this sense of shame made more desirable his withdrawal from social groups and the games of his acquaintances. He became anxious in the midst of the conflict and asked for time-out from school in order to shake himself and find his way clear of the growing feelings of unreality which crept upon him. He kept examining his appearance in the mirror to see if he were outwardly changing as he felt himself inwardly threatened; he wondered if he carried the marks of his sin on his face or if it caused the slight eruptions of his skin. The immediate danger passed and he returned to school only to incur there again the teasing of the gang, for besides his being a "damned Jew" he was better in his studies than the other boys. The loss of his older brother who left for college, upon whom he had depended for protection and prestige, was almost the final blow. He saw his one chance lay in getting out of it all and starting somewhere anew. Sh he was sent to a private preparatory school where, unfortunately for him, he found racial discrimination at its worst, and competitive living among the boys at its keenest. He struggled hard; he won some recognition in athletics. And when they pressed him on matters of race and religion he retaliated with mischievousness and deviltries. When his newly rich parents would visit him in their show of success and their finery, he would find himself handicapped that much more with his group because of their crudities. Finally, under repeated discouragements in his attempts to control his erotic cravings and tendencies toward phantasy life, he found it all to be not worth the candle, so
gave in to the extent of profound regression.

In the Armenian theological student we have a different picture; a make-believe world never figured largely in his approach to life. The pressure was severe when he was a child in school, but he, unlike Patient XIV, found a restfulness in his home background which helped him to retreat from childhood tests only to be able to think out ways whereby he could make the others find in him an indispensable associate. When adolescent urges were upon him he found himself removed from competitive school life because of his work in the mill; his suffering was reserved for his college and seminary years. He resented the handicaps under which he labored particularly his short stature, and his Semitic appearance. These he determined to balance by studying hard and compelling recognition from people because of superior training. When discriminated against by this or that college group because he was considered a Jew and a foreigner, - he met the unpleasant situation by keeping out of their way and not giving them a chance to snub him. As to the strains of uncertainty lying deep in his life, he is beginning only now to be aware of his childish relationship toward his mother. His former compulsions toward masturbation left him with something to be desired in what he calls his sublimation, for his tendencies toward asceticism, streaks of jealousy and ready flares of anger with which he defends his unimpeachableness, point probably to unsuccessful and wrangling repression, rather than to sublimation. His self-consciousness, his slave-driving, handling of himself to overcome his known weaknesses, as well as his love for recognition and touch of egotism, have to a considerable degree been forced upon him by the racial antagonism in the face of which he has fought to grow.

As we look at these two young men in the midst of their conflicts, what do we see? The Armenian student felt the stings no less than did Patient XIV, but his attitude had in it something that reached beyond the affront to his own self, his family or his race. The Armenian student from his preadolescent
years had his eye on the real world and always he fought with a different perspective from that of Patient XIV. We see in the Patient from the first a tendency toward withdrawal with but fitful sallies out in the direction of the real; in the Armenian student there was a tendency toward concealment but with an eventual facing-up. Such are their reaction patterns today; in the case of one of them we see it carried to its ultimate conclusion in extreme regression; in the case of the other we see concealment becoming more and more marked and facing-up harder to carry through.

The presence of self-condemnation in both of these young men has been obvious. Although the parental and religious standards of Patient XIV were not high in some respects, they were decidedly rigid in other ways; perhaps it may be said that it was his shame that drove him to seclusiveness as much as any other factor in his make-up or experience. His crisis during his year in the eighth grade at school was marked by the anxiety undoubtedly due to discrepancies between his ideals and behavior. No doubt we see here one of the best illustrations of what unresolved self-judgment and self-inflicted penalty can do by way of driving people into isolation, and often into eventual ruin. The Armenian student's habit of squaring himself with his mother prevented in him any serious suffering on account of conscious conflicts; when we speak of other indulgences which he has half-knowingly permitted himself, we are referring to certain factors of his experience which would account for his increasing tendency toward concealment and projection to save his integrity at all costs. His exaggerated religious zeal, his way of flaring-up in loss of control and anger, his gritting his teeth to overcome suspected weaknesses point to this reading of his condition.

V. This brings us to the study of what might be called the main problem in the field of social adaptation; that is, the shyness and seclusiveness found in so many people of real ability which prevents their normal growth.
The two cases presented here will illustrate the tussle that takes place when a person for one reason or another has to battle hard to keep himself from pulling away from his social group and becoming queer.

STUDENT NUMBER 22

He is a theological student of 26 years of age and in his third year at the theological seminary. He is married; his wife is also studying with him. He is tall and rather frail looking; he has dark hair and eyes, and kindly features. His sister, the only other sibling, died in infancy and he has grown up an only child babied and protected. His parents followed him to his college town to make a home for him. He has always been seclusive because of a self-consciousness which may be traced to lack of confidence in himself for his mother and father always discouraged his attempts at competitive games and struggles. At school and college he concentrated on drama and debating. He states that he has never been able to stand disappointments well; that he has suffered from cold sweats and fKimn under tests; and that he has always had to be pushed to grow.

If pressure gets a bit too heavy, he says he becomes irritable, cross and impatient. He has been hypersensitive, has felt drawn toward religion always but has been decidedly critical of religious institutions. He feared ridicule, worried easily, and always has been easily distracted and lacking in confidence. There has been all along an intense desire to excell. He says he has been handicapped often by depressive periods and stuporous states; these he cannot understand nor cope with. There has been no history of overt sex activity aside from fondling girls; but obsessive thoughts and dreams of sexual content have caused him deep concern and much prayer. He has procrastinated consistently. He has always felt a deep need for approval. He was lonely and had no intimate friends before marriage, but his adjustment at present is hopeful although not satisfactory; his marriage relationship, he states, is his strongest link.
PATIENT XXXVI.

The Patient is a man 34 years of age; his height is 5' 9-1/2" and his weight is 126 pounds. He has good features, and an amiable expression. His parentage is Irish Catholic; he is a college graduate; his occupation is that of a clerk; and his physical findings were negative. It is reported that he was always queer. Recently he became worse; he stopped work and lived on the family savings. The record states that he was all right until the death of his mother; he then began to deteriorate. Before hospital commitment he had been sleeping on the Boston Common and picking up his food from garbage pails.

His father, a laborer, was killed when the patient was 2 years old. The Patient was an only child. He was known to have been taken to hospital for enuresis at the age of 6. His mother kept store and sent him to school and college; the college registrar reported him to have been a good student. His occupational history shows that he was a failure. He would not take jobs at a low salary, for he had exalted ideas of his ability and worth. After his mother's death he sold her estate and played the stock market losing everything. His sexual history shows several hetero-sexual experiences. As to his social adjustment, the record states that he lived with his mother doing as he pleased. At school he was known as a plugger; he took no part in sports and had few friends. Outside of school he had no responsibilities. The Patient states that he was a devout Catholic; an informant, with whom he lived after mother's death, reports that he seldom got up in the morning early enough for church.

PSYCHOSIS: As to attention, he was incapable of concentration; He was generally sanguine as to mood - at times he was optimistic and smiling; sometimes he was sad and listless; but he was never somber or bitter. His orientation was fairly good; his memory appeared to be intact; his answers were relevant, but his speech was often disjointed. In the hospital he has been amiable and reliable. It has been hard for him to get up in the morning. He has been interested in
newspapers and games. He attends church regularly. It is reported that he associated the world war with cosmic catastrophe. Self-condemnation is seen in his self-accusatory remarks; he worries about certain misdeeds which happened in the past. He believes that this world is a world of mystery; in fact he believes if he had not touched the wall in certain places at certain times things would have been different. He suspected the interviewer of being a government detective from Washington. He has accepted incapacitation and stated "I have always been sort of mentally defective. Ever since I have been a small boy I have had a hard time to keep up". He shows marked disorganization and lack of initiative.

His reaction pattern would seem to be that of throwing up the sponge with little or no fight. His religious concern appears to have been active; this may in fact have saved him from bitterness and anti-social attitudes, or from slipping back to regressive levels subject to impulsive drives.

It is obvious from the history of prolonged enuresis in Patient XXXVI that he was reluctant to begin the struggle of growth in what to him was an unpleasant world (his record in high school and college dismisses the question as to his having been feeble-minded). This lack of interest in the affairs of the real in life has been outstanding through his entire life; drawing away by himself was so much easier than to strive with others to keep one's status in a social group. His mother had pushed him through the public schools and their denominational college, and soon afterward had died leaving him a college education and property worth $10,000. Life, however, became more unattractive to him than ever, now that his mother had gone. Withdrawn as he was from others, and untrained in the ways of the world, his college tastes proved a handicap rather than a help; for he had learned to enjoy but not to produce. Also his property became the prize of the ever present birds of prey and he soon found himself trying to peddle soap to keep his body and soul together. Soon this
became not worth while, for he found it easier to live from the garbage pails, snug in his own little world by himself, too isolated to approach others for help in his extremity.

Student 22 is of about the same personality type as Patient XXXVI, made about the same record in school; also up until the time he finished high school he sensed no danger in behaving very much as we have been Patient XXXVI to have acted. But in later adolescence Student 22 felt there was something unsatisfying about this and he sought to make a break for freedom by going to college; his mother however was not so willing to lose her baby so she and her husband accompanied him. Through his college course this Student fought against his desire to avoid all social situations; it seemed he could not stand it to come under the critical eye of small groups of his classmates, and when it came to competitive games or social affairs he found himself out of it entirely. He always appeared to be too busy to stop and talk with others, which might have resulted in his forming friendships; but the real reason, he states, was his seclusiveness and desire to be alone. He would find all sorts of jobs about the house and garage, anything to keep him from having to deal with other people. He forced himself to join a fraternity on the college campus, but he kept on avoiding its social life whenever he could. He entered the competition for debating and dramatics, but under times of try-outs before the judges he would grow faint, perspire and develop compulsive gestures. And so his struggle continued until he crossed the continent to attend theological seminary leaving his mother and father behind him. Once clear of them he quite deliberately welcomed the step of growth in marriage; Now he states his feeling toward his parents is that of warm appreciation, although quite objective as regards the business of living his own life and growing into greater usefulness.

It is plain that the reactions of these two college trained men in the face of crisis in their lives, were entirely different. The crisis for the Patient came much later in chronological age than in the case of the theological
student. All those years Patient XXXVI had been dividing his real world from his unreal one by an ever narrowing span; finally with the blow of his mother's death he began crossing bag and baggage to the unreal side of his life, with the full intention of taking up his residence for good in his private world of pleasantness and comfort.

Student 22, on the other hand, although clung-to by a more insistent mother, partially faced-up to his fondness for babyhood, and partly cooperated as he was pushed out of his childhood-sets by the new situations which confronted him. His phantasy-life in sexual matters ran rampant, and his self-condemnation on account of this, encouraged his withdrawal and weakened him for hitting the line of growth ahead. In each new situation, however, he faced-up to the truth about himself just enough to make way for fresh attempts at adjustment. In this way gradually he has arrived at the place where his adaptation to social situations is less and less a burden to him. He now goes all the way in welcoming insight; in fact, in so far as his conscious intentions are concerned, he is eager to "repent and believe" as regards the working out of his salvation.

The tendency toward isolation in seclusiveness and shyness, and the desire to avoid the social conditions of growth, which we saw in the theological student, we see in its end-result in Patient XXXVI. And the irritableness, cold sweat and anxiety which we saw in the theological student, becomes in Patient XXXVI, unthreatened calm and quietness, - the quietness of death without struggle. The tendency to indulge in forbidden sexual delights in his thought-life, which we saw in Student 22, becomes in this Patient hallucinatory entertainment accompanied by silly smiles and the typical empty, hebephrenic carelessness.

Condemnation for failure, and insistence upon trying again, in one instance was recurrent and forceful and eventually there came for the student relaxation on a new level of growth. In the case of the Patient, his seclusiveness was so bound around by the smugness of stuffiness and death, that discrepancy between standards and conduct ceased to make itself felt.
In our review of these personality studies there has been no conscious attempt to evaluate or to award praise or blame, approval or disapproval. Our effort in this chapter has been to look closely at conflicts going on in various individuals. The patients and students have been held over against each other for the sake of a clearer view through contrast.

Without doubt there have crept into these descriptions of processes, or readings of conditions in these people, biases or convictions hard to hold in check. Part I of this paper, however, is not the place for persuasion and such prejudices should be disregarded. Our purpose in this presentation of fact material, as has been stated, has been to come to it unprejudiced, to see honestly what the problem of human suffering in this form is which must be faced, and to get ourselves ready to look with open eyes at the attempts to deal with this kind of suffering which have been made in history under the name of Christianity.

CHAPTER III

DIFFERENT ANGLES OF CONFLICT AND SUFFERING IN 120 PEOPLE.

I. The following table lists the acquaintance material elicited regarding the mental patients and theological students:
### TABLE II

| Acquaintance material concerning the Mental Patients and the Theological Students |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| **80 Mental Patients**          | **80 Theological Students**     | **40**                          | **40**                          |
| **Sex:**                        | **Sex:**                        | **Civil Status:**               | **Civil Status:**               |
| males                           | females                         | married (3 separated)           | married (4 are parents)         |
| 78                              | 2                               | 10                              | 10                              |
| females                         |                                 | single                          |                                 |
|                                 |                                 | 70                              | 50                              |
| **Ages:**                       | **Ages:**                       | **Country of Birth:**           | **Country of Birth:**           |
| under 20 years                  | under 20 years                  | native born                     | native born                     |
| 3                               | 0                               | 69                              | 37                              |
| between 20 and 30 years         | between 20 and 30 years         | born at American missions       | born at American missions       |
| 37                              | 38                              | in China                        | in China                        |
| between 50 and 40 years         | between 50 and 40 years         | in India                        | in India                        |
| 55                              | 2                               | Spain                           |                                 |
| over 40 years                   | over 40 years                   |                                 |                                 |
| 7                               | 0                               |                                 |                                 |
| **Civil Status:**               | **Civil Status:**               | **Parentage:**                  | **Parentage:**                  |
| married (3 separated)           | married (4 are parents)         | Armenian                        | Armenian                        |
| 10                              | 10                              | 2                               | 1                               |
| (all are parents)               |                                 | Spanish                         | Spanish                         |
|                                 |                                 | 1                               | 1                               |
|                                 |                                 | English                         | English                         |
|                                 |                                 | 2                               | 2                               |
|                                 |                                 | French                          | French                          |
|                                 |                                 | 2                               | 2                               |
|                                 |                                 | Holland Dutch                   | Holland Dutch                   |
|                                 |                                 | 2                               | 3                               |
|                                 |                                 | German                          | German                          |
|                                 |                                 | 5                               | 5                               |
|                                 |                                 | Scandinavian                     | Scandinavian                     |
|                                 |                                 | 6                               | 6                               |
|                                 |                                 | Native                          | Native                          |
|                                 |                                 | 18                              |                                 |
|                                 |                                 | Scotch Irish                    |                                 |
|                                 |                                 | 3                               |                                 |
|                                 |                                 | Irish                           | 19                              |
|                                 |                                 | 19                              |                                 |
|                                 |                                 | Lithuanian                      | 2                               |
|                                 |                                 | 2                               |                                 |
|                                 |                                 | Finnish                         | 1                               |
|                                 |                                 | 1                               |                                 |
|                                 |                                 | Italian                         | 6                               |
|                                 |                                 | 6                               |                                 |
|                                 |                                 | Jewish                          | 7                               |
|                                 |                                 | 7                               |                                 |
| **Work Record:**                |                                 | **Work Record:**                |                                 |
| students                        |                                 | Grade A. students              | 11                              |
| classes                         |                                 | Grade B. students              | 12                              |
| ministry                        |                                 | Grade C. students              | 17                              |
| trades                          |                                 |                                 |                                 |
| 20                              |                                 |                                 |                                 |
| laborers                        |                                 |                                 |                                 |
| 22                              |                                 |                                 |                                 |
| musicians                       |                                 |                                 |                                 |
| 2                               |                                 |                                 |                                 |
| artist                          |                                 |                                 |                                 |
| 1                               |                                 |                                 |                                 |
| army and navy                   |                                 |                                 |                                 |
| 5                               |                                 |                                 |                                 |
| no occupation                   |                                 |                                 |                                 |
| 15                              |                                 |                                 |                                 |
| 16 had no grade school education|                                 |                                 |                                 |
| 21 stopped in grade school      |                                 |                                 |                                 |
| 43 had some high school         |                                 |                                 |                                 |
| (10 of these went on to college, |                                 |                                 |                                 |
| and 5 or the 10 graduated)      |                                 |                                 |                                 |
| **Church Affiliation:**         | **Church Affiliation:**         |                                 |                                 |
| Roman Catholic                  | 44                              | Convert from Roman Church       | 1                               |
| Greek Orthodox                  | 2                               | Protestant:                    |                                 |
| Congregationalists              |                                 | Methodist                      |                                 |
| Presbyterian                    | 15                              | Baptist                        |                                 |
| Baptists                        | 9                               | Dutch Reformed                 |                                 |
| Lutheran                        | 1                               |                              |                                 |
| Quaker                          | 1                               |                                 |                                 |
| Jewish                          | 6                               |                                 |                                 |
|                                 |                                 | 27 worked to help pay for their  |                                 |
|                                 |                                 | education                      |                                 |
|                                 |                                 | 15 were being carried entirely  |                                 |
|                                 |                                 | by parents                     |                                 |
The objection that so small a percentage of these patients and students are women would seem upon first thought to weaken our study. But if we accept the view, held by psychologists and clinicians generally, that men as a rule, have a more tenacious grip on the real world than women, we could consider ourselves fortunate to have practically all males for our study. The more fierce the battle waged by the forces within the individual before capitulation takes place in the psychosis, the more valuable the person becomes for our understanding of the task of the Cross or the psychopathologist.

It should be admitted that at least 20% of these 80 patients never had much fight in them, for 16 of them never went far enough to take part in productive work. On the other hand only 16 failed to receive the training of the grade school. Forty-three of them went so far as to have had high school training. Ten had one year or more in college, and three of them graduated from a leading university.

The fact that these patients' ages range from 20 to 40 is fortunate for our study. Their breaking up under the strains of adolescence, gives us a relative focusing point for the work of salvation or therapy. The fact that over one-half of the patients were members of the Roman Catholic Communion, in a way sharpens our awareness of the failure in these instances of the sacramental use of the Atonement.

The theological students supply us with almost the same age group as the patients for our view of conflicts in action. Their being for the most part native born, of parents who have come from families acclimated to our institutions and ways, has enabled them to make their adaptations free from the confusion experienced by so many of the patients. All of them are college graduates, and are doing post-graduate work. There are no poor students among them. It will be interesting to note of what practical use the "good news" that "Christ died for our sins has been to them, coming as they do from seven of our leading Protestant communions.
II. Mental therapists for the most part agree that analysis can do little to alter the inner structures of the lives of people who already have lived half their days. But psychoanalysts do say that it becomes unnecessary for those who have been analyzed to pass on their own illnesses and prejudices to their children.

We have no way of knowing exactly how much the maladjustments of their parents account for what we find in the childhood and later life of the patients and students we are studying. The following tables, scanty as they are, give us reason to suspect that the imperfections of the parents have been well represented in the personalities of their offspring.
The following table gives us the Facts which were reported about the PARENTS of the Mental Patients and Theological Students.

### TABLE III.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Those which the patients and students have IN COMMON</th>
<th>P.</th>
<th>S.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parents known to have been church members</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents generally opposed him (especially student's education)</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents committed suicide</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents had many quarrels</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents he believed didn't want him</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His mother was dominating type</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He had a nagging mother, highstrung</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His mother was a moral failure</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He was too attached to his mother</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He was too attached to his father</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His father was highstrung, nervous</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His father was cruel, irritable, strict</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His father was weak type, no initiative</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His father was a moral failure</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Facts PECULIAR TO parents of Patients 80</th>
<th>PECULIAR to parents of Students 40</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Those who were psychotic</td>
<td>Parents punished him often</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those who were neurotic</td>
<td>Parents never won his confidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those who were alcoholic (10)</td>
<td>Parents opposed the ministry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those who were venerable</td>
<td>Parents maintained family altar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Those who were feebleminded</td>
<td>Parents had no use for church people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One parent Catholic and one Protestant</td>
<td>Parents discouraged sports and initiative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Father was a clergyman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Father given to anger &quot;explosions&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Father was a &quot;Forceful&quot; man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Father never showed him affection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mother never showed him affection</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(9) For articles on Inheritance in Psychoses see:

a) Psychological Abstracts for June, 1932, p. 278, art. by H. Lurenburger.
b) ditto, p. 291, art. by M. Bleuler.
e) Art. by Kleinburg, Archives of Neurol. & Psychiatry, 1931, 132, 56f.

(10) See art. by Williams, Journal of Mental and Nervous Diseases, 1932, 74, 161f.
Several of the patients, as we see, had parents who failed in the battle of life, whether from neurological disease, inadequate equipment, or emotional conditionings, and were forced to turn to the psychosis. Many others had parents who found alcohol a convenient way of escape.

The theological students, as we would expect, were more fortunate in these ways. The parents of 17 of them, however, never won the confidence of their children sufficiently to enable them to feel really at home in the world. And 10 of the students had a parent in each instance whose anger explosions furnished anything but favorable soil for the emotional life of childhood.

The majority of both patients and students had parents who had some connection with the church; but in each instance over half of this number were exposed to the pain and insecurity which come to children who have to witness family quarrels.

The impression received early by a child that his parents did not want him must have much to do with his immediate and later behavior as he meets the unpleasant tests of reality. And what the cruel, too stern father does to the boy as he is growing, must somehow show itself in later years. Surely the same can be intimated as regards the nagging or high strung mother.

The parent who is a moral failure does something to a child which is bound to affect his efforts to grow. And the injustices to children, of parents binding them to themselves in affection, so that they are slowed up and held back in their venturing forth into the real world, slowly are becoming common knowledge and are being resented by all who believe in a fair chance for children.

From the few facts we have we can see at least 25% of these patients and students doomed already in childhood to certain ideas of what the world is like, and to a certain half-hearted or halting behavior; these together promise a later more knotty problem for the therapist or the religious worker.
III. Psychiatrists like Dr. Adolph Meyer have done much to increase the facilities of mental hospitals for gathering information about the childhood of patients which is invaluable for correct diagnosis and treatment. The addition of social service departments has been of great assistance in this regard. But, as will be noted in the following table, the period of childhood, the most important time of all from the standpoint of the study of functional disorders, is most meagerly covered.

On the other hand, one would think that there would be an abundance of material secured about childhood of the theological students. This, however, is not the case; probably, because people forget the painful about themselves. Actually, except for some information or a few general facts, we get from the students in the following table, very little about their childhood experiences.
TABLE IV

Facts secured about the CHILDHOOD of the Mental Patients and Theological Students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Those which the patients and students have IN COMMON</th>
<th>P.</th>
<th>S.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>He was clung-to by parents, would not let him break away</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He was reared in another country</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He was organically handicapped (not mental)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He had church training in early years</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He had no instruction in sex matters</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He had great dislike for ridicule (they &quot;made fun of him&quot;)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He had to cope with older boys</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He had enuresis, prolonged into later years</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He was the &quot;favorite&quot; child</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He was an only child</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He was &quot;sickly&quot; when a child</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He was too attached to his sister</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He was spoiled and babied</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His mother died when he was a child</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His father died when he was a child</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His mother taught him to pray</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Facts PECULIAR to the PATIENTS</th>
<th>80</th>
<th>Facts PECULIAR to the STUDENTS</th>
<th>40</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>He was fussy as a child</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>He was reared on a farm</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He was a &quot;good boy&quot; type</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>He moved to the city at adolescence</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He was always a &quot;looker-on&quot;</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>He moved to the country at</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He was a tantrum child</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>He was reared in the city</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He was easily led</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>He had no intimates</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He clamored for attention</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>He suffered from loneliness</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He was not reared by own parents</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>He had to work hard, had no social life</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He was said never to have been &quot;quite right&quot;</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>His only friends were animals</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>He had religious heros</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>He had revival experience as child</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>He got morbid sex ideas from toughs</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>He was influenced by &quot;hired men&quot;</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>He heard &quot;fear lectures&quot; on sex</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>He defied parents when a child</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>He was used to family prayers</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>He always played with girls</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Facts peculiar to the patients, although gathered from near relatives who perhaps never liked them, show that about 10% of the patients were never active, normal children. They were just "on-lookers", "never-quite-right-in-the-head". About twice this number were either tantrum or fussy children, or let themselves be molded into the harmless "good boy" type of individual without showing much spunk or spine.

From 30 to 40% of the theological students were lonely children. They had had to work hard and stay pretty close to the adult family group; or they had developed evasive traits which caused them to draw away from people and avoid intimate contacts with anyone. Seven of them suffered intense loneliness and longed for companionship. 10 to 20% of them were started off on the road to morbidity at the hands of hired men on their fathers' farms, or "toughs" who lived in their neighborhoods. Fear-lectures on sex placed 15% of them in states of faulty hygiene in this particular. It is of interest that the same number found their anchor for the time being in the worship of religious heroes whom they knew.

The facts about their childhood which these patients and students had in common are more in number than we would suppose. Around 25% of them had parents who clung to them, wanting to keep them babies; 40% of the patients and one-half that number of the students were spoiled and babied as youngsters. This was reflected in their feeling themselves different from others, and in the fear of ridicule which was present in 20 of the patients and 16 of the students. Of course, being an only child, the favorite child, or a sickly child, would go a great way to account for this lack of one-ness with other children from which they suffered. The seriousness of this trait as an early isolation factor cannot be over-stressed.

IV. It is now significant to note in the following table some of the obstacles and handicaps under which these patients and students were compelled to live and expected to grow.
TABLE V

OBSTACLES and HANDICAPS under which Mental Patients and Students labored.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Those which patients and students have had IN COMMON</th>
<th>P.</th>
<th>S.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Had inferior stature, too short</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other organic handicaps (not organic mental disease)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fathers were suicides</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents were moral failures</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spoiled and babied by family</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cruel, irritable father</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother or father died when he was a child</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A weak, shiftless father</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Always thought he was an unwelcome child</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Was an only child</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign born</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents’ marital disharmony</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prolonged enuresis</td>
<td>.7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominated by older boys from the start</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditioned desire to steal</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Those PECULIAR to PATIENTS 80</th>
<th>Those PECULIAR to STUDENTS 40</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Was buried under load of sand 1</td>
<td>Suffered lack of funds in education 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffered sexual attack 2</td>
<td>Suffered under racial stigma 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contracted venereal disease 7</td>
<td>Suffered opposition of parents to education 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had court record 6</td>
<td>Had unfortunate social identifications</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had epileptic seizures 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had alcoholic habit 24</td>
<td>Inherited mental handicap 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inherited mental handicap 14</td>
<td>Married across Catholic-Protestant line 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffered loss of families in massacres 2</td>
<td>Suffered lack of funds in education 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mental deficiency 5</td>
<td>Suffered under racial stigma 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents’ Catholic-Protestant marriage 2</td>
<td>Suffered lack of funds in education 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less than common school education 16</td>
<td>Suffered lack of funds in education 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclassified endocrine deficiency 13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thyroid deficiency 14</td>
<td>Curiosity regarding sex affairs as child 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pituitary deficiency 13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
One half of the number of patients who before their psychosis had habitually turned to alcohol as a way of escape, came from homes where there had been a parent in the advanced stages of alcoholism. Two of the five who showed mental deficiency came from psychotic parentage. Fourteen in all had a parent who was psychotic. The mishandlings by parents of the "innate criminal tendencies", so-called, which is supposed to have produced the bad-boy behavior leading to court records in six instances, were unfortunate. And the lack of a common school education on the part of sixteen of the patients cannot be accounted for alone on the basis of mental ineptitude.

Lack of funds for educational purposes among the theological students strikes a familiar note to most of us. The seventeen who found their security and family ties in the church, due to a lack of trust toward their parents, approached life under considerable of a handicap. The opposition of parents, withstood by six of the students, reflects some of the unfortunate parental background material before referred to. The curiosity sexual affairs of childhood in sixteen of the students are significant as are also the morbid sexual ideas received by eight of them before mentioned. Then too, to treat children like adults, as was done to twelve of the students, making them work long hours with no companionship of other children, could do little else than produce unbalanced personalities.

The handicaps of stature, organic troubles, faulty parental treatment and environment, and unequal competition with older boys, which both patients and students had in common, were almost impossible to make up for in later adjustment periods. The death of a parent not only affected sixteen of the patients and two of the students externally, but the havoc wrought inside in matters of the child's ability to attack life must have been considerable.

Obstacles like moral failures in parents and their constant quarreling before their children, make up hurdles for them hard to get over. Even having a shiftless father could easily cause a child to form a total conception of life
along these lines.

Whatever view we may hold of the early causation of psychogenic or func-
tional disorders, these patients and students, as we note from the limited back-
ground material which we have, labored under odds of which they were not aware.

CHAPTER IV

VIEWS OF CONFLICT AND SUFFERING IN 120 PEOPLE —(Continued)

At this point let us attempt to see these mental patients and theological
students at their worst, in so far as their ability to keep on developing is
concerned. After having done this, supposing it to be true that each individual
is his own severest judge, let us consider the question: What judgment do these
patients and students pronounce upon themselves?, and — Are they endeavoring to
carry out these sentences which they have inflicted?
TABLE VI

1. In the following TABLE we see the marks of ARRESTED GROWTH in the Mental Patients and Theological Students. (11)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Those which patients and students have IN COMMON</th>
<th>P.</th>
<th>S.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Remained too long attached to his father</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remained too long attached to his mother</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Remained too long attached to his brother or sister</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continued too long to be easily led as a child</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continued too long to have enuresis difficulties</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fact that he was spoiled and babyed</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His self-absorption is a mark of earlier life-stage</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marked impatience as a childish trait (impetuosity)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effeminacy and refusal to become reconciled to acceptance of his or her sex</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continued shyness, modesty, bashfulness (an adolescent trait)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Failure to become genuinely interested in the opposite sex</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marked exclusiveness, withdrawal (showing actual regression)</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hallucinations and delusions (experiences of unreality show regression)</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chronic whining, crying, faints, refusals to talk (infantile behavior)</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belief he had committed the unforgivable sin</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excessive oral practices (excessive eating, smoking, putting fingers in mouth)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homosexual interests maintained out of proportion</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prolonged masturbation practices</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Those PECULIAR to PATIENTS</th>
<th>80</th>
<th>Those PECULIAR to STUDENTS</th>
<th>40</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Always a &quot;fussy&quot; child (prolonged infant)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sexual phantasying obsessive</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Too long a &quot;good boy&quot;</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Childish desire for approval</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poor school record, didn't get down to business</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Remained gullible, &quot;a sucker&quot; too long</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retreat from life to bed</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>Tendency to bluster and boast</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refuge in adaptation to death</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>Attracted too much to work with boys</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideas about his having died</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presence of ideas of poisoning and persecution</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presence of ideas of world catastrophe</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presence of ideas of cosmic significance</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presence of ideas of rebirth</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideas of reference (all know about him)</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grandiose ideas</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unguarded eroticism</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Memory Impairment</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbigeration</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Untidiness</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One half of these patients became arrested in their growth at so early a level that personal responsibility later for mistakes could not be made to function. The fault always and without exception, they insisted, had to be found outside themselves. They would always ask how a person could help but be in a mental hospital who was being hunted, stalked, schemed against and poisoned by secret groups and individuals. This number of patients never in their lives had been able to get down to business. Thirty-five of them had had miserable school records as children and they never had done any better later. Twenty-eight out of the eighty became infants again, retreated to their beds, and went into a death-like state as though they were in the grave. This same number had grand ideas about themselves, and attached cosmic significance to their existence in life. Twenty-four thought they had died altogether. And twenty had lost all traces of memory, orientation or connection with the real world. In all these observations, along with those not mentioned like ideas of rebirth, ideas of reference, unguarded eroticism, verbigeration and untidiness, we see backward movement in the individual, a movement headed in the direction opposite to growth or development.

Earlier growth stages in the lives of the patients and students are seen in the instances of self-absorption. This would be expected in a two-year-old child who had been thwarted or disappointed. Here it is seen in men and women. Continued shyness and bashfulness cannot be other than a hanging-on to a previous life-level. Masturbation is a form of self-love possibly natural enough in a former age-level but obviously enough, quite out of place in men and women whose years and opportunities should find them engrossed in the real world rather than in this level of experience.

The observations showing too marked an interest in those of one's own sex, and failure to become interested in those of the opposite sex, portray a condition also natural enough in boys and girls at certain ages but entirely out of (12) See: 'Isolation in Schizophrenia' by Lafargue, Int'l J. Psychoanal. X. Pts. 2&3, p17.
place to this degree in later years. Infantile behavior like whining, complaining, fainting under tests, should have no place in healthy personality of adulthood but here we see it still active. The same is true of impetuosity and impatience, of seclusiveness and withdrawal, of excessive eating and preoccupation with the mouth zone. Affective attachments to parents and near relatives probably figure in all regression movements and have some connection with all the symptoms and observations listed under the heading of arrested growth.

In the theological students the marked desire for approval found in practically all of them probably shows not only fear because of naughtiness, but also an insistence upon keeping the world simple like the family setting where a child can bask in the smiles of a parent. Continued shyness, masturbation, and being absorbed with self, common to over half of the students, are most discouraging conditions to find in would-be leaders of men in their graduate school years. To be seclusive, gullible and easily influenced as we find fourteen of them to have been, also shows a state of arrested growth hardly promising. And to show too prominently, the effects of having been babied, to remain fixed in affection to his father or mother, to flare up in impatience and anger, to be always eating, smoking, and to be day dreaming and pleasure phantasying - these are hardly the conditions to be expected in men within two or three years of the pulpits of our churches. Yet these conditions are what we find in 25% of these students, based as they are on those facts which we have been able to gather.

II. As to the judgments which these patients and students pass on themselves, let us look at the next table which lists facts in their lives pointing to condemnation of self.
TABLE VII

Facts which point to CONDEMNATION OF SELF in the Patients and Students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Facts which the patients and students have IN COMMON</th>
<th>P.</th>
<th>S.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marked desire for approval</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marked depressions (mourning, loss, dread, etc., intimated)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apparent hopelessness (or tendency this way, even usual regard for self gone)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marked suspiciousness</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusatory, condemning voices (easily conscience stricken)</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over-conscientiousness</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blame and self-disparagement</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extreme worry and anxiety, tenseness</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overly cautious</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-doubt</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concern about being a failure</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fear as to security</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Always self-sacrificing</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Striving to prove self adequate</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self punishment</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pretended superiority</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inferiority feelings</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Envied poise of others</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impulsions to work, impelled towards religion, to do highest he knows, etc.)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contemplated suicide, thought he should kill himself</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thought he was being discriminated against</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashamed about masturbation (shame for &quot;sex lapses&quot;)</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thought he had committed the unforgivable sin</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Those PECULIAR to the PATIENTS  80  Those PECULIAR to the STUDENTS  40

| Had undue modesty (too timid) | 24 | Admitted but apologetic for homo- |
|Feared punishment due           | 12 | sexual tendencies               |
|Ritualistic movements          | 18 | Feelings of inferiority about work |
|Need of purification           | 8  | Condemns self for inclinations to |
|Feared people would poison him, food poisoned, etc. | 24 | steel |
|                               |    | Condemns self for sexual foreplay |
|                               |    | with mother                      |
|                               |    | Condemns self for excessive fondling |
|                               |    | of girls                         |
|                               |    | Believed guilt even showed on face |
|                               |    | Need for quick justification of self |
|                               |    | Inability to make decisions      |
|                               |    | Believed he was "yellow"(coward) |
|                               |    | Believed he was under obligation toGod |
|                               |    | Hates himself easily             |
|                               |    | Has intense desire to excel      |
|                               |    | Condemns his own irregularity of |
|                               |    | deviations                      |

| 53 | 20 |
| 13 | 6 |
| 7  | 13 |
| 7  | 15 |
| 8  | 17 |
| 6  | 24 |
| 10 | 18 |
| 25 | 16 |
| 9  | 19 |
| 3  | 40 |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>80</th>
<th>40</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The most outstanding sign of judgment pronounced by these patients upon themselves is the self-condemnation indicated in the accusatory and condemning voices which constantly make life miserable for fifty-two of them. The remainder of the eighty show the suspicious delusional type of thought and behavior which suggests that they are finding in the outside world the condition of threatened death and punishment which exists within themselves.

We would expect anxiety, worry and tenseness to accompany these hallucinatory and delusional states and this is what we do find where enough of the sense of responsibility and hold on the real world is left to show it. Thirty-five of the eighty have been reported to be under this strain. Thirty-three still have enough of a struggle going on to feel shame for sexual practices and thoughts, which they believe to be forbidden. Twenty-one of them endeavor to head off punishment from without by showering upon their own heads disparagement and blame, and by assuming the timid, licked-dog demeanor.

Thirty-one are caught in the prolonged state of mourning which we call depression, a literal living in the tomb. Occasional swings to levity but throws them deeper into the gloom of impending punishment which they must inflict upon themselves.

Compulsions to work, to worship, to perform good deeds, to be idealistic as well as the purification needs and ritualistic movements, which we find operating in eighteen of the patients, show to what measures they go to ward off impending punishment which something inside tells them waits in store for them.

As we go down the list, the loss of desire to love even the self, over-conscientiousness, over-cautiousness, self-doubt, concern for failure, self-sacrificing to save the skin, overt self-punishment and so on, - all point to the one sure fact that judgment has been passed because of misdeeds or forbidden thoughts. Each feature shows either an attempt to lessen the impending blow, to preserve the precarious balance of credit and debit within, or is a reflection

(13) See: Delusion and Belief, C. Macfie Campbell, Harv. U. Press, 1926, Pp. 79
(14) See chapters on Manic-Depressives in Selected Papers by Karl Abraham.
of an inside state of unequal striving, insecurity and ill health.

The extreme need for approval on the part of the thirty-six theological students may indicate that they have a rather low opinion of themselves. The concern about their failures which twenty-five of them feel, shows that there has been some self-judging going on. The twenty-eight who are under constant worry, less in degree of course than that suffered by the patients, again indicates that all is not well for them in their own eyes. (These are not conscious judgments we are referring to here, but rather they are deep-lying pronouncements reflected through symptom-formation and behavior.) Self-condemnation for masturbation, in the twenty-five who practiced it overtly, as well as in the other ten who experienced it in phantasy, was conscious enough. The motivation or causation, which lay out of their conscious reach and control, no doubt formed the deep-lying part of this repeated "performance-condemnation" pattern.

Regret for uncontrolled fondling of girls, failure in regularity of devotions, quickness in justifying himself so that he is never wrong, despising the results of his efforts in work, contemplations of suicide, inferiority and pretended superiority feelings and behavior, self-disparagement, over-conscientiousness and over-sensitiveness of conscience, - these all argue strongly that the students have tried themselves at the bar of unconscious conscience and have found themselves wanting.

III. Leaving until later the solutions the patients and students try out in their efforts to handle the problems of the real world under the loads of the short-comings for which they blame themselves, what indications do we have that in their inner lives they punish themselves for their faults? The following table shows us:
TABLE VIII

Observations, direct or indirect, which point to SELF-PUNISHMENT FEATURES in the Mental Patients and Theological Students.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Those which the patients and students appear to have IN COMMON</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Frequent sickness in childhood</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allowing other boys to &quot;make-fun&quot; of him and ridicule him</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffering in depressed states</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standing the discomfort of apprehensiveness</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The agony of worry and continual anxiety</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffering from vague fears</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Putting up with over-conscientiousness</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Necessity of constantly berating the self, disparaging the self</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Putting up with mortifications of self-consciousness, carrying the load of self</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffering the overcharge of sensitiveness</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condemned to hyperactivity to cover up the painful</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sentenced to meticulousness, over cautious lest balance be lost</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cursed with a hypersensitive conscience</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffering the uncertainty of self-doubt and fear of disaster (security), indecisiveness</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outright punishment of self</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbed of adequacy, the curse of inferiority feelings</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant suggestions of suicide</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner condemnation projected to ideas of being discriminated against</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sentenced to insanity, fear of going crazy</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sentenced to punishment due for unforgivable sin</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indicated by compulsion to &quot;justify&quot; himself</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Condemned to hunger for the approval of others and not know if he gets it</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compelled to sacrifice self constantly</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Those PECULIAR to the PATIENTS</th>
<th>80</th>
<th>Those PECULIAR to the STUDENTS</th>
<th>40</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Conforming to &quot;good-boy&quot; type as child</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Indicated in inability to give up masturbation</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maintaining such modesty, timidity</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>&quot; in inability to get rid of sex phantasying</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insomnia, condemned to sleeplessness</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; self-ostracism from social groups</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant fear of punishment</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; curse of finger nail biting</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Projected self-punishment in persecutory ideas</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>&quot; &quot; inability to control fondling of girls</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant fear of poisoning (projected probably)</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Condemned to carry mark of Cain (Guilt on face)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suicidal ideas projected to blame for killing others</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>&quot; to live in a God-less universe</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Projected inner states to ideas of revenge</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Forced to call self &quot;yellow&quot;</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indicated by desire to take place of God or Christ</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>&quot; to go in for religion, idealism, etc</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; to peter-out under tests</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&quot; to strive ever to prove adequacy</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is not pleasant to be haunted constantly by ideas that others are conspiring against you, even if it is true that these ideas of yours are being projected into the world from the screen of your own inner states. Such conditions of unpleasantness which 40% of these patients experienced can be seen clearly in terms of self-punishment. For the agony of worry and anxiety has its slow and wearing infliction of hurt and punishment to the self. Taking another instance, the mourning which lies at the root of depressive states can be worse than death. It is punishment of the self almost unequaled to curse it this way with such a sense of loss, and yet compel it to drag its weary load through-out all waking hours where every move requires so extreme an effort.

Every symptom and feature listed in this table can be read in terms of inflicted punishment for forbidden thought or behavior. Frequent sicknesses of childhood, the hypersensitiveness of the easily hurt, the meticulousness of the over-cautious, the slave to the law,—these can always be seen in terms of infliction of penalty in some form.

Inability to give up masturbation, or other compulsive behavior on the part of the theological students, can be seen as punishment, for who wants to be bound when the desire is to be free? Infliction of punishment went so far with six of them that they thought they were carrying the marks of their secret sins around with them on their faces. One suffered under the sentence which goes along with having committed the unforgivable sin, although the student, like John Bunyan and many another, had no idea what the sin was nor what the punishment might be.

These students suffered under the deprivations of being robbed of the sense of adequacy, filched of their composure of mind through apprehensiveness and worry, separated from their respect for themselves. They remained sentenced to sicknesses, hypochondriacal pains and faints under tests. They stood condemned to vague fears, blue spells, sick consciences, self-disparagement, hyperactivity, hunger for approval; and even forced to an outright sacrifice of the self which
had taken from it the freedom to give. These students felt compelled to
pay up to God, to choose religion and idealism, to work hard lest they court
greater disaster. They ostracised themselves and suffered ridicule at their
own hands. They were even forced to have contempt for themselves in the face
of their own best efforts.

Such were the attempts of these patients and students in their bewilder-
ment, to atone. Well might they join with the one who cried out in his confusion:

"He singled out my sins
then twisted them together,
And bound them as a yoke upon my neck
till I am worn;
The Lord has consigned me to a foe
whom I cannot understand."

(16) LAMENTATIONS Chap. 1:14 Moffatt's Translation.
CHAPTER V.

DESTRUCTIVE PROCESSES AT WORK IN 120 PEOPLE AND THEIR REACTIONS TO THEM.

Mention of the term guilt, or to the condition called "sense of guilt" or "A sense of sin", has been avoided up to this point in our study. Few of us would deny that we have been looking at the results of guilt, or the sense of guilt, as we have been considering the inner lives of these patients and students. But because of differences of opinion about what is and what is not included in the sense of guilt, let us complete this section of our study using the method we have been following; that is, let us permit the facts to speak for themselves, clothed in the terms in which they were gathered.

I. We shall here take a deeper look at the states of misery within the lives of these mental patients and theological students whom we have been considering, in our effort to single out some of the destructive forces which have been working havoc to their personalities. The presentation of the fact material in the following table arranged according to the degree of insight, is not an attempt to establish degrees of feelings of guilt, but is rather a convenient way by which to distinguish in the material secured, the presence or absence of the factor of personal responsibility.
### TABLE IX

**FEATURES which the Mental Patients and Theological Students have IN COMMON (excluding psychotic material of patients) pointing to conditions DESTRUCTIVE to personality, arranged according to DEGREE OF INSIGHT.(17)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree of Insight</th>
<th>Features</th>
<th>Patients</th>
<th>Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Conscious, with insight (responsibility acknowledged morally)</td>
<td>Concern about failures, especially failures in work</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Fondling girls to excess, unable to secure control</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Homosexual interests carried too far</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Heterosexual experiences outside of marriage</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sexual phantasying with some shame attached</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Prolonged masturbation with shame (not including the 10 who phantasy)</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| II. Partially conscious, with slight insight (some responsibility acknowledged morally) | As indicated by shyness, bashfulness, hanging back | 40 | 25 |
|                                                                                       | Mood swings as punishment and pleasure measures     | 11 | 11 |
|                                                                                       | Necessity for constant self-sacrifice               | 2 | 8 |
|                                                                                       | Punishing of self (see Table XI)                    | 6 | 2 |
|                                                                                       | Self-doubting and lack of confidence                | 10 | 25 |
|                                                                                       | Self-disparagement and blame                        | 21 | 18 |
|                                                                                       | Too tender a conscience                             | 19 | 12 |
|                                                                                       | Too marked a desire for approval                    | 31 | 56 |
|                                                                                       | Desire to do highest, impelled toward idealism, religion, hard work | 6 | 19 |
|                                                                                       | Worry, anxiety, tenseness as though he were to be punished | 35 | 28 |
|                                                                                       | Hypersensitiveness and fear of ridicule             | 21 | 18 |
|                                                                                       | Failure to show usual interest in opposite sex      | 55 | 6 |
|                                                                                       | Over-cautiousness for fear of inner balance         | 12 | 8 |
|                                                                                       | Extreme self-consciousness, saddled with self       | 7 | 13 |
|                                                                                       | Need for radical views                              | 7 | 9 |
|                                                                                       | Need for exclusiveness, being unsocial              | 43 | 15 |
|                                                                                       | Undue interest in physical exercise                 | 3 | 12 |
|                                                                                       | Need to be antagonistic to the church               | 35 | 5 |
|                                                                                       | Need for peculiarity of dress                       | 8 | 3 |
|                                                                                       | Need to boast and bluster                           | 23 | 4 |
|                                                                                       | Constant effort to prove adequacy                   | 9 | 15 |
|                                                                                       | Marked interest in the underdog                     | 17 | 18 |
|                                                                                       | Over-concern about justifying himself               | 20 | 13 |
|                                                                                       | Evasiveness                                         | 37 | 11 |

| III. Unconscious, no insight (no moral responsibility, includes so-called psychological guilt) | Inferior and inadequacy feelings (see Tables XV and XVI) | 17 | 27 |
|                                                                                       | Frequent family quarrels in childhood               | 31 | 19 |
|                                                                                       | Death of a parent in childhood                      | 11 | 2 |
|                                                                                       | Being an only child                                 | 6 | 4 |
|                                                                                       | Being spoiled and babied                            | 50 | 9 |
|                                                                                       | Negative influences of being unwelcome child        | 15 | 6 |
|                                                                                       | Dominating mother                                   | 6 | 9 |
|                                                                                       | Cruel, irritable or severe father                   | 11 | 14 |
|                                                                                       | Attachment to mother prolonged                      | 18 | 8 |
|                                                                                       | Attachment to father prolonged                      | 10 | 6 |
|                                                                                       | Attachment to brother or sister prolonged           | 9 | 2 |
|                                                                                       | Unequal competition with older boys                 | 20 | 15 |
|                                                                                       | Inferiority from organic handicaps                  | 17 | 53 |
|                                                                                       | Constant discouragement from parents                | 7 | 8 |
|                                                                                       | Contemplated suicide                                 | 1 | 3 |
|                                                                                       | Prolonged squires                                   | 29 | 11 |
|                                                                                       | Projection inner states to pains and illnesses      | 21 | 9 |
|                                                                                       | Unbridled oral interests                            | 21 | 9 |

(17) See articles on Insight: a) by Winterstein, Imago, 1931, 17, 305f.  
   b) by Ogden, Amer. J. of Psychol. 1932, 44, 350f.
TABLE IX (continued)

FEATURES which are PECULIAR to the Mental Patients and to the Theological Students (excluding psychotic material of the patients) pointing to conditions DESTRUCTIVE to Personality Development, - arranged according to DEGREE OF INSIGHT.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. Conscious, with insight (responsibility acknowledged morally):</th>
<th>Patients</th>
<th>Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Use of alcohol to excess</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His part in unfortunate sex affairs when a child</td>
<td></td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shame felt because of sex lapses not settled</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insistence that he is &quot;yellow&quot; a coward</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| II. Partially conscious, slight insight (some responsibility acknowledged morally): |
|---------------------------------|---------|---------|
| Undue modesty and timidity      | 24      | 14      |
| Being "fussy" as a child         |         | 20      |
| Acting the part of a "good-boy" type |        |         |
| Excessive praying, before psychosis | 4       |         |
| Overactive sex life during sleep |         | 14      |
| His part in the bad influence of the "hired man"              |         | 4       |
| Unsuccessfully rationalized masturbation                        |         | 9       |
| Necessity for self-hate                                              |         | 5       |
| Shame attached to preference to playing with girls              |         | 4       |
| Sensitive about preferring boys work                              |         | 3       |
| Irregularity of devotional life with condemnation                |         | 13      |
| Need to rebel against his social group                            |         | 3       |
| Worry about state of low vitality                                 |         | 4       |

| III. Unconscious, no insight (no moral responsibility, includes so-called psychological guilt): |
|-------------------------------------------------|---------|---------|
| Not reared by his own parents                   | 11      |         |
| Necessity for always depending upon others      | 8       |         |
| Necessity for being a tantrum child             | 12      |         |
| Suicidal behavior                               | 5       |         |
| Homicidal behavior                              | 4       |         |
| Marked feeling of obligation toward God         |         | 6       |
| Extended overt courtship with mother (foreplay) |         | 3       |
| Glory of love gone out of life for him          |         | 4       |
| Necessity that he should always fail under tests|         | 6       |
| Need for crowding down his love for girls       |         | 5       |
| Stripped from sense of hidden sin at revival service |       | 8       |
| Need to defy parents                            |         | 3       |
| Reaction to frequent punishments at hands of his father |       | 4       |
In their concern about their failures there was real responsibility felt by these ten patients and fourteen students for having made such a poor showing in their contacts with reality. And we note that there was full insight present in the instances of their voluntary pleasure-taking in sexual practices. It should be explained here that although some readers may have become weary of our having made so much of lack of control and failure to grow in the sexual field, yet for the very reason that facts in this phase of personality expression have been so distasteful in a society organized like ours, we must expect greater weight than was really necessary, to have been given to these failures and lapses on the part of the patients and students. This is precisely what we do find, because five out of the six items which these patients and students have in common, where there was insight showed toward conditions of a destructive nature within, have to do with some expression of the sexual life unsatisfactory to the individuals own requirements of himself.

There has always been a hue and cry raised at every attempt in history to dodge personal responsibility for ones own thoughts and deeds. Some go so far as to see in science and the study of causation applied to human thought and behavior, the greatest possible danger for personal religion and morality. If our understanding of these observations under section II of Table IX is correct, such defenders of the faith and the moral code might well take heart. Certainly the shyness and hanging-back feature found in half of these patients and in more than half of the students, did not appear of itself. Instead, it argues a partial self-judgment, and it becomes a protective type of demeanor and behavior lest a too open and frank approach to life reveal something hidden of which the individual knows something about but for which he accepts only partial responsibility. (18)

Take the too marked desire for approval reported in thirty-one of the patients and admitted by thirty-six of the students. If we have not already overworked this item, it takes but little study for us to see that the individual who hungers for this value half knows what the trouble is within, half-consciously

holds himself partially responsible, and is determined to do what he can to offset the destructive process which is going on inside. The worry, anxiety and tense-
ness so common to both patients and students, indicates another threshold type of condition as regards conscious personal responsibility and partial insight. Thought and behavior once fully conscious has been crowded out of the center of consciousness leaving behind it a load to be carried. It is as though these thirty-five patients, who have not yet thrown up the sponge and regressed beyond the point of worry, and these twenty-eight students, are half-conscious of the punish-
ment hanging over them which they feel they had a part in putting there.

In this way we could go through this long list of indirect expressions of the presence of partial individual responsibility for destructive processes operating in the lives of these patients and students. Some of them like self-conscious self-sacrifice, self-disparagement, sickness of conscience, over-cautiousness and direct self-punishment behavior, are more obvious in their indication of partial insight and partial responsibility for unacceptable past thought and behavior, than certain other features, like lack of confidence, mood swings, and compulsions toward work, toward idealism or toward religion. Again, evasiveness, blustering and boastfulness, and marked self-justification, are so obvious as to be hardly indirect at all, as to what they reveal in the direction of partial personal blame for life poorly lived according to laws of growth and the individual's own standards or those of his group.

The handicaps to the emotional life received in infancy and childhood are none the less real, although they should not come under partially conscious or conscious conditions for which the individual holds himself responsible. The un-
fortunate thing about them is that not only do these emotional handicaps form the trip by which later destructive processes are set going for which the individual must hold himself responsible, but they are probably carried deep within the indivi-
dual into later life in their original settings with later standards applied
where they have no rightful jurisdiction. To such conditions within the individual there would seem to be no objection to applying the term psychological guilt.

Thirty-three of the eighty patients and twenty of the forty students were known to be laboring under this type of arrested emotional growth at early levels, to a greater or lesser degree. Inferiority feelings and inadequacy convictions probably go back to these early years of infancy or childhood. Contemplated suicide is a condition which probably does not come from specific faults which should be punished by such a death sentence. Actual suicides, as well as those individuals who contemplate it, probably would have told us, if we could have gotten them to talk, not about this and that particular reason for ending it all, but about a vague, general and insufferable condition deep inside which must be relieved.

Among the features which are peculiar to the patients or students, there are none remarkable which have not been used before in some connection. They can be understood under their headings according to the same reading we have given features which to some degree both groups have held in common. If some are exercised about our using facts repeatedly for many different tables this concern should be allayed somewhat by the realization that it isn't the single fact but this fact in combination with others which gives us a clinical picture. The several tables give us different angles from which to look, and the various combinations furnish us with changing pictures of the same two groups of individuals.

II. One of the things we have learned in recent years with the help of the scientific method, is that abnormal conditions within the minds and emotions of people are not entities foreign to the individual suddenly planted within them. It is true that, like a catalyst to a chemical solution, there is a known or unknown precipitating factor to the mental or emotional condition which initiates altered states. But that those conditions within human personality have behind them histories which if enough facts were known could be traced, is by this time generally accepted by theological and psychological scholars.
In the last pages we have been looking at these patients and students condemnations of themselves with their attempts to atone. We have seen the signs of destructive forces at work within them which have been known, unknown or of which they have been partially aware. Now let us look at these destructive forces still active in the wrecks they have produced in the psychoses of the patients keeping in mind that there has been a long history and a cause back of every fact in the psychosis. Also let us include at the same time, insipid conditions even if ever so slight, found in the theological students.
### TABLE X

PSYCHOTIC FEATURES which occur in 5% or over of the Mental Patients, with BEGINNINGS in the Theological Students indicated in parenthesis where present, which point to conditions with a history DESTRUCTIVE TO PERSONALITY.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Patients</th>
<th>Students</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. Conscious, with insight (responsibility acknowledge morally):</td>
<td>80 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. Partially conscious, slight insight (some responsibility acknowledged morally):</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pathological conscientiousness (pedantry, over-conscientious)</td>
<td>10 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pathological conscience (easily conscience stricken)</td>
<td>9 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Easily becomes irritable, partially in touch with reality</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apprehensive, impending danger (something hanging over)</td>
<td>21 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Times of being sullen because of partial awareness</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negativistic attitude (easily negativistic)</td>
<td>23 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obstinate and stubborn (admitted obstinacy)</td>
<td>33 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Often resentful, sour because unable to win</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-absorption (thinks too much about self)</td>
<td>69 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explosive anger states (impulsively angry now and then)</td>
<td>13 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hypersensitivity (feelings too easily hurt)</td>
<td>22 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyperactivity in effort to distract enemies (excessive activity to escape)</td>
<td>11 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feared impending punishment</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partial shame from sexual phantasying (shame from sexual fantasizing)</td>
<td>26 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Partial awareness of why felt he was being discriminated against (is discriminated against)</td>
<td>15 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thought was attractive to women but knew better</td>
<td>13 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State of indecision (enough insight to block decisions)</td>
<td>20 7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
III. Unconscious, no insight (no moral responsibility, includes the so-called psychological guilt features):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vague fears (easily frightened)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euphoric states of feeling</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deep depressions (times of being decidedly depressed)</td>
<td>31 16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absolutely no signs of hope (tendency to be hopeless)</td>
<td>5 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thoroughly confused (states of being confused)</td>
<td>19 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbigeration or oral masturbation (overtalkative, too assertive)</td>
<td>19 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stereotyped replies and behavior as safety and economy devices</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ritualistic movements (those having even devotional and worship life from fear motives)</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Restless and easily agitated (restless and nervous)</td>
<td>35 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hallucinations (feelings of things being unreal)</td>
<td>52 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unorganized delusions, suspiciousness (suspicious, distrustful)</td>
<td>36 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Systematized delusions (tendency to be superstitious and to accept system easily)</td>
<td>49 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obsessional ideas (sex thoughts won't leave him)</td>
<td>15 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sadism, destructiveness</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Utter carelessness and irresponsibility (tendency to be careless)</td>
<td>32 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inadequate affects, untrue emotional responses</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He has chosen to go it alone (wants to work alone, no team work)</td>
<td>80 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cataleptic, waxy states</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thorough-going sanctimoniousness (inclined to be sacerdotal)</td>
<td>5 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feared being alone (suffered from loneliness)</td>
<td>5 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compulsions: to work as a credit measure (feels must work and not waste)</td>
<td>5 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toward religion (driven toward religion)</td>
<td>6 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to do highest he knows</td>
<td>4 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Need for purification (ashamed at irregularity of devotions and worship life)</td>
<td>8 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Projected condemnation: being talked about</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>being persecuted (ruthless universe)</td>
<td>40 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>should kill others, or had killed, or tried to kill</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>food ideas, being poisoned, etc.,</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Believed he was unique,(15) God or Christ,(9) had done great things(17)</td>
<td>30 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(intense desire to excel)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World coming to an end soon</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Had committed unforgivable sin (unforgivable sin)</td>
<td>3 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideas of having died</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideas of rebirth</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Believed all knew everything about him (idea of guilt showed on fact)</td>
<td>18 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleptomania (stealing attractive to him)</td>
<td>5 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continued homosexual practices (homosexual tendencies and thoughts)</td>
<td>10 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unguarded eroticism (masturbation rationalized)</td>
<td>10 9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The psychosis condition in the mental and emotional life carries with it the loss of self-responsibility, of control by the self, and of ability to objectively criticize facts about one's self from the standpoint of one's total personality. Of course, features of self-responsibility may be found to some extent along with irresponsible psychotic symptom-material like hallucinations and delusions in mental patients. But it safely can be said that to the degree that true insight appears, in people who have once been psychotic, the psychosis ceases to exist as a state of irresponsibility or lack of control by the self. The question as to whether there is ever a generous degree of objectivity or actual insight in people who have once been psychotic, is the same question, so far as the presence or lack of insight or objectivity is concerned, when applied to the usual run of non-psychotic people. This may be a very confusing way of introducing the fact that in Table X, no features of the mental patients, which are distinguished by psychiatrists as psychotic, could be listed under Section I where there is supposed to be awareness and personal responsibility felt.

Psychotic features, no traces of which are found in the students, such as extreme irritability indicating partial connection with the real with a background of dissatisfaction with the way things had been going; the awful dread of deserved punishment, reaching back to repeated transgressions according to the patient's own inner economy; the sullenness which comes from inability to have handled well two worlds at once; and the resentfulness which shows a contact with the real still strong enough to keep alive the wish he had been able to win; - these are indications that the battle still goes on and that it started long before the precipitation of the psychosis.

Psychotic features which to some degree the patients and students share, like apprehensiveness with its background of slight indulgences; negativism with its history of chosen isolation for secret reasons; obstinacy with its well worn track of the response of shiftlessness and inability in the presence of social adjustment; and self-absorption with its years of unfortunate disposition upon
the self of the power to love, all show a slight measure of insight and felt responsibility. This is also true of conditions like explosive anger, showing the individual's past inability to cope with issues of the moment; hypersensitivity, indicating chronic overcharges of self-love; hyperactivity, still being used to kick up the dust and blind the self and others to actual conditions; and partial shame for enjoying in phantasy the forbidden. Especially features like partial awareness of why he had formed the belief he was being discriminated against; insistence upon his attractiveness to women when he knew better; and the state of indecision showing the presence of enough insight to block action in either the one direction or the other; - these, with their grooves of usage well worn, in the instances of the patients long before the psychosis was produced by the accumulation of unresolved conflicts and unrelieved judgment for faults, - these features still show a certain degree of insight and personal responsibility.

Advanced psychotic features of the patients included in Section III of Table X (no traces of which are found in the students) no longer show personal responsibility for thoughts and behavior although the suffering continues. Such for instance, are symptoms like stereotyped replies and responses with their shunting of reality to permit unhindered pleasure in the phantasy life; or like the accusatory and condemning voices of conscience, now no longer owned by the individual. The cataleptic states, with their dramatization in the physical body of the conflict of condemnation of the self and attempt at justice; sadism and destructiveness no longer able to be controlled under social regulations; condemnation in the form of ideas of reference probably long entertained before becoming unbearable and projected; and rebirth, all show that, although the battle may be still going on under the surface, and although the suffering may be intense, there is no understanding of the matter present in consciousness, nor can the individual be held responsible.

The advanced psychotic features which the patients show like overwhelming fears, thorough-going depressions, marked feelings of unreality, unchecked
compulsions, unquestioned projections and complete isolation - are in the patients like the continual beating against the sides of the grave of a person to all intents and purposes dead. Only a few of the students know in their inner lives, occasional warnings from this region.

III. People choose various ways of thinking and behaving in the midst of the difficulties of ordinary everyday situations, or when face to face with emergencies or crises in their lives. The following table shows some of the mental mechanisms, practices, reaction patterns or ways of handling problems which the patients and students used:
TABLE XI

Ways PATIENTS and STUDENTS handled difficult problems as seen in (I), Some of the solutions tried and (II) - main reaction patterns chosen.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I. A few of the solutions tried in the midst of difficulties:</th>
<th>P.</th>
<th>S.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Recurring sicknesses when a child</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resorted to tantrum behavior</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continued to hang on to baby habit, enuresis</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted to talk his way</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tried pulling back into himself</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insisted upon denial of the existence of opposite sex</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Would let resentment pile up then explode in anger</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tried over-activity to get away from problem</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Let things slide</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Refused intimacies as protective measure</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escape to the day dream</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resorted to hypochondriacal measures and took refuge in illness</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted to put off the issue indefinitely, procrastinate</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Used sweats and faints</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ran away to bed</td>
<td>28</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resorted to adaptation to death in psychosis</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sought refuge in religion or church</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tried assumed superiority</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted to atone by self-sacrifice, doing highest, being religious, work</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tried body-building, physical exercise</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adopted rationalization and performance on a level he disapproved of</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tried alcohol</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regular or irregular devotions</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II. Main reaction patterns chosen: (13)

| Chose the easy way, withdrawal, defeat, regression          | 20  | 2  |
| Attempted the struggle against odds with failure            | 26  | 3  |
| Half faced the struggle and half evaded it by projection and concealment | 10  | 5  |
| Chose to deny the problem by concealment and projection of blame | 17  | 3  |
| Faced the facts and kept up the struggle                     | 7   | 27 |

19) Anton T. Boisen, PERSONALITY CHANGES, ETC., American Journal of Psychiatry Vol. V, No. 4, April, 1926
One of the favorite types of behavior which these two groups of people chose in handling their difficulties was for the individual to pull back into himself and refuse traction with reality in so far as possible. After a time, the patients substituted the day dream for the real thing, and they came to be well on their way to neuroses as their repressions failed to hold, or to psychoses as their investments on the unreal side of life became too great for the stakes they had in the real world. The refusal of intimacies, recurring illnesses as a child, the denial of the existence of the problem, letting things slide, passing the responsibility to others, the use of sweats and faints, the retreat to the house and bed, and even the use of alcohol, - all are but part and parcel of this determination not to leave a particle of the surface of the personality exposed which could come in contact with the real world of struggles, failures and occasional successes.

The attempt to talk his way out, overactivity in the effort to confuse, procrastination, assumed superiority, attempts to dodge the issue in his interest in physical exercise, or irregular devotions, - are just so many efforts to substitute his own law of the individual and what he wants, in place of the demands of the social group and the inexorable universal laws operating in personality.

Tantrum behavior, the storing up of anger to the point of explosiveness, and the use of church attendance or religion when they protect him in continuance, are but the tricks of the child who must get what he wants but not by the rules which all others have to observe who live in the world of growth and change.

The main reaction patterns chosen, as we would expect, show that the majority of the patients and the smallest number of the students took the easy way, or the shiftless half-hearted attempted struggle with defeat. Again, in line with our expectation, we find the majority of the students and the smallest number of patients facing the facts about themselves and accepting the responsibilities entailed, with determination to keep up the struggle in spite of the odds against them. The middle group who half faced-up to the facts or who denied
personal responsibility altogether, is made up of the individuals with exterior personality features most intact, but with inner states most crystallized and unresponsive to growth or change.

The patients of course, have gone beyond the use of mechanisms which are commonly employed by the general run of people in handling their problems. That is, where we see these mechanisms being used by the mental patients, they are so exaggerated that they have ceased to be balancing mechanisms and have become symptoms. And as to the theological students, with one or two exceptions, they invariably found themselves in the bewildering condition of facing facts too late each time of failure. They had little or no insight of what lay buried beneath their troubles; and they had remarkably little grasp of the freeing power of salvation. Yet this is what they will be expected soon to make accessible to their parishioners in the doctrine of the Work of Christ.

"......to preach the gospel to the poor; ....to heal the brokenhearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised," -- for such tasks our Lord tells us He was anointed.

"Can it be true the grace He is declaring? Oh let us trust Him for His words are fair! Man, what is this, and why art thou despairing? (21) God shall forgive thee all but thy despair."

(20) Saint Luke: 4:18
PART II

FORGIVENESS IN THE WORK OF CHRIST IN RELIGIOUS LEADERS
FOREWORD TO PART II

In Part I we have made a diagnosis of our patient, so to speak; that is, we have studied intimately a group of suffering people with particular attention to guilt of unforgiven sin. In Part II we shall study the cure wrought by the therapeutic agent in Christianity, namely, the Work of Christ. In the personality study of St. Augustine we shall see the groundwork, and in the six religious leaders whom we shall study psychologically, we shall see demonstrated in personality, the main Protestant theories or interpretations of the Atonement.

Our direct purpose in this part of our study is not to set forth an apologetic for the Gospel. This is a practical study being made by one interested in making accessible to people the forgiveness which is in the healing work of Christ. Therefore, first we shall make a personality study of St. Augustine, the base upon whom the two great systems of Thomas Aquinas and Calvin were erected, and we shall observe psychologically what features of his personality may have over or under-determined certain aspects of his views of the Atonement. After this, on the one hand, we shall make psychological studies of Luther, Wesley, and Bushnell, noting what their personality traits may have done to their interpretations of the doctrine; and, on the other hand, we shall study the working-out of the penal-satisfaction theory of Calvin, the governmental theory of Grotius, and the ethicized governmental theory of Edwards, in John Bunyan, Charles G. Finney, and David Brainerd, respectively.

The critical study of these expressions of the Atonement in personality should make it possible for us in Part III, better to apply the therapeutic work of Christ to sick souls, which would include the help received from the new analytical psychology, and which would fit the pastor to work effectively with people today who are unfamiliar with the New Testament and thus unacquainted with the terminology of our Christian Faith.
CHAPTER VI

St. Augustine and the Work of Christ.

Theology has inherited from St. Augustine a great deal which, no doubt, it could have gotten along well without. It is of considerable satisfaction to know, however, that the real problem in the life of the Western Church from his day onward, no longer had to do primarily with questions about whether the Son, the Father and the Holy Spirit are of the same substance, and what the relation might be between the three personae of the Trinity. Instead, it consisted mainly in developing a technique by which men could be delivered from the punishment which they felt they deserved as members of a guilty race.

1. St. Augustine's Personal Life:

The following study of St. Augustine's personal life is taken from his Confessions published by Dutton & Co., New York, 1926. The numbers inserted in the manuscript refer to pages in this edition.

SAINT AUGUSTINE  
(354-430)

Augustine was a theologian, preacher and ecclesiastic who from his early years as a rhetorician was a voluminous writer and able controversialist. He expressed great affection for people. He had a well-trained, penetrating mind. His physical health was good with the exception of slight lung infection in middle life. He lived to be 76 years old. He was of Latin ancestry, having been born at Tagaste in Numidia (Suk Ahras in Constantine) Nov. 13, 354, and having died at Hippo August 28, 430 A.D. His father died when he was 17. His mother lived until he was 55. There was one younger brother. His father was a burgess of the town, a high-strung man "servid as in his affections, so in his anger". He was pleased at his son's free-living and free-thinking tendencies and was interested in training him in rhetoric. Augustine's father was converted to Christianity by his wife just before his death. His mother was a devout Christian, zealous but patient, and of broad sympathies. She held as her life purpose the winning of her husband and sons to Christianity. She was stringent in self-discipline; she saw visions with religious significance; particularly was she wrapped up in her son Augustine.

In early childhood Augustine had been carefully trained by his mother in Christian faith and practices. But he had been unruly, loving the romantic and the forbidden. He writes of being guilty of the characteristic "sins of childhood". As he grew older he became arrogant and proud, which "swelling pride" caused him to shrink from the Scriptures, and take himself for a great person. He enjoyed the life of a free thinker and libertine until the age of 35 when he was converted to Christianity.

SOCIAL ADAPTATIONS

Augustine was decidedly given to social pleasures and thoroughly enjoyed the companionship of others. He always made time for those to whom he was partial although he never permitted his level of productivity to become lowered. (Note his habit of spending the first half or the last half of the night in reading and study.)
From childhood he aspired to leadership. This urge can be seen in the pride and arrogance of his years in Carthage. It was present later in his teaching experience, and in his resentment over the irregular habits of scholars in Carthage. Interest in leadership was expressed through his relationship to his ever-present satellites Alypius and Nebridius. He was leader of the religious group at Tagaste during the two and a half years retirement after conversion. And there were his struggles which made him leader in controversial affairs outside and in the fields of thought and experience within the Church.

He had strong desires to "belong". As a child he wanted to be a member of the group who played instead of studied. Like the other boys he wanted to mimic the shows and games of his elders. He writes that he was a member of the sentimental looker-on group at the theatre. With the reading of Cicero's "Hortensius" there came to him the drive to identify himself with those who would be philosophers.

Popularity seemed to mean much to him. He wanted to be an orator like Hierius, who enjoyed a considerable reputation in Rome. The Manichaeans argued well so he wanted to be a Manichaean. Then came his identity with the Sceptics of the New Academy. Later he became attracted to Neo-Platonism, and soon he could no longer stand being outside the Christian Church, especially with men in it like Ambrose, Pontitianus, Simplicanus and Victorinus.

There were social qualities about Augustine which drew people to him. He loved his friends. Scholars came to learn of him wherever he went. Positions were open to him in Carthage, Rome or Milan. The religious group which gathered around him in Tagaste after his conversion already has been mentioned. People of Hippo quickly became attached to him and took him for their Presbyter. Later they chose him for their coadjutor, and soon afterward for their Bishop.

EMOTIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

Augustine's mother showed intense interest in him. He wrote addressing God, "she wanted Thou God rather than he (her husband) shouldst be my father".
Augustine was influenced by his mother's vision of the shining youth coming towards her who "bade her look and observe", and told her that where she was, there he was also. The following may apply here: "what am I at best, but an infant sucking the milk Thou givest, and feeding upon Thee, the food that perisheth not?".

His mother followed him on his journeys. She separated him from his mistress and picked out for him a suitable wife who was two years under age. The mystical experience with his mother just before her death may fit under the above heading: "And when our discourse was brought to that point, the very highest delight of earthly senses, in the very purest material light, was, in respect of the sweetness of that life, not only not worthy of comparison, but not even of mention; we, raising up ourselves with a more glowing affection towards the "Self-same", did by degrees pass through all things bodily, even the very heaven, whence sun and moon and stars shine upon earth; yea we were soaring higher yet, by inward musing, and discourse, and admiring of Thy works; and we came to our own minds, and went beyond them, that we might arrive at that region of never-failing plenty, where Thou feedest Israel forever with the food of truth, and where life is the Wisdom by whom all these things were made — and while we were discoursing and panting after her (this wisdom) we slightly touched her with the whole effort of our heart; and we weighed, and there we leave bound "the first fruits of the spirit"; "and returned to vocal expressions of our mouth, where the word spoken has beginning and end". At death of his mother when he was 33, Augustine wrote of their union as "that life rent asunder as it were, which, of hers and mine together, had been made but one".

Augustine writes of himself in his youth: "I ever burnt heretofore, to be satiated in things below". In his reading he came across these words: "it is good for a man not to touch a woman". And of this he writes: "To these words I should have listened more intently———; but I poor wretch, foamed like the troubled sea, following the rushing of my own tide, forsaking Thee, and exceeding all Thy limits; yet I escaped not Thy scourges———. Where was I, and how far was I
exiled from the delights of Thy House, in that Sixteenth year of my age of flesh, when the madness of lust—-took the rule over me and I resigned myself wholly to it? My friends meanwhile took no care by marriage to save my fall”.

He loved the act of stealing in itself "I loved mine own fault, not that for which I was faulty, but my fault itself". Again he writes: "I defiled, therefore, the spring of friendship with the filth of concupiscence—I was both beloved and secretly arrived at the bond of enjoying; and was with joy fettered with the sorrow-bringing bonds, that I might be scourged with the iron burning rods of jealousy, and suspicions, and fears, and angers and quarrels". He continues, "I was for nine years in lusts, deceits, seductions, intemperance of desires". He wrote of his mistress and of his faithfulness to her during those years.

There may be some significance in Augustine's attachment to the young man in Tagaste who had grown up with him, and in his reaction to the young man's death. Endeavoring to express how he felt he wrote, "my soul and his soul were 'one soul in two bodies'". Often Augustine mentioned strong friendships with those of the same sex, e.g. Alipius and Nebridius. He expressed frequently the desire for a rich wife and comfort. In one place he wrote: "Alipius kept me from marrying—-".

His mistress was torn from him to prepare him for prospective marriage two years away but he took another mistress. He wrote long after conversion that he was still under the sway of the flesh.

OCCUPATIONAL ADJUSTMENT

Until the end of his 16th year Augustine tried to get out of doing all serious work. He "studied and worked less than was expected" of him, and followed his natural curiosities rather than endeavoring to work under self-discipline. During his 16th year he became the chief scholar in rhetoric school.

To repeat under this heading a little of what already has been referred to in another connection, he was awakened to speculation by reading Cicero's "Hortensius". While studying in Carthage he became attached to the Manichaen group
and for the next nine years was their enthusiast. During this time however, he dis-
patched one after another of their doctrines by his criticism. He next returned
and taught for a year or so in Tagaste. Then he went back to Carthage where he
"taught rhetoric, sold loquacity and taught artifice to pleaders".

Some conversations with Faustus, the leading Manichaean thinker, disap-
pointed him and left him without a group with which he desired to identify himself.
So at 29 years of age he went to Rome and after a year there proceeded to Milan
where he took up his duties teaching rhetoric. His contacts with Ambrose and
others turned him toward the Christian Religion and led to his abandoning his post
in Milan.

Following his baptism Augustine spent a year in Rome. After this
there came a two year and a half retirement at Tagaste. His active life began
again at Hippo where he had gone for a visit. He was ordained there and soon
was made coadjutor to the Bishop. Later he became Bishop and by this time was
launched on his life-work as preacher, administrator, theologian and controversialist.

RELIGIOUS LIFE

There follows here, in the order of its appearance in his Confessions,
material of all sorts which has to do with Augustine's religious life. No attempt
is made at classification.

Augustine was admitted as a catechumen at birth, "sealed with the
Cross and salted with His salt". He was carefully conditioned by his mother in
religious teaching when a child having been taught the way of faith and love of
Christ. Mention is made of his having had cramps in his stomach when he was a
child. With his mother's help he sought baptism fearing death. But as the pains
ceased, cleansing was deferred because after that, it was thought, the sin would
be the greater.

Before his sixteenth year his childhood sins were looked on by himself
as vicious, but yet he took delight in them. During his sixteenth year his "foul-
ness" completely submerged his religious concern. He was proud, arrogant and let
himself go in all ways to his full satisfaction. During the years when he was 17
to 19 he was famished in soul, but he states that he hungered not in the least for God; in fact the more empty he was the more he loathed spiritual food.

The Manichaean had twitted him that he had been inoculated with the faith of his mother before he was large enough to reason and this it was that large-ly led him to part with his former childhood beliefs, which he then thought had never really become his own, and to join the Manichaean. The death of a dear friend almost brought him face to face with the question of immortality but he evaded this by returning to his old pastimes with renewed vigor. At the age of 29, after nine years with the Manichaean, (again to repeat somewhat), his talks with Faustus their leader cooled him, and he gradually broke away from them.

The Sceptics of the New Academy interested him now on his travels from Carthage to Rome and Milan; "a monism began to take place of the Manichaean dualism and intellectual reality in ideas took the place of materialism". From created things he began to see the invisible Good. He came to see that "this God exists, is unchangeable and is eternal". In Milan he was unconsciously drawn to Ambrose, yet "he contemplated at this time casting himself into the bosom of truth and wisdom taking along with him a beautiful wife with riches and pleasures".

During his 31st year Augustine thought his way through, he writes, to the extent of seeing his difficulty to lie in free-will, but continued to rational-ize. He threw over the Manichaean completely, and felt himself attracted by the Neo-Platonists. He felt he could not quite embrace the doctrines of the church, but found his doubts somewhat cleared, at that time, by reading Paul's Epistles.

In his 32nd year he was influenced by the story of Simplicianus about Victorinus, and longed to devote himself to God, but was held back by his habits. Here he was visited by Pontitianus and influenced by his stories of the young officials of his acquaintance and the story of St. Anthony. Then followed Augustine's conversion experience in the garden during which he heard the voice "take up and read". He followed the voice and turned to Romans 13:13,14.
Augustine was baptized at Easter time in the year 387 at the age of 33. His own son Adeodatus along with Alipius were baptized with him. He now threw everything he had into his devotion to God which fulfilled his mother's vision. The mystical religious experience referred to which he had with his mother just before her death at Ostia is significant. It appears that for them God became his Father as his mother had wished.

His retirement for two and a half years at Tagaste following his conversion gave him the opportunity to think out his problems and reform his habits. There followed a life of astonishing productivity.

2. Comment.

The increasing interest in the part that one's own emotional condition plays in arriving at a satisfactory philosophy of life causes us to be particularly attentive as we consider the teachings of St. Augustine. Hastings Rashdall points out that St. Augustine pictured in its fullest expression the growing disposition in Western Christianity to portray God as a moral rather than a metaphysical Being. On the other hand we find St. Augustine never to have been able to liberate himself from what might be called an immature handling of the problem of evil.

It has been no blessing to Christian Theology, Catholic and Protestant, that with his conversion St. Augustine merely transferred the seat of evil from matter to imprisoned human will, leaving it to reign there in his own life and in his teachings, an arrested condition which assigns man to permanent immaturity in this life, ever subject, as was St. Augustine himself, to the desires for forbidden pleasure, the satisfactions of pride and the dangers of curiosity.

Let us ask a few questions at this point, about St. Augustine's emotional life. In the first place were not the Manicheans right when they confronted him

(3) Case: "Jesus Through the Centuries" p. 240 University of Chicago Press 1932.
with the taunt that he was merely returning to a former position due to the Christian conditioning which he received during his childhood at the hand of his mother? And were Augustine's intellectual journeys from pillar to post, via Manicheans, the skeptics of the new Academy, the neo-platonists, etc., so free from emotional factors as has been commonly supposed? Perhaps his return to the faith of his mother was more an attempt to solve emotional strains by a return to the symbolized love-life of childhood, than it was an intellectual tussle with objective reality. In fact St. Augustine's entire submission to the church, and his acceptance of dogma (such for instance as his accepting the ransom theory of the Atonement) falls completely in line with an emotional condition which made him not interested, in this instance, in intellectual effort which tests truth under judgement formed from an experience of reality.

That his emotional life failed to mature beyond a certain point is indicated by his inability to respond to sexual pleasures with a genuine sense of responsibility free from lust. It is possible that the years from 14 to 19, when he "exceeded God's limits and hungered not for spiritual food," may have been in some respects, his most advanced efforts toward an emotional growth which eventually might have brought him to freedom in Christ. As for Augustine's attributing to God his scourings received from the burning rods of jealousy, suspicions, fears, angers and quarrels, to us, who have looked into the lives of these people just reviewed, Augustine is but describing here his impotence and inadequacy in the presence of adjustments of affect or feeling, apparently beyond his reach at the time.

St. Augustine's tie to his mother, together with the remarkable hold his interest in young men had on him, throw some light on this question. St. Augustine never did more than play, with the idea of marriage. He had no difficulty making a heterosexual adjustment with his mistresses on the basis of taking forbidden fruit in childhood, or being a libertine in adolescence. Yet he failed here, as
was inevitable, to treat his mistress with the fairness he would have given a
wife placed on a par with his mother. He protected himself by surrounding and
innoculating his idea of marriage, with the negative qualities of temptations
of wealth and comfort. In fact in every way he dodged taking this step ahead
which would cause another to supplant his mother. Instead he proceeded in the
opposite direction, not only by letting his mother destroy what adjustment he
had been able to make with the mother of his son, but by actually going with
his mother to her death, as her symbolized lover (for a thinly veiled love-experi-
ence is fully described in pages 194 and 195 of his Confessions. See EMOTIONAL
DEVELOPMENT above). Possibly St. Augustine's experience, in this respect, illustrates
the teaching that a man's passions can be little other than those of lust, who
never in the real world has labored to bring into existence, with full responsi-
bility to society and to another, the phantasies of his sexual life of infancy
and childhood.

St. Augustine's admission (pp 229f. and 250 f.) that even in his later years
he remained still under the sway of the flesh, has back of it more than the
Christian's forthrightness in acknowledging constant failure in living. Also it
suggests more than our appreciation of St. Augustine as an exceedingly virile
man. In fact it corroborates the view we have been taking of St. Augustine's emo-
tional life; namely, that with all his growth in thinking himself from his dual-
istic position to Monism, from materialism to intellectual reality, he never ex-
perienced this corresponding development in his feelings. Sexuality never was
included in the round of reality for him. A dualism always remained. And redemp-
tion for him could never lift this forbidden region of experience into the light
of day. As his love life with his Mother which would not brook denial, could not
be suffered to enter consciousness, so his handling of redemption in the Cross,
had in it a brokenness and inadequacy which left him only a part of the Christian
Salvation experience, which left the great majority of mankind condemned, and which left even the elect with but a portion of the Gospel.


The central points of the Greek Theology concerning the Work of Christ had been: a) physical corruption wrought by the fall; b) the Incarnation as in principle the destruction of death; and c) the deification of humanity. Beginning now with St. Augustine, in Western Theology these points become: a) original sin; b) justification by grace; and c) reconciliation by the sacrifice of Christ.

St. Augustine assumes that a man existed on this earth in the very beginning of the human race, graced by God with such an adjustment that all instinctual needs and conscious or unconscious wants were so handled by the unconscious controlling forces and the conscious self, that the result was perfect salvation. But activities in a certain region of life peopled with angels and devils, led to the choice of wants contrary to those which produce unchangeable good. This took place within a specific human being named Adam, with damnation as the result.

Man, generally speaking, thus would stand condemned to paralysis of action, inferiority, failure and cowering fearfulness. In terms of St. Augustine's experience, possibly he could have shaken his fist in the face of the Creator and stalked off having killed, so far as he was concerned, the Great One who stood in the way of his compelling needs, like the savage. But in St. Augustine's case, as a little boy, in his love for his parents and because of his religious training, he had grown to have a positive affection for this Being. Therefore he could not follow the ways of

(4) For outline of these teachings see Appendix p.
primitive religions and fit things into the simple scheme of pure hate or pure love. Love and hate did not alternate in him for his feelings had in them both at once. Therefore in God the Creator, justice and mercy became now inextricably bound up together.

Man's God-likeness, such as St. Augustine assumes it was in the first state of original man, therefore had passed and gone. So the direct solution of man's difficulty would be forever after this out of the question. Man had moved on from the place where he could be God himself and look upon all that he thought and did as unchangeable good. But man could not give up altogether his memories of once having considered himself God-like, and become a completely submissive creature. (Note St. Augustine's life-long battle with pride). So the only solution that remained for him was that he should somehow satisfy the hateful and destructive forces which were rampant within him. This required that the outraged Creator be appeased, so that as a result the forces of God in positive affection, might spend themselves in creative living. According to St. Augustine, the only way of doing this had been made possible by Divine Influence attributable to God, called Grace. Because of this quality in the Creator (positive affection), the drama going on in the inner nature of man was given an earthly setting and projected by God into social living in the Cross of Christ.

Thus St. Augustine took over from St. Paul the doctrine of original sin, and made it the cornerstone of his theology. Much of the evil that St. Paul had observed in human nature corresponds to what the psychopathologists call unconscious compelling wants. They tell us that these wants, due to the development of the human organism prolonging the period of dependency in childhood and complicating the discharging of tensions traceable to instinctual needs, and also due to the accretions of an advanced stage of culture, are driven underground and are left there to cook and give off fumes in the form of unhealthy or destructive thoughts and behavior, interpreted in any moral setting as sin. For St. Augustine, original


freedom from these almost compulsive forces, was in one act of history forever lost to man. After this incident all men were born actual victims of these death-dealing compulsions, actual criminals in the face of the moral and religious orders of the Universe. Originally, therefore, even before it had manifested itself in actual sinful desire or act, is an act of the will and is justly punishable.

For St. Augustine baptism, the repetition in each believer of the drama of the Cross, the solution of the unbearable conflict of unconscious love and hate with its concomitant fear and guilt, removes the curse of original sin, that is, the death penalty which was felt to be deserved because of unlawful unconscious wants. But baptism does not put a stop to continued concupiscence, which at any time may become active and deserving denunciation, even though this activity has failed to enlist the approval of, or the partnership of, the will.

Free will, in the sense of an ego free to choose in reality between two possible courses not subject to determination, was to St. Augustine, heresy. The responsibility of the individual for St. Augustine, operated entirely within the limitations of man's location of self under the domination of the absolute compelling God which predestines and determines. Practically all people before the incident of Christ in history, are doomed by St. Augustine to the endless wrangling of the forces at war within themselves. The Divine Grace of God in Christ of course disposed of these.

Psychopathologists find traces of this at the moment the infant becomes aware of the mother and the father as separate beings from his own body. (See Karl Abraham, Selected Papers, Hogarth, London, 1928). But they hardly have a counter-part in theory to this extreme position of St. Augustine unless faint outlines can be found in their conception of the racial unconscious, (see C.G. Jung Two Essays in Analytical Psychology), or in the development of an agent in intra-uterine life which gets its origin in thwartings of fetal existence. The conflict between Jacob and Esau in the womb of Rebecca is a folk-tale, possibly reminiscent of this vague theory which, as we see, is not recent.
tensions sufficiently, so that believers have a second chance.

St. Augustine, remaining under the domination of a ruthless and avengeing unconscious conscience, and limiting his interpretation of the efficacy of the Work of Christ to this setting, can account for his doctrine of election only in descriptive terms of this very tyrannical conception, "Some are saved to show God's mercy, others are doomed to show His vengeance".

The complicated mass of dogmatic statements in the creed of the Church, which must be intellectually accepted, and which made up for St. Augustine what he calls faith, also can be seen by us on the background of the limited interpretation which he gives to the Cross, and the definitions which he offers of his own partial solution of his inner tensions. Belief in the Church (his mother) must somehow be unquestioned no matter what discrepancies may appear. This blind belief must have over and through it love for that Church or it avails nothing. The doctrine of the Holy Trinity, as well as all the dogmatic statements which must be accepted, are there to ward off threatenings of a restless vitality which tends to disturb him in its creative urge to question, to allay fears which will not otherwise be quieted, and, it may be, to permit a continued love-life with his mother which has been lifted to the heights of sacramental significance.

Divine Grace, that "divine influence upon the soul without which it is incapable of the smallest good action" appears to have been externalized by St. Augustine as that quality of God which was free from punishing characteristics. This seems to have been formed into a reservoir which could be drawn on, by way of the sacraments, in a system of emotional economy that guaranteed a banking reserve which was limitless. This was accessible to all who believed as he did, that is, to all the elect. This almost magical replenishment of the believers emotional funds, puts him in such a position that he could do business on the real-goodness side of human experience, and to the extent he is enabled to do this, he is made righteous (experiences justification), and receives merits at the bar of the outraged unconscious-
conscience-aspect of God. St. Augustine kept all bound under these laws of emotional
economy in spite of the reach toward mankind on the part of the Creator in the
Work of Christ.

St. Augustine, it appears, keeps his conceptions of God almost patronizingly
paternalistic; and he seems to keep those whom he allows to become Sons of God,
little-boyish and forever immature. In his plan, behind his philosophy and theology,
God assumes the role of a benevolent old gentleman, and the Christian Church ap­
ppears to become the lap and breast of the mother. Apparently St. Augustine's feelings
toward woman were indefinitely left unsatisfied, and his teachings insist that
this must be true for all others. The terrific strength of St. Augustine's sick
conscience did not allow him to possess psychologically his lost mother. And pro­
bably for the same reason he was unable successfully to realize the indwelling
Christ of St. Paul. This should throw considerable light on the way the fresh and
natural content in St. Paul's teachings becomes to a considerable degree artificial
and stilted in the hands of St. Augustine.

St. Augustine's solution in going back to his mother, projecting his conflicts
into a theological and ecclesiastical system, and enjoying his sublimates in lead­
ership in theology and the Church, was bound to warp the truth and misrepresent
the reality which we find in the Cross of Christ. But that he has been a great
rock on which to build has remained undenied. St. Paul had relived in his own ex­
perience the healing and saving features of the Cross; and he had understood and
formulated for others, the one solution offered mankind for their complicated
state of emotional suffering. By the time of St. Augustine, however, the truth and
reality in this dramatization by St. Paul of the forces of the universe in society
and in man, had dwindled in meaning until fact and fancy were almost indistinguish­
able, and consistency or integrity in human personality was almost unheard of. St.
Augustine, in endeavoring honestly to face facts in his own personal life, brought
reality back again into existence; and he made a glorious attempt to hold the Cross
before men's eyes once more, and challenge them again to the marriage in their souls
(of imagination and morality.

(9) Rashdall p.335 f.
CHAPTER VII.

MARTIN LUTHER AND JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH.

The medical psychologists, were they to look for the supreme illustration of ambivalence, could do no better than to turn to Martin Luther. He was full of contradictions; yet he maintained an ability "to view apparently irreconcilable opposites as in their final basis a unity"; "He identified extremes with each other and comprehended their coexistence in one and the same subject". This gave "a variety to his statements and an unsystematic character to his thought which was little other than fundamental irrationalism". From these tensions of opposites however, Luther suggested a new conception of God and a new understanding of the Work of Christ.

"The following passages from the 'Commentary on Galatians', with their emphasis on the conjunction of contraries in Christianity, and with the suggestion in the last of them that the final reconciliation of the contraries must be through the absorption of one by the other, illustrate the tendency of Luther's thought in the direction of a new method of Christian theology synthetic and inner, rather than analytic and external like the method of the schoolmen. (3)

"Thus a Christian man is at once righteous and a sinner, a friend and an enemy of God. These contraries no sophist will admit, because they do not hold the true idea of justification (I.p.335).

What can be more contrary than to fear and dread the wrath of God and yet to hope in His mercy. The one is hell the other is heaven, and yet they must be closely joined together in the heart. In speculation they are easily joined together, but to join them in practice is the hardest thing in the world". (II.p.108).

"Nothing can be more closely conjoined than fear and faith (fiducia), law and Gospel, sin and grace. For they are so conjoined that the one is swallowed up of the other. Therefore no mathematical conjunction can be assigned that could approach to this". (II.p.113).

There appears to be a marked parallel in Luther's doctrine of justification by faith, (wherein negative or death forces are swallowed up by positive or love forces in the Work of Christ), to the resolution of guilt in modern depth psychology.

(1) The destructive and constructive forces within an individual directed toward the same object at the same time.
(3) Commentary on Galatians. Quoted from Franks.
Perhaps this will become clear as we follow the psychological study of the life of Luther in this chapter, and review his central doctrine of justification by faith in the light of his own personality traits and experiences.
Martin Luther at 35 was described by a Leipsic Professor as follows: "Martin is of medium height and slender form, with a body so wasted with cares and study that you can almost count his bones. He is just in the prime of life with a clear penetrating voice.... In his life and manners he is polite and affable, not in the least stoical or supercilious, and he is able to adapt himself to all occasions. In company he is a gay and merry jester, alert and good-humored, everywhere and always with a bright and cheerful face however terribly his enemies threaten him...."

John Kessler's book on the reformation refers to him at 41 in this manner, "he was moderately fleshy, so upright in carriage that he bent backward rather than forward, with face raised toward heaven, and with deep brown black eyes, flashing and sparkling like a star, so that you could not easily bear their gaze.... By nature he was friendly and affable, but not given to fleshly lust or unseemly pleasures, while his earnestness was so mingled with joy and kindness that it was a pleasure to live with him."

He was born on November 10, 1483, in Eisleben in Saxony; his parents were Hans Luther, a miner of peasant extraction, and Margaret Luther. His father was a stern harsh man; his mother was an imaginative, sensitive woman, a prey of conflicting emotions. She lived in devout and fearsome bondage to much her husband laughed at. She felt the spell of evil spirits and their terror lingered with her.

Discipline in the home was harsh and sympathy scant; the rule was the rod. Looking back Luther is said to have seen little joy or cheer in his childhood. Public opinion was against games and sports and his parents were of the strictest. They believed in work not play. Once when Luther took a nut he was beaten until the

(4) M. refers to Arthur C. McGiffert's "Martin Luther", Century Co., 1912; the numbers following the M. refer to pages in this edition. G. refers to Hartmann Grisar's "Luther", Kegan Paul, London, 1917; the numbers refer to pages and volume.
blood came. Luther was also intimidated by the stupid brutality of his teachers.

"He was one day, he relates, 'beaten fifteen times in succession during one morning in school, to the best of his knowledge without any fault of his own, though, probably, not without having brought the punishment upon himself by insubordination and obstinacy". Luther preached in later years that in the government of children "the apple ought to lie beside the rod". He added "Where such fear enters a man in childhood it can hardly be rooted out again as long as he lives. As he once trembled at every word of his father and mother, to the end of his life he is afraid of the rustling of a leaf".

Luther was the oldest of a family of boys and girls and was his mother's boy. He looked like his mother in face and figure and was like her in temperament and disposition. His mother reported him a dependable boy, the monitor of his brothers and sisters. He was the inseparable companion of his next brother James.

Luther's eyes and voice magnetized and charmed those he met. When a boy these were the gifts which brought him welcome in the cultured home of Frau Cotta so that he could study in Eisenach. Later, after receiving his M.A. degree at Erfurt, it is said that his companions couldn't understand how this light-hearted, happy person, with such frank good fellowship and contagious merriment, could go in for a monastic career.

It was characteristic of him that he liked strong and rugged, rather than smooth and musical verse. And he was fond of unsymmetrical rhythms, and stanzas closing with an unrhymed line.

SOCIAL ADAPTATIONS.

Luther's being the oldest son in a family of brothers and sisters, his home being in the village where there were other children to mingle with, and our knowledge of his having begun school when he was so little that he had to be carried back and forth by an older pupil, all argue in favor of social ease and rapport with
In Frau Cotta's home in Eisenach came his first taste of culture and refinement with their gentler graces. In later years he repeated in memento of his early happy Eisenach days a line he learned from this kindly woman: "On earth's no dearer thing than women's love to whom t'is given." He felt that it was here in her home that he was fitted for association in the greater world into which he was to enter.

At the University of Erfurt, where he went when he was 17, he won many friends. He was no recluse, but was lovable and companionable, witty and talkative. He was always fond of a jest and was devoted to music for which he had a gift. There was more than study in his college life; yet there was no sign of wildness or dissipation.

Mention is made of his belonging to an intimate circle of poets while at Erfurt.

Luther was never very popular with the Erfurt monks. Upon entering the monastery his reputation and attainments were against him. The monks were annoyed at him because he was a serious student; later they accused him of pride and self-conceit. This must have been a trying time for Luther in view of his natural sociability and the contrast between these monks and the friends whom he had left on the outside.

As he went through life his vivacity and enthusiasm, his contagious humor, his fascinating conversation and personal charm, all gave him warm admirers. In Wittenburg, the scene of his life work, the circle of his friends was large and included everybody in the little city. The way his friends stood by him through thick and thin, argues for his lack of difficulty in this field of adjustment. Among the friends to whom so many of his letters are addressed are: Philip Melanchthon, George Spalatin, Staupitz, Lang, Lucas Cranach the painter, Jerome Schurf, Christopher Scheurl the jurist, von Amsdorf and others.

"He dominated every circle he belonged to, and his intimates as time passed recognizing more and more his superior genius and capacity for leadership, fell naturally, whether older or younger, into the position of followers." 

These remarkable qualities seemed to remain with him undimmed until the time of the Peasant's War in 1525. The pressure of unpleasant yet unavoidable facts of hu-
man nature at this time crowded in upon him with such insistence, that he was
greatly sobered, and after this robbed of much of his earlier buoyancy and hopeful-
ness. A great disillusionment had come to him, and after this his confidence in peo-
ple was permanently shattered. This of course brought a measure of self-conscious-
ness into his social relationships.

After Luther's marriage their home was a center of a very active social life. Colleagues, neighbors, friends, guests from abroad (for Wittenburg was in many ways the Christian's Mecca), all came to accept Luther's hospitality which was abundant. He encouraged gymnastic sports, played at bowls himself, and was an expert at chess. He particularly liked to see young people enjoy themselves and approved of their dances and theatricals. He passed many happy evenings singing and playing music among his friends.

His chief relaxation he always found in social intercourse; particularly was this true when he felt depressed. Once he declared he had rather associate with his swineherd and the swine than stay alone. Light conversation, jesting, story-telling he held especially good for low spirits. The worst his enemies could urge against him to blacken his character, was his liking for society, his fondness for playing the lute, his luxurious living and his fine dressing (for on state occasions he was fond of wearing starched cuffs and a gold chain). In general he showed ease and freedom in dealing with all.

VOCATIONAL ADJUSTMENT AND LIFE WORK.

When Luther was 13 he was sent to school at Magdeburg and a year later he was sent to Eiseheich where he begged and sang his way to food and schooling. At Eiseheich he received teaching of the best sort under Principal Tribohius and distinguished himself in language and literature. He made such progress that at 17 he entered the University of Erfurt where he took the bachelors degree at the end of the year. His training in logic and philosophy at Erfurt sharpened him for his later contro-
Luther didn't particularly distinguish himself in his work for his bachelor's degree for he was 13th in a class of 57. When he got his M.A. two and a half years later, however, he stood second in a class of 17. His education finished, he took up the study of law in accordance with his father's wishes.

In the summer of 1505, when he had been a law student but a few weeks, on his way back to the University after visiting his parents, he had a peculiar experience during a thunderstorm at which time he made a vow to become a monk. He thereupon turned away from his friends, went against his father's commands, and entered upon a most ascetic career at the Augustinian Monastery in Erfurt.

Luther was called to Wittenburg in 1508 to teach Aristotelian logic and ethics. Aristotelian comment on all material under discussion, which at this time was called philosophy, had become distasteful to Luther for he preferred theology, "that theology which explored the kernel of the nut, the heart of the wheat, the marrow of the bone". Luther had been diligent in the study of Occam, Peter D'Ailly and Gabriel Biel, the Fathers and the Bible. In the monastery he had studied the Vulgate from cover to cover and knew exactly where everything was.

Luther next went to Erfurt to teach theology in his old Monastery. In 1511 he was sent to Rome in the interests of his Order by Staupitz, the vicar. He then became a professor in Wittenburg and was given a doctor's degree in theology in 1512. Besides teaching in the University he had preaching to do which was very distasteful to him at first. By 1514 he had become the regular incumbent of the city church. And in 1515 when he was 31 years old he was made district vicar of the Augustinian Order for a period of three years. He gives us some idea of the amount of work he was doing at this time in one of his letters: "I am lecturer in the cloister and reader at meals; I am daily asked to preach in the parish church; I am director of studies; I am vicar of 11 monasteries, inspector of fish-ponds at Leitzken, advocate of Herzbergers cause at Torgan; I am lecturing on Paul and gathering material on the Psalms." Besides this he still had to discharge his duties as a monk, which meant devotions seven times a day.
Because of Luther's freedom in expounding the Scriptures, his use of terms from the common life of the people, and insights gained from his own religious experience, he soon became the most popular teacher at the University. "Here they felt was a real man who went to the heart of things and was bound by no narrow conventions and traditional sophistries." Dr. Martin Pollich, physician to the Elector Frederick and later Rector of the University, predicted that Luther would revolutionize the teaching of theology.

On October 13th, 1516, Luther preached in the Castle Church against indulgences, (this too on an anniversary of the dedication of the Church which was a museum containing sacred relics which the Elector was fond of gathering). He did the same thing again on a similar occasion in February 1517; and on October 31st, 1517 he posted his famous 95 theses on the door of the Castle Church. The affair spread like wild fire, and on August 7th, 1518, Luther received summons to appear in Rome within 60 days and answer to the charge of heresy.

Luther was not going to walk into a trap; therefore through his friends in authority in civil affairs and in the Church, he went instead to Augsburg to answer before the Pope's Legate. Luther refused to recant holding it was against his conscience to do so, and the best that Militz the Legate could get out of him was a promise of silence.

Luther expecting a speedy condemnation from Rome, drew up a formal appeal to the general council which proved later to be a master stroke of policy. The break with Rome was hastened by Luther's part in the Leipsic debate with John Eck of the University of Ingolstadt in 1519; he felt pushed by Eck to break his promise of silence which he had made to Militz. The following statement made by Luther during these disputations, due to German feeling against the Bohemians, cost him many followers: "It is certain that among the articles of John Huss and the Bohemians are many most Christian and evangelical, and these the universal church cannot condemn.

Luther's publications in 1519 numbered 30. And among these were two large
Scriptural Commentaries and a sizeable book on the power of the pope. Luther became the most active pamphleteer in Germany as well as the most influential; in fact he did much to establish this new form of literature. He did more than a man's full work apart from his controversial activity. In his "Address to the German Nobility" published in August 1520 he sounded liberty from the domination of spiritual power by the papacy, and freedom from dependence upon its offices or dread of its penalties; also there was a declaration of freedom from bondage to exclusively religious duties and a break from the monastic ideal of life. This address produced a tremendous sensation; it showed men of political affairs that although Luther was no statesman, he was a power to be reckoned with, and it gave a new standing to the cause of national independence and regeneration.

On December 10th 1520 Luther broke permanently with the papal see and burnt the bull which was issued against him along with the canon law in Wittenburg. Luther's appearance at the Diet of Worms, Tuesday April 16th 1521, was the high point of the several crises of his life. It interests us here, from the standpoint of his power and influence, to know that "at Worms before the assembled body he was not a lone man but a champion of a great and growing party of political as well as religious importance. He was a seasoned warrior long aware of his national significance".

Luther's retirement at Wartburg in 1521, which followed the dangerous experience at Worms, brought to the world the beginning of his translation of the Bible which eventually crowded out all other translations. He kept steadily at this task until the whole Bible was issued together in 1534.

From 1522 on, much of Luther's time was given to overseeing the affairs of the churches. Although indifferent to details and willing to let things take their course, he had the gift of distinguishing the important from the unimportant, and of knowing what to insist upon, in spite of all opposition and criticism.

The year of the Peasant's War (1525) he had to endure seeing thousands turn away from him, many to Catholicism and many to the Anabaptists. He lost the peasants and alienated the leading intellectuals. In fact he ceased to be the popular hero in
Germany and became to multitudes especially in the south and west an object of hatred.

Luther's work among the churches took more final form when in 1526 the Elector appointed a commission of visitation as an agency of reformation in Saxony. This of course settled the matter of the control of the churches by the civil government.

Another Diet met at Augsburg in 1530 which found Luther safe at Coburg 135 miles away, represented at the Diet, however, by his friends and supporters, Justus, Melanthon, Spealatin and Agricola. The Schmalkald Conference in 1537 proved another severe testing time for Luther. He was so disturbed that he did less writing then any time since 1516. This slump was but temporary however, for in 1545 the year before his death he was about as active with his pen as ever.

It is difficult for us to imagine Luther's terrific capacity for work. There exist more than 3000 of his letters, half of them dating after 1530. Questions were referred to him by Protestants from all over the world. He helped churches find ministers and helped ministers find positions. Civil questions of all sorts were brought to him. He was asked to interfere for those suffering injustice at the hands of civil authorities. Innumerable marriage cases were giving him constant worry and annoyance. He was required to patch up quarrels between people great and small. Needy people had to be recommended to the Elector. He had to comfort mourners and care for the pastoral duties among the students.

The net result of Luther's work may be said to be the establishment of a non-papal church still in possession of the means of grace and so like the old as to appeal to the same emotions in people and inspire the same confidence. To put it another way, the great thing which Luther did was to break the dominance of the Roman Catholic Church in Western Europe. He convinced a large part of Europe that religious consolation and salvation can be found elsewhere. In breaking the traditional principle of ecclesiastical control over civil affairs he gave the modern world its great charter of liberty. He wouldn't let those in power make out of the Bible a book of law. He changed the whole tone of society by denying the possibility of gaining
merit by any practices or employments in the way of religious duties, and by asserting the equal sacredness of all callings. This denying identity of religion with asceticism and otherworldliness removed the greatest barrier in the way of the modern spirit and its development. And the removing of theeslesiastical domination and bondage to religious fear, brought about a new interest in the present world and its employments and a new concern for human welfare.

RELIGIOUS LIFE

Mention has been made of the superstitious type of religious belief which Luther acquired from his mother, and from which, together with his parents’ hardness and unimaginative methods of discipline, he apparently was never able to recover. From the time he was a small child his imagination had been peopled with angels and demons, and in spite of his opportunities at the University, he lived his life as a young man in constant fear and dread, and in total dependence upon the aid and protection of this saint and that. In his conversion experience, likened so often to that of St. Paul on the road to Damascus, in dread of death he threw himself on the ground and cried to the special saint of the miners to whom often he had turned in distress, “Help dear Saint Anna! I will become a monk”.

He had been long subject to fits of depression and exposed to attacks of anxiety and dread; for as a child often he had been distressed by his sins and terrified by the fear of eternal punishment. Undoubtedly the harsh treatment he had received as a child had given him a timorous conscience and a morbid apprehensiveness. In the spring of 1505 before his religious experience referred to he had been exposed to trying temptations at the University; he was undergoing a reaction to his hard study for the M.A. degree which he had just received; he had been struggling with his growing distaste for the legal profession into which he was being forced by the will of his father; and then there was the recent death of a student friend who was very dear to him. These all served to put him into the pregnant state which caused him to find his way off of the unbearable situation through the solemn vow
Luther's religious life during the period from his entrance into the Monastery at Erfurt in 1505 to his ordination in the spring of 1509 was one of severest discipline and ascetic practice. He went beyond all others in devotion to duty, study and mortification of the flesh. This period was full of struggles with Satan, and had it not been for Staupitz, he without doubt would have lost his sanity. He did earn the reputation among the monks of being an epileptic. There is material a plenty dealing with these experiences of Luther, collected by his friends and enemies alike.

The earnestness with which Luther pursued the application of the best the Church had to offer him in his own sufferings, is illustrated not only in the sincerity with which he took his training in the monastery (he was referred to among all the monasteries of the order and beyond, as a model of holiness), but is clearly seen in his endeavor to give himself without reserve to faith in the healing blessings said to be in the sacred relics and practices in Rome. Sent there in 1511 by Staupitz, catching his first view of the city from the north, he was so overcome with emotion that he threw himself on his knees and cried, "Hail Rome! Thrice holy thou in whom the blood of the martyrs has been poured out".

Luther had touched the humanistic spirit the first time at Eisenach under Tribonius. When he was 17 at Erfurt the new humanism was making headway against the scholasticism of the age. And in Luther's constant disputations while at the monastery, there is noted much of his earlier training in his unwillingness to fall in line with the Thomists. Aristotle with his emphasis upon human ability and free will, instead of man's impotence and constant need of divine grace, was to Luther particularly dangerous. Soon in his teaching at Wittenburg and Erfurt he threw over the custom of commenting in the light of the teachings of Aristotle, and followed his own course of getting at the Scriptures his own way. Mention has been made of his debt to Occam and Birg Tauler; Tauler also for a time made a great impression on him.

Luther would have none of the new-fangled astronomy of Copernicus. The world of the Scriptures was his world. Therefore he preached against astronomy which he called
astrology and which he included with witchcraft, saintship, pilgrimages, lucky-days and omens, charms, signs etc.

When he preached against indulgences in the Castle Church in October 1516, and nailed the theses to the door in October 1517, he was sure he was not attacking the penitential system out of which the indulgences grew; it was the money abuse, he said, that chiefly started him. "Religion was most sacred of all affairs to him. For its sake he had broken with his father, abandoned a career of worldly promise, and in his religious life he had passed through the most agonizing and exalting experiences possible. Now for them to make it gain for gold! - his soul waxed hot. He was neither a humanist to laugh it off, nor a Catholic to justify it; he had a conscience which made indifference impossible."

Foreseeing exclusion from the church, Luther declared this hurt no one, provided he retained his Christian faith and character; for true communion of the church is spiritual and internal. By summer 1519 Luther had gotten to the point that in writing to Link of the Augsburg interviews, he said, "I rightly divine that the Anti-Christ, of whom Paul speaks, reigns in the Roman Curia." The Leipzig debate of 1519 cleared Luther's mind considerably, for he was left with the alternative of abandoning his position and accepting the traditional view, or foregoing the claim to orthodoxy. "Consciously and deliberately he chose the letter." Thus when the Council decision was cited against him he declined to be bound by it, and took his stand upon the sole authority of the Scriptures, which he read for himself (which meant, of course, the enlightened conscience of the individual Christian).

Thus Luther denied the authority of the church and hierarchy over the faith and life of Christendom. "Every Christian is a priest in the sight of God and needs to depend upon no one else for divine grace. And the sacraments are the mere signs of the forgiving love of God in Christ.... This declaration of freedom had come from his own experience. Out of despair due to his sense of the wrath of God, he had been rescued by the recognition of divine love, and the ensuing peace was the salvation
he sought. It was a state of mind and so the fruit of faith, not works. To such a one saved already, the sacraments and hierarchy were of secondary importance.

Under Catholicism Luther had had to believe that man is naturally bad and needs to be held under strict control to keep him from expressing his badness in wicked deeds. To become confident, to gain assurance of salvation, to be set free from fear of eternal punishment was regarded as the most dangerous thing in the world. That life here is a probation for the life to come was the thing he had to keep constantly before him, lest he grow careless and indifferent. Thus he was taught that fear not peace is alone safe for fallen and corrupt humanity.

Whereas Luther believed that the Christian religion should set men free, not only from the trammels of religious obligation, but also from anxiety for the present, by giving them faith in their Father God, whose world this is and in whose hands all things are working for His children's good, Luther would give men freedom from the fear both of the present and of the future—a freedom making possible the living of a serene and confident and wholesome life of usefulness. Thus Catholicism offered men control to keep them from being themselves; Luther preached freedom to enable men to be themselves.

One of the cardinal beliefs which Luther maintained almost to the last, was the divine right of civil authority. At the time of the Diet of Worms he said, "If the Emperor summons me I am summoned by the Lord." In the Peasant's War of 1525 this doctrine found again emphatic expression, "Only constituted authorities have the right to use the sword, and he who attacked the rulers was worse than those whom he attacked." Here we note Luther's insistence that the Gospel has to do with spiritual not temporal affairs: he had little sympathy with social change or reconstruction. Apparently he was so absorbed in religion that he failed adequately to realize the social and economic evils of his day.

At the time of the Schmalkald League of princes against the Emperor and Catholic rulers, the necessities of the developing political situation forced him from his position as a simple and unworldly monk, for his belief in submission to lawful
rulers was changed. He was forced to accept the rather flimsy arguments of the lawyers of the League that in certain contingencies resistance was legal.

One of the crises in Luther’s religious life was of course his stand at Worms. His famous speech ending “having been conquered by the Scripture and taken captive by the word of God, I cannot and will not revoke anything, for it is neither safe nor right to act against one's conscience. God help me,” marks not only the peak of his religious life, but a high point in all Protestant or Christian history.

Up to the time of his retirement at Wartburg for the better part of a year following his appearance at Worms, the externals of the old system he had known under Catholicism remained unchanged. But from his Wartburg days on, his beliefs like a) salvation by faith alone making all efforts vain to win divine favor by acts and merit, b) his principle of Christian liberty releasing believers from dependence upon hierarchy and sacraments, and c) denial that the pope or council or any other ecclesiastical authority had the right to lay on the Christian obligations not required in the Word of God, these began to bear fruit in action. The first break came in connection with the celibacy of the clergy. One of the greatest contributions of Luther was his putting family love at the center of Christian faith and life for the clergy and laity alike.

During the thick of things Luther was not too clear at times about the use of physical force in the promotion of the Gospel; but after the robber prince Franz Sickingen’s defeat he saw clearly that preaching the Gospel is incompatible with the use of physical force.

One of the great disillusionments of Luther's life was the discovery that the preaching of the Gospel often left men no better than it found them. He however, never lost faith in the Gospel itself although his confidence in people was severely shaken after the Peasant’s War of 1525.

Luther believed to the end in the universal priesthood of Christian believers (see pamphlet on Christian Liberty). He retained only three sacraments: the Lord's Supper, Baptism and penance. As to the Lord's Supper he admitted only genuine
Christians. He held that baptism, on the other hand should go to every child that all might share the promise of forgiveness. The church he believed is a community of true Christians already saved and free needing no rulers or laws; but he was too practical to be interested in the formation of such a group of saints, nor would he substitute such an institution for the existing church to which all flocked. He was not fussy about the order of worship in the churches but preferred that each congregation should worship as it pleased. Under pressure however, he finally drew up a German Order of Worship which was published late in 1525.

Luther's was the evangelical type of Christian experience, with its renunciation of all self-confidence, which is as far as possible from the rationalistic with its emphasis upon the moral and intellectual ability of man.

EMOTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The most important time in Luther's life as regards his emotional development we know little about. What we do know about his childhood has already been mentioned. Also the characteristics of his mother and father and his attachment for his brother James have been referred to. One of the outstanding facts about Luther's emotional life, which is referred to often by him, is his being possessed with the idea of dying. Complaints of ill health and belief in an early death began when he was but a boy. The father of one of his intimates in college pooh-poohed the idea and said "Do not be afraid my dear Baccalaureus, you will live to be a great man". Luther remembered and repeated these words long after. Another student at the University overheard him say one day when washing his hands, "The longer we wash the uncleaner we are", which again suggests obsessional ideas of this type.

The emotional upheaval soon after he completed his masters degree, work, which occurred on his way back to the University after a visit home, has also been pointed out in the preceding section. Luther spoke of this afterward as an unwilling vow forced upon him by a sign from heaven. There are earmarks however, which point to this having been long in the back of his mind in spite of its suddenness. He was
doing what he wanted to do at the time, in going into the monastery; for he fitted
into the life immediately and felt a profound relief because of what it held by
way of promise for him in the midst of his troubles. His father's protest had not
greatly influenced him in carrying out his vow. But when at the time of his ordina-
tion, his father attended against his wishes and in response to Luther's mention of
his cell from God retorted "Have you not heard a child should honor his father and
mother", and again, "God grant it was not a lying and devilish specter", then Luther
was thrown into real anguish of spirit which he was unable to throw off for days
to come.

As doubts would trouble him during these monastery days he would show increased
ardor and devotion to still his conscience and win the approval of God. Here he began
to suffer the return of his old anxieties and depression. In his case the daily con-
fession required of the ordained monk was unbearable. He was deep in despondency and
despair as he remained secluded in his seven by nine cell with its one window over-
looking the graveyard. Inaction always fretted him. At this period he fasted days at
a time and spent night after night without sleep. In fact wakefulness became for him
a confirmed habit and the monks feared lest he lose his reason. With all his efforts
his anxieties only increased. His way was apparently to take God by storm and the
more he tried to win righteousness the more offenses multiplied, for he said he
could not control his thoughts and feelings. He feared constantly lest he might not
be doing enough to appease or propitiate an angry Deity. His reading Paul and Augus-
tine gave rise to the fear that he might be one of the reprobate and damned. At
times he turned from God in horror and wished there were no God. And at other times
the sign of the Crucifix frightened him like a thunderbolt. Few understood him; his
enemies pointed to these convent experiences as proof of demoniacal possession;
Luther interpreted them as assaults of his Adversary, the devil.

An interesting side light on his emotional condition comes out on his trip to
Rome already mentioned. There is something back of his deliberate courting of danger
as he wandered in and out of the ruins which were the haunts of brigands. His cre-

dulosity and joyous gullibility with which he exposed himself to everything having attached to it a spiritual benefit, is significant. Also his wish that his mother and father were dead so that he might be able to release them from purgatory by his penitential exercises is not without meaning.

Luther's fearfulness and distrustfulness of himself lasted a long time. But here again there was present the ambivalence which cropped out in everything he said and did. His timidity and shrinking perhaps was natural to untried duties of a spirit which saw clearer and felt deeper than others, but the amazing thing is that in the midst of difficulties and trials which would depress most men, he would always show this quality seen in the following letter to Staupitz: "Pray for me that in this time of temptation (1st formal proceedings of the papal court against Luther in August 1518) I be not too joyful and too confident". His death ideas referred to may be reflected in his absolute disregard for his own safety when he was ordered to Augsburg to appear before the Pope's Legate Cardinal Cajetan. He remarked later that in this experience he saw only the stake before him and was troubled to think what a disgrace he would be to his dear parents, (note again the significance of his relationship to his parents).

Luther's peculiar relationship to Melanchthon is seen through a letter written to him about this time: "I am going to be sacrificed for you and them, if it please the Lord. I prefer to perish and even to lose forever your most delightful companionship—a thing most grievous to me—rather than revoke what I have rightly said". And Luther's apparent desire to become a martyr comes out in this letter to Spalatin: "I, a worthless man that I am, fear I may not be counted worthy to suffer and die for such a cause. That felicity belongs to better men, not so vile a sinner." The way Luther let John Eck draw him into the Leipsic debate, shows how little expediency meant to him, and how much less he considered his reputation and safety. Luther's immature emotional state perhaps is illustrated in his supposing at the time of the Leipsic disputations that his radical views which he had reached under the influence of his own religious experience, were in harmony with the faith of the Church.
Luther's feeling of comradship with all other reformers of history was noticeable at this time. He saw himself as one of a long line of fighters against ecclesiastical tyranny and corruption. In this way his consciousness expanded to national and even world-wide meaning. "He had an uncommonly vivid sense of fulfilling the sense of the Divine will in everything he did", and he believed himself one of God's chosen instruments. "Martyrdom he was in constant expectation of, looking forward to the fate which had overtaken so many. But he was inspired rather than oppressed by the thought, and rejoiced in the opportunity to suffer as they had suffered". At this time "fantastic notions that the end of the world was at hand,----, began to find lodgment in his mind, and were never afterward altogether abandoned".

Luther's treatment of his opponents grew more bitter as the years passed; error in opinion was then taken often as a sign of moral obliquity, and he fairly sailed into those who opposed him. Compulsion in speech evidently showed itself at this time, for in 1531 he wrote: "If I say 'Hallowed be Thy Name', I have to add, 'Cursed damned, reviled be the name of the papists and of all who blaspheme Thy Name'. If I say 'Thy Kingdom come', I have to add, 'cursed, damned, destroyed be all the thoughts and plans of the papists'". Luther always saw anger to be his greatest fault, but he believed it a very good thing in its place. His ambivalence in behavior, and his identity with the Divine Will are seen in the following passage from his letters: "I have always disliked to engage in public controversy; but the more I dislike it the more I am involved against my will, and that only by the most atrocious slanders brought against me and the Word of God". The sadism which Luther exhibited in his handling of his enemies brought terror and joys to the ends of Christendom as they read or heard about his fierce onslaughts. He was heavy in his tread. This he well knew and may be back of his admiration for the Melanchthon with his lightness of touch. Luther wrote, "A willow or a hazel twig you can cut with a bread-knife, but for a hard oak you must have an axe, and then you can hardly fell it and split it".
An interesting emotional relation to Staupitz, the Vicar of the Augustinian Order, is noticed in the following letter written just after Eck had secured the papal bull against Luther, "You forsake me too much. I have sorrowed for you like a weaned child for its mother. I beseech you praise the Lord even in me a sinner. Last night I dreamed of you. I thought you were leaving me, and as I was weeping and lamenting most bitterly, you waved your hand and told me to be quiet for you would return".

A peculiar insight into Luther's emotional state at the time comes out in this letter from the humble monk calmly addressing the supreme head of the Church: "Therefore, Leo, my father, beware of listening to those who make you out to be not simply a man, but partly a god, so that you can commend and require what you will. It will not happen so nor will you prevail. A servant of servants you are, and above all men in a most perilous position. Let not those deceive you who pretend you are lord of the world, who will not allow anyone to be a Christian without your authority, who babble of your having power over heaven, hell and purgatory.... They are in error who raise you above councils and the universal church. They are in error who attribute to you alone the right of interpreting Scripture.... In short believe not those who exalt you, but those who humiliate you".

From his beginning position where Luther held that salvation is possible apart from the pope, he went to the more radical belief that salvation is impossible with the pope. A further stage was reached in his statement, "I am persuaded that unless a man fight with all his might, and if need be unto death, against the statutes and laws of the pope and bishops, he cannot be saved". Possibly we are seeing successive stages of emotional development pictured here.

When Luther entered the hall at Worms face to face with the first great test of his life, instead of showing the fear and humility expected of one in his situation, he came in with a smiling face and let his eyes rove over the assembled company. Regarding this trip to Worms he wrote later, "Had I known as many devils would set upon me (probably his functional ailments) as there were tiles on the roofs I should have sprung into the midst of them with joy". Still later repeating these words he added,
"For I was undismayed and feared nothing, so foolish can God make a man! I am not sure I should now be so joyful." In his seclusion at Wartburg during the following year there were many questions in his mind as to whether he had "quit himself like a man" before the Diet. (There was probably mixed here a disappointment of not realizing in actuality the picture of himself he entertained in fancy, although he satisfied the heroic standards of the people and his friends. Also there was his disappointment at having prepared himself to die without receiving the fulfillment of this solution to which he had adjusted himself.) It is certain that the strain he went through at Worms was terrific.

During Luther's months at Wartburg there was manifested his freedom from jealousy, of a petty sort at any rate, and his utter lack of self-importance. Secluded there, however his old depressions came back upon him and his death ideas came again to the surface. He wrote Nicholas Gerber at this time, "You can believe I am exposed to a thousand devils in this indolent solitude"; and to Melanchthon, "I congratulate Dr. Lupine on his happy death. Would that we too might live no longer. The wrath of God which in my leisure I am daily observing more and more, is such that I doubt whether He will save anybody except infants from this kingdom of satan. Our God has deserted us!" And there came to him at this time (1521) doubts and fears about the wisdom of his course; worry about the exact motives of the Elector in having him secluded at Wartburg for he knew not but if any moment he would be put out of the way. The taunt, "are you alone wise, and has all the world gone wrong until you came to set it right?" kept constantly pestering him.

It is of interest from the standpoint of Luther's emotional history that he dedicated to his father his book on breaking away from the celibacy of the clergy. In this dedication he stated he had come to see that his vow had been taken not only against the will of his father but in violation of his duty to God.

Luther's return to Wittenburg from Wartburg marks a turning point in his emotional life. He no longer was the radical iconoclast. It seemed as though he had accomplished the main goal toward which he had set out. After this he more and more gave
himself to controlling and moderating the forces he had set in motion. Not that he had attained satisfaction to any great degree. There was still the tension in him with its manifestations of opposites. During the Reasant’s War of 1525 he became hardened and bitter. An illustration of this is seen in his hatred and contempt for Erasmus; he could hardly speak of him without showing anger.

The steps which lead up to Luther’s marriage are important. In 1525 Katharine won Bora, a nun who had left convent life under the influence of Luther’s teachings along with certain others, and who had been residing in Wittenburg, let it be known that she would not marry the rector of the University whom they had chosen for her, but that she would marry either Amsdorf or Luther. Luther knew of this. In 1521 he had written to Spalatin, “They shall not force a wife on me”; in 1522 he wrote, “I hope I have come so far that by God’s grace I can remain as I am. At the same time I am not yet over the mountain and do not venture to boast of my continence.” In 1524 he wrote to Spalatin, “Not that I do not feel my sex for my heart is neither wood nor stone; but my inclination is against marriage for I am in daily expectation of death and of punishment suited to a heretic. I will not on this account set bounds to God’s work in me, nor will I rely on my own heart. But I hope He will not let me live long.” Again in April 1525 in a letter to Spalatin he wrote, “Why do you not proceed to get married? I am urging others with so many arguments that I am myself almost persuaded”; and on May 4th, “If I can manage it, to spite the devil, I will yet marry my Kathe before I die, if I hear that the peasants go on as they are doing. I hope they will not take from me my courage and my joy.” On June 13th 1525 Luther and Katharine were married. He wrote later to Amsdorf, “I am not passionately in love but I esteem my wife.” Melanchthon who had been kept in the dark until it was all over was beside himself with annoyance; he however, was soon reconciled.

During his married life Luther remained the same irresponsible person as regards money matters, and had it not been for the excellent managing of Katharine they never could have made ends meet. Even after the children came, Luther with the same refusal to face facts, gave right and left to those who asked of him. In fact Katharine had
to hide articles of value to prevent him from pawning them to raise money to give to others. Six children were born to them. One died in infancy and another, a daughter, died when she was 13. As this child Magdalen lay dying Luther threw himself on the floor beside her bed weeping bitterly and praying for her restoration. He had been amazed at the hold the infant which they had lost had had on them. In this experience of losing Magdalen he realized "the clamorous insistence of human grief." He said, "It is strange to know she is certainly well and at peace, and yet to be so sorrowful." Later he wrote, "It is extraordinary how the loss of my Magdalen continues to oppress me. I cannot forget her".

Luther's father died when Luther was at Coberg in 1530 and a year later his mother went. The only letter we have to his mother was written to comfort her just before her death. "It is unexpectedly formal and conventional suggesting a surprising lack of intimacy between them". In Luther's letter to Melanchthon about his father's death he wrote, "How often we die before we really die. . . . Misery and memory of his most delightful companionship have stricken my heart so that I have scarcely ever despised death. . . . I will not write more now for I am sad." Worthy and pious it is for me, a son, to mourn such a parent, by whom through God's mercy, I was begotten, and by whose labors I was brought up and made what I am. I rejoice that he lived in these times and saw the light of truth".

Luther's appropriating to himself cosmic significance comes out again in 1530, when he and the others were facing the difficulties of the Diet of Augsburg. He wrote Melanchthon, "If we fall Christ the Ruler of the world will fall with us. And if He falls, I would rather fall with Christ than stand with Caesar"; and in a letter to Chancellor Bruck he said, "We know it is God's affair. He began it, He has Himself managed it hitherto, and He will bring it to completion".

A peculiar instance of Luther's immaturity may be seen in his dealings with Landgrave Philip of Hesse with regard to the Landgrave's second marriage in 1540. His approval of Philip's bigamy Luther thought, was being given in the sacred confines of the confessional. It was Philip's point however, to get Luther's approval.
in order to pacify his second wife's mother who for her approval demanded the reactions of certain of the leading reformers. Lack of moral discernment, lack of penetration and foresight where women were involved, subversiveness to sacred safeguards of society, personal liking for the Prince, failure to protect the success of the Schmalkald League, -- whatever may be said about this mistake of Luther's, we must conclude that there was some deep-lying emotional state which contributed to this, the gravest blunder of his career".

 Although Luther was but 46 when the Diet of Augsburg met in 1530, from this time he considered himself an old man until his death in 1546. He lived in almost constant expectation of death and the end, his health was poor and he suffered from all sorts of ailments. He was seized at the Schmalkald Conference but in spite of the battle with his "adversary" he determined not to fold up before the papal Legate. He was sent home to die but when he got a little way toward home his sufferings were sufficiently relieved for him to go on with his work. As reported under the record of Luther's accomplishments, he turned out a tremendous amount of work during these years between 1537 and 1546. As time went on, however, he steadily became more censorious, impatient and bitter until the end.
SUMMARY

The life of Luther may be summed up best by listing here a few of his sayings.

"The apple ought to lie beside the rod".(M-8)

"Philip (Melanchthon) has both matter and words, Erasmus has words without matter, Luther has matter without words, Carlstadt neither matter nor words", epigram of Luther, (M-265)

"He preferred "a theology that explored the kernel of the nut, the heart of the wheat, the marrow of the bone" (-33).

"If the Emperor summons I am summoned by the Lord". (M-194).

At Worms, "I cannot and will not revoke anything for it is neither safe nor right to act against one's conscience. God help me". (M-203).

"The longer we wash the uncleaner we are". (M-18)

"I will eat and drink in God's name whatever tastes good". (M-259)

"If we fall Christ the Ruler of the world will fall with us". (M-343)

"Opposing doctrines are not to be tolerated under any government". (M-320)

"He who is musical is equal to anything". (M-13)

"Expect anything from me except flight or recantation". (M-195)

"We are living in such times that a prince can spill blood and win heaven heaven much more easily than others can by praying". (5) (M-217)

"The Lord is not one of peace but the sword". (6) (Letters-Currie-65).

"Nothing sounds worse to me than the words monk, nun, priest, for I regard a married life in deep poverty as paradise in comparison". (L et.C. 87).

"I never work better than when I am inspired by anger". (7) (Table Talk-152, 321, 15

"My one source of confidence is an innocent conscience". (L et.to Pope Leo X 5/30/1518)

"Sheer necessity causes me to cackle as a goose among swans". (same as above).

"Buy no indulgences so long as you have poor neighbors to whom you can give the indulgence money". (Spalatin, 2/15/1518).

(5) Martin Luther: A Destiny, by Lucien Febvre, Dutton, N.Y. 1930
(7) The Table Talk of Martin Luther: N. Hazlitt, Bell and Sons, London, 1990.
I. Luther's sufferings, and the attempted solution of his emotional troubles were different from those of St. Augustine, very much as St. Augustine's mother and father were unlike Luther's mother Margaret and his father Hans.

Conditions were such in the emotional settings of these two men in their childhood, that their final solutions were in each instance most incomplete. The very insistence within them that a total solution be reached opposed by an irresistible denial of this satisfaction to them in this life, produced, as we know, extreme activity and remarkable results in personal industry.

St. Augustine lived the erotic phase of his love-life in the period preceding his conversion to Christianity and dependence upon the Church. Luther, on the other hand, had direct, although apparently only partial expression of his erotic love-life only after his complete break with the papacy.

St. Augustine's tie to his mother was close and of tremendous power. Luther's relationship to his mother after childhood was conventional, formal and strained. St. Augustine's fellowship with his father was perfunctory and apparently unimportant. Luther's relation with his father was of the utmost significance. As St. Augustine's capitulation to the entreaties of his mother married him to the Church; so Luther's defiance of his father was back of his courtship with the Catholic Church which in reality he never really loved.

St. Augustine's wrestle to the end of his days was with outright sensuality, concupiscence, directly recognized, just as it had been overtly expressed before his conversion. Luther's "adversary" produced in him throughout the years disguised

(8) For outline of Luther's Doctrine and comment see Appendix p.
eroticism in the fear of, and wish for, death, with accompanying punishing neurotic symptoms. Curiously enough St. Augustine's father had been an out and out lover of the sensual in life; whereas Luther's mother had been a repressed and superstitious, fear-ridden, unstable woman.

Thus we see that apparently the same need that drove St. Augustine into the Church forced Luther out of it.

Before we try to account for this, let us follow a ways further the comparison of the facts about the deep emotional natures and needs of these two great men. Both of them were attracted to those of their own sex; but St. Augustine never had the love for a man that Luther had for his father, his brother James, or Philip Melanchthon. In referring to this there is no intention whatsoever to hold homosexual interest in a despicable light; (in fact we know that without latent homosexuality in people there could be no social organization or brotherhood). Our endeavor wholly is to gather what understanding we can of the underlying trends back of the teachings and actions of these outstanding religious personalities. Luther never loved woman as St. Augustine did. Thus the mother cult in the Roman Church never gripped Luther; but the Holy Mother Mary, to Augustine, was the very projection of his own dear Monica. For Luther the object of love was God, but God rather as seen in Jesus Christ. The almost masculine qualities of Kathe, the wife of Luther, gave him security, and took from his shoulders whatever concern he had ever accepted of responsibility in practical affairs; but the best he could say of her was that he deeply admired her. Luther's passion was not expressed toward woman; it rather came out in anger directed against the thwarting agents of the Church who prevented the realization of the satisfactions of the spirit.

There is something back of Luther's statement that he could write better, preach, teach and pray better, when aroused by good lusty anger than at any other time. Very likely we would be not far wrong in looking for the beginnings of this in his very early childhood.
There was something in Luther which paralleled this anger directed not against individual popes or their individual representatives, but against the lack of salvation and freedom of man for which they stood. This was the positive relationship he bore toward civil authorities, such as the Emperor, the Elector Frederick and Philip of Hesse, and the love he showed toward his older colleagues like Staupitz.

As we look through the facts of Luther's life of effect, whether negative or positive, we find but one trace of his being thoroughly moved by one of the opposite sex. That instance was his feeling because of the death of his 13 year old daughter Magdalon. Why did her death move him so thoroughly and why could he not forget her? Perhaps because she was her father's favorite as Luther had been the favorite of his mother in childhood.

Too little imagination has been used by us of adult years in our endeavor to put ourselves in the place of a small boy who loves his mother the way Luther loved his father's wife Margaret, with all her beliefs in witches and demons, her fears and her phantasies. In some respects Luther's years of wrestling with Satan, his contentiousness and disputations, his anger against authorities in the realm of the spiritual, his challenging the pope, the greatest power in the world, can be seen as a duplication of the situation he faced as a determined little chap, cowed by a peasant father whose ways were harsh and brutal.

We might even say that Luther's only solution to the unbearable tensions he was under as a child because of the love he bore for his mother and the love and hate he felt for his father, was to think himself into a oneness with this fearful object, his father, in this way alleviating the pain of dread and suspense, for he knew even death to be preferable to that.

This would account for his indifference to his mother which is but the conscious manifestation of his very strong child's love for her. Consciously he would not dare allow these affections to show themselves. Although Luther's solution of his problem by loving his father whom he feared, put him out of immediate danger, had he followed the course of most boys it would be only a trick to gain time until he could settle
the problem for good by daring to defy his father and bring his love for his mother into the open by selecting one to take her place in marriage.

Had it not been for the unstable emotional life of Luther's mother and the exaggerated aggressiveness and harshness of his father, he undoubtedly would have come through his thunderstorm without having gone into the monastery with the consequent dramatization of his tangled emotions in his battles with the papacy. Those who are quick with the retort "had that been the case we would have had no Martin Luther", should remember that we did have a Jesus and a St. Paul. The ill-health, diseased emotional life, and ignorant boorishness of one's parents, contributes no more to the life of God in reality in a child's life, than does the militarist and war-monger to the life of God in society. Luther did what he did in spite of the conditionings of his infancy and childhood.

2. Thus from the midst of his sufferings we find Luther bringing again to the foreground of men's consciousness the message of the psalmist of Second Isaiah, of Jesus and St. Paul, - the forgiveness of sins or justification by confidence in (fiducia) God's mercy. Under the Roman Catholic System, officials, clergy and communicants alike had become willing to resign themselves to the plight in which Luther found himself as a child and as a man, - fearful in the presence of an angry authority. And although now Luther, an adult, fought against this wrathful, offended God of his childhood whose approval the more he tried the more he failed to win (the merit system of the Papacy), and at the same time loved the gentle and protecting side of this God (in civil authorities, Staupitz and others), yet he knew there was in him something coming to maturity in reality which demanded freedom from these chains of conflict, slavery or servitude. As he had not had confidence to stand up before this wrathful part of his father in childhood, so now he was still like a licked dog in the presence of similar situations in the spiritual realm of the church. His way out now he saw in the death-experience and the resurrection of Jesus, the Cross. Jesus had had once for all the fiducia (confidence) to stand against these
powers in the world without wavering. This forever afterward turns men's despair into hope, for his love which he showed to the end, came to life again.

Luther grasped this and lived it as few others have ever done. He became fearless in the face of the worst wrathful-father situations (like the Diet of Worms) which could be brought against him. But he had not been thoroughly healed or forgiven. There had been too deeply ingrained into him in childhood, the desire for death as a way out of an unbearable predicament; and about the time of each Diet experience (Augsburg, Worms, Schmalkald, Augsburg again) the old childhood pattern again would be reactivated, and he would have his attacks of the devil in pains and illnesses, and again would wish for death.

His contradictions appear in clearer light when seen in this setting of love and hate for his father (his letter to Melanchthon upon his father's death shows the unconscious hold he had upon him). But Luther's determination to lift his head in spite of this giant his father, is shown in the history in him of the reestablishment of the doctrine of justification. We can see him justified by confidence standing chin up in the presence of his powerful father and Father God because such a man as Jesus had lived and had made this possible through his Cross.

3. The inner union of opposites which Luther had in mind, where intense inner realities no longer remain external to each other like bodies in mathematical space, but interpenetrate and permeate each other in the way that is the mark of the spiritual life, through justification by faith, was such a tremendous idea that, as it was lived out in his experience and in the lives of his followers, it changed the whole complexion of the world and life, to sufferers who believed. For these it brought the penitential system of the Catholic Church tumbling to the ground, and opened the way for the modern emphasis upon movements for social welfare, the completion of the love-life in families, and efforts in general which make of this life on earth a blessed and glorious adventure.
The advantages accruing to us from the heroic battles which Luther waged against intrenched powers which prevented the freedom and development of the individual, are of such weight that it is our tendency to touch lightly upon facts which are uncomplimentary to him. The following points however, should be mentioned: 1) Luther’s inability to become objective toward civil rulers and establish his religious faith free from subjection to what he called divinely appointed authorities; 2) his failure to welcome woman on the basis of full equality and respond to her with fulness of passion, accepting the complete responsibility of facing with her the practical problems of marriage and children; 3) his refusal to grow into the larger responsibilities of national life before his loss of the support of the peasants and intellectuals in 1525; 4) his intolerance, boastfulness and conceit as illustrated in his behavior toward Zwingli and the Swiss Protestants; 5) his being motivated by anger in his furious productivity, preaching, praying etc., instead of being prompted by the spirit which motivated Jesus; 6) his disregard of the sacredness of human life when the victims had revolted against his divinely constituted rulers, (as in Munger case and those of the peasants); 7) his blindness to social and economic injustice; and 8) his inability to put his doctrine sufficiently at work in himself to resolve his deep-lying guilt which without doubt was behind his functional illnesses.

From the standpoint of modern medical psychology, there can be seen to be running through all these weaknesses of Luther an essential immaturity of the emotional life. The fact that he was a religious genius, that he changed the face of Christendom, or that he was a terrific worker is not here nor there. What a man was in spite of his handicaps only argues for what he might have attained had he been free from them. As Luther discovered that God is not a respecter of persons and proceeded to break through the august haze which surrounds worldly prominence, so we today are coming to see that some of the individuals of greatest importance in national life, letters, industry, and the professions, may be puerile if not infantile in their emotional lives. It is safe to say that Luther never overcame the marks left upon his
emotional nature when a very small child. This is not so difficult to accept when we are reminded that time and space conceptions cease to operate the moment we contemplate the region of the soul. Luther carried his anger tantrums and his isolated emotional state with him to the grave.

4. Now to get before us the positive work which Luther did, we note:

1st) he applied the paradox of the Cross to the union of opposites in the human soul thus taking his place, with the aid of Oocon and Biel, in that glorious line of pioneers which included the Psalmist, 2nd Isaiah, Jesus and Paul;

2nd) he gave a reality-content to the conceptions of grace, not the human quality charity, but in the Holy Spirit, God’s unmerited favor in forgiveness of sins; and a reality content to faith, not a condition resulting from works, but a believer’s confidence or trust in the mercy of God revealed in Jesus Christ;

3rd) he went way beyond St. Augustine and Abelard in the thoroughness with which he carried out the Work of Christ as the revelation of God in opposition to the view of God as revealed in nature and the moral law;

4th) he pushed further St. Augustine’s emphasis upon the reality of sin and faced the consequences far more ruthlessly;

5th) he gave people a way of salvation with the promise of freedom and completeness, as compared to the imprisonment which they had known under the fear-producing controls of the papacy and penitential system:

6th) he broke the power of sacramentalism of the Catholic Church by holding remission of sins to be the fundamental content of the sacraments;

7th) he clarified the relation between the law in the spiritual life and in the gospel, thus removing from people’s shoulders the awful responsibility for uncontrollable instigation to sin;

8th) he introduced, in fact, into the traditional structure of Christianity his new doctrine of justification by faith, not as another block in that
structure, but "as a solvent which caused certain elements of the old to dis-
appear while it caused those which remained to be transmuted into each other, 
and all into justification by faith".

At the time of Luther, two methods of Christian theology prevailed. There was that 
of the apologists, Origen and Erasmus, which was to simplify Christianity by reduing 
it to the Logos doctrine and the doctrine of merit, the Pauline Gospel of redemption 
in all its forms being abandoned. Again, there was that of Irenaeus and Athanasius, 
which simply added to the framework of the Apologists an incomplete form of Paulin-
ism, which method of addition was employed by Thomas Aquinas who built into this 
structure St. Augustine's doctrine of Grace, Anselm's theory of satisfaction and 
(9) Abelard's doctrine of the revelation of the love of God in the Passion.

Luther, like Paul before him, went after the "kernel of the nut, the heart of the 
wheat and the marrow of the bone", even the union of opposites (justification by 
faith) in the Cross of Christ, and in so doing made real again to men the forgive-
ness of sins in the Gospel.

(9) Franks I, 387
CHAPTER VIII

CALVIN'S FORMULATION OF THE DOCTRINE AND JOHN BUNYAN.

The incident reported of Calvin, that when approached by the City Council of Geneva in the closing years of his life and asked how they might reward him for his great services, the only thing he could think to ask for was an overcoat to keep himself warm, suggests to us a side of the man not often stressed. We are grateful for his remarkable Institutions, "the masterpiece of Protestant Theology", coming as they have from one who had the "mind of Erasmus and faith and conscience of Luther".

In this chapter, first we shall look over briefly a personality study of John Bunyan. With Bunyan in mind we shall then outline Calvin's doctrine of the Work of Christ, casting his teachings as nearly as possible into psychological terms. This should provoke intelligent comment as to insights gained from Calvin's teachings, and blind spots retained or set aside.

I. The following study of John Bunyan should give us a clear picture of Calvinism in action. It is taken from his autobiographical material in "Grace Abounding", found in the book "Bunyan", edited by Edmund Venables, and published in 1879 at the Clarendon Press, Oxford. The numbers in the manuscript refer to pages in this edition.

(1) Burns: Revivals, Their Laws and Leaders, London, 1909 - p. 224
(2) Orr, The Ritschlian Theology, Clark, Edinburgh, p. 28
JOHN BUNYAN
(1628 - 1688)

John Bunyan was a tall, strongly-boned, well built man who lived to be 60. He had a somewhat ruddy face, sparkling eyes, reddish hair, a high fore-head, and wore a moustache. He was plain and modest, and was inclined to seem low in his own eyes, and to submit himself too readily to the judgment of others. He was mild and affable in conversation, although in countenance, stern and rough. He was never boastful or loquacious. He had a quick eye for reading people, had good judgment, was witty, and never revengeful of injuries. He seemed to have a genius for making friends.

He had a grammar school education, and belonged to the Baptist religious group. He was married in his 20th year, was the father of 5 children, and was survived by his second wife and three children. He was a mender of pots and kettles p to his 29th year when he became a non-conformist preacher and writer. He was born in Elstow near Bedford, England, in 1628 and died August 31, 1688. His father was a tinker, which trade was then considered to be "the meanest and most despised" of all.

Bunyan's greatest deprivations, outside his own states of dejection in a struggle for salvation, were: the lost of his first wife, the blindness and ath of his second child, and his twelve years of imprisonment. He was influenced the two books his wife brought with her, which had belonged to her father: "The ain Man's Pathway to Heaven", and "The Practice of Piety". Somewhat later Martin ther's Commentary on the Galatians caused him to write: "I do prefer this book of tin Luther's upon the Galatians, excepting the Holy Bible, before all the books have ever seen most fit for a wounded conscience". Probably the one person who influenced him most was "the holy Mr. Gifford" of Bedford.

SOCIAL ADAPTATIONS

Significant material about Bunyan in this field is as follows: his i- 298.
games, his school experience, his army experience, his marriage, his influence on
the youth of the town, his desire for identification with a more religious group,
his holding himself aloof from those to whom he preached though admitting his own
guilt, his dream about those who were enjoying themselves in the sunshine while he
shivered in the cold outside, the social handicap which he seemed to feel in his
reference to his father's rank, and his swearing and bluff about being the bad of
the bad.

His daily bread probably depended upon his being sociable judging by the
way he plied his trade about the country. He was approved by certain religious
groups as their preacher. And there was his popularity after his release from
prison. He was shy toward women; as he put it, "their company I cannot away with".
His interest in preserving family unity could be seen in his trip to Reading to
reconcile a father and son.

There runs through Bunyan's story of his life repeated dissatisfaction
at succeeding levels reached, resulting in uncompromising struggles toward the next
higher level. He tried each time to take his group with him.

EMOTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Incidents in this field of Bunyan's experience which may or may not make
up fact material are as follows: his repeated and almost constant need for punish-
ment, the tremendous drive he had to save others, his ideas of death, his face-to-
face grappling with elemental forces referred to in his temptation to "sell and
part with Christ", his reaction to sermon on Sabbath breaking pointing to displace-
ment, and his fears such as being startled even at his shadow.

His wife's continually telling him what an exceptional man her father
was probably proved trying to him in this field of conflict. The fact that he
speaks of his one close friend whom he tried to influence for the better after his
own conversion, as belonging to the "cursing and whoring type" may be significant.
A self-condemnation runs through-out the pages of "Grace Abounding".
Following the custom of the day Bunyan took up the trade of his father. His swing from what he considered to be a mean despised profession to a highly respectable one probably had in it very little conscious choosing. He soon became aware of his ability in this new field and mentioned his "pricking forward" as regards preaching that he "could not be content unless found in the exercise of his gift". He spent two years "crying out against men's sins", and was then apprehended and confined in Bedford goal.

After his twelve years in prison he began preaching again and "his fame as a preacher grew fast". Six years later his great allegory came from the press. A chapel was built for him in Bedford which was always crowded. Twelve hundred people would come to hear him at odd hours in London, when he would happen to be in the city. He worked constantly under dangers of being apprehended as he traveled from one congregation to another. He served faithfully both groups and individuals until his end came in his 60th year.

Bunyan began to preach publicly in his 29th year; he was committed to Bedford jail when he was 32; when he was 38 he had finished "Grace Abounding"; he was released and became pastor of Bedford Church at 44; and when he was 50 "Pilgrims Progress" was published. The year Bunyan died he had gotten published six considerable volumes, and when his illness took him he had twelve more in manuscript ready for the press.

RELIGIOUS LIFE

There were the terrifying dreams of early adolescence but outside of these Bunyan had no particular reasons to be concerned about religion before his marriage when he was 20. Up to this time "heaven and hell were out of sight and mind" so far as he was concerned, and as for "saving and damming" they were least in his thoughts. In fact, thoughts of religion were grievous to him. Such religion as he did have, was a kind of superstition where God intervened in the form of judgments and mercy. Later he saw the hand of God, a) in his escape from
drowning upon two occasions, b) in his escape from being poisoned by the adder, and
c) in the instance of the soldier who took his place in the army and was afterward
     shot.

The compulsion to bow and scrape to the outer manifestations of religion
happened about this time. His stroke of conscience following the sermon on Sabbath
breaking was short-lived; it appears he determined he would not let God pardon him
and he resolved to go on in sin. He was impressed however, by the "loose and un-
godly wretch" who pointed out to him his influence upon the youth of the town; and
the poor but godly man who caused him to study his Bible left his influence upon
him. The group of women talking in their doorway in Bedford seemed to have what he
wanted; "they were to me as though they had found a new world—".

Then came "a great tenderness and softness of heart" causing him to fall
under the conviction of the Scripture; also there was a bending of mind toward med-
itating on what the Scripture said. At this particular time it would have been dif-
ficult, he said, for him to have taken his mind from heaven to earth as he found it
many times after that to get it away from earth to heaven.

Then follow the ups and downs of his prolonged religious struggle. While
reading I Cor. 12:8,9, he had to ask himself if he had the gift of faith. During
this doubtful period he had the dream in which he saw the happy people of Bedford
on the sunny side of the mountain while he was left shivering in the cold of isola-
tion. Along with this he was troubled by the question whether he was among the
"elect". So he was "driven to his wits end" until, after many weeks of depression
and hopelessness, the message, "Look at the generations of old and see, did any
ever trust in God who were confounded" came to him. This he found a year later
in Ecclesiastes 2:10. Then came the doubt "suppose the day of grace were gone?";
he found in Luke 14:22 "there is yet room" and this encouraged him. What served
to hold him along on this level for a time was "a sound sense of death and the day
of judgment which abode continually in (his) view".
While reading Mark 3:13, "he called unto him whom he would", Bunyan almost fainted lest he might not be among the ones called. He developed "so sore a conscience that he durst not take a pin or needle"; his conscience "smarted at every touch"; he became confused in speech, and was left "high and dry by the Spirit and all good things". Here he fell into despair sure that he had been forsaken by God; nevertheless he kept his eyes open to those who "shifted their guilt to rid themselves of wounds of conscience". He heard a sermon on "Behold thou art fair my love" and through repetition of this formula reached a state of comfort and hope in which he could "scarcely contain (himself)".

He thought he had reached a solution that would last him 40 years, but within 40 days he began to question again. A "storm which broke upon (him)" during which he let out "floods of blasphemies against God and Christ and the Scriptures". Here he felt the compulsion to commit the unforgivable sin. This experience was followed by a loss of feeling during which time he became unable to respond emotionally to anyone or to any situation. About this time he became involved in the "nature of Christ" controversy, "whether the Lord Jesus was both man as well as God". But the Scriptures, particularly Revelation 5, the errors of the Quakers, and his own sense of guilt, confirmed his views and he considered himself orthodox according to the Scriptures. Luther's Commentary upon Galatians proved of great value just at this time.

Now he thought he loved Christ dearly; but while lying in bed one morning there came the suggestion to sell Christ, "to part with this which had become most dear to him" and the Scriptural passage Hebrews 12:16 added to his concern. This Esau idea of damnation bound him for a period of two years. Then one day while walking under a hedge the sentence bolted in upon him "The blood of Christ remits all guilt". Here he made a stand in the Spirit and the following gripped him: "The blood of Christ His Son cleanceth us from all sin". Peace came for a space of two hours; then he sank again under exceeding guilt. He thought the unforgivable sin of Mark 3:29 applied to him; he wrote, "none knows the terrors of
those days but myself". He tried to rationalize away his fear of the day of judgment and determined to fall in with ranters and atheists but his ideas of death and awareness of day of judgment were too real to him. The story of Francis Spira was to him "like salt rubbed into a wound"; he developed tremor of the whole body under sense of dreadful judgment and guilt for the unforgivable sin which he thought he had committed, "thus did I wind and twine and shrink", he wrote, "unable to go, stand, lie, or remain quiet". The awfulness of "falling into the hands of the living God" would be checked with "I have redeemed thee". Then all would be clouded by the thoughts of Esau.

Then came an hallucinatory experience: he heard the voice "Didst ever refuse to be justified by the blood of Christ"? This, he wrote, showed him that the sin unpardonable was to refuse forgiveness. But this peace lasted only two or three days. It became too hard for him to look Christ in the face. Yet he saw that the way ahead lay to go to Christ, humble himself, and ask for pity and mercy. It was urged upon him, however, that he was an exception and could not be forgiven. He talked with an old Christian gentleman of his acquaintance but found him "though a good man, a stranger to much combat with the devil". Nothing "twinged his conscience" at these times, like thoughts of Christ. It added "confliction to his conceit" that he should be guilty of a sin for which Christ could not have died. In fact Christ would have to die again if his particular case was to be cared for. "O the unthought of imaginations frights, fears, and terrors that are affected through application of guilt yielded to desperation", - this he says was the state of the demoniac of Mark 5:2-5. The world for him took on an unfriendly appearance, the sun refused to shine, the stones on the streets and tiles on the house-tops bent against him, all combined to banish him out of the world. "How can God comfort such a wretch as I?" he said; then a voice answered, "This sin is not unto death".

How he could consider forgiveness for he seemed to stand on the same ground as other sinners. But in two days he began to lose faith so he cried unto
God and was answered with a part of his own cry. A hundred times the next day negative suggestions about Esau tried to break in upon his peace; but there came again Psalm 30:3,4 to him from Christ "there is forgiveness with thee"; and his soul was set at liberty.

After a few weeks the impulsion toward isolation came upon him again. An idea from Daniel 10:14 came to him: "This for many days". He felt the unpardonableness of his sin again. But then came the balancing word: "O man great is thy faith"; and the question as to whether Christ's blood was sufficient was answered by the suggestion: "He is able"; (Heb. 7:25). Later under the fear "No word of God can help me" came the word, "My grace is sufficient"; and eight weeks later the sentence was finished "My grace is sufficient for thee". He went home in joy from the meeting and continued in this state for several weeks.

Next he set himself to pondering whether the Scriptures could agree as to the salvation of his particular soul. One day both positive and negative suggestions hit him at the same time; gradually the matter of Esau's birthright grew weak and "Mercy reigneth against judgment" took the ascendency. But the Esau suggestion did not leave him altogether, and he could not be rid of the thought that Christ would in the end despise him. At last he analyzed the 6th and 12th chapters of the Epistle to the Hebrews and faced-up to the Esau reference and won, receiving comfort and assurance. He began to see weak points in his theory about the Scriptures not agreeing as to his salvation.

His conscience at this time was so tender that the least touch would hurt him. One day while walking in the fields the suggestion came to him: "Thy righteousness is in heaven"; immediately he saw that his righteousness was Jesus: (I Cor. 1:30) and the chains fell from his feet. Ideas of reference and negative suggestions troubled him no longer and he was led into "the mystery of Union with Christ". He had strange apprehensions of the grace of God: "I could scarcely bear up under it; if that sense of it had bode long upon me it would have made me incapable for business".
There still recurred the old compulsions to blaspheme, often too, when in most ticklish situations. There followed a bodily illness and with this morbid thoughts. Also there was an instance of a deep depression following an illness when he became "clogged with inward guilt"; this condition passed with the aid of Romans 3:24. At another time he was "as one dead before death came"; but he revived with the help of Luke 17:27 and I Cor. 15:55. Even during his preaching experience at times he went full of guilt and terror as far as the pulpit door before his burden would leave him "only to return after the sermon before (he) could get down the pulpit stairs".

Whatever resolution of his conflicts Bunyan experienced he places to the credit of the Grace of God in Jesus Christ; he wrote; "I can remember my fears and doubts and sad months with comfort, they are like the head of Goliath in my hand".
II. CALVIN'S TEACHINGS ON THE ATONEMENT IN THE LIGHT OF BUNYAN'S EXPERIENCES.

"In Calvin's Institutes we find the first complete Protestant system of theology which could be called of equal weight with the great medieval systems of Catholicism like that of Thomas Aquinas. Not only does Calvin represent in his teachings a synthesis of reformation theology but he presents a new doctrine of the Work of Christ which is distinct from either the patristic or the medieval doctrines. His doctrine of the threefold office of Christ is characteristically Protestant. It not merely presents the whole work of Christ in a single view but it gives it in such a manner that it shows how Christ's work terminates in the production of faith through the Gospel."

1. As regards Bunyan, Calvin would teach that there is no free will to good in him. Take, for instance, his situation as a child. The appearance of the prohibitory and punishing aspects of his parent-objects when he was a developing child is parallel to what Calvin calls the fall of man from life unto death (that is, it is the part of the fall which we can get at psychologically). Since this development took place all the knowledge of the father Creator which Bunyan as he grew up could acquire, would be useless for salvation were it not followed by the conviction that this father Creator, in His other than punishing aspects, loves and redeems. To continue, the original plan, undoubtedly, was that the fabric of world experiences should be a school for the total personality of the child, where he might learn goodness and from it pass to eternal life and perfect happiness. But with the fall (a part of which is the appearance of phantasied wants in the child with their egotistical and hatred features), wherever the child looks, he is met by condemnation. Taking this to be Bunyan's experience, he would be filled with despair, for although a boy can see that his father is still pleased in many ways to maintain his fatherly favor towards him, he cannot from a mere survey of such an existence, infer that his father and mother will do other than carry out their judgment against him. His

(4) For the outline of Calvin's teachings on the Atonement see Appendix 4.
(6) Franks Vol. I., p. 441
(5) This and other references are to the final edition of the Institutes, 1559.
punishing conscience urges the boy that his guilt is a just reason for being disowned, which in turn will not allow a father to treat his son as he would like to. In addition to this are the boy's fears and depressions which render useless; also there is his lack of gratitude, - in this way sons' minds are so blinded that they cannot see the truth and their senses are so unruly that they unlawfully defy their father and act in his place. Thus to be projected into the family of God setting, The Divine Father is only to be savingly known, by Bunyan, through a Mediator, (Christ).

If then the first step in goodness for Bunyan is to acknowledge that his Divine Father is really a defender, one who governs and cherishes his son until that son comes into the inheritance which is the Fathers, hence it is plain that there is no saving knowledge of this Father without the Mediator, and that consequently from the beginning of the world this Agent has been held forth to all the fortunate as the object of their trust and confidence. (II, 6.4.)

2. Turning now to Calvin's treatment of the Incarnation and Work of Christ, let us continue to focus his teachings to the study we have made of Bunyan. As to the necessity for this Savior, the Mediator in the conflict going on in Bunyan's personality, here are the reasons (II 12, 15-17): (a) it deeply concerned him that Christ who was to be his Mediator should be very God and very man. The necessity for this flowed from the all-loving decree of God the Divine Father on which his salvation depended. (It did not have in it the absolute necessity feature of the Anselmic doctrine). What was necessary was an Agent who could unite the offended and kindly factors of the Divine Father as Bunyan felt these in his inner life, together with the offending self in him, which he knew he could not manage. Even apart from forbidden unconscious wants which he had been to some extent a party to, Bunyan knew that his own strength by itself was of too humble a sort to penetrate to the Divine Father without a Mediator. Much more then was a Mediator necessary after Bunyan acquired his load of guilt because of his uncontrollable tendencies; obviously no instinct-ridden man could unite imperfection with perfection. Bunyan thus doomed shuddered at the sight of the Divine Father he had wronged. The aspirations which he felt
needed a head to unite them to the loving and kindly Father. Thus, taught Calvin, the creation of the kindly Divine Father needed to become a Mediator, identified with imperfect man in such a way that by mutual union the dignity of perfection and the nature of man might be combined.

(b). This will become still clearer, if we reflect that the work to be performed by the Mediator in Bunyan was of no common description. It was to restore him to the favor of his all-perfect Divine Father, thus making him instead of an enslaved child of unconscious forces, a free child before his Divine Father; instead of an heir of anxiety, fear and punishment, an heir of freedom, serenity and peace.

For this cause especially, also the Redeeming Agent Christ needed to be both perfection and imperfection. Only the generate could swallow up the degenerate. Only goodness could overcome guilt. But goodness, mightiness, creativity, Bunyan knew are alone found in the Divine Father.

(c). Another principal point of his reinstatement with the Divine Father, was that Bunyan who had lost himself by his disobedience, should by way of remedy oppose to this disobedience, obedience, satisfy the justice of the Divine Father and pay the penalty for having given in to the causes of his guilt. Therefore, the Savior Christ came forward for him, a responsible self adopting the form of human personality, that He might present man's bodily vestiture as the price of satisfaction to the just judgment of the Divine Father and, in the same coinage, pay the penalty which man had incurred. Finally, since as perfection only, the Mediator could not suffer, and as a man like Bunyan, or imperfection, He could not overcome the destructive penalty deserved, the Mediator united man's instinctual nature with the kindly and punishing Divine perfection of the Father, that the Mediator in Himself, might subject the weakness of the one to death as absolver of guilt, and by the power of the other, (by maintaining a struggle with the death-dealing forces of hate) might gain for men like Bunyan the victory.
This investment of unique characteristics in the Mediator need not have taken place had it not been for man's load of deep-lying guilt traceable to uncontrolable unconscious wants. If, for instance, Bunyan had continued free from childish egotism and implication with phantasies which produced guilt in the presence of the Divine in his conscience, the Mediator might still have remained an inherent part of the Divine Father without having been incorporated in human form. (II, 12, 16, 17)

3. Calvin states that the conception of the Mediator as offspring of the Divine Father and Redeemer of the guilty, is held and sounded by those of the Thomist persuasion, but that their Mediator is empty and deprived of virtue and dignity (II, 15, f.). Calvin held that in order for there to be a basis for confidence and faith in the Mediator as a solid ground of salvation, we must set out with the principle that the office which the Mediator received from the Divine Father consists of three parts: the prophetic, the kingly and the priestly.

To continue with Bunyan in mind, as a prophet the Mediator is a herald and witness to him of the Divine graciousness and kindliness (II 15, 2). The Mediator as a king endows all of Bunyan's impulses with the gifts of kindliness, beauty and affects of love. The Mediator as king in fact imparts to these features in Bunyan His own royal essence which He received from the Divine Father. The Mediator as the servant at the right hand of the Divine Father, means that the Mediator as vice-regent will rule and defend those personality features of Bunyan in its charge, till at last, the Mediator's office having been completed, the Divine Father Himself will be the only head of those like Bunyan who are the followers of the Mediator. (II, 15, 3, 4, 5.)

The end and use of the priestly function of the Mediator for Bunyan, is that as mediator, free from all taint, He may by His own goodness and perfection, procure for him, the favor of the Divine Father. But, because a deserved curse obstructs Bunyan's entrance to the Divine Father's favor, and because the Father in his character as judge, is hostile to him, the squaring of accounts must necessarily intervene in order that, as a priest employed to appease the wrath of the Father, the Mediator
may reinstate Bunyan in His favor. Wherefore, in order that the Mediator might fulfill this office, it behooved that He appear with a gift of great coat to Himself. By this gift of His death, the Mediator wiped away all of Bunyan’s guilt and made satisfaction for his sin (II 15,6).

The honor of the priesthood was for none other than the Mediator. He alone, at once victim and priest could both become the fit satisfaction for Bunyan’s disobedience which led to his guilt, and be worthy to offer Himself an only child of the Divine Father to this Divine Father. The benefit and efficacy of the priesthood of the Mediator then begins with His death; but He continues to be a perpetual, solicitous go-between. In addition, through the priesthood of the Mediator, Bunyan is not only reconciled to the Divine Father, but Bunyan himself is constituted a priest, and on his own, offers to the Divine Father affection and appreciation.

4. Calvin’s further views on the Work of Christ he arranged historically, taking relevant sentences of the Apostles Creed as his guide. As regards Bunyan he would state in general, that the Mediator is the one guarantee of his salvation. As to how it can be said that the Divine Father, who influenced the deep-lying forces in Bunyan with His merciful qualities, was Bunyan’s enemy, that is, until the Divine Father was reconciled to him by the Mediator,—note the following: When asked how the Divine Father could have given the human in the Mediator a singular pledge of His love and kindliness, if He had not previously embraced the human with free favor, some appearance of a contradiction, says Calvin, has to be admitted. The Divine Father has been commonly held as the enemy of the human and has held men accursed till his guilt is made-up-for by the sacrifice of the Mediator. These statements, Calvin says, are to help men understand how miserable and calamitous their condition is without the Mediator; they are also supposed to enforce consciousness of guilt in men and cause them to fly to the Mediator for refuge. The Divine Father loves guilt-laden men but hates their disobedience which led to guilt. The Divine Father therefore, he says, provides the means of reconciliation to Himself and the Mediator.
When it is asked how the mediator, by abolishing Bunyan's disobedience which led to his guilt, removed the enmity between him and the Divine Father, and purchased goodness which made Him favorable toward and kind to Bunyan, it may be answered that the mediator accomplished this by the whole course of His obedience. (II.16,1,2,3,4,5)

Bunyan's ground of pardon, thus, is the whole life of the mediator, but especially His death. The obedience of the rest of the mediator's life included the voluntary humiliation of the incarnation that gave value to the sacrifice.

The mediator, says Calvin, died a judicial death. The guilt of Bunyan, for instance, transferred to the mediator and He was his substitute. The whole curse, which on account of Bunyan's iniquities lay upon him, was taken from him by being transferred to the mediator. The mediator was a propitiatory victim for his disobedience resulting in guilt, on whom Bunyan's guilt was laid, so that it ceased to be imputed to him. (II.16,6)

By death, the mediator delivered Bunyan from death and hatred. The mediator's death is the beginning of the mortification of his evil impulses. (II.16,7).

In order to interpose between Bunyan and the Divine Father's anger, and satisfy His perfection judgment, it was necessary that the mediator should feel the severity of the Divine Father's vengeance. As sponsor and security for Bunyan who was guilty, the mediator undertook and paid all the penalties, which must have been exacted from him, except only that the pains of death could not hold the mediator. These penalties were not only physical but psychological. Not only was the bodily dwelling of the mediator given up as the price of Bunyan's redemption, but there was a greater price - the mediator bore in His economy the tortures of a condemned and ruined man. If the mediator's inner feeling-state had not shared in the punishment, He would have been a redeemer of bodily existence only. Thus did the mediator experience Bunyan's hell (II.16,8-12).

5. The salvation of Bunyan, according to Calvin's teachings, may be divided between the death and the coming to life again of the mediator. By His death Bunyan's guilt was abolished and the consequent death of his spirit was annihilated; and by His
coming again to life in the free spirit, Bunyan's goodness was restored and life renewed, the power and efficacy of the discharge of his guilt through death, being bestowed by means of this coming again to life. Moreover, as the ratification of Bunyan's old instinctual impulses, depends upon the death of the Mediator, so also the coming to life again of the Mediator in the free spirit, is the ground of new inner life in Bunyan. To repeat, this coming to life again of the Mediator is the promise of the coming to life again of the spirit in Bunyan (II.16,13).

The Mediator after death sits now at the right hand of the Divine Father as king. By this ascension He opened for Bunyan the way to the state of equilibrium and freedom from dreadful anxiety, which the clamors and phantasies of the old Bunyan had shut. In this exalted state the Mediator interceded with the Divine Father for the soul of Bunyan and thence the Mediator exercised its kingdom on his behalf and that of other followers (II.16,17-18).

6. Calvin closes his theoretical discussion of the Work of Christ by dealing with the supplementary question whether the merit of the Mediator is consistent with the absolute grace of God.

Were the Mediator opposed simply as man to the justice of the Divine Father there could be no room for merit, because there cannot be found in the man himself a worth which could make the Divine Father a debtor. Thus the primary cause of the salvation of Bunyan, for instance, was the kindly decree of the Divine Father: for because of the Divine Father's mere good pleasure He appointed a Mediator to purchase salvation for man. There is nothing to prevent Bunyan's justification (the condition deserving reinstatement) being the gratuitous result of the mere mercy of the Divine Father and yet being in a subordinate way due to the merit of the Mediator. Each stands in equal opposition to all man's attainments which are deserving (II.17,1).

In his treatment of the practical effects of the Work of Christ, Calvin, in terms of the salvation of Bunyan, would lay down the following proposition:—So long as Bunyan is without the Mediator and is isolated from Him, nothing which the Mediator
suffered and did for his salvation is of the least benefit to him. To communicate to Bunyan the favor which the mediator received from the Divine Father, the mediator must belong to him and dwell in him; that is, be received into or live in him. (III.1.1)

Accordingly, the mediator is called the Head and His followers are said to be engrafted into Him. Though this union takes place through faith, yet as all men do not have faith, it is necessary to go higher and attribute this union to the secret efficacy of the love-aspects of the Divine Father the chief gift of which is faith (III.1.4).

Faith for Bunyan, Calvin defined as follows: It is his firm and sure knowledge of the Divine Father's favor toward him, founded on the truth of a free promise in the mediator and revealed to him, and sealed for him, by the Holy Spirit, the love-aspects of the Divine Father. (III.2.7)

Bunyan's true knowledge of the mediator consists, says Calvin, in viewing Him as He is offered by the Divine Father; namely, as invested with the Divine Father's love-promises (III.2.6). Therefore, since Bunyan's faith embraces the mediator as it is offered by the Divine Father, and it is offered not only for restoring him to his free state (justification), for the removal of guilt, and for release from fearful anxiety, but also for his continued purification, it is certain that Bunyan would not know the mediator aright without at the same time receiving the guarantee of future freedom, purification, and peace which is a condition of the love-aspect or kindliness of the Divine Father (III.2.8).

7. Both the reinstatement of Bunyan (justification), and his guarantee of future freedom from enslavement (sanctification), therefore, require to be treated as results of faith. Bunyan's sorrow for pride and aggressive indulgence and egotism (repentance), and his discharge of guilt (forgiveness), are equally parts of the love-promises of the Divine Father. To treat of the sincere sorrow for egotism and aggressive indulgence of Bunyan (repentance) first, Calvin says; let it be made clear how Bunyan is reconditioned (justified) by faith alone, and yet how purity (holiness) is
found to be inseparable from the imputation to him of goodness (righteousness) by
the gracious-quality of the Father (Divine Grace). Sorrow for egotism and aggressive
indulgence on Bunyan's part (repentance) must follow faith, and is produced by it.
Since discharge of guilt (forgiveness) in Bunyan is with a view to his entrance
into ethical and emotional maturity (the kingdom of God), it is impossible for him
to embrace this gift of the love-promises of the Mediator (the grace of the Gospel),
without sorrow for his sin (repentance). Bunyan's true sorrow for sin and aspiration
for reinstatement (repentance), is not legal but psychological, not caused by fear
of punishment but by sorrow for giving in to the causes of guilt (not the boy's
fear of punishment at the hand of his father but mourning the loss of his father
whom he loves and whom he has offended). It is a real revolutionary change in the
relationship between Bunyan and the Divine Father, proceeding from his sincere love
for God and consisting in his mortification of the needs of immaturity and the
quickening in him of the love-quality of the Divine Father (III. 3, 5). In a word sor­
row for egotism and stolen wants (repentance) is regeneration, the renewal in the self
of Bunyan, of the image of the healthy, loving, Divine Father which was all but effaced
by defiant gratifications and immature aggressiveness. Bunyan is said to be justi­
fied, therefore, in the sight of the Divine Father, when in the judgment of this Being,
he is deemed good (righteous) and is accepted on account of his goodness (III. 11, 2).

6. Being made good (justification) by faith, is opposed to being made good (justification)
by works. The self of Bunyan will be made good (justified) by faith, when, excluded
from the goodness acquired by works, this self by faith, lays hold of the goodness
(righteousness) of the Mediator, and clothed in it appears in the sight of the Di­
vine Father not as a culprit, infidel, egotist, or sinner, but as a good man (as
righteous). Thus, being made good (justification) is simply interpreted as the accep­
tance with which the Divine Father (God) receives the self (Bunyan) into His favor, and
holds this self for good (righteous). And, Calvin says, this being made good (justifi­
cation) consists in the resolution of guilt (forgiveness), and the imputation, to the
self of Bunyan, of the goodness of the Mediator (the righteousness of Christ).

(III.11,2). Not that the resolution of Bunyan's guilt and the imputation of the goodness of the Mediator are two different parts of his being made good (justification). Being made good (justification) by faith is reinstatement in favor with the Divine Father (reconciliation with God) and this consists solely in the removal of guilt (remission of sins) (III.11,21). But reinstatement in favor for Bunyan and the removal of his guilt, take place through the imputation to him of the goodness of the Mediator, that is Christ's expiation and obedience (III.11,22,23).

III. COMMENT. Bunyan's unresolved emotional conflict most clearly reflects itself in his ideas of death, his depressive and joyous experiences, his terrors, his automatic responses to negative and positive suggestion, and his grandiose and egotistical conditions, which indicate a state of isolation and degree of regression and breakdown of ego-organization which borders on psychosis. Apparently his battle with the punishing agent of conscience came out at first in the form of compulsive behavior, Sabbath-breaking and roguery. Later it showed itself in compulsive swearing and in its making him the victim of negative suggestions of punishment or death.

Bunyan's inability through his religious struggles to identify himself sufficiently with his mediator, Christ to die to his guilt state in a thorough-going manner, no doubt can be traced to the above mentioned diseased aspect of conscience under which he labored. Reflections of this merciless creature of conscience he no doubt met a plenty in the Old Testament ideas of God, in references here and there in the New Testament, in the preaching of his day, and in other religious books which he read. The terrific fears which possessed him of "falling into the hands of the living God" (balanced by the loving side of God's nature found in the quotation, "I have redeemed thee"), reflect these diseased-conscience characteristics. The sick condition of those authoritarian objects whom Bunyan had loved and trusted as a child, can be judged by the distance toward the destruction of his ego-economy which we have found to have taken place.
Bunyan's failure to salve his emotional troubles sufficiently through marriage and parenthood, points again to this diseased aspect of his love-life and suggests a mis-handling of the emotions of his childhood by parent love-objects. Thus it is evident that a sufficient stability in his later adjustments to permit health, could not be secured. It was not until after years of suffering and punishment, that Bunyan was able to retire from his emotionally childish and therefore egotistical role which kept him under the reign of the punishing agent of a sick conscience. Only then was he able to let his childish self with its conceit, die in the person of Christ his Savior, and was he able to allow himself to receive a healthy fatherly relationship to a kindly God in Christ, and take his place as a fairly stable and responsible personality in a real world. This of course, Bunyan was never wholly able to do, for as was the case with St. Augustine and Calvin, the God of Jesus of Nazareth was too good to be true; so his old punishing task-master remained active in his personality to the end. Thus there was kept alive within him, his morbidity, depressions, fears, doubts, sadness, and compulsions to blaspheme to some degree, throughout the remainder of his life. His realization that Jesus Christ was his righteousness (1 Cor. 1:30 and his experiences of chains dropping from his feet, and his union with Christ in the longed-for feelings of grace, saved him from isolation in a psychosis and released energies sufficient for him to face with remarkable success, the real world of work and pain and pleasure. He has impressed people through the years with his knowledge of the depths and heights of life. "Pilgrim's Progress" could come only from a great soul. But Bunyan's final conversion experience was only a partial one, and resulted, as we have noted, in a limited sense of freedom and in frequent curtailments of power.

Thus there is reflected here in Bunyan, Calvin's inability to let go of much in the past which was not only useless but destructive. Probably Calvin was too close to Patristic Scholarship and to the unhealthy conscience of St. Augustine, to be able to give himself to that degree of freedom which would permit his treating the Christian religion altogether as a gospel, as distinguished from the Old Testament religion.
Conclusion

IV, Calvin's main blind spot which is apparent in his interpretation of the Work of Christ, was his inability to keep the immature unreality material of the phantasy life of the unconscious, separate from his treatment of reality experience such as is most conspicuous in the Cross. The barbarous God of the unconscious, of the Old Testament and of St. Augustine, had to be accommodated for him in the same personality with the God of Jesus. Fearful to trust Jesus's gentle God, lest there might be lost to the world the proper motivation for the hard muscles of character, Calvin, like others before his day and since, would in this respect show God his business, and personally see to it that teeth be put into God's laws of living. More Christ-like theologians since Calvin, just as Jesus's immediate follower St. Paul, have found the conditions for ethical and religious maturity a sufficient challenge for attainment, even though the handicap of the unreal, angry God of the unconscious be dispensed with. The added humbleness which has come with man's ability to allow God to be Himself in His universe, is a hopeful step toward Jesus's remarkable realization of the nature of God in His Divine Father. Thus Calvin in his role as protector of the masculinity and almost pathological aggressiveness of God, may be reflecting to some degree his own fear of impotence and a certain infidelity which apparently still clung to the elect.

The gains in Calvin in the direction of the realization of reality in the Atonement for which we rejoice, are: (1) his progress beyond St. Augustine in unfastening the roots of sin from the sensual in life and locating them in irreverence and usurpation of God's place; (2) the advance over Anselm in finding the motivation of the Incarnation in God's loving decree; (3) the arousing in men a deeper sense of the pain of isolation when separated from God; (4) the psychological sufferings of Jesus as he went through hell with men in his role as empathist; (5) his clarification of justification by his awareness of the two economies which are separate settings for faith and for works; (6) his elimination of mediaeval elements from the sacraments,
(7)his helpful systematization, or planning of the salvation experience into the indivisible process of the gifts of spirit, faith, justification and sanctification, in which each implies the other; and (8) his original and realistic presentation of Christ's Work in his doctrine of the three-fold office.

The genius of Calvin with respect to the study we are making, lay in his awareness of the extreme states of suffering into which people get themselves and in the seriousness with which he dealt with these conditions. It was as though Calvin saw more clearly than we have seen in Part I of our study, the tragedy and awfulness of the destructive forces at work in human personality. For him love was love and hate was hate; some souls were damned and some were saved, whether for the reason St. Augustine suggested or otherwise.

Calvin blinked no sordid fact; the mental hospitals of the world with over half their beds occupied by people primarily condemned in soul, and only secondarily in mind and body, would not have been ignored by Calvin, had they existed in his day; (the victims of sin were plentiful though they were not in that day hospitalized). Calvin had not much of a message of hope for such sufferers; but he did offer, in all its severity and apparent unfitness, an interpretation of the Cross which closely accorded with facts in these deep layers in the life of man which others missed or considered lightly. Where there was vitality enough native to the victim of sin, there was in Calvin's Doctrine an adequacy for his salvation. This we have seen to have been the case with John Bunyan. But by bringing the ruthlessness of unconscious forces and facts into the Gospel setting of the Divine Father and the Work of Christ, Calvin constructed a theology that produced a technique which killed almost as many as it cured. In fact it included in its conscious structure so much which should have been left to the pathological of the unconscious, that Calvin went so far himself as to play the role of the punishing and avenging agent in society, even to the point of securing the death sentence and execution of those whom he conceived to be the enemies of God.
CHAPTER IX.

JOHN WESLEY AND THE WORK OF CHRIST.

An impressionistic picture of John Wesley, his personality, his teachings and his message can be gathered from the following quotations:

1. "The wrath (or severity) of man worketh not the righteousness of God." (1)
2. "God willeth that all men be saved".
3. "The blood of Christ cleanseth us from all sin".
4. "Be ye perfect even as your Father in heaven is perfect", (taken from the words of Jesus for his doctrine on Christian Perfection).
5. "I look upon the whole world as my parish".
6. "I am a spirit come from God and returning to God".

There is expressed here his reaction from the severity and determinism of the Calvinists. In these lines we see his identity with those who were enslaved and in misery, and his procuring for them a real Gospel for their deliverance. Here are seen his almost pathological need for work and belief in the transitoriness of his existence in this life. And here is expressed his passion for the wonderful as well as his reach toward perfection.

In this chapter we shall follow our usual procedure of making first a personality study of the Religious Leader himself. Next we shall examine Wesley's teachings with this outline in mind. And finally we shall draw our conclusions as regards the salvation which he would make accessible to those who suffer.

I. A Personality Study of John Wesley.

This study of John Wesley (1703-1791) is taken from his Journal published in Everyman's Edition by Dutton and Company, New York, 1926. The numbers in the manuscript refer to volume and pages in this edition.

John Wesley was a scholar, a writer and a travelling evangelist. He was active to his death in his 88th year. He was of slightly below medium height and was vigorous and muscular. He insisted upon keeping himself trim even in old age. He had a "clear, smooth forehead, an aquiline nose, and eyes that were bright and piercing". His dress was always neat and simple. In later life it was said that his head of white hair gave him an apostolic air.

Wesley was wholly centered in his religious work. Referring to a typical occasion he wrote: "My heart was filled with love, my eyes with tears and my mouth with arguments". He was straight-forward, and intensely in earnest: "I love plain dealing. I hang out no false colors". He had a wide range of interest as seen from references to his readings. These included history, travel, poetry, court proceedings, music, science, the classics, religion, medicine, biography and essays on various subjects.

John Wesley's father served the Parish of Epworth in Lincolnshire. His father appears to have been an earnest, hard-working clergyman, of a pious turn, who gave good advice to his children. His counsel was sought by them even after their graduation from the university. His father died when Wesley was 32. Wesley's mother was a clear-headed woman, the mother of 19 children, and was fully able to cope with the domestic and social situations which so large a family presented. She was deeply religious and could transmit this quality to others. Her regularity of habits and administrative ability, appear to have been passed on to her son and through him to his religious groups.

SOCIAL ADAPTATIONS

Wesley had the advantage of having been brought up in a large family. The preparatory school training which he received during his boyhood years also helped in this field of adjustment. At Oxford there were those who considered him a "queer duck"; but however this may have been he became a leading student of the University.

He joined with four other students for purposes of reading classics. This group became the "Holy Club", in some ways the forerunner of his social-religious groups.
which later laid the foundation for Methodism. On the way home from Georgia he became further interested in the Moravians. He visited these religious people at Hernhuth in Germany, and became fully acquainted with their program and organization. Upon his return to England he began building with small groups which gathered around him as their leader.

One of Wesley's basic resolutions was "to use absolute openness and unreserved with all I shall converse with." He was sociable in the sense that he would talk with anyone he met, innkeepers, travelers on the road, tavern drunkards, the intellectually proud, and ship cabin passengers. (But this was only that he might introduce his religious message.) He felt his work lay among the poor, but at rare intervals he would visit a wealthy and cultured family. He would delight in these experiences but found them disturbing to his peace of mind. He wrote, "I spent an hour agreeably and profitably with Lady G-H and Sir C-H. It is well a few of the rich and noble are called. O that God would increase them! But I should rejoice (were it the will of God) if it were done by the ministry of others. If I might choose, I should still (as I have done hitherto) preach the Gospel to the poor." In another place he wrote, "I then waited upon Mr. M. for an hour. O how could I delight in such an acquaintance! But the will of God be done! Let me acquaint myself with Him and it is enough."

Early in his ministry his uncompromising attitude toward the world led him to be intolerant toward many. In England, within the Established Church organization, many closed their doors to him. Such social disapproval he met by saying, "Till he is thus despised no man is in a state of salvation. —Till a man is despised he is 'of the world', that is, out of a state of salvation." He was very independent of other religiously-minded people who did not agree with him in method of teaching, or in point of doctrine. He had rather have such people out of his societies than disputing in them. After his first disillusionment at Savannah, he learned not to expect too much of people, even the most enthusiastic. He helped his people to settle their disputes by prayer. The sick and the poor in the societies, he tried
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to care for. His personality had a peculiar magnetic quality about it, for it appears he could still rioting mobs. In general it may be said that he had the usual social adjustment. He certainly was a much-loved guest in private homes where he was entertained.

EMOTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Some of the facts on this side of Wesley’s life perhaps may be gathered from glimpses he gives us of his relationship to his mother. His mother’s methods of bringing up her family are significant, especially when it is considered that certain features in Wesley’s methodical way of living and working, may have been taken from his early training received at home. A comparison between his mother’s belief and practice of punishment as regards her children, and Wesley’s tendency to flay his congregations is of special interest. It is significant that he felt he had not made a dent on them unless he had produced pathological states, or total submission, or such offense that people despised him. He wrote: "I deliberately set out to wound the hardened by sharp words"; and "I will kill or cure." His interest in keeping in touch with his mother during his active evangelistic work, visiting her whenever the chance afforded, is to be observed. Also note the way he sought her approval in matter of his personal faith.

Wesley’s apprehensiveness and his fear of danger and death, are significant. They have special meaning when placed beside his desire for persecution, despisableness, his wish to be crucified with Christ. A rigid asceticism is seen running throughout his life holding its severity way beyond his 80th year; (note the summaries written on his latter birthdays where he mentioned: early rising, 5 o’clock preaching, exercise, and miles travelled).

Wesley’s stage of self-love in its troublesome form appears largely to have been shaken out of him soon after his return from his work in Georgia. Sometime before this he had faced up to his desire for solitude, in order to be the kind of Christian he wanted to be, and had found this tendency not to hold up under criticism.
He went through a bungling affair in matters of love while in Georgia, which appears to have been a fumbling for heterosexual adjustment just before his attainment of sublimation in religion and religious activity. At the time of his marriage and afterward, this sublimation seems never to have been endangered in the least: "for many years I had remained single because I believed I could be more useful in a single than in a married state; and I praised God who enabled me to do so. I now believed that in my present circumstances I might be more useful in a married state--into which, by the advice of my friends, I entered a few days later." Evidently Wesley could not let his work suffer for the sake of making any attempts at successful adjustment with his wife. His line taken from the Scriptures: "it remaineth that they who have wives be as though they had none" is highly significant.

Depressions, mentioned often in his pages, when taken with possible psychological meaning of underlying hatred, criminal phantasies and expected death together with his condemnation of self and feelings of inadequacy upon occasion, are significant from the standpoint of emotional development. The satisfaction he got from his friendship with men, and his relationship with his brother should be mentioned for they were constantly used as outlets for his emotional life. His prudishness toward what he considered to be immodest pictures might be noted in passing. Wesley had a life-long interest in the romantic, and hand in hand with this went a delight in dwelling upon the corruption of the beauty of the flesh.

Wesley attained a state of adjustment through substitution, or partially successful sublimation, which stood well the test of life with its ups and downs, its conscious promptings and its unconscious urges. It could be said that he referred indirectly to his sexual life when he wrote: "I do live indeed by preaching"; for he began each morning at 5 o'clock and kept himself so near the point of exhaustion that he often had to fight off sleep during the daytime, always being able to fall into deep slumber at the drop of the hat. It is significant too, that in his 87th year the last sermon he ever wrote was entitled, "the Wedding Garment."
OCCUPATIONAL ADJUSTMENT

The discipline Wesley received when a child, embedded in him a capacity for work. All through his life he was a man of intense application. Preaching five times a day was not exceptional but rather typical of him. He had no patience with the former college friend who had put in 70 years in one parish with so little to show for it. While teaching as a young man at Oxford, he applied himself far more than the professors and lecturers he met in his later years. He wrote: "I should have thought myself little better than a highwayman if I had not lectured them every day in the year but Sundays! (he did not like the short terms in Scottish Universities). He had been a scholarship student in school and college.

Wesley saw himself as a fighter taking up arms in favor of truth in the face of all opposition. He would not argue on trifles; and he had no taste for controversy; but he measured himself against all opponents. He stood violence, and remained fearless before mobs, holding his ground until he had delivered himself and accomplished what he set out to do. He even won out over a cock-fight upon one occasion, and brought the people to his meeting.

Wesley's failure in Georgia, and the subsequent antagonism which he aroused in the Established Church wherever he preached, are traceable to the underdeveloped trait in his personality which to a great extent was left behind after his unique religious experience of 1738. Gradually the principles of the Methodist society were worked out. These included a sort of reform approach to society and people. According to the original design, the Methodists were not to be a distinct party but should stir up all parties both Christians and heathen to worship God in spirit and truth. But they should stir up the Church of England in particular. So Wesley came to include in his aims: preaching in the open air, praying extemporaneously, forming societies to do the same, which accepted lay preachers, and "to use whatever means upon occasion to prevent evils felt or feared".

Wesley was blunt, even to the point of giving offense, and he was square-toed, even to the point of withdrawal from the group, or the dismissal of members, or the split-
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ting of existing groups. He held firmly to the basic principle of Methodism, that
success in the work lay in visiting on the part of the preachers from house to
house.

Some of the practical things his groups did were: contributing to the poor,
clothes and money; visiting the sick, furnishing employment in industrial experi-
ments, visiting prisoners, time spent with the old and feeble, supplying teachers
for the schools at Bristol, London and Kingswood, collecting supplies for prisoners
of war, opposing slavery, and making attacks upon "sink-holes of sin" where conditions
were particularly bad.

Family religion was Wesley's corner-stone: "as for me and my house we will serve
the Lord." He was determined and would have what he went after; this is seen in
what he wrote of the way things were going at Kingswood School: "I will kill or
cure; I will have one or the other, a Christian school or none at all." He tackled
everything whether in his line or not; he would handle medical problems and cases
of mental disorder often bringing harmony out of confusion. He was a builder. He
tackled the problem of housing his societies; and he secured preaching houses for
his congregations for generations to come. He faced his problems, struggling hard
to handle the janglings within his group. When a breach was made, as in the case of
the enthusiasts, he lost no time over losses, but pushed "straight forward in the
work wherefore (he) was called." The missionary spirit in his work was predominant. He
felt he must keep up the urge to approach the unwilling. Cooperation with others
was characteristic of his work, - note the way he worked with Whitfield. There was
sweep and breadth to him: "I look upon the whole world as my parish".

Wesley was a true student and remained so always. He made translations of the
works of others along with his writing, travelling and preaching. He wrote volumi-
ously on all subjects including addresses to the people of England on general
topics. He labored hard on his brother's poems. In fact he worked at sermon writ-
ing even at 87. He worked no less hard as a preacher. It is little wonder that his
voice failed him upon a particular occasion after preaching eleven times in three
II:257
days.

II:336
Wesley was always open to new suggestions, having almost a genius for converting
III:23
suggestions of others into practical use. He stuck with tedious duties to the end.
His terrific energy in his work and his success brought money into the coffers
of the society, but there never was a variation in the simple standard of personal
needs which he set for himself. In his 80th year the society received £000 pounds,
IV:248
but Wesley himself kept his usual 30 pounds.

RELIGIOUS LIFE

There was in Wesley's religion a generous place for punishment; discipline al­
most to the point of punishment was prevalent throughout his life. There were his
I:3,15,17,27;III:137;I:52
fastings, his desire to be crucified with Christ, and his trials where there was
I:69
contempt and want. Then too, he thought he was punished by God; in fact upon one
I:84,87,88
occasion he thought he was showered with hail for his sins of omission. He was a
strong believer in the good works that follow salvation. While still a student at
I:4
Oxford he was calling on the sick and prisoners; one time while he was sick in bed
it came to him "Blessed is the man that provideth for the poor and needy; the Lord
III:345
shall strengthen him when he lieth down sick upon his bed." He had not much use for
II:246
prisons.

There was a definite place in Wesley's religious life for personal and group
I:29,71
devotions; in fact his religious societies appeared to thrive on testimonies.
I:15,253
His underlying ambition in his religious life was to live wholly to glorify God;
III:216
in fact what he meant by Christian perfection was this fixed intention to give
the whole self up to God. In another place he defines Christian Perfection to be
II:499
"constant communion with God the Father and the Son." He had a great zeal to save
I:15
the souls of others.

He had a marked interest in death; certain noises at one time called up thoughts
I:16
relating to his condition in the face of eternity; but he feared not "when body and
I:538
soul were committed to God." He had a desire that an injured person should die
rather than risk losing faith while living. He thought much about the question of conversion and it would appear he had some trouble feeling convinced of completely having had the experience himself.

The following loosely related facts are of interest under this heading. Wesley was personally hurt because of evil he found in others. He believed God's miraculous work was manifest in his own particular case. There was severity in his religion, but there was also the opposite; he stated "if Johnathan Edwards's temper were the Christian temper: I would abjure it forever." He was not impressed by the authority of the church councils; the Scripture was his authority even to the point of causing so good a scholar as he was, to combat advances in astronomy. He had a personal contact and communion with God; "If we acknowledge God in all our ways He will direct our path." Wesley was guided by others prayers; he had been guided by the Will of God to go to Ireland. He had a sportsmanlike but militant attitude toward other faiths. In religious argument he was cool and able and would even argue with an "infidel." Finding himself desiring isolation, he sensed danger and avoided it.

Wesley had had a thorough early religious training in the beliefs and customs of his parents,-he states that when he was ten he believed he still retained the blessing of the Holy Ghost received at baptism. But he says during his next six or seven years he became neglectful, and became guilty of the most overt sins. He mentioned particularly the influence on his religious development of Luther's Preface to Romans. And he mentioned other specific religious experiences, like the one in the garden following the visit of his sister and the presence in his mind of the Song of Songs.

Wesley had a deep respect for phenomena he didn't understand which had to do with the spirit-world. But he was not slow to point out other's faults and blame.
He performed what appeared to be religious healings and experienced them himself.

Any persecutions which came to him strengthened his religious feeling. Riches and the appeal of wealth had no attraction for him, for preaching and religion were his life.

Wesley's religion appeared not to be a matter of growth so much as one of authority based upon the Scriptures. After years of success in his work he stated he could not write a better sermon on various subjects than he had twenty, thirty or forty-five years before. As to his status as a religious man he writes: "I am a member of the Church of England but I love good men of every church; my ground is the Bible. Yes, I am a Bible-bigot." As to his form of worship he writes: "The Methodists alone do not insist upon your holding this or that opinion but they think and let think. Neither do they impose any particular form of worship, but you may continue to worship in your former manner."

Wesley's own statements of belief through which he explained his own deliverance from guilt and the bonds of sin read: "I believe neither our own holiness, nor good works are any part of the cause of our justification; but that the death and righteousness of Christ are the whole and sole cause of it"—"I believe we are justified by faith alone, faith, without works, faith, though producing all yet including no good work". And again, "Justification is the present remission of our sins, or our first acceptance with God; the merits of Christ are the sole cause of this our justification; the condition of our justification is faith alone and not good works; that faith which is in us by the Grace of God. It is a sure trust which a man hath that Christ hath loved him and died for him."
II. Observations on Wesley and The Forgiveness of Sins.

1. In the statement wherein Wesley distinguishes his beliefs from those of most of the clergy of the Church of England, various personality features, unique to Wesley show themselves. First of all, his essential emotional isolation from all others is seen clearly here. He who following in the steps of Luther, had alone dissented from the ways and beliefs of the Clergy of the Established Church, referred to these clergymen themselves as the dissenters from the Church. The reality, however, in Wesley's isolated emotional state was of sufficient strength, and his supporting intellectual and physical abilities were of such nature, that, although the clergy who dissented from the true church according to Wesley, did not change their step to match his, laymen and preachers did fall into line with him, and a new tradition of the practice of protestant faith came into existence.

Wesley's curious mixture of the rational and the mystical is evident here. Whereas Luther was an out and out evangelical, who had no use for Aristotelian rationalism with its place for free will, Wesley, free from the anger which was back of Luther's controversial work, loved argument, order, and method, and retained a considerable place for the mind of man in his system. At the same time actually, deep down inside, he admitted the "inwardness" of emotional change, where free will ceased to operate, and held this to be the thing that really mattered.

Wesley has been called an "evangelical rationalist"; it appears that the events of his life, his teachings and his emotional history, substantiate this view of him. Intellectually he wore the armor of a man and fought ably and well, but all the while he was a boy to Spankenburg, to Oglethorpe, Peter Bohler, and his mother. Even after his conversion experience following his return from Georgia in 1738, apparently he had to tug at his own boot straps constantly, to keep himself in a "saved condition". With the cessation of his emotional development in 1738, his intellectual life formed itself to the extent that his venturesomeness from this point onward expressed itself outwardly in miles travelled, sermons preached, and societies formed. And his reading became largely a grand defensive and fortifying measure for (6) For Wesley's Teachings on the Atonement see the Appendix.
the sake of maintaining the degree of reality he at that time (1738) had acquired.
His own statement that he could write no better sermon than (he wrote thirty to forty years earlier) gives point to this fact.

Another personality feature of Wesley, which runs through all that he thought or did, was his own inner predicament, which required stronger medicine than the clergy of the time were dispensing. He, like Luther, had tremendous stores of energy which had to be taken care of.

Luther had loved and distrusted an unstable mother in early childhood, had feared and loved a powerful, angry father, and had found his way out of his sufferings and insecurity with the help of St. Paul who told of a heavenly Father, and a saving Brother Who once for all had offered to men, a solution of his conflicts and a salvation from his misery.

Wesley who had been almost burned alive at the age of six, had loved a strong capable mother who had singled him out from among her many children for special attention; and he had loved a sensitive, intelligent, but impractical father; also he had loved his brothers and sisters to the full. Here had been all the love he could possibly need. But in his early thirties he found himself failing in his work, becoming irritable, intolerant and hypercritical. This lack of equilibrium was particularly insufferable to him; he had searched in Oxford, in Georgia, and finally in Germany for a certainty which could quiet him inside. Finally he found this through Luther’s experience cited in the Preface to his Commentary to St. Paul’s Epistle to the Romans. Wesley hurriedly grasped this bit of reality, quickly moved into the certainty which it offered, and proceeded to settle down there for life.

Thus, for Luther and Wesley, ritual and legalism in religion were not enough. Something had to be found which could go deeper than the love-life which produced wishes, thoughts and behavior, contrary to their Scriptural, cultural and home standards. This something was forgiveness of sins in the Gospel. This central truth is the same in Wesley as in Luther. In one it was expressed more fully than in the other, accordingly as there was a more mature breaking away from dependence upon
former love objects. For instance, Wesley's preoccupation with Christian perfection can be seen in terms of his own needs which perhaps rightly called forth the attacks which he spent so much energy in his attempts to combat. Not having gone so far as Luther toward emotional maturity, he stopped short of Luther in the place he gives to the Cross. Christian Perfectionism, the holiness state, in Wesley, therefore, no doubt has in it an echo of his own uncertainty as to inner freedom from inner conflict, as well as a look back to the innocent ideal days of his childhood. His difficulty in establishing this doctrine parallels to some extent his effort to attain the goal of holiness to which he aspired in his own experiences. It appears that Wesley remained always in the performance or overt stage of emotional living. This effort of his, therefore, as shown in the doctrine of Christian Perfection, to make literal or external an inner aspiration suggests to us a key which may unlock much that otherwise would be difficult to understand in Wesley's life, his teaching and his work. That is the stage of development of Wesley's emotional life which never went beyond his experience in the Society Meeting in Aldersgate Street on the 24th of May 1738.

2. This characteristic of Wesley of remaining to the end of his life like a college athlete, has a great appeal to practical minded people, like the Americans for instance. The so-called genius of Americans for organization can be seen to be little different from this flare in Wesley for industry and activity, which we suspect is rooted in failure to develop beyond the stage where effort is made to elude anxiety by over-activity, excessive industry and preoccupation with tangible affairs. This is a legitimate phenomenon for the boy-scout age; and it is taken good humoredly when seen flowering out in university athletics and political demonstrations. But this sort of manic behavior on the part of older and more responsible people, whether in industrial organization, militarism or group religion, can no longer carry with it the sanction of so mature an expression of the emotional life as is seen in the Cross.
Wesley's asceticism, or self-punishment, which continued to the end of his life can be viewed as infidelity, that is, his failure to trust completely enough in "the blood of Christ" to make this measure of stoicism or this compulsion to work unnecessary. Not that he would have accomplished less had he been free from this, but rather that he could have had more energy to devote to the salvation of others.

The uncared-for anxiety which troubled Luther to the end of his days, we know to have come out in the anger, heat and vituperation back of his controversial writing or preaching, and in his depressions and bodily ailments. This undispelled anxiety in Wesley, besides bringing on almost periodical depressions and ailments, expressed itself in symbolized self-punishment and the misery he suffered when not driving himself almost to death in work. The death ideas, the recurring certainty that their end had come, so common in both Luther and Wesley, were probably but a compromising solution of sacrifice required (which they never quite were able to fully make in Christ) and the delivery from anxiety (which again never wholly came to them through their Christian faith). In their statement "it is not I that lives but Christ that liveth in me", they were not quite accurate. The "I" still lived and gave considerable trouble.

The obvious truth that no one can give another what he hasn't himself got, is seen clearly in Wesley and in certain features of Methodism. The provision which Wesley made in his Societies for the care of the "babes" and "children in Christ" can be viewed as a glorified extension of the family life in Wesley's mother's home. There are indications that Wesley believed that only at the time of death could emotional maturity be realized. The Calvinists on the other hand, with all their heartlessness toward the non-elect, at least made a place for something more than the adolescent uncertainty which characterizes Wesley's conditional salvation. Wesley was nothing if not practical. And his awareness of the undeveloped emotional age of the general run of people and of the necessity of providing them with a suitable environment and protection, are of course on the side of his contribution to the world as a builder and agitator for God. Of the value of this there is no
question. But when it comes to his handling the heart of the Christian Religion, that is, the Atonement, it was as though he was married to a truth which was too mature for him. His partial awareness of this is noticed in the necessity he felt for security in a literal interpretation of the Scripture and Early Christian Writings. (Compare this with Luther's advanced emotional condition in his handling of the Scriptures).

Wesley's rationalism and his love of argument, his distrust of his own judgment and dependence upon the advice of counsellors especially in affairs of love and marriage, and his projection of the happy secure days of childhood in Epworth Rectory into his doctrine of holiness or Christian Perfection, fit well into the mosaic pattern of a man who preferred the love of men to that of women, and who would have loved Christ with abandon had not this prevented. Wesley kept his picture of Jesus Christ too much like a glorified Oxford graduate who maintained his boyhood relationships with mother, father, brothers and sisters unbroken. We know to the contrary, that Jesus left father and mother, brothers and sisters, and let-go in His Work of love even to the extreme limits of the Cross.
CHAPTER X

JONATHAN EDWARDS' INTERPRETATION OF THE WORK OF CHRIST.

Jonathan Edwards was a man of great and original gifts. He was the founder of a distinctly American School of Theology. And among other things, he combined as few thinkers have ever done, a loyalty to both the ethical and the religious in his most logical processes of thought. His significance for us in this study, however, lies in the fearlessness with which he dealt with the happenings in the fringes of human consciousness where chaos and the traces of orderliness, anxiety and the bases for peace, despair and states of creative joy, are so inextricably bound up together.

Edwards may have made Calvinism into the most rigid and uncompromising system which the world has ever seen in his determination to oust the Armenians who were responsible for what to him was a hopeless and weak liberalism of his day. He may have offended Whitfield and the less sadistic revivalists of his time, as he bore down upon people, driving them to utter despair if necessary in order to shake them out of their complacency. But it cannot be said that he was unaware of what he was doing. Like his emphasis upon the place of love in the atonement, he entered himself into the pain of God in caring because men failed to appreciate infinite values in God in themselves and in people around them. And like his interpretation of the love and pity of Jesus towards those who suffer, he entered himself so deeply into human heights and depths that he could do little else than require men to see what he saw and feel what he felt. This marked emotional investment in human beings makes Edwards' bearing upon our problem of suffering and unhappy people extremely important. He as few, if any, others since St. Paul, sensed the mighty affairs of life and death which take place in what the psychoanalysts call the unconscious.

In this chapter we shall run through Edwards' treatment in his Works, of

the life of David Brainerd. With Brainerd in mind, we shall then attempt an
analytical study of Edward's teachings about the Atonement. This should enable
us to get clearly before us the specific cure which he would offer suffering
people in the Gospel of the Cross.

I. The following personality study of David Brainerd is taken from Volume X
numbers in the manuscript refer to pages in this volume of this edition.
DAVID BRAINERD
(1718-1747)

David Brainerd was a meek and modest missionary to the Indians who died in his 29th year, having suffered from tuberculosis the last seven or eight years of his life. His natural tenderness of conscience was unfortunately emphasized by his tendency toward melancholia of which malady he was aware. His intelligence and scholarship were of a high order. He remained unmarried although he expressed his attachment for Jerusha, the daughter of Jonathan Edwards, just before his death. He was born at Haddam, Conn., April 20, 1718 and died Oct. 9, 1747 at Northampton, Mass.

Brainerd's paternal and maternal ancestry were English. His father was "one of His Majesty's council for that colony (Haddam); "his mother was--daughter of Rev. Jeremiah Hobart". Brainerd was the third son of nine children, five sons and four daughters. His father died when he was nine and his mother when he was fourteen. There is a reference to Brainerd's younger brother, Israel, having died of a kind of "nervous fever" while in college in his early twenties.

Among Brainerd's misfortunes those which were probably most significant were: the deaths of his father and mother, his tendency toward melancholia, his tubercular infection, and his expulsion from Yale College. He was influenced in his early years by reading Mr. Janeway's "Token for Children". Also he speaks of the influence of Stoddard's "Guide to Christ". Friends who influenced him most were: Mr. Fiske, pastor in Haddam, Mr. Bellamy of Bethlehem, and Jonathan Edwards.

SOCIAL ADAPTATIONS

Brainerd states that at 7 or 8 years of age there came to him a conviction of sin and fear of death which drove him to religious duties and destroyed within him the eagerness for play. When he was 13 he thought himself converted and became dead to the world. At 15 he was taking no part in company and amusements of those of his own age; he wrote that he was not given to these, and whenever he did "go into company he never returned with such good conscience as when he went".
When he was 20 he went to live with Mr. Fiske and there decided to follow the advice, given him by this worthy gentleman to "abandon all young and associate only with elderly people".

Something peculiar to Brainerd, which satisfied him as to his difference from other people, is seen in the twelve statements which he listed about this time, proving himself to be vile beyond all others. When he was in college he longed to be alone, and grieved that his ambition for preeminence in his studies kept him from spending the time he would have wished to spend in "sacred retirement". There was some bungling in his social relations, during his second year in college, growing out of his speaking his mind regarding the state of Grace of one of the tutors.

At the age of 24 he wrote: "alas, I cannot live in the midst of tumult. I long to enjoy God alone". The coarseness of certain characters jarred on him considerably; and such feelings led him to say: "what a hell to live with such men to eternity". While working on the mission field he wrote: "I love to be a pilgrim and stranger in this wilderness; it seems most fit for such a poor ignorant, worthless, despised creature". During his last days of illness he spoke to his brother about the handicap of going single-handed to work among a strange people, and referred to the wisdom of Jesus having sent out his disciples by two's. Despite Brainerd's tendencies toward isolation, Jonathan Edwards speaks of him as having "extraordinary knowledge of men and insight into human nature".

SEXUAL DEVELOPMENT

Development of the sexual life is so tied up with the growth of the whole personality that such features in Brainerd as self-condemnation, need for punishment and hardship, extreme self-discipline, uniqueness, isolation, thoughts of death, religious experiences (especially during adolescence), relationship to parents etc., although appearing to be far-fetched to some, cannot possibly be over-looked.

The following quotations may be suggestive:
a) "I was from my youth somewhat sober, and inclined to be melancholy; but do not remember anything of conviction of sin, worthy of remark, until I was I believe about 7 or 8 years of age. Then I became concerned for my soul, and terrified at the thought of death; and was driven to the performance of religious duties."
b) "I was also exceedingly distressed and melancholy at the death of my mother" (when he was 14); c) "I went to Mr. Fiske's and lived with him during his life. I remember he advised me wholly to abandon young company, and associate myself with grave elderly people; which counsel I followed"; d) "One night I remember in particular, when I was walking solitarily abroad, I had opened to me such a view of my sin, that I feared the ground would cleave asunder under my feet, and become my grave, and would send my soul quick to hell, before I could get hime"; "it distressed me to think my heart was so full of enmity against God; and it made me tremble lest his vengeance should suddenly fall on me"; e) "My soul was so captivated and delighted with the excellency, loveliness, greatness, and other perfections of God, that I was even swallowed up in Him; at least to that degree, that I had no thought (as I remember) at first, about my own salvation, and scarce reflected that there was such a creature as myself"; "but was suddenly struck with a damp, from the sense I had of my own vileness. Then I cried to God to cleanse me from my exceeding filthiness, to give me repentance and pardon"; f) "insatiable desires after God for days at a time"; g) "I went in that distress to the House of God, and found not much relief in the first prayer; it seemed as if God would let loose the people upon me to destroy me; nor were the thoughts of death distressing to me, like my own vileness"; and h) "I saw I was evidently throwing myself into all hardships and distresses in my present undertaking (mission field). I thought it would be less difficult to lie down in the grave; but yet I chose to go rather than to stay".

Brainerd's fear that he had committed the unpardonable sin should be mentioned here; also the fact that his father died when he was 9 which meant an increased affection for his mother; and finally, the importance of his pronounced
affection for Jerusha Edwards who was 18.

**OCCUPATIONAL ADJUSTMENT**

There is nothing specific that can be gathered as to the type of work Brainerd was particularly interested in during his years at home with his people. The year after his mother's death he moved to East-Haddam where he spent four years, (from the time he was 16 until he was 19) probably working on a farm. After this he moved again to Durham where he worked on his farm for a year. It was at this time that he decided, "I must be sober indeed, because I designed to devote myself to the ministry, and imagined that I did dedicate myself to the Lord". He then went to live with Rev. Fiske of Haddam where he became wholly absorbed by his interest in religion (this was when he was about 20).

Following the death of Rev. Fiske, Brainerd proceeded with his studies with his brother; and entered Yale College in September 1739. After 3 years in college, at the age of 25, he was examined by the association of ministers at Danbury and received a license from them to preach the Gospel (July, 1742). In the fall of the same year he received a commission from the Society of Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, to become a missionary to the Indians. And on April 1, 1743, he began his service among the Indians at Kanaumeek, 20 miles from Stockbridge, Mass.

Brainerd's ambition in his studies while in college has been referred to; he worked with such fervor and earnestness that at times he slept but little at night. In fact his life of service is a story of self-denials, labours and sufferings in the Name of Him whom he followed. In Reflection V, Jonathan Edwards mentioned Brainerd's "solicitude, solemnity and diligence of devotion", and stated that Brainerd's "whole heart, and time, and strength, was spent in the business in which he was engaged, and like Jacob he persevered in wrestling".

**RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE**

Brainerd first became concerned for his soul when he was 7 or 8 years
old. His fears of death which drove him to his religious duties at this time subsided however and he was not stirred again until he was about 13, at which time he was aroused to sense of danger by the presence of a mortal sickness in Haddam. He read Mr. Jandway's "Token of Children", "took great delight in religious performance" and hoped he was converted. His religious concern became marked again with the death of his mother when he was 14; but following this he soon fell again into a considerable degree of negligence. While on his farm at Durham he determined to devote himself to the ministry. During the following year spent at Mr. Fiske's and his brother's, pursuing his studies, he experienced a deplorable state of feeling which lasted several months and which finally gave way to a wholly delightful experience from which time he dated his genuine conversion.

While in the second year in college, he fell under the influence of the Whitfield revival religion and, because of his admiration for certain adherents to this rather zealous type of religion, he became, as Edwards describes it, "tinctured" with an unhealthy religious zeal. This blew over and Brainerd in spite of his streak of melancholy was able to keep his religious teaching and practice wholly free from the dangers of excess enthusiasms and charges of occult phenomena, dangers which were rife at the time. His clear, penetrating mind worked out in detail the intellectual framework for his particular beliefs, which, Edwards states, was virtually the Calvinistic Scheme of salvation.

Following what Brainerd considers to have been his conversion at 21, he jotted down his Christian standard of life: 1st, the true Christian is concerned with the knowledge of the glory and excellency of God; 2ndly, God is his portion and God's excellency is his great interest; 3rdly, holiness is his delight, to be holy as God is holy; 4thly, sin is his greatest enemy and he hates all sin; and 5thly, the laws of God are his delight, not his bondage but his greatest liberty. Such was his formulation at the real beginning of his religious career. As death came on he became increasingly interested in the realization of Christ's Kingdom on Earth. His only happiness remained, "that of pleasing God".
Religion for Brainerd was obviously a matter of the feelings; but, as Edwards writes, it was not the "fitful or frightful impressions of imaginations, but rather a manifestation of God's glory, the beauty of His Nature as supremely excellent"; "it was the feeling within oneself the lively actings of a holy temper and heavenly disposition, the vigorous exercise of that divine love which casts out fear."

COMMENT

Brainerd's tendency toward melancholia (p. 29 f.) along with his state of extreme sense of sin would be seen by the psychoanalyst in terms of unsuccessfully repressed Oedipus wishes which are causing the outraged super-ego to take heavy toll. The meta-psychologists among the analysts, like Dr. Georg Groddeck, would probably see Brainerd's whole tragic illness and sacrifice of the completion of his love for Jerusha Edwards, as punishment being reeked on his ego because of unconscious crimes of early years of the Oedipus Complex.

The otherworldliness of Edwards' theology and Christian practice, is seen in Brainerd's absolute disregard for his own health and welfare as he followed his missionary labors, as well as in his keeping his love for Edwards' daughter entirely in the ethereal realm.

The list of twelve statements which Brainerd prepared to prove himself vile beyond all others, could be understood as an application probably pleasing to Edwards, of the probings of ethical measuring rods into unconscious states. Such practices also are known to give certain neurotic people feelings of uniqueness and standing in their own eyes.

Brainerd's desire for solitude, his avoidance of those his own age, and his longing to be with God alone, speak of a marked gift to respond to imaginative experience very difficult to clothe in the real, and a strong wish to simplify the difficulties inherent in taking his place more fully in real exist-
tence. Perhaps great amounts of his energy were required for repressions related to his depressive states; or it may be that physical illnesses robbed him of his normal capacity for resistance. However this may have been, Brainerd, against great odds, fought his way into being to the full satisfaction of Edwards, his teacher. Brainerd's "extraordinary knowledge of men and insight into human nature" of which Edwards speaks could come only from his own painful contacts with reality.

Although Brainerd was apparently as tough a customer as Edwards could possibly have chosen in whom to illustrate his scheme of Christian Salvation, for we know the malignancy of depressive states and too great feelings of inferiority and failure; yet, if we can take Edwards words at their face value, Brainerd not only experienced and exercised under Edwards guidance that Divine love which casts out fear (417) but he worked out with clearness of mind the intellectual framework for his philosophy of life (436). We are left with the question, however, whether or not this working out one's salvation, victimized to this extent by unconscious forces, isn't just missing the true significance of the Atonement. Perhaps this blind agony is just that portion in the process of coming to ego-existence (or existence in being) which the work of Jesus Christ would above all else eliminate.
II. Psychoanalytic Comment on Edwards' Teachings regarding the Work of Christ.

(1). Edwards exalts the sovereignty of God in connection with the atonement. God is given a prominence as a Sovereign in applying and conducting, as well as originating the redemptive work of Christ.

a) Edwards held that the degree of glory which we are to enjoy in heaven is determined not by the Atonement of Christ but by the sovereignty of God. (V. 423)

In terms of forces which operate in the relationship of a patient and his analyst, a rewording of this statement of Edwards would run somewhat as follows: the health, freedom, or ego-control of unconscious conditions, and adequacy to the demands of reality, which an analyzed person will enjoy after analysis, will depend upon the nature of the super-ego formations native to the personalities of the patient and his analyst. It does not depend upon the work of the analyst primarily nor upon the patient's ability to experience transfer to the analyst. Although -- -- the analyst has undergone himself the operation of extraction of diseased portions of his super-ego and undertakes to perform this same operation in his patient, the positive qualities of the super-ego remain far in excess of that part of the super-ego which is taken over by the liberated ego. Thus we see it is not contrary to analytical laws in the emotional life to agree with Edwards on this point as regards the sovereignty of God (the sovereignty of the super-ego).

b) Edwards in places represents the act of imputing Christ's righteousness to us, as an act of sovereignty. He distinguishes sharply between law and justice on the one hand, and sovereign pleasure on the other. He says, "God of His sovereign grace is pleased, in His dealings with the sinner, so to regard one that has no righteousness, that the consequence shall be the same as though he had." (V 352). When the sinner believes in Christ, Edwards says, God imputes to that sinner the righteousness of Christ, not because there is "any moral congruity"
between faith and reward: but only because there is a "natural fitness" of the one to the other. The believer is thus rewarded only from the natural concord and agreeableness there is between "faith and the blessings of justification". When God bestows a favor upon men merely because it is "fit by a natural fitness" that He do so, God as a Sovereign, and not as a Judge in the exercise of distributive justice. (V. 367 - 369.)

This paragraph just cited arouses for us, comment on the following points:
1) imputation of Christ's righteousness to us as an act of sovereignty; 2) the distinction between law and justice on the one hand and sovereign pleasure on the other; 3) the absence of "any moral congruity" between faith and the blessings of justification. Let us take up the distinction between law and sovereign pleasure first.

In the analytical situation when the transfer rested in faith in the analyst, first begins to become a reality-experience for the patient, he moves out of his isolation state where his ego is at the mercy of implication in the crimes of the id and the punitive justice of the offended super-ego, and he experiences in the real world a contrary economy under which the positive affects become all-powerful. To a psychoanalyst this is but the substitute of reality experience for the law-of-the-talon experience of the make-believe world of infancy and childhood. To Edwards this had to be accounted for by sovereign pleasure, a prerogative of God which could be exercised above the mandates of usual regulations. Edwards neither underestimated the power of the laws which take their toll in the personality of man, nor did he deny the phenomena of deliverances for men from the death-inflicting penalty for breaking those laws. The psychoanalysts rather easily confine the workings of their law of the talon to that region of the personality which is not reached by morality and personal responsibility which are ego-characteristics. And it interests us how Edwards parallels the position of the psychoanalysts by dividing his doctrine of the Work of Christ into atonement, on the one hand, which free from moral value, offers suffering and death of Christ as
penalty which releases sinners from hell, - and into merit, on the other hand, which offers obedience as moral value which admits sinners into heaven. We can deal with this in general later. We find it convenient here to take up Edwards' point about the absence of "any moral congruity" between faith and the blessings of justification.

In line with the teaching of Edwards, in the transfer situation of analysis, the analyst ascribes no value to the patient's faith which underlies the transfer. The patient may try to gain favor in the analyst's eyes on account of the faith he places in him. The analyst however interprets this in itself as resistance and proceeds to analyze it. Reinstatement of the ego of the patient free from super-ego condemnation rests upon faith in the analyst which in turn can permit investment of emotion in transfer to the analyst of sufficient power to give up old love objects, to restore to original causes displaced guilt and, by redistribution of libidinal energy, to release the submerged ego for reality living. It is not a matter of values where any credit goes to the patient, any more than there are values accruing to him because of the pains he undergoes in contacting the repressed, or the actual, on the reality plane. As Edwards put it, it is only a matter of "natural concord and agreeableness", "a natural fitness of the one to the other". Fulfill the conditions of faith and in the terms of Edwards you get the blessings of justification, in the analysts, freedom from id cravings and super-ego condemnation.

Edwards' statement about the imputation of Christ's righteousness being an act of sovereignty has its counterpart in psychoanalysis. In Analysis the transfer situation becomes the neurosis of the patient, his guilt and anxiety are shifted to the analyst, because for the time being the patient takes over the ego of the analyst, that is to say, the analysts healthy ego is introjected by the patient. In this respect the health and freedom of the ego if the analyst can be said to be imputed to the patient. And carrying this into the inner economy of the patient, the super-ego of the patient in its sovereign position, now, in its
dealings with the guilt-laden ego of the patient, so regards this unhealthy ego of the patient, that the consequence shall be the same as if it were healthy. Calling this an act of sovereignty on the part of the super-ego is to do no more than to name what takes place according to laws of emotion in the unconscious when proper conditions are fulfilled.

Edwards states "God will neither look on Christ's merits as ours, nor will he look upon us as being in him without an active unition of our hearts and souls to him." (V 369). He believed that the act of initiating a soul into union with Christ is an act of free sovereign grace. But he believed that, excluding at death or judgment those professing Christians who have (which act is performed before justification and before the Redeemer's merits are looked upon as the believers own merits), it is an act not of law justice but of free sovereign grace (VII, 77).

As shown by the history of any patient's illness, or neurosis, the patient's super-ego could not possibly look on the merits of the analyst's ego as his, nor adjudge the analyst's ego benefits to him, until the patients experience transfer toward the analyst. Nor will the super-ego be convinced of the union of the patient's ego with the analyst, without knowing that there has been an active unition on the part of the whole patient to the analyst. What is all this other than good description of the dynamics of analysis? The patient has to take the step toward his new ideal love-object. And the super-ego is not going to be fooled by any pseudo-transfer. There has to be real emotional investment and genuine identity.

Were there not an image of positive nature of sufficient power in the super-ego of the patient, this step toward the analyst would never be taken. Therefore in instances where steps in faith and affection are taken toward love-objects, away from isolation, it is safe to say, with Edwards, that the initiating of the act is traceable to a free and sovereign quality in the super-ego. Edwards' next point also holds in analysis; where the reality in the transfer is treated lightly by any patient, the result is regression to the old reign of unconscious
law which ends in punishment and death. Thus psychoanalytic theory and practice as we understand it, checks with Edwards' parallel statement in theological science. the act of initiating a patient into a transfer situation with an analyst (which act is performed before removal of guilt and before incorporation of the saving ego of the analyst) is an act not of the unconscious economy of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth", where penalty for guilt figures, but is a free act of the loving super-ego imago.

(2). Edwards' belief that there is a difference between the obligation to fulfill a threat and the obligation to fulfill a promise, is significant. He believed that the obligation to fulfill a threatening does not result from the threatening itself, is not consequent upon the threatening as a threatening; whereas the obligation to fulfill a promise does result in part from the promise itself; is, in a measure, consequent upon the promise as a promise. (Miscel. Observ. 529)

This may appear to us to be an exercise in the definition of words. But when we recall that Edwards was deadly in earnest and quite free from interest in scholastic pastimes, we know there is something of importance here. And it is not difficult for us to understand, that what Edwards and those who believed in his teachings, thought about threatenings and promises had a very practical bearing on their lives. Beliefs about obligations to fulfill threatenings and obligations to fulfill promises matter a great deal in psychoanalysis.

The study of taboos in primitive groups gives us a picture of how super-ego-threats are held over the id-wishes in the unconscious of the child. The patient, whose ego has been the battle-ground of this community of tensions, indulgences, and carrying out of super-ego threats, and whose symptoms show the marks of fulfilled obligation on the part of the super-ego, turns to the promises of restoration in analysis at first with but scanty hope of deliverance. The analyst makes no promises, and curiously enough if he did, the illness of the patient, with its old accustomed economy of guilt and punishment, would be clung-to all the more tenaciously. With the development of the transfer, however, there begins in the hands of a skilled analyst, a gradual shift of the economic basis and
expenditures of libidinal energy; symptoms change or disappear, and super-ego threats lose their power as do the dragons of old in a less superstitious day.

As an illustration of a threat in analysis take the threat of aphanisis to the little girl who in her phantasies puts her mother to death and usurps her mother's place with her father. This is a dreadful sense of loss to be suffered at the hands of the super-ego; it is the loss of the capacity to love and to enjoy in life. In unanalyzed women who have had unstable parents, of particularly unhygienic emotions, - the depressions and melancholia states, from which they suffer, are super-ego obligations carried out with avengenance. Frigidity itself, if not accompanying the above symptoms, is an added instance of the meeting of super-ego obligation in the threat of aphanisis. A good instance of a promise in the analysis of this little girl, would be the fulfillment-wish for the male organ at the hands of her father. According to psychoanalytic theory the female child interprets the responses she receives from the love of her father in terms of promises that some day her body will be completed and her emptiness filled. Her unconscious identity with the organ of her father, or her phantasied experiences of having this organ unto herself, may enter into the building of this promise. Marriage or habitual heterosexual experience partially fulfills for the unanalyzed, this promise, because the incorporation of the organ of the new love-object serves in the place of the phantasied organ of the father; Also a male child born to such a woman serves to fulfill the promise to her of the male organ always expected from the father.

To say, with Edwards, as regards the threat of aphanosis for the female child, or the threat of castration for the male child, that the obligation to fulfill this threat does not result from the threatening itself, that is, is not consequent on the threatening as a threatening, appears to be good analytic truth. For this threat of aphanosis or castration, in the first place, is part of the operations of a region well below the level of consciousness, and, secondly, it springs from depth psychology in that region, where unmixed emotions run the gauntlet of their own nature, automatically, unhampered by complications of the
coexistence of opposites. Edwards statement "obligation to fulfill a promise does result in part from the promise itself" is a later level of development in the emotional life and has in it a moral implication. A familiar argument for immortality in religion at this level, is that God would never create an emptiness and expectation in man if He did not intend to meet this need. This obviously comes from an emotional level where the positive affects of love have become pronounced. From this angle therefore it is easy to see whereas threats in the deep emotional levels of the child are deadly, and have back of them the obligation of primitive laws which in themselves know no mercy or leniency, et, with the manifestation of emotions of love at a later level in the development of the human organism, promises come to have an obligation. For the same love that made possible the formation of the promise, whether made up of projected wishes or not, figures in the obligation to fulfill. We note here the same distinction which Edwards made between the moral and immoral aspects of the Work required of Christ. Threats as penalties come from one level of life and must be reckoned with. Promises, as voluntary obligation with moral value, come from another level altogether.

The proof of the distinction between these two obligations is clearly seen in the transfer situation in analysis. For although the machine-like character of the threat of death in the unconscious would seem to be an unalterable obligation, actually substitutes for the doomed ego of the patient are accepted, and promises of fulfillment in the real world, in successful analyses, become increasingly more attractive, more powerful and begin to be realized in the transfer to the analyst.

(3) Edwards endeavors to put an end to the old distinction between active and passive obedience as regards the Work of Christ. If obedience is righteousness or moral goodness, he says, it must be considered as something voluntary and active. If, he continues, one is commanded to go through difficulties and sufferings, and that person voluntarily does it, accordingly as he voluntarily obeys in compliance of a command, his obedience is as active as any whatsoever; and all the distinction that can be pretended is that which is between obeying an
easy command and a difficult one (V 403).

The agent in the transfer situation in analysis which corresponds to Christ in the operation of Christian salvation, plays an active role in all aspects of its work. Whether this agent is offering a substitute to the super-ego demands for punishment and execution of sentence, whether it is for the ego responding obediently to laws of analysis, or whether it is identically with the ego meeting the challenges of reality living in active therapy, - in all its offices there is personal responsibility undertaken and movement toward reality accomplished even in the letting-go experiences in the transfer.

(4). Edwards held that we are not admitted into heaven on the ground of Christ's having obeyed exactly the same precepts which we had broken. Rather, the main part of our Lord's meritorious obedience was not to a command precisely the same which has been imposed on us; for we are not bidden to lay down our life as an atoning sacrifice; but his Chief obedience was to a law which we had never broken in the exact form in which he obeyed it. Thus "that act of obedience by which we are redeemed is obedience to a positive precept that Adam never was under, viz., the precept of laying down his life." (V. 404, 405). Edwards differs with most of his successors, therefore, in holding that we are admitted into heaven on the ground of Christ's obedience, which obedience consisted principally in his obeying the command to lay down his life. Many of his predecessors as well as his successors, taught that we are admitted into heaven on the ground of Christ's sufferings and death with which his entire and perfect obedience was and must have been inseparably connected. To Edwards, the most essential part of our Lord's obedience by which we are redeemed, consisted in his "voluntarily yielding himself up to the terrible sufferings of the Cross."

Tested by what psychoanalytic insight we have acquired, Edwards' point about the uniqueness of our Lord's position and task holds true. For although the ego, as discovered in analysis is under the sentence of death, this is originally more to preserve the economy which holds sway in the unconscious, than is it a matter of atoning. Later unsuccessful efforts are made on the part of the ego to
atone (symptoms, deprivations, etc.). And so far as there being the factor of voluntary obedience possible in this region of the unconscious, this of course could not appear. Redemptive work in analysis therefore is seen to take place on levels of the emotional life where socialization of love in reality, that is, the transfer experience, can be experienced. It is obvious that the scapegoat which the ego of the patient uses to dispose of its guilt had never incurred this specific result of guilty infringement of laws; also the savior of the patient's ego obeyed a law of the emotions which the ego of the patient in his guilty isolation state, could not possibly have been under.

Edwards' point about our experiencing salvation on the ground of Christ's obedience which was in response to the command to lay down his life, seems to hold in it an appreciation of the facts about the refinements which have taken place in deeper regions of feeling of which many of his predecessors and successors were unaware. Edwards' emphasis upon salvation on the ground of Christ's obedience bears the same comparison to the position of those who place salvation on the ground of Christ's suffering and death primarily, as does the analyst who never gets his patient over the stile of barter-in-kind leaving the patient with the same weak and inadequate ego, compared to the analyst who uses the transfer not only for paying up the patient's offended super-ego and putting the ego in the saddle, but for toughening this emerging ego of the patient and making out of it a morally responsible agent in a real world. There is just the difference here between reinstating a child in the good graces of his father and leaving him a child, and reinstating a child in the eyes of his father leaving him now no longer a child but a mature individual henceforth, living in a real world and responsible for his own acts.

(5). Edwards' position, that we are delivered from hell on the ground of our Lord's sufferings or penalty, and not on the ground of them as meritorious, ought to be considered further here. He says "When we consider Christ's sufferings merely as the satisfaction for the guilt of another, the excellency of Christ's act in suffering does not at all come into consideration; but only these two
things; viz., their equality or equivalence to the punishment that the sinner
deserved; and secondly, the union between him and them. - - - - Christ's suffer­
ings do not satisfy by any excellency in them, but by a fulfillment - - - If the
law be fulfilled there is no need of any excellency or merit to satisfy it; because
it is satisfied by taking place and having its course" ( iisc. Observ. 551, 552)
Thus the pains of Christ were mere pains and had no moral quality, and therefore
they had no merit in Edwards strict sense of the term.

The consistency with which Edwards holds to the distinction in the Work
of Christ between its immoral and its moral phases, that is the delivery from hell
and admission to heaven or the atonement of Christ as distinct from the obedience
of Christ, - establishes his teachings in this particular in direct parallelism
with the clinicians teachings in psychoanalysis who distinguish between the economy
of the infantile world of dreams and phantasies and that of the adult-ego world
of reality. The sufferings of the patient, whether in trying to appease the
offended super-ego, in investing emotionally in a real love-object in the real
world, the analyst, or in admitting to consciousness painful repressed material
during the analysis, - are given no moral value by psychoanalysts.

(6) Edwards' teaching, that while we are delivered from ruin on the
ground, not of our Lord's merits but his agonies, we are admitted to heaven on the
ground, not of his agonies, but of his merits, - appears therefore to be good
psychoanalytic theory and practice when applied to the transfer situation in analy­
sis. Because were it not for the analysts freedom from disease as regards his
own super-ego, and were it not for the analysts own successful meeting of the
demands of reality, there would be no value to the patient in the incorporation
of this new love-object (the analyst) in the treatment. To repeat, as the analyst
stands the ravages of the super-ego demands of the patient and serves as the scape­
goat for his guilty ego, and thus answers successfully the age-old question "Who
will deliver me from this body of death", so also the analyst "imputes" to the pat­
ient his own healthy ego which, until the patient strengthens the wings of his
own ego sufficiently for independent flight, literally admits the patient to
what to him is heaven.

The question "Do we mean to say that the psychoanalyst does away with the need of the Cross of Christ?" which those Christians who have followed us to this point in our study have repeatedly wanted to ask, is answered of course by our remembering that a clinical view of what is happening in a highly controlled relationship between two individuals is one thing, whereas the Cross in its tremendous setting of God, creation, the World, the races of man, in fact the Cosmos, is quite another matter. Truth is all of a piece, and all along our contention has been that the whole can be better understood by getting the clearest possible view of the particular.

(7.) Under this heading perhaps we can group together explanations of various statements of Edwards' which, along with those which we have been considering, go to make clear the original twist which he gave to the traditional handling of the Work of Christ.

Edwards' point that Christ suffered the wrath of God because of the sins of men "in such a way as he was capable of" is certainly in the direction of the reality-reading of his work as opposed to that which was vague and meaningless in metaphysics in this connection. With the help of factual material not difficult to obtain in the laboratory of the psychoanalyst, the analyst is seen never to have committed the identical crimes of the patient. And as to suffering the wrath of the super-ego of the patient, the analyst does not do this in precisely the same respect as would the patient, were he capable of being his own analyst successfully. The analyst rather is useful to the patient "in such a way as he is capable of". Few analysts are entirely free from the vestiges of their former wrathful super-egos, as too much reality at a stretch will prove to almost anyone of them; the amazing fact about Jesus of Nazareth however, has been his remarkable ability to stand adversity without showing anxiety. "In such a way as he was capable of" still holds for Jesus and for the analyst although the degree of difference amounts to a sufficient point to have caused Edwards and Trinitarian Christians to ascribe to Jesus a peculiar significance. (Misc. Observ. p. 516-517)
Edwards frequently mentioned Christ's agonies as equivalent or equal in value and weight to the punishment with which sinful man was threatened. There has been much contempt shown on the part of strongly ethical theologians for this, to them, essentially barbarous element in their predecessors' interpretation of the atonement. From the standpoint of psychoanalysis this teaching of Edwards tallies with the laws and facts as regards the handling of unconscious conflict. The super-ego of the patient requires its "pound of flesh" and gets it. The scapegoat procedure in analysis, (the vicarious sacrifice in the Cross) meets the requirements of these unconscious laws. The "eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth" economy holds for the unconscious, and the super-ego reeks its vengeance upon the ego of the patient until through analysis, or by one of the techniques of Christian Salvation or life experience identical with it, the ego is freed from isolation in unreality and is lifted out of the old vicious circle of guilt, punishment and death. (Miscel. Observ. p. 542).

Edwards taught the following: - a) Christ was purified and increased in perfection in his last sufferings. He did not suffer penal anguish but rather a purifying baptism. b) Christ endured what lost and sinful men do not endure; but Christ did not endure what the sinful will or do endure; and Christ did not suffer so much or so long as sinful men who are doomed. Christ did not feel the gnawings of a condemned and guilty conscience, and he felt no torment from the reigning of inward corruptions and lusts. God did not hate him and he did not suffer the despair of the doomed in hell. c) There is a distinction between the statement that Christ was punished, and the statement that the sins of the elect are punished. Christ was not damned, precisely as the law had threatened, but Christ suffered in view of our damnation. Christ did not endure the wrath of God against himself but he endured the wrath of God against our sins. Christ was not bearing the memory of his own guilt but he bore the remembrance of our guilt. The elect have not been literally punished but their sins have been punished, in the sense that God has expressed his indignation against them and Christ has agonized in view of that indignation, and in view of the sins, and so has borne both it and
There is a distinction between the pain of Christ and his humiliation; but both the suffering and the abasement constitute Christ's satisfaction for sin as involved in the penalty of the law. The satisfaction or propitiation of Christ consists either in his suffering evil, or his being subject to abasement. Not only proper suffering, but all abasement and depression of the state and circumstances of mankind below its primitive honor and dignity, such as his body remaining under death, his body and soul remaining separate, are the judicial fruits of sin (III 295 f.).

Christ is both treated as righteous and also regarded as righteous; so believers when they are justified are both treated and regarded as Christ is, for they participate in his justification (V 354; 397; 399; 441).

Edwards' teaching that Christ was purified and made more perfect in his experience of the Cross is an original sidelight on the doctrine we are studying, and it convinces us anew that the man back of these teachings blazed independent trails. There is in this conception of the purifying baptism of Jesus the kind of reality-thinking which later gave us the idea of God in terms of development in history and the quest of the historical Jesus. It may seem absurd to some for us to attempt to understand better this particular teaching of Edwards by seeing it in its dwarfed clinical aspects. One can however, hold a glass to a thing of exquisite beauty without destruction to the thing itself, although the total response be done away with in the process.

In the progress of analysis, without question the ideal self of the patient goes through just such a soul-stretching experience, according to the patient's capacity for emotional response, as Jesus met in his last sufferings. The use of the analyst as the patient's symbol of this ideal picture he has of himself does not alter the fact that this part of himself in which he has invested a disportionate amount of love in consideration of the amount of real existence it possesses (Edwards' theory of virtue) must suffer and die. The patient's love for his ideal ego, together with the love he finds for his analyst, because in him are found all qualities to love which he failed to find in his former loved-objects, has an unreal or immature quality about it, although of the nature of perfection.
in the making, and must be suffered for and brought into real existence in the patient's ego, taking its place in a real world of difficult human relationships and painful tasks, by way of a death experience. Such patients who say they are afraid of life are instead, to be more exact, afraid of death. (The prevalence of the marks of the death experience in the mental patients studied in Part I shows us people who, through their efforts to escape the inevitable in the laws of development, are caught the more firmly in the very condition they would avoid. There is a purification and skill which comes to the analyst who having undergone analysis himself is taken through one death experience after another in company with his patients. The laboratory process, however, through which we more plainly see the perfecting of Jesus in his last sufferings, is that emergence of the healthy ego in the patient, which in being born into reality-living, has in fact gone through what has been for him a terrific purifying baptism episode.

Edwards' teaching about Christ's not enduring what sinful men endure, Christ's enduring what they did not endure and God's feelings towards him being free from hate, is good psychoanalysis in respect to the super-ego-aspects of the ego, (the ideal-ego loved both by the super-ego and the id-involved ego). This placed in Edwards' hands powerful descriptive material as he pictured for all the torments of those doomed to remain in the clutches of unconscious conflicts. He described with a clinician's graphicness the gnawings and scorchings of the spirit of those sentenced to the torturings of marked neuroses.

The realistic way in which Edwards held to the facts of life as regards the Work of Christ in his sufferings, again is proof to us of his reality-thinking. The penalty which Christ met was not gauged by threatened law but by the transgressions of living people who had gone contrary to universal law. An enlightening statement with reference to the psychoanalytic view of Christ's suffering is Edwards' sentence "Christ was not bearing the memory of his own guilt but he bore the remembrance of our guilt" In analysis it is the return of the repressed, the recalling of forgotten guilt, which gives the patient the greatest discomfort, that is, the pain to the ego-ideal because of the crimes of the id-involved ego. The
ego-ideal in addition, in the end bears the indignation of the super-ego and the responsibility for the crimes which the id-ego has committed.

Edwards grouping together Christ's pains and his abasement as together constituting his satisfaction for sin, is understandable enough when viewed as results of what unconscious forces of evil and destruction do when they reek their satisfaction upon a hate object. From the standpoint of penalty, or supplying satisfaction to the outraged super-ego abasement of the ego-ideal could be as good currency as proper suffering. In the transfer situation the super-ego of the patient is seen to take considerable satisfaction in raising the self-respect of the patient a laughing-stock. This is even prevalent in everyday life when the super-ego in a person of exceedingly dignified bearing, by a slip of some sort will make the esteemed ego of the person appear in a very unpleasant light. As soon as the tenets of the psychoanalysts are admitted, especially the immoral unconscious, the difficulties which Edwards successors had as regards this particular teaching, drop away. They could not allow that any being in heaven could be undergoing a literal punishment, or that there could be any literal penalty of the law without suffering, or that any part of the atonement consisted in Christ literally satisfying the demands of the law for our punishment, while he was in paradise (Parks p. XXXVI) The parallel to any or all of these conditions can be seen taking place in any thorough-going analysis.

Edwards insistence upon the reality nature of the features present in the justification transaction of Christ as regards their effectiveness for and in believers, places him for us again as a practitioner in this field of healing work, as well as a philosopher or thinker. The psychoanalyst has no illusions about the dreadful earnestness of the operation of the laws of emotion in the unconscious. Faith of a patient in his analyst is like the unquestioned faith of a child in his parents and by the analysis of resistances the analyst keeps it this way. The transfer which exists between the patient and his analyst consists in the expression of the most real affect the patient has ever felt, and this increases as resistances are disposed of and the analysis goes on. The old penalties re-
quired by the super-ego are paid up in substitutionary manner, and the old economy under the reign of the Oedipus situation, is given over, and life under a new regime begins where in the old sense thieves do not break-through and steal.

(8) Edwards gave a peculiar prominence to the element of love in the atonement. As love was the first motive prompting our Redeemer to undertake his mission, so was his sympathetic love one of the principal means of Christ's suffering after he had undertaken the work.

One of the conditions which can arise in analysis, and to which the good-psychoanalyst must be immune, is what they call counter-transfer. This means the analyst's becoming subjectively involved with the patient as regards his affections. It is obvious that the existence of, or expression of romantic or erotic love on the part of an analyst toward a patient, makes it impossible for that analyst to use the transfer effectively. For whatever transfer develops toward the analyst should be used by him as his power for healing work as he turns it back on the patient to loosen repressed material and crowd the patient from old dug-outs in the direction of active therapy.

The contradiction which suggests itself between Edwards' description of Christ's love and pity as seen in the Cross and the psychoanalyst's complete objectivity toward his patient, is only a seeming one. The analysts would never admit it, but the first motive which prompted them to undertake their type of work with people, is actually not so different from the motive which prompted Christ to undertake his mission. Jesus in his handling of his patients according to most skillful interpreters of Gospel records, appears to have been quite as objective as analysts in the way in which his own emotional needs never figured in his therapeutic work. Accordingly as the analyst successfully symbolizes to the patient the free and adequate personality in the world of reality-feeling, reality-thinking and reality-living, the analyst will incarnate the health-giving love toward people which is inherent in reality and which was so marked in Christ.

As to Jesus' lively exercise of love and pity which resulted in a lively view of
the punishment the sinful had exposed themselves to, and a lively idea of their misery, and which in turn excited strong exercises of love and pity engaging him still to endure their sufferings, - we have, of course, a faint parallel in the analysts empathetic experiences with his patient. For if the analyst is not able to care enough about his patient's recovery to marshal his total energy back of his knowledge and skill, so as to enable him not to miss a trick in the dreams, associations and symbolized remarks and performances of his patient, - the treatment ceases to be good psychoanalysis and the prognosis of the patient would be unquestionably poor. The analyst must be warmed and lightened toward his patient, as Edwards says Jesus was toward suffering men, else he would never reach that flexibility of directed or suspended attention required for interpretative work, nor would he see into the states of misery in which his patients are caught. The feelings of the patient's dying and rising ego toward his guilt-laden ego, however, best illustrates what Edwards is sharing with us here in his teaching about the prominence of love in the atonement.
III. Conclusion: Edwards' reference to the insistence of philosophers of his day that the Creator's laws of the natural world be maintained steady and inviolate, as being sufficient motivation for his admirable attempt to show that the laws of morality must be maintained just as steady and inviolate, has its parallel in the chivalrous attempts of the psychopathologists to acquaint us with the laws of the universe which operate in the buried regions of personality.

There is in Edwards' theory of virtue much that the psychoanalysts would accept. For instance, they have in common their interest in the existence of being. And they would agree that excellence is proportionate to the degree of existence of any being, for the psychoanalysts whole object is emergence of ego-existence, fuller entrance into the real world for themselves and for their patients. "consent to, goodwill toward, pleasure in, being," thus is their common objective. Edwards' insistence upon due proportion between benevolence and the object's worth is not different from the analyst's reality-thinking. To love more or less than is deserved is unreality for the analyst, and unharmonious for Edwards. Edwards' statement "The evil of self-love is not due to selfishness but is due to the fact of according a creature a disproportionate amount of affection" is good psychoanalytic theory. Remembering that excellence for both consists in the degree of reality-existence, the statement "Love to be virtuous must be proportioned not to need but to excellence of the object loved" would hold for both except that the analyst would supply the word "mature" for the word "virtuous". And Edwards' sentence "Holy love is love for a holy object, not love which would make the unholy holy" would read for the psychoanalyst "Mature love is love for a mature object, not love which would make the immature mature".

Edwards believed in the Infinite Being God, holding Him as immeasurably more excellent than all creatures because He possesses an infinitely greater amount of existence. The psychoanalyst confines himself entirely to the emergence of ego-existence in creatures. Both Edwards and the analysts are extremely aware of

(4) II. 264. (See McGiffert: Protestant Thought before Kant, p.176f.)
conditions within men which prevent ego-existence. Edwards projects personal responsibility in each instance into the region of non-ego-existence. Whereas the analyst is aware of the cleverness of the conflicting agents within personality and knows that with the cooperation of the patient he must outwit them, he does not project the economy which holds for the world of ego-existence into the world of the unconscious where an altogether different government is in power. Thus though we would not minimize the great power in the form of pressure or attraction, required by human beings to bring them into ego-existence, we do believe that Edwards was pressing the rule of morality too far by carrying it into the buried regions of non-existence in personality so far as the real ego-world is concerned. Also, although it gave him a powerful instrument with which to force people into states of agitation, this holding people morally responsible for unconscious anxieties states or conditions, was no less than sheer cruelty and similar to the criminal mistake made by the medical profession 40 years ago when they thought they had a cure for tuberculosis by using what turned out to be a deadly serum.

It can almost be said that Edwards got his wires crossed in precisely this unfortunate way; he recognized the true characteristics of the offended super-ego of the unconscious but instead of leaving it in its unconscious setting and working out the atonement as the instrument of faith and love to free man from this awful grip of death, he pulled this monster into man's conscious thought and gave it even a more prominent place than it had occupied in the idea of God of those before him. And again, as has been pointed out, he took the ethical in life, which up to his time had had a glorious development as it had come into being in the consciousness of man, and he tried to push its application down into the depths of the soul where there existed but whisperings of the likeness of a moral God or a responsible ego.

The split which Edwards made in his interpretation of the Work of Christ, into its aspect of unmoral penalty and its aspect of moral obedience, represents the practical working interpretation of this phenomenon which had to be so arranged in order to make room for observable facts in human beings with which he was

(5 ) Mentioned by Dr. R. C. Cabot at Andover Newton Theological School June 9, 1933.
Christ's Work as releasing a man from the grips of unconscious torture is allowed by Edwards to be merely fulfillment of universal law. And in Christ's Work as obedience, with its moral values and personal solicitations based in mature concern for others, Edwards does not allow the wrathful Jehovah (the diseased super-ego) to show its face.

Edwards's many refinements upon traditional observations as regards the Atonement are due to his originality which comes out most clearly in his theory of virtue. What he believed about the Work of Christ had to stand the test of reality-existence. The emergence of his own ego into reality through the baptism of fire which he no doubt was forced to undergo is reflected in his teachings both in the degree of freedom from the great before him which he attained, and in the degree of misery and suffering in others of which he was aware. In a day of unforgiven guilt and of easy-going indifference to the deeper implications of the Work of Christ, the Church could do worse than turn to Jonathan Edwards Sr. for a gospel which in spite of its severity, had in it genuine reality.
CHAPTER XI.

THE GOVERNMENTAL THEORY AND CHARLES G. FINNEY.

The distinguished Scotch jurist and theologian Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), on the basis of his exegesis of Scripture and his appeals to the philosophy of law, put forward a new theory of the satisfaction of Christ which threw over the Reformers' idea of faith as pure receptivity. Grotius's governmental theory of the Work of Christ, which is one of the most important in the history of the doctrine, roughly can be said to be a parallel in Protestantism to the Aristotelian philosophy and Roman jurisprudence of Thomas Acquinas in Catholicism. In fact, to quote Franks, "The agreement of Grotius with the doctrines of Thomas as to natural and positive law, dispensation and relaxation, is so close that it may be fairly said that the originality exhibited by Grotius in his "Defensio" consists in applying these ideas, developed in another connection by Thomas, to the subject of the Work of Christ".

Grotius's theological view, however, is very different from the scholastic doctrine of the Work of Christ. Grotius granted with the schoolmen that God is to be thought of as Sovereign, but he maintained that the common good is the end of God's action. And so the relation of God to man is one of public law. The good of the universe, he held, is not subsumed in the private good of God, but it is something independent of Him. It is an external end towards which He works, though in harmony with His nature.

Thus on the basis of Romans III, 24, 25, Grotius "develops the thought that the death of Christ is to be understood as a penal example, which God establishes in order to honour the law, while yet pardoning sinners." To quote Franks further: "This penal example, then, is what means by Satisfaction; how different the idea is from that of the Protestant orthodoxy may be seen in that Grotius says that, no strict satisfaction being implied, a further condition of salvation can be demanded of men, viz. faith..... here Grotius shows himself a true Arminian, and nearer to the (1) Franks, The History of the Doctrine of the Work of Christ, Vol. II, p. 73 (2) Opus cit., II, 67
Catholic than to the Protestant view. 

One of the amazing things to us, is that the most consistent preacher of Grotius's doctrine, and the most practical exponent of his theory, should have been a self-educated lawyer, growing up in the backwoods of New York State in America, just two hundred years after Grotius's "Defense of the Catholic Faith Concerning the Satisfaction of Christ against Faustus Socinus of Siena" (1617).

In this chapter, with the governmental theory of Grotius as presented by G.B. Stevens in "The Christian Doctrine of Salvation" in mind, we shall study the life, work, and teachings of Charles G. Finney; following this, we shall make our psychological observations on this interpretation of the Work of Christ.

(3) Franks, Vol. II, p. 67
(4) T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 1915, pp. 157-174
(5) See Appendix 7 for outline of Grotius's Theory.
Charles G. Finney was six feet tall, of erect stature, and of firm and elastic step. He had a large head, symmetrically developed, with an abundance of light brown hair. He had large blue eyes, an aquiline nose, and his voice was clear and strong. He was well-built, had an ease and grace about him, and as a young man excelled in sports. His favorite recreation was said to be hunting, but we hear very little of this subject; recreation in his busy life amounted rather in hunting souls. He became a teacher, lawyer, revivalist, pastor, lecturer, theological professor and writer in turn; he mixed them all, however, in everything he did. He was deeply interested in music and retained this appreciation to the end of his life.

Finney was born in Warren, Conn., August 29, 1792. Through his father Sylvester Finney, he was descended from John Finney II, who was born in Plymouth in 1638. And through his mother Rebecca Rice, he was related to Thomas Rogers, also of early Colonial history. Finney's mother and father were not "professors of religion"; in fact little is known about them. Indirectly we gather that they were earnest farming people. When Finney was two, they moved from Warren to a wilderness section of New York State called Hanover. And when he was 16 they moved to the town of Henderson in Jefferson County. The hold Finney's parents had on him, is seen from their having influenced him to go into law in Jefferson County, rather than go south with his teacher from Connecticut when he was 26 years old. The reception his parents gave him when he went home to see them after his conversion, reflects their teachableness and willingness to respond to aspirations which they may have felt but which had never been developed.

Some of Finney's characteristics were: his gentlemanliness under all circumstances; his solicitousness for others; his native humbleness which was not altered by success or opposition; his dislike for ecclesiastical machinery; his lack of partiality; his caution of unproved premises; his sincerity; his sense of
humor; his geniality and sociability; his tendency to exaggerate; his childlike spirit; and his peculiar fondness for children.

The minister who succeeded Finney as pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Oberlin is quoted as saying, "A more genial, tender, sympathetic, childlike character I had never met. From that moment (referring to meeting Finney after preaching his first sermon at Oberlin) he was a father and friend, not a judge".

Finney was married to Lydia Andrews in 1824; four children, two sons and two daughters were born to them. A year after her death he married Mrs. Elizabeth Ford Atkinson in 1848. His second wife died in 1863 and soon afterward he married Rebecca Allen Rayl who had been assistant principal of the ladies department at Oberlin.

Finney died August 16th, 1875 at the end of a quiet Sabbath day which he had spent in the midst of his family. In the evening he had walked out with his wife to listen to the music at the opening of the evening service in the church near by.

**VOCA TION AND LIFE WORK**

At Hanover, Oneida County, where Finney lived from the time he was two until he was sixteen, books were few but schools were formed and kept up such as they were. At this age of 16 when the family moved to Henderson, Finney was advanced far enough in his studies to be able to teach common school himself. When he was 20, Finney returned to Warren Conn. to follow up his education; and from here he went to New Jersey to teach. After his graduation from high school he thought of going to Yale College but his teacher advised him to carry on his studies by himself. After four years in New Jersey Finney planned to go south to start an academy with his old teacher but instead took up the study of law in Squire W’s office in Adams, N.Y.

While pursuing his law studies and helping his employer Finney became greatly interested in religion as it was taught and practiced in Adams. He attended the meetings of the Presbyterian Church regularly and was quite outspoken in his
criticism of the teachings of Mr. Gale the minister, and of the prayers of the
faithful of his congregation. Finney carried his careful study of his law books
over into his reading of the scriptures. He took what he read seriously and
looked in vain for the application of the faith of which he read in its pages.
Finally he became so interested that he determined to avoid all business until
this religious question was settled. His conversion followed.

Finney states that he had always liked the law profession; but "after receiv­ing these baptisms of the Spirit", he writes, "I was quite willing to preach
the Gospel...." After this experience he says he had no disposition whatever to
make money or take an interest in things worldly.

He was licensed to preach by the local Presbytery in March 1824. Immediately
he took a commission under a Women's Missionary Society in Oneida County and
began preaching in the small town of Evans Mills. He was aggressive in his
methods and abrupt in his manner but he got results. He conducted a social-con­
fessional in such fashion that all present were compelled to take one side or
the other, either for Christ (Finney's way) or against Him. He expected opposi­
tion and he got it. Prayer was the one instrument in which Finney had the most
confidence. His revival method usually consisted of: a) much prayer, b) much per­
sonal conversation, c) Preaching, and d) meetings for the instruction of inquirers.

Deep inside, Finney was sensitive for not having had a higher education.
His insistence upon simple language was not used as a compensation however. He
wanted to be understood for he expected verdicts through his pleading. There was
a sincerity about him which carried his audiences before him; and there was al­
most an egotist's certainty about his belief that God had given him particularly
"the right conceptions on how to win souls".

From Evans Mills Finney transferred his work to Antwerp. And here his ef­
forts repeated the remarkable effects carried through at Evans Mills. His mar­
rriage to Lydia Andrews in Whitestown N.Y., did not hinder his accepting a call
to leave them during the following months and conduct revival services in Perch
...and Brownsville. He was stopped at LeRayntle on his way to get his wife; so settled upon doing his work was he, that he left his wife to be brought to him there by one of the members of the congregation. From LeRayntle Finney's work spread to Gouverneur, and from there to De Kalb, N.Y. The Revival here was highly successful and spread to Ogdensburg. On his way to Synod Meeting at Utica, Finney met his former pastor Mr. Gale, who persuaded him to come to Western, N.Y. And here began the division into camps of the ministers of New York, Pennsylvania and New England who were for and against Finney and his methods; the Western Group were his supporters and the Eastern Group were against him.

"The Western Revival" spread to Rome, N.Y. Here the work seemed to have been very intense. It swept through the whole town and so prostrated people that they had to be carried home by their friends. Five hundred people were converted. Finney guarded carefully against disorder, tumult or outburst of feeling which would tend to have a disastrous result; but he wanted verdicts, convictions; and he did not shy at the "wrestlings with satan" which were prevalent. In fact he believed rather that the work or the Holy Spirit was not manifest unless such struggles were precipitated.

Through the work in Rome the revival spread to Utica. It was in the midst of this work here that Finney first heard of the strong opposition from Beecher, Nettleton and others. At Western his work had gathered such headway to attract general attention; here in Utica he began to feel the opposition.

Finney was surprised at the opposition he found on the part of the theological professors of the Seminary in Auburn when he went there in 1826. He prayed for strength however, and forged ahead finally softening the hearts of a fashionable and intellectually proud congregation.

Finney's work in Troy was successful and spread rapidly to the town of New Lebanon. While his work was going on here the local Presbytery decided to investigate matters. It was also here that the convention was held which brought the Eastern and Western brethren together to talk things over. The stubbornness
of Beecher and Nettleton caused no small amount of anxiety to Finney, and served to the end of his life, to exercise to the full, his Christian love and charity. The fact that Finney writes several pages to show how little the whole affair bothered him, is some indication of how much it hurt.

Finney's next work in Stephentown showed the usual characteristics of his other revivals. There were: "a mighty spirit of prevailing prayer"; "overwhelming conviction of sin"; "sudden and powerful conversions to Christ"; "great love and abounding joy of the converts"; and their "great earnestness, activity and usefulness in their prayers and labors for others".

Finney's field of work shifted from here to Wilmington, Delaware, and from there to Philadelphia (1828). He remained in Philadelphia about eighteen months and enjoyed the open door of all the churches. Finney went from Philadelphia to Reading and from Reading to Lancaster and Columbia. Following this, sponsored by Anson G. Phelps, Finney began revivals in the church rented, and later in the one purchased, for his use in New York City. This work prepared for the organization of the Free Presbyterian Churches in New York City.

Rochester, N.Y. was the one city where Finney felt most at home and the city where he reached a genuine cross-section of the population. It was here that he introduced the innovation of "the anxious seat". Finney says, "this revival and the greatness of the work attracted so much attention in New York State, New England and the United States, that it was an efficient instrument in the hands of the Spirit of God in promoting the greatest revival of religion that this country has ever witnessed". One hundred thousand were reported as having connected themselves with churches as a direct result of this revival.

At the end of his six months' work in Rochester Finney was so run down in health that he decided to accept the offer of the President of Union College at Schenectady to join their faculty. On the way, however, Finney was stopped at Auburn where he remained six weeks during which time 500 souls were said to be saved. From Auburn, Finney went to Buffalo, and following this spent the summer of 1831 resting on his father-in-law's farm, recuperating.
In the fall of 1831 Finney went to Providence, R.I., and from there he went to Boston in response to an invitation from the Congregational churches there. People in Boston gradually came to like his sermons; and they agreed with his theology except for his holding the moral nature of the divine agency in regeneration. Tired from his labors, Finney was glad to accept a call to the Second Free Presbyterian Church in New York City which was to take over the old Chatham St. Theatre. It was in April, 1832 that Finney began his work here; he became ill in the cholera plague which visited the City that summer and did not resume active work until the spring of 1833. Results were so remarkable among the unchurched people of this section of the city that new churches had to be formed. In fact by the end of 1834 no less than seven free churches were in existence. During this period Finney did much to arouse the public mind against slavery.

In 1834 he took a trip to the Mediterranean to rest up again. He was gone six months, and on his return he found his churches stirred considerably against slavery. At this time the Congregational Tabernacle on Broadway was built to house the crowds which came to hear him.

Nettleton and his old enemies began to make themselves troublesome at this time through the New York Observer. This time Finney’s friends talked back through their paper the New York Evangelist. This eventually became an anti-slavery paper of influence; when its circulation dropped on this account Finney built it up again by means of his articles on revivals of religion. These were translated into French, Welsh and German. They particularly helped in promoting revivals in England, Scotland, Wales and Canada.

Finney’s next move was to join the Oberlin College faculty in the summer of 1835 with the understanding that he would spend his winters working in the Tabernacle in New York. Soon after he went to Oberlin its principal benefactor died and lost his fortune in the financial crash of that period and the college was left 30,000 dollars in debt. This, together with the antagonism toward the College because of the abolitionist views of its professors, brought an added burden to Finney’s shoulders.

(7) Revivals of Religion—C. G. Finney, Morgan & Scott, London 1913
For two or three years Finney worked this arrangement of laboring winters in New York and summers in Oberlin; but soon his health threatened to give out and he gave up his New York City work and confined his efforts to Oberlin. When Finney accepted the professorship at Oberlin the Trustees of Western Reserve College tried to attract him to their faculty and in this way head off the growth of Oberlin, but Finney declined. They had to fight opposition which originated mainly from Western Reserve for some time. The Oberlin professors used two papers, "The Oberlin Evangelist" and "The Oberlin Quarterly" to keep the public straight as to their views.

In 1846 Finney published his two volumes on systematic theology. There followed a controversy with Dr. Nodge of Princeton. Throughout Finney's writings he has a most sufficient way of pointing out that his critics, or people who differed from him, were not wicked people; they were just invariably misled.

Having had repeated invitations to visit England, Finney and his wife went there in the fall of 1849. Here he centered his work in Birmingham and London. Thousands of souls were reported saved and it is said his influence was felt all over England. In September 1850 he took a short vacation in France and then returned to London for six months more of revival preaching.

Finney now took up his summer work at Oberlin each year, preaching in the East during the winters. The fall of 1851 he was in Hartford, Conn; in the fall of 1852 he was in Syracuse, the fall of 1853 at Western and Rome once more, and in the fall of 1855 he held another revival in Rochester. Each fall in 1856, 57 and 58 he went to Boston for revivals there.

Finney was so thrilled with the success of the revivals in New England and the East that he determined to go to England again to see if the same influence was present there. So in December 1858 he and Mrs. Finney sailed for Liverpool. In London he met some opposition but finally when a minister Dr. Campbell came over into Finney's camp, "the work progressed with great power.

After his work in London was finished Finney preached three months in Edinburgh
in 1859. Although opposition was strong he did good work. From Edinburgh he went to Aberdeen. Here however there was so much opposition that he did not stay. An invitation came to him to go to Glasgow. This however, he declined because of the organized opposition of the churches.

In Bolton England, Finney labored several months with great success. Here he says, "if the hall had been large enough probably 10,000 souls would have attended the meeting every night. In August 1860 the Finneys sailed for home.

Upon reaching Oberlin, Finney immediately began revival meetings in his church. He worked at this for four months and then was taken down with an illness which kept him in bed for three months. During his illness the revival waned; but upon his return to the pulpit the revival took on new life and, except for some competition from the social activities of the college students which he finally overcame, was carried through to a successful completion.

After 1860 Finney, who was now 68 years old, did no more travelling in evangelistic work. He continued his revival labors at Oberlin however, until 1868. Even after this he continued as pastor of the church until 1872. He retained his connection at the College until the year of his death 1875.

Finney believed in extemporaneous preaching. He abhored beating around the bush in talking to sinners. His method was to talk directly to this one and that one, but, as he says, "in a spirit of love". He would get his sermons ready as follows: A) he would devote his time generally to pondering on Gospel truths; b) he would turn over in his mind the best ways of using these truths; c) he would then go among the people and learn their wants; d) after choosing a subject which seemed to meet the present necessities of the people he would pray over the subject until Sabbath morning; and then e) he would "pour it out" to the people in his sermon. He received his subjects in prayer usually; and he preached them under the fervor "of the Holy Spirit".

In his business habits Finney was systematic and punctilious. He was keen to notice irregularities in the daily procedure of the college. His door-yard was exceptionally neat. And he knew the fruit trees on his grounds by name and asked about them when he was away.
SOCIAL ADAPTATION

Finney seemed to have little difficulty in this field of adjustment. We have noticed already his love of children and their readiness in coming to him. It is true, that as children became older, or as he would meet older children, they would at first avoid him; for his solicitousness for their salvation led him to be outspoken in his criticism of them. His work as a teacher, almost from the period of his own adolescence, caused him to have a detached relationship toward others. He appears always to have had the position of leader among his group; this was true even while he was a law student in the office in Adams; for he had the direction of the choir in Mr. Gale's church.

Although Finney knew people of all classes and had lived among them, as his use of illustrations in his sermons shows, he was a member of no class or group. With regard to ministers in whose profession he did his life work, he said, "I seldom felt I was one of them, or that they regarded me as one really belonging to their fraternity. I was bred a lawyer. I came right from the law office to the pulpit, and talked to the people as I would have talked to a jury".

Finney approached people of all classes and talked with them in their own language; and his Friendliness toward others wore well, as is indicated by his ever having been in the best of personal relations with professors and citizens of Oberlin during the years of his ministry there; also the strength and warmth of his personal friendships is noted from certain references in his Autobiography. There is, however, much to persuade us that he loved the idea of loving people, rather than our believing that he loved actual individuals as we think God loves them. As his God was a Heavenly Magistrate who would go to any limit in satisfying public justice for the sake of all offenders, so Finney was a sociable person in a sort of kindly and benevolent "offended-magistrate" sense. In this role there was nothing he would not do for the sake of others and their salvation.
The period of Finney's childhood, which would throw most light on this phase of his adjustment, is practically a blank to us. We can conjecture, only, about the first two years of his life in Warren, Conn. It was a rural community and the tensions in the lives of those around him was probably not at a high pitch. Certainly his life from two to fourteen or sixteen years of age, had in it no competition or trials, with their failures, which so often accompany the period of adolescence in children reared in the city.

A glimpse of the nature of Finney's father is seen through his breaking into tears, and willingly instituting family prayers, upon Finney's trip home following his conversion and early success in revival work. His mother at this time also was quick to acknowledge in her son a leader. Finney wrote, "My father met me at the gate and said, 'How do you do, Charles?' I replied, 'I am well, father, body and soul. But, father, you are an old man; all your children are grown up and have left your house, and I never heard a prayer in my father's house.' Father dropped his head, and burst into tears, and replied, 'I know it Charles; come in and pray yourself.' We went in and engaged in prayer. My father and mother were greatly moved, and in a very short time thereafter they were both hopefully converted. I do not know but my mother had had a secret hope before, but if so, none of the family, I believe, ever knew it."

One of the first facts about Finney's emotional life which strikes us as we read his memoirs or his autobiography is his fear that he will be considered egotistical for talking so much about himself. This fits in with what we suspect was his emotional isolation (referred to in regard to his social adjustments). Facts which corroborate this unwillingness to become entangled to any great extent in the reality of this world, either in persons or well-rooted responsibility, are: a) his outspokenness in differing from others and correcting them if they disagreed with him; (to recall to our minds a few of these instances, there was his criticism of Mr. Gale
and the prayer groups in his church in Adams, his challenging whole congregations from his first days in revival work in Evans Mills to the last revivals he conducted in Oberlin when he was over eighty, his defense of the governmental theory of Grotius in defiance of the learned theological professors and ministers of his day, his following his own methods in preaching and conducting revivals in spite of all opposition, and his correction of the methods and teachings of well-established ministers before their own congregations; b) his inability to be a "regular", or to conform, or to be one thing or the other as regards vocation; he could not be distinctly a teacher, neither could he be a lawyer, nor could he be, definitely, a minister or a writer; c) his indefiniteness in his relation to the opposite sex; from the time he prayed for the "charming girl" in Adams, morning, noon and night, until he preached his last revival sermon, it can be said that he wanted all women and yet, his treatment of his first wife whom he left the day after he married her in order to carry on his emotionally satisfying work with mixed groups, remaining away from her for several months, indicates that he actually did not want one woman; d) his uniqueness in receiving messages from God, and in having traumatic experiences which he interpreted as special manifestations of the Holy Spirit; and e) his underestimating the significance of the opposition from his enemies.

Psychoanalysts would see a very specific emotional history of unconscious indulgences behind the guilt with which Finney struggled during his pre-conversion days in Adams in his late twenties. They would also point to his love for his work, as something to be viewed as a disguised series of highly eroticised experiences, particularly those instances in group meetings where, with plenty of sadistic attack, he would work up people's feelings to the explosive point, and almost go into hysteria himself because of the delight which he hardly controlled.

His interest in his own sex was marked in its latent aspects. The influence of his parents did win out over his attachment to his high school teacher from Connecticut. And that he enjoyed the intimate companionship of a young man to that of a young woman, is gathered from his reference to the young man preparing for college
who lived in Adams. This was when Finney was about 28. Finney was liked by both men and women throughout his ministry. His particular liking for men may throw some light on the severity of his pre-conversion struggles, the isolated emotional reserve which remained with him throughout his life which did not allow him to give himself completely to an individual or individuals, or to one vocation, and the phenomena of an amazing list of emotional experiences in one city after another at home and abroad. The vitality of the man seemed to be inexhaustible.

His love for the violin and his sensitiveness to music should be mentioned before we leave this section of our study. He turned to music in the midst of the most intense struggle of his life at the time of his conversion. He went to the church in Oberlin near his home to hear the opening music of the evening service the night before he died. It must be admitted here, however, that music enjoyed with a group, appealed to him more than the beauty of this experience in company with another with whom he could feel at one.

RELIGIOUS LIFE.

Finney had no formal religious training as a child. At the few church services he did attend up to the time he went to Connecticut for high school study, he heard uneducated preachers who made no favorable impression on him. Rev. Peter Starr, whom he heard in Connecticut, was a conventional minister who made little appeal to young people. It was when he began to study law in Adams at the age of twenty-six, that he became genuinely interested in religion. Besides the church services which were the one thing going on in the town, Finney's interest in music, which led him to be director of the choir, and his purchase of a Bible as a reference book for his law studies, were the chief influences which, so far as exterior causes are concerned, brought him eventually "face to face with Christ," as he puts it. As to what was going on inside which led to his increased interest in religion, we can only conjecture. We do know that he referred to his parents as not being professing Christians."
Finney did not like the Calvinism which the minister, George W. Gale, preached. Therefore his talks with him were generally arguments. Finney became known by the minister and the leaders of religion in the town, as a dangerous person having an unfortunate influence over the youth of the village. Finney showed a great deal of self-consciousness as he set about it to study the Scriptures seriously. He came, however, to believe that the Bible was the true Word of God and he found himself faced with the question whether he would accept Christ as presented in the Gospel, or pursue his legal ambitions. As he felt himself coming to grips with the challenge of the Gospel, he carefully avoided talking with others lest he be wrongly led. As his anxieties came to the surface, his orderly and legal mind rebelled at letting-go, as he felt himself instructed to do by the Gospel records. Finally, as matters got more and more pressing, he carefully stole away to the woods near the town and there fought it out with God. He wrote, "I was taught the doctrine of justification by faith as a present experience. That doctrine had never taken any such possession of my mind that I had ever viewed it distinctly as a fundamental doctrine of the Gospel... I could see that the moment I believed while up in the woods, all sense of condemnation had entirely dropped out of my mind; and from that moment I could not feel a sense of guilt or condemnation by any effort that I could make. My sense of guilt was gone; my sins were gone; and I do not think I felt any more sense of guilt than if I never had sinned."

From the time of his conversion Finney felt that God wanted him to preach. He immediately refused to carry on his work in the law office, and gave himself to telling his story and preaching the Gospel. His influence was so strong with the people of Adams that practically the whole town turned out at an informal meeting to hear him tell of his experience. Practically the whole group was converted as the days passed; he went home and converted his parents; he then returned to Adams and bent all his energy to prayer, to the discipline of himself and to his labors with the people. He tried days of fasting and praying; he tried self-examination; he was visited with depressions and discouragement; and he was lifted up through
mystical experiences like the light which appeared to Paul on the Damascus road.

Pastor Gale with his Princeton theology, was good material on which to practice as Finney worked out his beliefs and theological doctrines. Gale held a limited view of the Atonement in which Christ made a literal payment of the legal debt of the elect. Finney believed that Christ satisfied public justice, and that his death made possible the forgiveness of sins for all who would believe and accept salvation this way. Finney held that the government of God which had been violated by sin must have its honor and dignity upheld. The death of Christ accomplished this end, thereby making it possible for God to forgive all sinners who truly repent. Christ's death also served as a powerful deterrent to future sin. In this way Finney thrashed out his independent beliefs which he defended before all, and he pointed to the results of his preaching to verify the truth as he saw it.

In the spring of 1822 Finney put himself under the care of the Presbytery of the district as a candidate for the ministry and Gale was appointed his instructor. It turned out to be rather a matter of Finney's instructing Mr. Gale. The Presbytery licensed him to preach in March 1824; he felt that they did this not because they wanted to do so, but because they didn't dare not to do it in view of his success with the people. Finney had an uncanny belief that God Himself had showed to him the real truth as presented in the Scriptures, and it didn't matter whether it agreed with that held by the theologians or not.

Finney's fundamental beliefs were now crystallized both as regards doctrine and practical working of Gospel truth. Like John Wesley, he could say that he preached practically the same sermon at thirty that he preached at eighty. Finney held to the end, that there must be the outpouring of the Holy Spirit as a prime requisite for preaching if the results were to be obtained; he held absolutely to the necessity of prayer, persevering prayer, concerted prayer, private prayer, prayer at all times; he held to the importance of prayer for through this came the baptism of the Holy Ghost, and through this baptism came the power to save souls. Finney's prayers were childlike in spirit; they were always informal, and usually they were limited.

(8) See his Lectures on Systematic Theology, London, Wm. Leg & Co., 1851, p. 319f
Finney believed in grades of religious experience. He wrote of having to preach fundamentals to people generally, for he believed that the majority of "professors of religion" could not understand the power of the high and precious truths which were given to him.

Finney, therefore, did little changing of his religious ideas or methods after he was thirty. The developmental process evidently never carried on beyond the months which immediately followed his conversion experience. A graph of his emotional life, as regards his religious development, therefore, would be almost a plateau up to his twenty-sixth year; here there would be a gradual rise to his twenty-ninth year at which time there would be a sudden perpendicular; there would follow after this a slight tapering upward to the plateau which carried on from his thirtieth year to the end of his life.

CHARACTERISTIC SAYINGS

If we were to sum up the personality of Finney in a few of his characteristic phrases, no doubt the following are among the most pertinent:

"God has given me the right conception on how to win souls" (M, 85-97)

"We (preachers) are set on getting a verdict". (A-69)

"Great sermons lead the people to praise the preacher. Good preaching leads the people to praise the Savior". (M-91)

"Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell!" (M-106; Matt. 23:33)

"From day to day, I had my hands, my head and my heart entirely full". (A-220; This sounds like John Wesley).

"A man should pray not for happiness but that he may be made useful". (M-112)

"Pray when you have evidence, from promises, or prophesies, or providences, or the leading of the Spirit, that God will do the things you pray for". (Finney's rule for prayer A-274f).
II.

Psychological Observations and Comment, as regards Finney and the Doctrine of Grotius.

1. First, let us see what we know psychologically about Finney. His assertiveness, his sense of immediacy, his inability to become a willingly accepted member of a group or profession, as well as his well-covered envy of the cultured, indicated by the number of pages in his Autobiography which he uses to assure us that he never really minded not having had a formal university education, all point to an inferiority, deeply-rooted in his nature which could not but effect his statement of belief and his methods of work.

That Finney inherited a physical vitality which was uncommon, is obvious from the record we followed of what he accomplished. With this reservoir of native power underneath, and with an underprivileged childhood and adolescence on the one hand, and an exceptionally able mind and keen intelligence on the other, it is not difficult to see that this discrepancy must produce an uncertainty of a tremendously painful nature. This in turn would produce a determination of effort which again in turn would require an abundance of successful results in order to establish an adequacy and equilibrium within which life could be made tolerable. In order not to fail in this, Finney must narrow his channel of expenditure of vitality, and he must change his vocation, for congregations are more plentiful and are more easily won than juries. Also he must work with a new tool. Not that all this was a conscious procedure with Finney. It all took place unconsciously. We are only trying here, to put into words the way the forces active within him, his needs and satisfactions, worked themselves out. The very positions that he filled, teacher, lawyer, preacher, professor, had to enable him to be superior to others in order to balance this doubt within.

Finney's emotional isolation was the secret of the particular nature of his vitality. It is the key that unlocks much which would be otherwise not understandable about him. His lack of emotional investment in the reality of God which has (9) For outline of the Theory of Grotius see Appendix.
been placed in people and creative values of this world, is noticeable from the beginning. He could not tie up closely with people and at the same time conserve his power, so that he could accomplish the results necessary to his own salvation.

As Finney felt himself being pushed nearer and nearer to adulthood, where he would have to stand on his own feet as a man, and accept the full responsibilities of his profession, a family and life generally, the anxieties of his childhood became unbearable. He felt the securities of simpler ways of living falling from him; and gradually he found himself precipitated into a death experience which resulted in the tremendous release of energy which followed his conversion. Like Wesley he didn't let the process continue. It was such a marvelous thing to be freed from his load of anxiety, that there was nothing to do but to make a whole Gospel of it immediately. This too would solve several problems for him. He could desert his chosen profession honorably; he could shift to second or third place the pressing issue of heterosexuality and desires for fatherhood; also he could become superior to others no matter what their ages or worldly successes might be.

The point is, that instead of reading his religious experience as an entrance into a broader stage of living from which he was to move into more completing stages of emotional development, Finney like Wesley, interpreted it as a one-leap procedure which placed him in the promised land. Here apparently both Wesley and Finney proceeded to build their tabernacles facing backward, one for Moses, one for Elias, one for Jesus. Finney then took his legal education, acquired during his emotional period of pre-adolescent living, (the period of emotional life in human beings to which law and order, dignity and honor of superiors most applies) and projected it into the universe. He produced a philosophy of life, a cosmology and a theology, which so far as he could see, accounted satisfactorily for the Cross of Christ.

2. In the second place, let us see more specifically how these facts affected Finney's handling of the doctrine of the Work of Christ.

Finney was not an inquirer into the depths of difficult problems. As the pre-adolescent boy is marked by his love of organization, movement, latitude happenings, meetings, and group activity, so was the life of Finney after his forgiveness experience. If a pre-adolescent boy feels the security of good government in his home or organization, he can manifest remarkable power and ability and can experience a considerable cruising range without uncertainty. Under-officers and men of the army and navy, as well as the honored example of the clergy and laity of the Roman Catholic Church illustrate this. Finney had a great deal of this kind of certainty, range and ability about him. Although he denied that he ever called himself "the Brigadier General of Jesus Christ"; it is easy to see why others would give him this appellation.

Finney grasped only a part of justification by faith. He either was unable, or he didn't take the time, to fathom what happened to him in his conversion experience. He knew that his load of guilt or anxiety had been lifted and he didn't stop for more. Just as he rushed from the patch of woods where it happened to tell the people in Adams about it, so he spent the remainder of his days telling the world.

In his Autobiography, Finney admits that he had never given much of a place to the doctrine of justification. We may add that this was just as true after his conversion as before. He made the resolution of guilt the whole of the Gospel, and by using the remarkable energy released by his experience of forgiveness as the driving force, he travelled the length and breadth of the land crowding people into the confines of his reading of the universe, and forcing them to their knees in agitation, no matter what their chronological age might be, in his determination that they go through that same releasing experience which had happened to him.

The great good that Finney did is not questioned here, nor are his methods under discussion. But from our standpoint of getting at the reality which is in the fact of the Atonement, what we have in Finney's teaching about the Work of Christ is a pre-conversion system being propagated by a man aflame with thankfulness of guilt resolved but viewing the experience with a backward look. Whether it be Grotius, or
Finney, or any other lover of orderliness, extreme neatness, simplicity and the rational, we are compelled to agree with the facts, that when the Work of Christ is limited to these features of life and personality, we are dealing with an immaturity in thought and grasp so marked, that it is pre-Christian.

There is another aspect of Finney's immature handling of the Work of Christ. As Jonathan Edwards took a morality, which through religiously motivated effort had been acquired by the race and brought under the responsibility of conscious living, and relentlessly applied this morality to the immoral economy of unconscious phenomena, so Finney took the law economy which is planted by society and parents in the unconscious of the child, and which is outraged by the chaotic forces which play there, and enthroned it in the conscious life of man. Such a procedure not only would tend to undo the Work of the Reformers but it denied the very genius of the Christian Gospel which Paul built into theology.

Still another mark of the peculiar psychology of Finney as regards the doctrine we are studying, was his failure to offer to men the personal God of Jesus. As Finney never really invested himself personally, that is his total emotional nature in any person or any thing of this world, and as his role from the time of his conversion was that of a kind of heavenly magistrate toward all, so his presentation of God, though a benevolent official, took on a detached nature. The whole business of God's and Christ's relation with man was formal, respectable, like the polite appropriateness of village social gatherings of his day and like the safety in numbers of Finney's own relationship with groups. Unlike Henry Drummond, Finney dealt with individuals in the presence of the group as the magistrate or attorney converses with the prisoner or witness in the setting of the court room.

Again, Finney, although offering unrestricted or unlimited salvation and freeing people from the hate features of an angry God, failed noticeably to face the problem of evil and suffering so almost obsessively faced by the Calvinists. Nature "red in tooth and claw" which is ever hovering on the threshold of the consciousness of man.

(1) Saint Paul: F. W. Myers; Phaniss Thompson, Hamilton King and others in The Oxford Book of Mystical Verse, Oxford, 1917.
ready to crop out in unforeseen, spontaneous crime, as the front pages of American newspapers well can show, was not the victorious side of the picture. And too much emphasis upon this unpleasant phase of reality would disturb the harmony of the moral universe, or the order and dignity of the heavenly courtroom. Suffering and evil Finney had left behind him. It had to do with adolescence and preadolescent days of his emotional development. They had been painful, and just as he found he could not conjure up a sense of guilt following the shift of forces in his emotional life at conversion, so afterward in his theology he did not dwell sufficiently upon this negative aspect of life-force in the world.

Thus Finney missed the subtle implications of the Cross of Christ. In his forgiveness experience he had an affair of the heart which resulted in a life full of the outpouring of love. And although his life-work as well as his conversion, was religion "pure and undefiled", his interpretation was limited by the bounds of morality. In fact there was such an effort required to make his theology (morality) pass for religion that he had to keep the hoop rolling, like Wesley, Grotius and the legal system of Thomas Aquinas; there was no time for the study of sin, suffering and immorality. This constant propaganda of perfection, methodicalness, and morality, in the place of a mature conception of justification by faith which is a religion, in fact, the heart of protestant Christian religion, may throw some light on the necessity for the revival method of both Wesley and Finney.

3. In conclusion then, we can see Grotius and Finney, with their emphasis upon public justice and penal substitute and example, and with their roots in Aristotle, Roman Law and Thomas Aquinas, to have limited the reality in the Atonement to an area where religion becomes an underling of morality. Contrary to his own experience, and that of every convert who genuinely had his guilt load lifted, Finney placed the most religious of all religious reality, the Cross, as only a logical block in his rational and legal system of universal morality. Here was a kind of return to Rome without the papacy.
Finney missed the significance of the Cross for the unconscious conflicts of people almost altogether. But what he set up in conscious thought and teaching, was near enough like the condition in the unconscious lives of people, that the religion in his own personality together with his power in preaching, brought people's conflicts near enough to the surface for the love of God to get at them.

Among the positive things that can be said about Finney are, that he was too practical minded, that is, he had too good a reality-sense, to let these phenomena, such as hysterias, depressions etc., become mistaken for the real thing. Also, he, like Wesley, was unafraid of these upheavals and he stayed by people until they had struggled through. The pressures which are on people today would probably produce more casualties than Wesley or Finney incurred in their times. And although Finney's ideas were essentially not according to all of the facts, his revival methods with their emphasis on prayer, group fellowship, social confession and the like, were sound enough so that the therapeutic result was invariably good.

Personalities of lesser discipline and less directed energy than Finney's fell before his attack and orderliness. His message was opportune for he offered a corrective to a blind-alley reading of Calvinism into which people of the time found themselves wedged. In addition to these facts, the lack of organization in an expanding and growing country, the country which Abraham Lincoln knew, caused the people to be susceptible to this emphasis on law and order. There was also their sentimentality about honor and dignity which caused his doctrine to appeal to them.

Finney, as is true of most surgeons of the soul, accomplished far more in his emotional obstetrics for people pregnant with guilt, than his theological system could accommodate. The social forces inherent in social institutions, and at work in the ins and outs of daily community living, carried on where he and his system left off. If Christ is crucified anew in every wayside flower so was He crucified, and in many returned to life, in the lives of converts who began their rebirth experience at his hand.

(12) Alfred Noyes—The Oxford Book of Mystical Verse p. 537
Thus Grotius, and Charles G. Finney, his champion in America, in their governmental theory of the Atonement, retained the moral philosophy of Aristotle with its emphasis on free will and the responsibility of man under the legalistic orderliness of Roman law, and, knowingly or otherwise, they sharpened the instrument of Thomas Aquinas applying it to the limited area of the doctrine of man's deliverance from condemnation and death. The fact that Finney in every extremity depended upon the pragmatic test, argues for a sort of consecrated rationalism or egotism plus the emotional immaturity of most people despite their chronological ages, rather than for that reach of creative imagination which apprehends the nature of the religious, particularly that great and delicate balance of tensions which is seen in the heart of God in the Cross.
CHAPTER XII.

HORACE BUSHNELL AND THE WORK OF CHRIST

The two principal readings of the Cross in history, the one in terms of revelation, from which come the moral influence theories beginning with Abelard, and the other in terms of the forensic aspect of Christ's Work, in which is traced the more Anselmian interpretation of the Atonement, can be viewed in the following light. In the main, one comes from reflection upon the rational, refined and poetic phase of the conscious life of personality which tends to ignore an unpleasant region of the human soul called by the psychopathologists the unconscious; the other comes from a less rationalistic and less poetic, although none the less sensitive, reflection which includes unpleasant but real facts, from the region of emotional chaos and thought, which are recognized to be non-rational.

Those earnest thinkers who are included in this second group, whether P. T. Forsyth, James Denny or any others, are apt to be driven into over-emphasis by virtue of trying to balance the danger of a too superficial basis being accepted for the theology of the Church, which alone, they see, must serve in the continuation of the Work of Christ in the world.

On the other hand, reaction to the dangers of loose thinking, guards against crystallizations into inexorable, inelastic and over-severe conceptions, along with their distaste for the unethical in religion, spur other theologians, who defend the subjective theories of the Atonement, into similar over or under-emphasis. This we should bear in mind in our study of Horace Bushnell and his teachings.

Horace Bushnell was of medium stature, "without bulk of figure; he was rather delicate yet lithe and full of vitality." At the age of 43 his appearance, quoted freely, was as follows: "he was spare and sinewy of figure, tense yet easy in its motions; his face, then smoothly shaven, showed delicate outlines about the cordial, sweet-tempered mouth; his forehead was high and broad, straight to the line where it was swept by his careless hair, just streaked with gray; his kindly gray eyes were deepest under beetling black eyebrows, and his manner was abrupt yet kindly."

Bushnell's dress was that of a plain man. "He avoided the clerical mark. His physical personality was suggestive of a certain noble freedom, self-reliance and dignity. His manners were wholly unaffected. He was frank and friendly but not deferent to any man." He walked along the street with a long and springy step with his cane "swinging and pointing decisively forward as he went."

Bushnell was born April 14, 1802 in Litchfield, Connecticut. His father, Ensign Bushnell, was of Huguenot descent and had their characteristics of mental alertness, evenness and fairness of disposition, and marked conscientiousness and religious sincerity. His Arminian background caused him to protest to his wife against the "rough predestination and over-total depravity of the sermons" of the Congregational Church to which the family belonged. Bushnell's father moved the family to New Preston, about fourteen miles from Litchfield, when he was three years old. Here his father carded wool and dressed cloth by machinery along with his farming.

Bushnell's mother, Botha Bishop Bushnell, was a woman of a deep religious nature. To her, religion was felt as "an intense life of love, utterly unselfish and unceasing in its devotion, yet thoughtful, sagacious, and wise, always stimulating and ennobling."
ling, and in special crises leaping out in tender and almost awful fire. Bushnell was the constant companion of his mother in childhood. He followed her in her domestic occupations and saw and shared her toil for the children and the home. Intimacy and companionship with her was his early education. His analysis of his mother includes: discretion above the ordinary approaching sublimity, advice which was always justified by the results, religious duties and graces which reached almost divine perception, earnest but not too frequent prayer, a preacher by example rather than by words, and a happy combination of industry, order, fidelity, reverence, neatness, truthfulness and love of truth, intelligence and good sense. The Bushnell children were trained in industry; each had his or her chores to do, and each was made to feel as a stockholder in the family. Next to his mother the person who influenced Bushnell most in his childhood, was his paternal grandmother. She had tried the dialectics of Calvinism, had been swamped by its subtleties and had found her freedom in the Arminianism of the Methodist Church. She was decidedly individualistic; she emigrated with her family to Vermont, in company with some other colonists, and upon arriving there started and maintained a Methodist Church in her home.

A few of Bushnell's characteristics, or traits of personality, were: his doggedness and resistance toward all who refused the truth, which even manifested itself in his mannerisms and method of preaching; a tenderness which was "the lightening rod that carried to the ground what might have been a crashing and destructive bolt of wrath"; impatience of shams with a cautiousness of exposing them; an abandon in recreations and a general playfulness; an affected personal modesty; an unconscious radiation of "personal atmosphere"; and an excessive honesty. His daughter wrote of his personal goodness as a father: "...it was in his family life that he shone the brightest....It is they who know most of his zest, his enthusiasm, his insiprable faculty; of the wit and piquant flavor of his language; of the lofty and refined purity of his feelings and his habits, and his delicate considerations of those who were dear to him; of his great unexpressed and inexpressible tender-
ness; of the reasoning faith which beheld the unseen".

Bushnell's love of nature is fundamental to an understanding of his personality as is his peculiar love of God. "He not only loved nature and suffered it to kindle his imagination, but he explored its meanings and mapped out its uses". Before he went to college at 21, "he lived in the midst of nature. And in those days nature was real and abundant. The environment is reflected all through his life and his inspiration seemed always to come from this source." He remained always an enthusiast in his love of rural sights and sounds and sports. The house he had built according to his plans, upon his settlement in the parish in Hartford at the beginning of his ministry, provided for two things, - a garden and an open view of the country ending in distant hills." Each was a necessity to him, - the manifold life of growing things, and a distant horizon".

Music was one of Bushnell's profoundest studies. His mother started him in this interest, teaching him in the simple way music was then learned in a New England village. A friend writing of him stated that he was "musically organized". The practical aspect of this interest came out early in his founding the Beethoven Society when he was in college, in order to lift the standard of music in the chapel. His later addresses show his appreciation in this realm of the language of the spirit to have a growing one.

From his Theory of Language, we get what has been called the "key to Horace Bushnell", "...undoubtedly the whole universe of nature is a perfect analogon of the whole universe of thought and spirit. Therefore as nature becomes truly a universe only through science revealing its universal laws, the true universe of thought and spirit cannot sooner be conceived".

Bushnell died on the morning of February 17, 1876. The fact that in his last illness, when he was too weak to leave his bed, he kept his cane within his reach, gives us a fitting symbol by which to grasp this forceful man.
SOCIAL ADAPTATIONS

The home life of Bushnell to which we have referred, was bound to guarantee the kind of social adjustment which would facilitate the use of his abilities and educational opportunities later on. His mother saw to that. As indicated by his gruffness and tendency to keep pretty much by himself at Yale College (C-17), his preference up to that time had been probably for nature rather than the companions available to him outside of the members of the family. It was during those days on the farm that he had learned the leaf and bark of every tree and shrub that grows in New England. His interest in gaining a clearer knowledge of external things of nature and internal things of God in order to increase activity and encourage a fuller life, may not have taken the study of, and interest in, others, as much into the picture as it ought. A man who estimated the water power of every stream that he crossed, who knew where all the springs were and how they could be made available, who mapped out roads and railroads, cemeteries, parks for cities and private estates, who noted the laying of every foot of stone wall as he walked along, and the gate of every house; a man who it appears let nothing escape him, really had no barrier up between himself and people. One of his professors wrote that in college Bushnell (C-17) was "a leader and a favorite." Two years after graduation during his service as an instructor, the fact that he became the rock of resistance around which others anchored at the time of the revival in the college, argues for his sociability and capacities for adaptation in this field if he cared to exercise them.

Bushnell was always at ease with all people he met during the years of his ministry. He made it a point to speak to strangers on the streets of his city at Hartford. He remained always solicitous of his parishioners and never neglected them even during the days of his most active writing, or controversy. His theology interested his parishioners because his thinking concerned people themselves. His theology touched the realities of human experience. He was a man of exceeding goodness and rare lovableness. He was always ready to perceive undisclosed possibilities.
in the ordinary man

The way Bushnell handled himself during the unceasing efforts of his enemies to bring him to trial for heresy, shows a remarkable adaptation to people. At this time while on a trip to Boston, he met and conversed with two editors who were lambasting his book "God in Christ"; in this experience, as in most other instances of this sort he showed remarkable balance in social behavior. He was fond of chatting in book stores in Hartford with all sorts of people on all kinds of subjects. He never felt enmity toward others; and he was decidedly uncomfortable under the disapproval of friends and associates. He fought his fight for his views, however; and he eventually won the respect of men generally; all came to be at peace with him, not theological peace in the sense of agreement but in the sense of his being recognized as an upbuilder in the Kingdom of God.

Bushnell was not at a loss when at close grips with individuals in trouble. His letter to the young man facing a severe crisis in his life, where he writes of "Kingship over the vast territory of self" shows that. His social graces with individuals, are seen in the instance of his entertaining one of his critics in his home for a few days at the time of the heresy difficulties. This critic, who later slid back into his enmity toward Bushnell, held that while he had been in Bushnell's home he had been under the spell of the man and had forgotten the true doctrine.

Bushnell's consideration for the "ordinary man" which was referred to, did not include solicitation for supersensitive or morbid youth. These kinds of young men and women who know such irritable suffering, he could pity but could not understand. He had, however, great admiration for the crude young preachers whom it was his chance to know.

In his home Bushnell was a favorite. He really played with his children. His knowledge of world affairs he shared with them; and to their young minds he presented these in a magical, romantic, and marvellous light. His daughter refers often to his "paternal tenderness" and his wish to love all people and all things.
VOCATION AND LIFE WORK

Before Bushnell was born his mother had determined that her first son should serve the Lord as a minister and she set about his early education with this firmly in mind. Music, poetry, the love of nature, industry, regular habits, the explanation of and understanding of all things no matter how commonplace, all these were carefully looked after during these years until Bushnell was 21 and set out for Yale College. During his four years there, before graduation, he came under the influence of French philosophy and entered a period of thorough-going doubt. He was unaware of what his life work was to be and upon graduation put in a year of great unpleasantness teaching school in Norwich, Connecticut. The following year he became associate editor of the Journal of Commerce in New York City, returning after this to New Haven to take up the study of law. Unable to go on with his studies because of lack of funds he planned to go West and continue studying law as he was able. But his mother encouraged him to accept a tutorship offered him at Yale College and he returned to New Haven and finished his course in law. It was during his last year in law school that a revival swept through the college, and, at the instigation of one of the other tutors Henry Durant, that Bushnell was faced with the issue of giving over his skepticism and primacy of the power of the reason, and trust to his heart. This was reinforced because his position proved a stumbling block to certain undergraduates who showed resistance to the revival because of his stand. Thus at the age of 29 Bushnell entered theological school and after a two years course was ordained pastor of North Church in Hartford.

In May 1833 when Bushnell was ordained pastor of the Church in Hartford, he had behind him the advantages of a thorough education in college and two professional schools, a year of very close contact with the world as an editor in New York, an illuminating experience as a teacher of young men, and above all the memory and influence of a home in which Christian nurture was like that which he described in his book on the subject.
Little is known of the first five years of his ministry except that he pub-
lished some of his sermons. That he climbed immediately into the great issues of the
day is indicated by the sermon "The Crisis in the Church" which was occasioned by
the mobbing of Garrison in the streets of Boston. In this he dealt with slavery,
infidelity, Romanism and current political tendencies. This sermon stirred up con-
siderable opposition. His sermon soon afterward on "Duty not Measured by One's Own
Ability" let the Old and New School Parties in his church know that he did not
intend to take sides in their quarrel. At this time Bushnell spoke of "passing into
the vein of comprehensiveness" which implies for our study a degree of spiritual
independence which was to mark him as an original thinker and worker in the field
of theology and the church. Bushnell's revolt, therefore, which set him apart from
the regulars in theology and the ministry, was all settled prior to his establish-
ing himself with his congregation. This is shown by the fact that "his first ser-
mons could as well have been his last". His method and outlook is best seen in an
early sermon called "Every Man's Life a Plan of God".

In 1835 Bushnell began a series of papers on "Revivals of Religion" which in-
volved him in further suspicion, and opposition, which were to be his constant meat
and drink as he unfolded his thought and carried on his labors. The death of an
infant daughter in 1837 gave him added depth of personal experience upon which to
ground his great contentions. And in 1839 a chronic disease which focalized in his
throat, became lodged within him and over-shadowed the remainder of his life and
work. His address at Andover Theological Seminary in July of that year, became the
starting point of his "Theory of Language" which was to be a turning point in his
career as a theologian. In his use of symbols, figures and methods of interpretation
and their application to Biblical statements bearing on the Trinity, he placed
himself open to accusations which never ceased to be directed his way throughout
the remainder of his life and work.

During the months of 1840 and following, he opposed in "American Politics" the
giving of suffrage to women on the ground that it threatened the peace and unity
of domestic life; he refused the presidency of Middlebury College in Vermont; he received the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity from Wesleyan University; and he entered the lists more fully on the side of anti-slavery. In 1842 the death of his four year old boy drove him into those depths of the life of God from which came much of his later research in revelation. His characteristic remark to his congregation at this time "Have I not a harper there?" may well be taken as the theological location of his center of vital energy in the remainder of his life-work.

In 1843 Bushnell withdrew from the Anti-Roman Society because of its narrowness. His interest in this from the first, had been motivated by his desire that completeness of life and freedom of the spirit be made accessible to people in greater number. His address at this time to the Yale Alumni on "The Growth of Law" provoked severe criticism; he was said, at this time, to have marked rationalistic, Socinian and infidel tendencies. Five publications, his pastoral work, and the presidential campaign of 1844, brought on a break-down in health in 1845 which led to his trip south and to his year in Europe.

Upon his return to active work, Bushnell expanded his papers on "Revivals of Religion" into his theological treatise "Christian Nurture". The point of this work, that a child should grow up a Christian and never know himself to be anything else, which upset the provincial outlook of the church, was not due to purpose on Bushnell's part. It was: not an attack on prevalent methods but rather a timely way of preparation for new things.

Bushnell's next work came forth as a further development of his theory of language. This was like the work of the devil himself to those theologians of the day who were hedged in by definition and a rigid use of language. In this work Bushnell "refused to put infinite things into finite forms. He asserted that spiritual and moral realities lie behind language, and that words do not define these realities but only suggest their scope and significance". Bushnell's entrance into the company of New England theologians with such a theory was like Copernicus appearing among the Ptolemaists."
The publication of "God in Christ" brought down a storm of disapproval and criticism on Bushnell's head and the attempts to bring him to trial for heresy began in earnest. Bushnell's answer to his critics in "Christ in Theology" has in its preface a clever caricature of the New England theological situation of the day. In this work which he wrote and published first and read over afterward, Bushnell illustrates the insufficiency of language to carry with rational conviction the truths which he felt intuitively.

While the storm of protest against him was at its height, Bushnell gave a remarkable address on "Work and Play" which showed an amazing equilibrium and stability of emotional life, and which located him beyond the reach of those who would tear him to pieces. In this address, life, for Bushnell, resolved itself into "poetry as the real and true state of man".

In 1856 Bushnell made his trip to California in search of health. Here he lost himself in the exterior interests incident to the development of a new country, all the way from the laying out of roads to the founding of a university. In his commemoration sermon of his twenty years in the ministry of the North Church, he emphasized the outstanding principle of his theology, that men cannot think out a gospel; it must come by the inward revelation of Christ. During these months the net of the heresy hunters, to which he could not remain altogether indifferent, had been drawing closer and closer around him, until finally his enemies of the Fairfield West Association overlapped themselves in their demands, and earned the severe censure of the General Council. After this, the heckling of Bushnell died down.

He threw himself into his parish work; and published another volume "Sermons for the New Life". But he found his powers of endurance much weakened. In 1858 he was forced to take another rest and the following year thought it best to resign his pastorate and give himself to his efforts of battling his disease, and to his writing.

In his book "Nature, and the Supernatural" Bushnell attempted to harmonize the
world of cause and effect and the world of the will, and share in this way the re-
mkable experiences and insights which were his. In this, as in other instances, 
language failed him, and his work even appeared weak and unconvincing to his read-
ers. In "The Vicarious Sacrifice" which appeared next, came his greatest contri-
bution, not only to theology, but to the life of man. In this volume (from which 
we shall take our material on his interpretation of the Work of Christ in the 
next section of this chapter) Bushnell shows Christ as the moral power of God, 
and he humanizes God to man. His essays which appeared from time to time, were 
on a variety of topics ranging from theology to the laying out of roads and parks. 
He wrote on music, psychology, and political questions of his time.

In 1871 he published his "Sermons on Living Subjects" and kept himself busy 
working over his projected book "Forgiveness and Law". By the close of 1873 he 
had finished the book, but felt himself hesitant about publishing it for fear he 
had gotten too far "out of sight of land". We are left with this unsatisfactory 
treatise which names in its very title that which was the preoccupation of Bush-
nell's entire life and work, viz., the spiritual and the rational, the supernatural 
and the natural, forgiveness and guilt.

He lived and died in the belief that nature is the analogue of the spirit. It 

EMOTIONAL LIFE

Bushnell's emotional development seems to have been marked by certain well-
defined stages; but underlying all, there appears to have persisted to the end an 
outstanding strain of passion toward God, with a parallel pugnaciousness toward 
men in authority, and a peculiar chivalry toward women. There was in him a tender-
ness which in great matters always "placed the heart before the head." Whether or 
not these are later traces of an early childhood relationship to his father and 
mother respectively, is a matter of conjecture. The stages of emotional growth 
through which he passed may be roughly pointed out by the following outline: a) that
of playfulness, companionship with his mother with later recurrent imaginative flights and dream-like experiences; b) the stage of interest in exterior things, with a coldness, unsympathetic relationship toward others, emphasis upon searching out causes and "the root of the matter," and attention to orderliness and discipline; c) the adolescent stage of rebellion, doubt, remorsefulness, uncertainty and romanticism; d) the stage of disillusionment, feeling hurt by reality, and being extremely rationalistic; e) the stage of morality, responsibility for others and emphasizing the realistic; f) the stage of his reach toward woman, toward completeness and reconciliation; g) the stage of death of self with sorrows, depressions, loss and compensations in spiritual reality; and finally h) the sacrificial stage of harmony and fatherliness. The fact material in this phase of our study will be fitted into this outline.

a). Mention already has been made of his mother's prenatal desire that her first-born son should be consecrated to the ministry of the gospel. We have read also of the intimate camaraderie which existed between Bushnell and his mother during those fascinating months of childhood, and of her plan for his liberal education from his earliest days. Her meaning to him through those early years never left him; he lived them over again with his own children; and finally he built them into a book, "Christian Nurture," which, with but slight changes, would be an excellent text in religious education today. His flights of fancy are found in many of his letters to his children; his address on "Work and Play" is a healthy expression of this feature of his emotional life. An instance of the continuance of those dream days is seen through this beautiful excerpt from one of his letters: "I should love in this quiet soft hour, to creep upon the repose of the children, and go around from face to face as a night elf, lighting softly on their lips and stealing the kisses. You should wake in the pleasant morning and should not know what makes you all so happy, - the gentle half-dream I might stir in your heads, - stir, but not enough to make you recall it."
b). During the months which would make up his boy-scout years, he was occupied with exploring everything new which his eye fell on. This exceptional interest in exterior things of life never left him. It became a part of his system of "nature and the supernatural"; for it "facilitated activity" to know about the accessories of life. Industry and orderliness became ingrained in him and formed the tracks on which his personality ran throughout his days. His eagerness in getting at the sources as well as his never dying interest in roads undoubtedly have to do with this phase of his emotional life. So formulated was this life-habit in him that it earned him the reputation of being too individualistic in college and of being too gruff and offish in his social contacts throughout his life. Discipline was a marked characteristic which probably dates from this period of emotional adjustment; not only did this apply to the regulation of his love-life with such strictness and to his habits of work, but it also reached into his periods of recreation and slight indulgences such as smoking on his fishing trips. A point to be noticed, however, is that this phase of the emotional life was passed through without carrying with it old thwartings which caused an over-determination of these features of personality. Bushnell was never lop-sided in respect to the characteristics of this stage of adjustment. They took their places in his equipment which served him and his emotional life moved on to the next level of development.

c). Although Bushnell was 21 when he went to college, there are facts which go to show that his adolescent days were not past. At home no doubt there had been such harmony, and satisfactions sufficient in number, as that this period of his development had not taken on its full expression. The rebellion which he stirred up at Yale against "double prescribed examinations", which led to his being sent home for a time, is an out-cropping of this emotional condition within him. His welcoming French liberalism which led to his skepticism is another mark of this struggle. Concerning the year after graduation from college he wrote: "... when the question was to be decided whether I should begin the preparation of theology, I
was thrown upon a most painful struggle by the very evident, quite incontestable fact that my religious life was utterly gone down. And the pain it caused me was miserable, enhanced by the disappointment I must bring on my noble Christian mother by withdrawing myself from the ministry.... My mother felt the disappointment bitterly, but spoke never a word of complaint or upbraiding. Indeed I have sometimes doubted whether God did not help her to think that she knew better than I did what my becoming was to be. A modern psychologist could have told him what was going on; and without doubt he was right in thinking his mother knew enough about life to recognize the adolescent struggle which Bushnell had not yet fought out. Some months later, after a year in the law school, his mother took advantage of his uncertainty, when the offer came to return to college as a tutor, and, against all her former habit of not giving direct advice, said to him, "My opinion is that you had best accept the place". Bushnell was thus placed again in the environment where old associations and possible religious influences would play upon him to his mother's liking and his own ultimate welfare. He wrote: "The result was that I was taken back to New Haven where partly by reason of a better atmosphere in religion, I was to think myself out of my overthinking, and discover how far above reason is trust". His identifying himself with the religious forces in the revival at Yale resulted.

A certain sensitiveness which is characteristic of this period of emotional adjustment remained with Bushnell long afterward. For in the days when his enemies were trying to crush him with their threats of a heresy trial he was far more hurt, and suffered under reproach to a greater extent, than people realized. And an interesting trace of the old rebellion is found in his impatience with all bigotry throughout his life. As regards the Fugitive law he wrote to his friend Dr. Bartol when he was 49 years of age, "I confess that I want about half the time to do something that will require to be pardoned". Some would see in his thorough-going opposition to New England theology and the authorities of the church of his day, a continued strain of adolescent difficulty.
d). Bushnell's period of skepticism where the rational played so important a part, probably held back a considerable part of his vitality in this stage, throughout the rest of his life. It was as though he had awakened in college to a realization of having been cheated and in consequence hardened himself to all reality as well as unreality, forcing everything through the channels of coldly rational thought. He was weighted, however, on the side of his companionship with his mother in childhood. We see this through his remarks which refer to his leaving the ranks of the skeptics the year before he entered theological school, "I am glad I have a heart as well as a head.... My heart says the Bible has a trinity for me, and I mean to hold by my heart, I am glad a man can do it when there is no other mooring."

Bushnell's passion for roads and ways have their parallel in the paths of thought and by-ways of the mind which in him were well travelled. And his passion for God, can be seen as the other half of this marked tendency toward the over-stress of reason. He was not a pantheist but, as his biographer says, he was pantheistic. His interest in nature undoubtedly derives its power from this level of his emotional life, for it is in this pre-moral, pre-altruistic stage of feeling that nature-lovers dwell.

e). It was the revival in Yale College which started Bushnell off on the moral, the real ego-building stage of his emotional life. Before this he had been essentially isolated emotionally. And his interest in French philosophy and his skepticism were in part a cover to hide his loneliness, his hurt, and to give him a certain status when he was entering a larger world where he was not sure of himself. When approached by Henry Durant during his tutoring days at Yale as regards his aloofness to the revival, and his influence over minds of lesser calibre than his own, Bushnell gave his answer, "I must get out of this woe. Here I am, what I am, and these young men hanging to me in their indifference amidst universal earnestness on every side". This was for him an emotional experience in so far as it pushed him into the next stage of adjustment, that of responsibility for others and moral realism.
f). When Bushnell was 31 he found someone who was to take the place in his life formerly occupied by his mother. He married Mary Apthorp of New Haven. Here can be seen a kind of reconciliation in him of the splitting in the emotional life which took place in the early years of his college course. He began to come back together inside; and he began to see life whole through this step toward woman which he took at this time. During the times of forced separation from his wife because of illness, his letters showed how much he missed her; there was a strain of homesickness in these letters as if his wife was his mother and he was a child. As time went on there is every indication that Bushnell entered fully into whole-hearted relationship with his wife; there were no patches of his life which he consciously reserved from her, as he went through the sorrows and deepening experiences which were ahead.

g). The death of the infant daughter when Bushnell was 35 furthered an emotional tendency well marked in him, which had to do with a sense of loss and a gloominess of the spirit. Two years later, the chronic throat difficulty, which fastened itself to him and never left him the remainder of his life, we shall view, at the present time, in connection with the emotional life. The question must be asked, Why did this curse of ill health come upon Bushnell at 37 years of age and never leave him? According to his scheme of the harmony of the natural and the Supernatural, what did this chronic illness mean? Considering this as a symptom of the total personality, what is it saying? In the spring of 1839 he wrote to his wife, "I cannot but feel a degree of anxiety about myself in regard to my future health, which is constantly acting on my love to my family. This disease hangs about me and I am afraid is getting a deeper hold of me.... I have sometimes felt afraid that I should be obliged to leave the world before my work was done". Whereas this passage should not be singled out and pressed to yield more than is rightly in it, there is something more here than appears on the surface.

The death of his little four-year-old boy, with the sorrow and depression that
it entailed, was the experience which catapulted Bushnell into a thorough-going death experience to be followed by Christ's resurrection in him; after this, to a great extent, it was not he that lived, but Christ that lived in him. This happened when he was 42. A letter which he wrote to a stranger some time later indicates this transition through which Bushnell had passed: "Kinghood over the vast territory of self must be, in order to a genuine forgiveness. To tear yourself from yourself, to double yourself up and thrust yourself under your own heels, and make a general smash of yourself, and be all the more truly yourself for this mauling and self-annihilation -- this is the mighty work before you. To accomplish this we must be close to Immanuel to feel the beating of His heart .... Kings alone can truly forgive, as kings alone can reign. You know the import of the Cross".

Thus came to Bushnell the final paternal and sacrificial stage of emotional living. It was in an early morning of his 45th year that he saw the Gospel. From this experience came his sermon "Christ the form of the Soul", which later developed into his book "God in Christ". Now he could say "Oh, that we had simplicity to let God be God, and the revelation He gives us a revelation .... There is no so true simplicity as that which takes the practical at its face, uses instruments as instruments, however complex and mysterious, and refuses to be cheated of the uses of life by an over-curious questioning of that which God has given for its uses". He may be referring here to the doctrine of the Trinity, but it also could be said of those remnants of earlier stages of his emotional adjustment at which times Bushnell did his "over-thinking" and was "over-curious".

The firm hold this final stage of adjustment had upon Bushnell's inner life is reflected in the calmness and objectivity with which he dealt with his enemies when they were out to destroy his theological position and his career. A hark back to former days of emotional life is seen in this quotation from one of his letters to his wife, in which he speaks in the words of Goethe, "living in feeling and subjective thought independently of outward objects and works, tends, as it
were, to excavate us and to undermine the whole foundation of our being”.

Bushnell gave himself without stint; he lived in this sacrificial stage of being a great and good father not only to his family but to his parishioners and to all who turned to him. He lived far more of this abandon which had behind it the death and resurrection of self, than he was able to get into his explanation of the Cross of Christ.

RELIGIOUS LIFE

Bushnell gives this resume of his religious development: “First I was led along into initial experience of God socially and by force of the blind religious instinct in my nature; second I was advanced into the clear moral light of Christ and of God, as related to the principle of rectitude; next, or third I was set on by the inward personal discovery of Christ and of God as represented in Him; now, fourth, I lay hold of and appropriate the general culminating fact of God’s vicarious character in goodness, and of mine to be accomplished in Christ as a follower.”

The steps to which Bushnell probably refer are: 1) his early conversion in his youth; 2) his experience at Yale while a tutor; 3) that revelation of the Gospel in 1848 which resulted in “God in Christ”; and 4) the conceptions of sacrifice and forgiveness which came to him and which were to ripen into “The Vicarious Sacrifice”.

Although the religion of the day was strict Calvinism, we have noted that Bushnell was not reared under its influence. His Arminian father and Episcopal mother, loyal as they were to the Congregational Church which was the only fellowship of God available, gave him a very liberal religious atmosphere in which to grow up. Religion in the family is reported to have been not occasional nor a thing of restraint, but rather an atmosphere. Evenness, fairness and conscientiousness marked the religious home life of Bushnell’s father; and his mother was said to be unselfish and untiring in her devotion. Probably the story of Bushnell’s early religious life is contained in his first theological treatise, “Christian Nurture.” Besides this
distinctly religious atmosphere of his home, Bushnell's biographer, Theodore Munger, mentions the heaven in nature which lay around him in his childhood: "The freshness of the morning moved him to prayer. His religious impressions came along the path of nature, in fields and pastures, and so coming they were free from fear or sense of wrong, but full of the divine beauty and majesty."

At the age of 17 Bushnell was beginning to supplant his warm religious feeling by a cold rational outlook. At this time he wrote a paper in which he tried to cast Calvinism into logical harmony. At 19 he united with the church and is reported to have had a deep flow of religious feeling accompanying the event. At 21 began his interest in French liberalism and gradual withdrawal into skepticism in which he remained until his last year in law school, and which left its traces on his nature long afterward.

Bushnell's conversion in college was not spectacular. He simply held on to the "simple landmarks of morality, 'it must be right to do right!'" Thus his doubts which had grown into unbelief gave way to his heart and his morality, due to his early training.

At the beginning of Bushnell's ministry in Hartford in 1833, the fight had been on for some time between Arminianism and Calvinism. And Edwards had developed a most hardened gospel in his effort to oppose the Arminian theology. This became crystallized and limited, and devoid of its nobler elements. As regards Professor Taylor, in theological school Bushnell had never responded to him as had the other students. Bushnell's religion must come from nature and the supernatural, not from logic and definition. Next to his Bible, he owed most to Coleridge's "Aids to Reflection." It bore out his experience that the heart was the beginning and end, not the mind. During the days of his ministry from 1833 to 1843, Bushnell played the role of a well-educated moralist whose sympathies were on the side of the poetical and spiritual in life, but whose experiences were yet limited largely to the rational and moral except for the far-away influences of his childhood. He preached on moral
and political questions; he became a champion of Christian ethics as applied to the state and the church. It was during these years that he was working over the material on Christian Nurture, which was to be such a disturbing book to orthodox theologians and champions of New England.

Following the death of his son, 1843 Bushnell went through a deepening phase of spiritual experience. At this time he read such books as Upham's "Interior Life", "The Life of Madame Guyon" and Arch-bishop Fenelon.

Bushnell's contention in "Christian Nurture", that "the child is to grow up Christian, and never know himself as otherwise", was a blow at the revival system. He looked upon revivals not as revivals of religion but as "revivals of the decay of principle in the disciples of religion". He believed in a uniform flow of religious life, (one might add, such as his own experience had been up to this time). The revival system, according to Bushnell, had no place for the child. Whereas the child, with him, was the starting point for the Christian life. Bushnell's system maintained that the unit of both church and society was the family and that in both it is organic; "that character can be transmitted, and thus Christianity can be organized into the race, and the trend of nature be made to set in that direction". The full purpose of his book was to discuss the divine constitution of the family as the means of securing Christian character. The presumption, therefore, "should be that children may be trained into piety, and that it is not necessary that conversion should be awaited and secured under a system of revivalism that is without order as to time and cause". Bushnell protested against a system of theology which was a "nurture of despair" from which the only salvation was the expectation of the revival seasons. He believed that Christ was a children's Christ and that the children had a place in his church.

Brastow, an admirer of Bushnell wrote, "It was fifteen years after Bushnell entered the ministry before the mystical element in his religious nature was fully manifested. From this time on his religious life was constantly deepened and enriched."
He lived ever more deeply in the abiding presence of God. He was referring to the experience of resurrection in Bushnell's life which came to him in February 1848. Instead of expressing it, "In the year that King Uzziah died I saw the Lord," Bushnell would word it, "Five years after the death of my little son, I saw the Gospel." In "God in Christ" which came out of this experience, he defined Christian doctrine as "formulated Christian experience." And he saw in the Trinity simply God's way of manifesting Himself to humanity; it was a mystery far above his power to solve. Bushnell regarded this experience as a personal discovery of Christ, and of God represented in Him. The change was into faith—"a sense of freeness of God, and the ease of approach to Him."

About the time of his anniversary sermon to the people of North Church, Hartford after he had served them 20 years as their minister, he described his experience of God as follows: "It is as if my soul were shut in within a vast orb made up of concentric shells of brass or iron. I could hear even when I was a child, the faint ring of a stroke on the one that is outmost and largest of them all; but I began to break through one shell after the other, bursting every time into a kind of new, and wondrous, and vastly enlarged heaven, hearing no more the dull, close ring of the nearest casement, but the ring, as it were, of concave firmaments and third heavens set with stars; till now so gloriously has my experience of God opened His greatness to me; I seem to have gotten quite beyond all physical images and measures, even those of astronomy, and simply to think God is to find and bring into my feeling more than even the imagination can reach."

In "Natural and the Supernatural" (1858) Bushnell combatted a then-prevalent treatment of nature which he refers to as "Naturalism" and characterizes as the new infidelity. He took the hints which he had been furnished by Coleridge and Schleiermacher and worked out his "most thorough and complete treatise." In this book "Bushnell made it possible for reason and faith to keep together, at least for a time." Here he interpreted the world spiritually. "Laws are not ends, but the means..."
for getting into the free world of the Spirit, which dominates all things because it has created all."

The final stage of religious experience into which Bushnell entered, before his last days of infirmity, was that which produced his outstanding book, "The Vicarious Sacrifice." Here he contended that the Atonement was a duty necessary to the fulfillment of an "Universal Brotherhood of Love," and that the vicarious sacrifice of Christ is not a duty peculiar to Him alone but is proper for all humanity. In this book God in Christ came into living and abiding relationship with humanity. Christ's sacrifice is but the necessary outcome and disclosure that God is in the human race in the nature of redemptive love. It is the moral force of the Atonement which must be grasped. Bushnell insisted that there is no Christ for us that avails with God, who is not the Christ within us as a living redemptive force toward others.

The latter part of his 68th year Bushnell wrote of a religious experience as follows: "I never so saw God, never had Him come so broadly, clearly out. He has not spoken to me but He has done what is more. There has been nothing debatable to speak for, but an infinite easiness and universal presentation to thought, as it were by revelation. Nothing seemed so wholly inviting and so profoundly supreme to the mind... O my God, what a fact to possess and know that He is!... no excitement, no stress, but an amazing beatific tranquility. I never thought I could possess God so completely."
Some of the sayings of Bushnell through which we may catch a summary glimpse of the man, are listed here.

"I have observed a hundred times that the sublime requires the unknown as an element. A cathedral should never be finished". (M-198)

"Laws are not, therefore, broken up by the specialties of faith, but only transcended". (M-203)

"Doubt is not occasioned by investigation, but by the lack of it". (M-289)

"Scorn is blind, for the eyes it thinks it has are only sockets". (M-289)

"Have I not a harper there?" (Regarding the heavenly world, M-27)

"...the whole universe of nature is a perfect analogon of the whole universe of thought and spirit". (M-106)

"Language is not so much descriptive as suggestive.... Therefore an experience is needed to interpret words". (M-106)

"Christian doctrine is formulated Christian experience". (M-115)

"I am a good deal more for a Theos than for a theology". (M-137)

"I am brewing now a new heresy" (Regarding Nature and Supernatural, M-204)

"Put yourself on a footing of sacrifice". (M-205)

"I let time chew my questions for me". (M-205)

"Pain is kind of a general sacrament for the world". (M-324)

"Sleep is a spiritualizer in the constitution of nature itself". (M-324)

"While God is doing facts we are thinking dangers". (M-324)

"If I had my life to live over again, there is one thing I wouldn't do, I would not push!" (M-339)

"...the child is to grow up a Christian and never know himself as being otherwise". (M-67)
COMMENT

In spite of all the reasonableness of Bushnell’s theology and the attractiveness of his personality; and in spite of his grasp of the unity within the world, and his closeness to nature and man; in spite of his unique experiences of God and his remarkable understanding of the historical Jesus, - Bushnell leaves heavy marks on the portrayal of Christ’s Work.

Just as there was a tension which ran throughout his life indicating a moral struggle going on deep within him, which we miss in the personality of the Jesus of the Gospels, so in his doctrine of the Work of Christ there is a strenuousness which is human, not divine. This moral tension in Bushnell may have produced a generous output of work, it may have driven him into expressions of vicariousness, and it may have cleared the air of a great deal of foggy theological definition and scholasticism. But as a gospel for suffering humanity, it was not enough.

People who had had the background of Bushnell might find it sufficient. But even in the hands of Jesus Himself, it would not have worked among those simple fishing folk of Palestine, or among those spiritually hungry waifs in the streets of Jerusalem who had not the price of indulgences for temple worship.

Not only this, but Bushnell’s orderly process of justification and taking on the righteousness of Christ could never have freed the kind of people with whom Jesus dealt. As Bushnell served a cultured group all his life, never knowing from his earliest days the more explosive, chaotic types of personality changes, so his doctrine provides for no such experiences. In this respect it has about it a ring of unreality. Anyone who has handled the dynamite which is lodged in small children and in adolescents, knows that it cannot always be counted upon to come out in the rightly distributed amounts which produces the gradual unfolding of Christian personality.

Particularly is his theory unreal, when it is recognized how many people there are of adult years who have never reached that stage of emotional development in
which Bushnell constructed his theological doctrine concerning the Work of Christ.

If we turn to our section on the emotional life in our personality study of Bushnell, we find that the ego-building stage, the morality-stage of his development, was previous to his own move toward a bi-polar adjustment, that is his genuine reach toward woman, and was therefore previous to the collapse of his ego-love and self-esteem brought on by the wounds, regulated from beyond his control, received through the death of his infant child and his four year old son; in fact, this morality-stage in Bushnell was doubly previous to his passing into that final stage of giving one's life for loved ones, of which he wrote in "The Vicarious Sacrifice".

One is forced to doubt if Bushnell's life contained much of this last shift in emotional living. His saying "Live on the sacrificial level", or "Put yourself on the footing of sacrifice", has in it too much of the sound of self-conscious effort and determination.

Thus it appears it was from this earlier stage of emotional adjustment that Bushnell forged his interpretation of the Work of Christ, or, to put it in his words, "the duty" of Christ. It is acceptable that men should keep up their intellectual output backed by the residue of conflicts common to a previous stage of emotional life; in fact, the common work of the world is done, and positions of importance are maintained, by such expenditures of energy at earlier levels of emotional living. But when one takes "Morality", which is the rallying word of the ego-building stage of young manhood, and attempts to confine the message of the Cross to its limitations, then there is, to quote from Bushnell's preface to "The Vicarious Sacrifice",

"...a certain lightness in the matter which amounts to a doom of failure".
II

"THE VICARIOUS SACRIFICE" IN THE LIGHT OF A PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY OF BUSHNELL'S LIFE

1. Bushnell's statement that Luther felt the truth concerning justification but "his head did not understand his heart", can be applied as well to Bushnell himself. In fact, as Luther was more particularly a religious genius than Bushnell and in this respect less a product of his time, just so far did he go beyond Bushnell in his grasp of the many-sided fact of atonement in the Work of Christ.

With all of Bushnell's sensitiveness to the spiritual in the world, and his unique departure from all others of his day in his awareness of the language of symbols, what disappoints us, is that he failed to make a place in his conception of the Cross for the irrationality of this reality which he was experiencing in this very region of the spirit. He did not like the irrationality of this field of personality which, like the wind, had in it so many forces that "bloweth where they listeth". Intuitively he knew "at first hand" about this realm of the spiritual, but to follow up his theory of language, and come out with the doctrine that rational thinking is only one of the legitimate ways in which the mind of man works, - this was going too far even for him. Therefore he made the same mistake, which most others since St. Paul had made before him, as he tried to force accountability for the Cross of Christ through the limitations of the processes going on in the mere cortex of man's thinking mind.

Had Bushnell stood a little less in his own light, he would have realized how inconsistent this was, from the very facts of his own experience. For had not his own greatest experiences of the reality of God and Christ, come to him quite apart from the exercise of the logical machinery of his rational and moral thought? And had not these moments of clearness and understanding taken their uniqueness.

(3) The outline of "The Vicarious Sacrifice" which we shall follow can be found in the Appendix.

(4) "The Vicarious Sacrifice"; Horace Bushnell; Scribners, N.Y., 1866, p. 437.
their sweep and power, from reservoirs of underlying experience where lie universals, which pushed his conscious thinking aside, and proclaimed a reality of which the measuring stick of morality, duty, reason and right, is but a conscious and man-applied aspect?

Bushnell's own greatest experience of reality into which he was moved by developmental forces within him (traceable, no doubt, to a fortunate heritage and a doubly fortunate parental and cultural environment), had in them, primarily, not morality at all, but reality. Morality came second, - an extremely necessary characteristic of truth the minute it is applied to a social setting. When Bushnell interpreted the Cross, therefore, he limited it to a setting not only smaller than his greatest experiences of reality, but he limited it to only one, although a leading, aspect of truth.

We hear comparatively little from Bushnell on the problem of evil and suffering. This negative side of reality with its chaos, its disintegrative elements, and its irrationality, was probably distasteful to him in the extreme.

(5) One of Bushnell's perceptive moments in this direction is reflected in the following: Munger, p. 313; "I suggest again as a matter closely related, the very large, really sublime interest we should get in persons, or souls, in distinction from subjects, by putting the mind down carefully on the study or due exploration of sin. I do not mean by this any theologic exploration, such as we have reported in our systems, no questioning about the origins, or propagation, or totality, or disability, or immedicable guilt of sin, but going into it and through it as it is, and the strange wild work it makes in the intestine struggles and wars of the mind. For it is a fact, fear, that we sometimes very nearly kill our natural interest in persons, by just bolting them down theologically into what we call death and there making an end. We clap an extinguisher on them, in this manner, and they drop out of interest, just where they become most interesting, -- where meaning and size, and force and depth of sorrow, and amount of life, and everything fit to engage our concern is most impressively revealed. Say no more of the dignity of human nature; there is something far beyond all that, - a wild, strange flame raging inwardly in that nature, that, for combinations of great feeling, and war, and woe, is surpassed by no tragedy or epic, nor by all tragedies and epics together. Here in the souls secret chambers are Fausts more subtle than Faust, -- willed that do what they allow not, and what they would not do; wars in the members; bodies of death to be carried, as in Paul; wild horses of the mind, governed by no reign, as in Plato; subtleties of cunning, plausibilities of seeming virtues, memories writ in letters of fire, great thoughts heaving under the brimstone marl of revenges, pains of wrong and of sympathy with suffering wrong, aspirations that have lost courage, hates, loves beautiful dreams, and tears; all these acting at cross purposes and representing, as it were to the sight, the broken order of the mind. Getting into the secret working, and seeing how the drama goes on in so many mystic parts, the wondrous life-scene, shall we call it poetry?, takes on a look at once brilliant and pitiful..... By such explorations.... our sense of person or mind or soul is widely opened and may always be kept fresh".
Bushnell admits, in the passage cited, the existence of this condition in men which the Cross of Christ was undertaken in order to redeem. But this "poetry" of the unconscious in the universe and in man, this bad "poetry" has a way about it of not being redeemed while in flesh and blood, by just the revelation-aspect of vicarious sacrifice in the Incarnation of God in Christ. His remark "Put yourself on a footing of sacrifice" would fall dead on the ear of any one of the students we studied in Part I who are in the grip of unconscious guilt, or to any one of those 30 mental patients in the anxiety period of their struggle before solution was resorted to in the psychosis. Do we turn now to "The Vicarious Sacrifice" it is well to remember that the Cross of Christ must be equal to psychogenic difficulties such as these, if it is to remain in its unique position in the world, at the heart of a saving religion.

2. The meaning of vicarious sacrifice, "that Christ simply engages at the expense of great suffering and death itself, to bring us out of sins themselves and so out of their penalties, being himself profoundly identified with us in sin, and burdened in feeling with our evils," is true enough so far as it goes. It may have satisfied Bushnell in his personal life, because, in line with his book "Christian Nurture", there was something about him which never exploded its pressure into personal thought and behavior, therefore allowing Christian life to appear to him to be a simpler matter than it actually is. This would also be a most satisfying reading of the Atonement to well cared-for clergy, and Christian educators and parishioners, who have come from well-ordered Christian homes, through a comfortable university course, followed by a life of reasonable economic security and social approval. It is conceivable, that when the total reading of the Cross has been in operation in the lives of men enough centuries, Bushnell's statement of the matter might be adequate. By that time enough of its salvation work would have been accomplished.

(6) In his correspondence of the year 1859-1860, Munger p.205
(7) Bushnell, The Vicarious Sacrifice, p.41
in the world to make its energies not included in Bushnell's theory, unnecessary.

A mental hospital reading of this statement of Bushnell's, (or a reading from the angle of the criminal and his prison, of the neurotic radical or communist, from his garret or cellar, or of the oppressed or unemployed, where there is enough energy left for opposition, hate and conflict), shows his theory to be limited too much to the surface of man's mind, to genuinely have traction in the deeper layers where the real trouble lies.

That "there is nothing superlative in vicarious sacrifice and nothing which is above the universal principles of right and duty" may be true enough if Bushnell accepts in his "universal principles" the laws which operate in the irrational immoral soul of man. And his statement "The idea that there is superlativeness in the Cross and sacrifice of Christ is fiction," may be a good corrective to the merit system of the Roman Church, but just to call something "fiction" is only inviting an exploration of that world where fiction, unreality and illusion, raise such a rumpus in the real world and do so much to create the knotty problem of salvation for man.

Bushnell's seeing the psychological sufferings of Jesus to be the main burden that he bore, together with his interest in symbolism and the supernatural, might have taken him into the operation of the Cross in the unconscious life of man, but it failed to do so. His refusal to venture beyond the moral is probably traceable to his own defenses against childhood anxieties and extravagances, his strata of culture in which he was reared, and his status with his group typified by the alumni of Yale College.

Christ as the "medium of God to us" to whom "we cling in faith," in this way "taking hold of God's own life and feeling as the Infinite Unseen," supplies for our minds as we grapple with emotional forces in conflict within people, a sort of nursery picture of the magic carpet on which lost men are to ride to the land of

(8) Op. cit., p 1
(9) ibid, p 58
(10) ibid, p 72
salvation. Bushnell apparently will not admit to his thought, that various economies
exist within the soul of man, which require happenings, just, as in the universe out-
side, when one level of existence is left behind and another is instituted. We be-
lieve it is in the light of such mighty affairs of the human spirit, that the Cross
of Christ is to be adequately interpreted.

True, God's indignation overtops his mercies and it is true that
(1) "there is a cross in God before the wood is seen upon Calvary." This does not
however alter the fact that, in suffering people in the clinic, we meet souls who
are cowering before their helpers whom they know to be kindly and loving just
as they know God to be, certain that they must square themselves under the unseen
laws of their neurotic existence, before they can lift their heads into the light
of day and God's love. If they find no priest who can successfully intercede for
them, the vicious wheel of hate, murderous feelings, fear, death and failure, will
grind them down until they take refuge in the all too popular modern Nirvana of
the harassed and oppressed,—the psychosis.

Bushnell's making the vicarious sacrifice of Christ conform to "the common
(2) standards of holiness and right" is refreshing as we find it in the history of
the doctrine, and it rings with healthy power today, especially in the thoroughness
with which he lays the significance of the Cross on the shoulders of its followers.
But, to repeat, the modern counterparts of St. Paul's bad angels, principalities and
powers are not "shooed away" by such a neat, morally and intellectually respectable,
not to say artistically sensitive, interpretation of Christ's saving work as Bush-
nell sets forth.

Christ may not have been an "official atoner" in any governmental reading of the
Atonement, or in any rationalized setting of what can take place in the sinner's
heart because of this act of God, (no matter how honored with age or appealing to
the moral judgment and intellectual grasp of man),—but to deny that the Work of
Christ deals adequately with death forces and guilt, below the conscious threshold

(1) Op. cit. p. 73
(2) ibid. p. 105
(3) ibid. p. 109
of man's mind, is to make the Christian Gospel of no avail in this day of research in the realm of the unconscious.

It is not that vicarious sacrifice is "beyond the pale of human virtue"; but vicarious sacrifice to the extent and in the degree that we find it in the Work of Christ touched such depths and heights in human form, that men before or after Him have been able but to foretell His Work or to administer His gospel. This is not eulogizing a dogma which is artificial and empty; it is referring to a fact in human experience rooted in universal laws which operate below the threshold of logic or so-called common sense. Again, it is conceivable that the human race may sometime know enough about these elemental forces of the emotional life, so that emotional development may take place, which will care for guilt and anxiety in man, without counting upon this unique power in the Cross of Christ for man's salvation. The disturbed emotional lives of sons and daughters of men like Bushnell who are satisfied with this reading of the Atonement, however argue that that day is a long way off. There is not enough in the moral influence theories of the Cross to meet the extremities into which people manage to land themselves. Where they do appear to be sufficient, it is probably because "the something else" has been acquired and made use of by the subject all unconsciously, whether through Christ being presented by way of the personality of another, or layed hold upon by direct study and acquaintance as was the case no doubt with Bushnell. Those times when Bushnell stood his ego aside, (in his decision to believe when in law school at Yale, in 1845 two years after the death of his son, and twenty years later when the light came for his book "The Vicarious Sacrifice"), were the times when Christ was really doing His Work in him.

At these times he was not worrying about "moral obligation." Rather he was undergoing a general shift of unconscious structure and a redistribution of energy, which some call conversion due to the Work of Christ, and which Bushnell probably would account for more gently within the bounds of Christian Nurture.

(14) Op. cit. p. 28
(15) Ibid.
Vicarious sacrifice, without doubt, is "the economic law of discipleship"; but we should not overlook the tremendous importance of Jesus's word which goes before, "let him deny himself." It is this element of narcissism, twisted into multitudinous shapes and shunted into innumerable underground channels, with the resulting guilt displaced and disguised into amazing symptoms and distortions in human personality, which must be dealt with first, before forgiveness can be experienced, and before a disciple of Christ can "take up his Cross and follow".

3. Part II of Bushnell's "The Vicarious Sacrifice" is of great interest to us. Here he determines what Christ is doing in His sacrifice, the end He will accomplish, the power by which He will do it, and the course of life and benefaction by which He will obtain that power.

We are "lifted up" by Bushnell's statement, "Christ's object is the healing of souls. All that He taught and did and suffered, in the industry of His life and the pangs of His Cross, forms one all-inclusive aim, that of the change He will operate in the spiritual habit and future well-being of souls. It is in this and only this that He becomes Redeemer". But then we find ourselves let down by the very next word, "The preparation of forgiveness is at best secondary. His principal work is what He undertakes and is able to do in the bad mind's healing and recovery to God, the reconciliation of men to God". But then we find ourselves let down by the very next word, "The preparation of forgiveness is at best secondary. His principal work is what He undertakes and is able to do in the bad mind's healing and recovery to God, the reconciliation of men to God".

Here Bushnell will not grasp what the religious genius of St. Paul, and that of Luther, made available to sinful man in justification by faith. Not only this, but Bushnell shows his thorough unacquaintance with the power of that form of negative reality which is the tenaciousness of guilt in the sinner. In this respect Bushnell would be classed with those well-meaning individuals of limited experience regarding the emotional forces in people's lives, who generously offer the free gift of Christian salvation to sinning people, and then pass judgment upon them.

(16) "The Vicarious Sacrifice", p. 108
(17) ibid p. 116
(18) ibid p. 130
for not taking advantage of it. As though these weary guilt-laden individuals were not straining every muscle of conscious effort in wanting the promised peace and rest! It was Bushnell's inexperience with guilt-laden men at close quarters, which accounts for this blind-spot in his unusually comprehensive and incisive mind.

The psychotherapist knows with what tenacity the sick man hangs on to his neurosis. The evangelist knows with what power the sinner clings to his sin. The guilty souls in Part I of our study convinces us, that these people were not this way because they wanted to remain in these conditions. Bushnell's paper on "Revivals" which grew into his book on "Christian Nurture" may have been a good corrective to a shiftlessness in the church and family discipline of his day; this view, however, when directed to the interpretation of the Cross, is so illuminated by its burning light, that Bushnell's provincialism, as regards the actual nature of positive and negative aspects of reality in the emotional life of the soul, stands out with singular clearness. Forgiveness of sins, or resolution of guilt, is by no means a secondary matter, as St. Paul and Luther taught, and as any psychiatric clinic or mental hospital will testify.

Bushnell's three points which are required to make sin let go of the sinner, have this same note of unreality about them. These "three things which are included in the sacrifice and suffering of Jesus" are: "First, there had to be something done or shown to man in order to raise a favoring prejudice in his feeling". "In the second place, a more piercing conviction of sin comes to us than comes from natural remorse. And thirdly, the need is felt and met by Christ of a new type of feeling and life to be restored". In this Bushnell may be right so far as the healthy are concerned. But the very healings of Jesus to which he points to prove that our Lord had a Gospel, would never have happened purely under these arrangements. Christ did something more for those neurotic people. He raised a favorable prejudice in their feelings because of His concern for them; he made their sense of sin more piercing; and they felt His moral influence. But still nothing would

(19) ibid p. 156
have happened had this been all. Sacrificial love in Jesus did something economically to alter the balance of power in the unconscious lives of these neurotics in order for the regenerative processes to begin their work. This "doing business in great waters" is the intangible, ununderstandable part of the Work of Christ which heretofore has been left largely in the dark by the subjectivistic theologians.

We should not be unfair to Bushnell, for there are instances in his writings, as in his own experience, where more importance is given to the power of the Cross operating within the sinner before he ever gets far enough along for the above three points to take hold of him. It is this division within Bushnell, his failure to include in his conscious system, facts which he knew to be true in experience (even when he deals with the Cross) which limits his value to us as an interpreter of truth. Luther's capacity for contrasts was not in him. But, give us this insight of Luther's on forgiveness, and Bushnell's explanation of the Work of Christ in the individual after this justification of faith has taken place, and we have an approach to the Cross which takes on the aspect of adequacy.

(20) Munger; p. 339; written by Bushnell to a friend: "Great trials make great saints; deserts and stone pillows prepare for an open heaven and an angel-crowded ladder. But you are indeed sorely probed, and from the depths of my soul I pity you. If this is any comfort to you, let down your bucket to the end of your chain, with the assurance that what is deepest and most tender in me is open to your dip. But your victory rests with yourself, kingship over the vast territory of self must be, in order to a genuine forgiveness. (Here we believe Bushnell, as mentioned above, has the cart before the horse). To tear yourself from yourself, to double yourself up and thrust yourself under your heels, and make a general smash of yourself, and be all the more truly yourself for this mauling and self-annihilation, — this is the work before you, and a mighty work it is. To accomplish this we must be close enough to Immanuel to feel the beating of His heart. By the time you are through your struggle you will be a god, fit to occupy a seat with Christ on His throne. Kings alone can truly forgive, as kings alone can reign. You know the import of the Cross. Set your heart like a flint against every suggestion that cheapens the blood of the dear, great Lamb, and you will as surely get the meaning of Christ crucified, as that He left His life in the world." (Why does Bushnell need to be so masculine here? A quotation from H. E. H. King, The Oxford Book of English Mystical Verse, p. 516, appears to fit here:

"Who crowns himself king is not the more royal;
Nor he who mars himself with stripes
The more partaker of the Cross of Christ").
The force by which the regeneration of man takes place, is described by Bushnell not as fiat-force of omnipotence, nor as the power of example, nor again as "mere love". This mighty force which accomplishes Christ's Work is the "moral power of God" represented "in Christ in His Life and Passion". Here again we see Bushnell's unawareness of the laws of hate and love which operate within the soul of man. Undoubtedly he has given us here a good, lusty, two-fisted interpretation of the power of God in human personality. The fact of the matter is, however, that this kind of moral force, which impresses the people in a community who are less forceful, is not the kind of reality which unties knots, resolves guilt, and forgives sin, in the deeper regions of the souls of people.

We see a personality trait of Bushnell's all through this section of "Vicarious Sacrifice". It was that strain within him which caused him to like to see fledgling theological students just beginning to preach, stand squarely on both feet. It was this feature of Bushnell's emotional life to which we referred in his personality study as symbolized by his walking stick which was kept within his reach during those last days before he died.

There is something admirable about this kind of power in human personality. It is hardly an acceptable carrier, however, for the power of the love of God unto salvation symbolized in the Cross of Christ. Robustness of moral power can be even amusing to a saint of God who has been through the wringer of this world's pains and ills. It can appear, even in its gentler aspects, as something immature and too fraught with the will of man, to be a healing power to souls who are seriously sick.

Bushnell is right that some love can be unprincipled love, for by the Cross of Christ we know this quality in life before His day, to have had an indefinite, or at best a relative, meaning. "Mere love", however, as found in Christ and His Cross, will not suffer disrespect except at the hand of those who are themselves too much in their own light to see its significance. Bushnell certainly humanized the healing work of Jesus to men as he made the miracles acceptable. While he required (21) Op. cit. p. 169
(22) Ibid. p. 171
in Jesus the moral power of God, however, we would ask only for "mere love". The sinners whom Jesus healed were sick below that region where the moral power of God in its conscious sense of ethical orderliness and social responsibility, applies. The economic laws of the emotional life in that region of personality, operated in absolute reversals to rules of conscious life and society which Bushnell had ever in mind. Here the move of an angel's wing could accomplish more in lifting power, as regards the sinner's load of guilt, than could all the kings horses and all the kings men in terms of the moral power of God in conscious personality. "Mere love" in unprincipled women has made the moral power of God in the personalities of men the laughing stock of the pages of history. "Mere love" in principled men or women, however, is just as forceful when directed to a different end. Thus, instead of this "mere love" being grounded in the moral power of God, as Bushnell said it must be, we find it upheld by that subtle balance of forces in the universe, or in human personality, which takes place when the Work of Christ has taken man or woman through his or her death experience unto life, thereby removing the element of guilt from love.

Toward the end of "The Vicarious Sacrifice" Bushnell says: "By the previous exposition Christ is shown to be a Saviour, not as being a ground of justification, but as being the Moral Power of God upon us, so a power of salvation. His work terminates, not in the release of penalties by due compensation, but in the transformation of character, and the rescue, in that manner, of guilty men from the retributive causations provoked by their sin. He does not prepare the remission of sins in the sense of a mere letting go, but he executes the remission by taking away the sins and dispensing the justification of life. This one word 'life' is the condensed import of all that he is, or undertakes to be". (22)

It is plain to see from this quotation that human personality, for Bushnell, was relatively a simple affair. The amazing thing to us is that a man who could evolve his theory of language, with its interest in figure and symbol as carriers or in- (23) Op. cit. p. 449
instruments of truth, and who could settle down in his day, as Drummond did in his, to the gigantic task of bridging the natural and the supernatural, could be so literal-minded when it came to sin and guilt in man and the Work of Christ in removing it. Here for Bushnell black is black and white is white. For him justification is a simple matter, in fact an afterthought.

We hardly need to mention again that the inexorable law of the talon, the guilt and punishment economy in the soul of man, was not unknown to him in his own experience. He knew that nature is "red in tooth and claw," and yet he could refer to "the transformation of character as the rescue of guilty man from the retributive causations of their sin," as though this dealt adequately with the matter. It is plain that he was not scratching the surface of the actual guilt in man with which the Cross of Christ must deal. Such a conscious reading as this of man's guilt and the Work of Christ, lent a consistency to his position which he held from his earliest papers against revivals; it corroborates our findings as regards traces of emotional immaturity in the study of his personality; and it throws some light on his remark "If I had my life to live over again, there is one thing I would not do. I would not push!"

4. Bushnell's biographers have pointed out that he did his creative work on the basis of great contentions grounded on his own personal experiences, laid down before his marriage and the beginning of his parish ministry at the age of 31. There is truth in this, and in it perhaps is seen the reason why he never worked out his salvation to the degree of emotional maturity, and never gave to us, in his theology, a doctrine of the Atonement which is adequate for lost and guilty souls. His most mature and greatest work, "The Vicarious Sacrifice," has for its heart the "moral power of God" in the vicarious sacrifice of Christ. But even this can be seen as Bushnell's own moral sacrifice of himself for his hangers-on during his tutoring days at Yale, "writ large.

This conflict within Bushnell, of an isolation which wanted no inner revolution (For according to his words about disease in Part II of "The Vicarious Sacrifice" his own chronic ailment must have given him some thought.}
of the emotions, brought face to face with upheavals in nature and the emotional life of man which had to be admitted and made room for, is seen running throughout his life and work from the clash between revivalism and smooth sailing educational method in "Christian Nurture," to the forgiveness of sins in Christ's healing work vs. his moral influence theory in "The Vicarious Sacrifice" and "Forgiveness and Law".

Bushnell took some terrific blows from his enemies as he touched the tender places of conservative New England theology. And the draining of his life-blood in the losses of his children, in whom a goodly share of his emotions were invested, may have strengthened an already marked tendency not to come really out of his shell. Probably it is true that his considerateness toward his family and his parishioners, and his freedom from the least touch of bitterness toward his enemies, can be understood best in terms of the sheer power of a fine inheritance linked with the moral influence of his ideal in Christ. Either it was this or a condition of emotional isolation which rendered him insensitive. However this may be, he was compelled often to call for time-out in order to rest; there are few who have lived who wouldn't, under the circumstances. On the other hand, there is such a thing as "fighting as one beating the air," and we are left wondering if the Great Lover of men has not showed us that there need be but one Work of Jesus Christ, in whom and through whom religious experience comes first, moral power afterward. For "it is the spirit that maketh alive."

Horace Bushnell was a great unfinished personality. We can see him, in this respect, in his remark "a cathedral should never be finished." There are those of us who would immediately ask, "Why not?" Had our Lord gone on this assumption, or this sentiment of Bushnell's, we would never have had the Gospel which we have. Jesus went to the point in His personality and work where He could say "It is finished."

There probably are few who have fought more nobly or who have lived as well as Bushnell did, within the bounds which were set for him. Like St. Augustine he struck (25) Note the reference in his personality study to his description of the layers of shells which surrounded him.
out in a new direction insisting on integrity in human personality; and in doing so he sounded a fresh note of reality in a day when dialectic and hair-splitting debate was passing for gospel truth. He humanized God to man, and lifted intellectually respectable people out of the welter of rampant emotionalism on the one hand, and dry-as-dust theological jangling on the other.

To say, however, that Bushnell was a great original mind like Luther, is to read him incorrectly. Rather, he was a limited expression of St. Augustine, a man who worked out through long years of discipline and hard labor, a loyalty to his first love, a remarkable mother, as did St. Augustine, but a man who worked as a family man and pastor, not as did St. Augustine, as a celebate and theologian.
PART III

FORGIVENESS IN THE WORK OF CHRIST OF THE PASTORAL MINISTRY
CHAPTER XIII

THE APPLICATION OF THE WORK OF CHRIST AS REGARDS FORGIVENESS

The forgiveness of sins is but one aspect of the Work of Christ. But those of us who have viewed the unresolved guilt in the people in Part I of our study, and who have seen the havoc wrought in the lives of the religious geniuses and leaders of our Christian faith, even to the end of their days, by the vestiges of their former guilt still remaining within them, are under no misapprehension as regards the tremendous task which unforgiven sin presents.

1. The position we take in this chapter is that the love of God, best known to men in the Cross of Christ which was experienced by Him throughout His active life and death, is the only agent which can meet adequately this subtle problem of guilt and thus free people from the grip of death which is its chief characteristic. No matter what the name or sign of workers with people may be, or whether they worship in this mountain or in Jerusalem, or whether or not they worship at all, the fact remains, that if they are to resolve guilt-conflicts in others, a certain set of conditions must be brought about. Let the mental therapists do this in their scientific and objective setting, and try to account for what happens by such vague terms as "rapport" or the power of the "transfer"; let the revivalists or evangelists do it with the aid of mass-suggestion or group psychology; or let it be done by the priest at the altar or by the pastor in the controlled environment of the consultation room of his church; - it is all reduced to the same definite operation within the soul of the subject, even though we label the man who does it "Simon the Sorcerer".

The love of God which was in Christ Jesus must be expressed through the personality of man to suffering men in any one generation, if salvation is to be an actual experience to them. There are people of importance within the church and out of it, in fact on the faculty of our divinity schools, who follow their sociopsychological and historical methods of research with such literalness, that they
would scrap the doctrine of the Atonement (instead, perhaps, of scrapping the guilt which the doctrine tells the story of having discharged). Without our failing to be grateful for the work of the blood-hounds who trace out the unreal and the neurotic in Christian doctrine and experience, it still remains true, that as theology is the supreme "custodian of the general body of human wisdom", it must include today, as in days past, the forgiveness of sins practically at its very heart. Thus instead of being so quick to pronounce dead the doctrine of the Work of Christ, which, however partially expressed, has brought salvation to believing men "through the centuries", it seems it would be better if these preachers and scholars would first test the reality in their theories and teachings, on this stubborn disease of deep-lying guilt, and only after this proceeded to include the advances in human knowledge in their theological readjustments.

(1) The following is quoted from "Religion, Theology and the Free Churches", given as the Southworth Lecture by Carl S. Patton, D.D., Moderator of the General Council of the Congregational Churches, at the 1933 Graduation Exercises of the Andover Newton Theological School in celebration of the 125th Anniversary of the founding of the Andover "theological" Seminary (see the "Congregationalist" for June 22, 1933, pp. 71f). "Of particular Christian doctrines once firmly held and even considered fundamental but now either gone or changed beyond recognition I need not say much. One thinks of the Doctrine of the Atonement long central in Christian Theology. Of the varied history of the doctrine, itself the best critique upon it, the average Christian man naturally knows nothing..... The death of Jesus as not just like the death of other men, has so long been a staple of Christian thought that it remains even after that death has ceased to play the central part in theology which it played so long. But particular, specific, and well-articulated doctrines of the Atonement seem to have pretty well disappeared..... nobody writes a book about the Atonement these days; or if he does nobody reads it. It seems strange now that not so long ago men were tried for heresy, and were refused the privilege of preaching the gospel, not because they denied the Atonement, but because they believed some theory of it which differed by a hair's breadth from the accepted one".

And the following is quoted from "Jesus Through the Centuries", by Shirley J. Case, Dean of the Divinity School, Chicago University; Univ. of Chicago Press, 1932, p. 350f. "Without assuming that traditional Christological dogma represents any reality beyond the sincere efforts of Jesus' ancient admirers to phrase their estimates of him in imagery and categories conformable with their social and cultural interests, without recognizing any obligation to obey his precepts except in so far as they approve themselves today at the imperious tribunal of a modernly enlightened conscience, and with the strictest possible allegiance to discoverable historical facts, one undertakes anew the task of estimating the worth of the Palestinian Jesus for the religion of men in the 20th century..... His way of life is not necessarily to be our way of life..... To say that he was right and we are wrong, or vice versa, is to betray ourselves into the absolute norms of the older dogmatician..... Creative living must strive not to imitate but to transcend past and present standards, not excepting even the example and precepts of Jesus".

(2) "A Psychological Approach to Theology", Horton, p. 3
2. Our studies of the doctrine of the Atonement expressed through the personalities of Luther, Wesley and Bushnell, and lived in its varied interpretations in Bunyan, Brainerd and Finney, have left us with a certain feeling of reality about the Work of Christ as regards forgiveness of sins.

St. Augustine in his life and writings, stated the issue for all scholars and thinkers of the Western world since his day. In him, the real world of man's conscious hours, and the unreal world of both his unconscious and conscious experiences, are squarely faced, moral responsibility is owned, and an attempt is made to deal with the sick conscience and establish controls over the erratic side of personality by bringing it under the reign of the responsible self. Thus a reality-sense was implanted in Western Christianity by St. Augustine which had in it much of the integrity of personality which was in St. Paul. Anyone since St. Augustine, therefore, who would build in their time, the reality of God which was in Jesus and St. Paul, has begun with this reality-sense of St. Augustine as foundation. From St. Augustine onward, for those who understood him, sin in man was a real and a dreadful condition; guilt was a burden on the heart which, like a cancer, ate away its very life; and forgiveness was something to be experienced which would mark the cessation of movement in the direction of death, and would put the sinner in the way for life-giving processes to do their work.

Luther, in his relatively homely family setting of negative and positive forces with their interplay going on between loved-ones, fought a great fight. In fact, Luther, by living down the terrific tensions of his early home relationships, which had their counter-parts in the larger family setting of the Roman Church, shook himself free from the choking fingers of paternalistic controls which would perpetuate their values and unwittingly keep alive and active the guilt in dependents under their charge; he reinstated again in human personality the capacity of sensing reality which was in Jesus, St. Paul and St. Augustine; and he crowned youth afresh into newness of life, freed from the trappings of unconscious laws of apparently fatal sin, guilt, fear and death, under which all youth are unavoidably reared.
Horace Bushnell, still further in time from the great source of spiritual reality in Jesus and the great original religious pioneers after Him, lifted his voice with remarkable effectiveness in the midst of the complexities of modern days, in his attempt to do for America what Coleridge and others had done for England, and what Schleiermacher was doing for Germany. He had the courage and gifts of a great restorer of reality to people; but his background had been too even-tempered, his opportunities too easily grasped, and his field of labor too complicated to cause his contribution to reach to the bottom of things. He could not "feel the contrasts" nor "harmonize the opposites" necessary to the working-out of a rounded interpretation of that reality which reaches into the unconscious life of man peculiar to the Cross of Christ.

The theory of Grotius in the hands of Charles G. Finney secured a remarkable response from people. Perhaps this could be traced to the same cause which has made the Jewish religion of law and the penitential system of the Roman Church seem to satisfy so many people. We might say this governmental theory worked in practice, because a legalized religion is a religion more closely adapted to the pre-adolescent stages of emotional development in the individual than the spiritual religion of the Christian. At any rate, we know that for people who are more directly at the mercy of the phenomena of the unconscious (the stage of emotional life in which the great masses of our people appear to be living), a religion of conscious, exterior and rationalized law, is something which can be grasped immediately and in which can be found definite security. The reason that such a religion is not enough, however, is seen from such an apparently simple remark as that of Jesus where He says, "Who is my mother, or my brethren? . . . whosoever shall do the will of God, the same is my brother and my sister and my mother". An interpretation of the Cross of Christ which merely squares accounts for people and leaves them to settle back into their old childhood economy of law-breaking, guilt, hate, and fear of death, is not the Gospel which redeems them and causes them to leave father and mother and sister and brethren. The new birth which comes

(3) Mark 3:33-35.
with forgiven sin, is a life of the spirit which produces maturity, not slavery to the law, even to the law of mother and brethren or the law of the "public good".

The reason that "Pilgrim's Progress" and "Grace Abounding" are read still by people both young and old, is because something is registered deep within them as they come into touch with Bunyan and Christian. Calvin in theology and Bunyan in autobiography, have struck the strings of the Cross of Christ so that they sing-out with the power of conviction and reality, even if there is a sinister discord in the sound.

The Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, we now know was not the diseased and whimsical old tyrant that Calvin and Bunyan made Him out to be. Their understanding of the Cross, however, did have in it much awareness of the true nature of reality, - that is, love, in the most mature expression possible in the universe.

3. There follow here instances showing the tenaciousness of guilt in parishioners who came to a pastor's consultation room, and demonstrating the yielding of this guilt to faith in the forgiving Work of Christ.

Parishioner I

Parishioner number one is a well-appearing woman of 35. She is of medium height and she has dark hair, dark eyes and is of the athletic type. Under normal conditions she was a person of decision, of quick action, and she was a practical and efficient house-wife. At the time she came to the pastor's consultation room, she was retarded, uncertain of herself, she wore a tired expression, and she talked about a former day when she and her husband were wide-awake and full of life. In fact, her husband who accompanied her on her first visit, produced at her request, a photograph of them taken ten years before which showed them both to have been apparently as she had stated. Two years before they first came to the consultation room they had lost their oldest child, a girl of 12 years, who had died following an operation for mastoids; another child, a girl two years younger, was living and was in good health.
This parishioner gave the following story as the background of her unhappy
and lifeless condition. Before her marriage she had been a trained nurse in one
of the city hospitals. She had worked very hard and had been extremely conscientious. As a child she described her religious training as having been a
very haphazard affair; she spoke of the moral training in her home as a squeam-
ishly narrow and self-conscious business, having to do mostly with suspiciousness
of all boys and men as workers of iniquity.

When she was a small girl living in the country, an old hermit had worried
her by calling her his "little wife". When she was six years old, a drunken man
had chased her and another little girl, after they had come upon him suddenly
with his penis exposed to their view. Immediately following, at this early age,
she had been dragged through a court trial as a witness, in the action brought
against the man by the parents of the two children. Later she had been stopped
on a dark stairway and explored by an ill-adjusted married uncle when she was
visiting at his home. During her later adolescent years she became very attracted
to an older boy who was her ideal; he lived on the farm next to theirs. But her
mother and grandmother soon put "such silly notions out of her head". They for-
bad her to go to his house or to see him.

During her months in training at the hospital, her husband who was then
coming to see her, would not give her "a minute's peace". She was drawn to him,
yet he was in no way like the young man whom she had been growing to love in the
country. He was smaller than she was; he was tense and impatient "just like
father". She married him, she said, because she "couldn't seem to do anything else.

The first few years were uneventful except that she noticed a tendency in
her husband to want to humiliate her; also he began to show a marked streak of
bossiness; he practiced mild tyrannies on her, like throwing cold water down her
waiste-front when she wasn't looking, lifting up her skirts in a mean way and laugh-
ing at her, and occasionally taking her down on the floor in a one-sided play-fight
of his own and sitting on her. When the children came these characteristics in
her husband increased in prominence and he became dogmatic, assumed a superiority role in the community and at home which did not become him, and finally quarreled with his partner in business which led to their having to sell their home, give up their circle of friends, and move to a near-by city to live under much reduced circumstances.

Our parishioner said that this adjustment was exceptionally hard for her to make, because, in view of the difficulties with her husband which she was beginning to feel acutely, she was forced to give up the securities of her outside social contacts and her own home which she felt were due her and her children.

Her husband did not do well in business in the city; and two years after they moved there the death of their oldest child occurred. This, she said, was "almost too much." She went through the ordeal of the funeral and attempted to take up her interests in the community and the church which had been developing, but it was over a year before she could compel herself to meet anyone. By the end of the second year after her daughter's death, she had managed to force herself back into life to some extent; but in the desperation which she felt coming on she had come to the consultation service offered by the church seeking guidance and help.

Space will not permit our following parishioner number one through the months, as she came off and on to the consultation room at the church. The first thing the pastor did was to have her examined by a psychiatrist of standing in the state. The psychiatrist gave no diagnosis at the time, but intimated that a period of hospitalization was probably inevitable. He encouraged the woman to keep up her calls at the consultation room at the church, and urged the pastor to give her as regular attention as he could, keeping himself ready at any time to call for psychiatric assistance of the occasion and condition demanded it.

The psychiatrist was right in his warning, for six months after our parishioner began welcoming the real world in earnest, and attempting to get at, and face up to, the life which had proved too painful, she entered a disturbed state where impulsive thoughts and threatenings began to break-through her controls, and she be-
came obsessed with the idea of destroying herself by jumping out of the window or from a high place. She was placed in a mental hospital for a period of six months. Here she was diagnosed "manic-depressive psychosis with marked schizoid features". By special arrangement with the staff, the pastor was able during these months to keep almost daily appointments with our parishioner.

During this period at no time was she emotionally inaccessible or actually psychotic. Threatenings, however, were a constant occurrence; and, like the converts at Wesley’s or Finney’s meetings, in the "battle with satan" there were times when conscious control was laid aside and intense bodily struggles would take place. The warm changing water of the tubs at the hospital probably served in the place of the fervent fellowships and prayer groups of Wesley and Finney. Finally, with hours of confession, hours of railings in hatred against God, against those she loved, and against the pastor, with hours of memories recalled in self-knowledge, hours of reeducation as regards life, the world and God, and hours of prayer, — in humbleness forgiving her husband, her parents and the forces in the universe which took from her her child whom she had not loved wisely,—our parishioner took on an emotional stability in which the swings from too happy feelings to too sad ones, greatly shortened in their pendulum movement and in their frequency, until our parishioner became an able critic of her own ideas and feeling states, and became willing to make no demands on life in her own former self-rights. Apparently she had passed through her death-experience with Christ unto newness of life.

The return of this parishioner to life, was made possible by her becoming willing to cease projecting blame on others, by dying unto her own egotistical and bumpitious demands upon the universe, God and man, and by allowing another to shoulder the guilt which she so distinctly felt, and for which she struggled so hard to make atonement single-handed. Her understanding now includes the awareness that man cannot possibly forgive himself for his own sin, nor can he punish himself enough to balance accounts as to his guilt. Not until our parishioner descended from her throne of self-importance, self-sufficiency and pride, was she able to
give up, accept the reinforcement of God's love in the Cross of Christ on the love-side of her inner tensions, and literally "rise from the dead", so far as life in her soul was concerned.

There are those in the medical and psychological field who will say, "these patients either get well or they don't; and nothing you can do one way or the other will alter much their recovery or their gradual disintegration". There is much truth in this. We have noticed the factor of inherited psychic and physical vigor in religious leaders like Luther, Bunyan and Wesley. On the other hand, to accept this unquestioned would be to accept the futility of all opposition to the death-drag of unreality in the life of man. Whereas we know that children have to be crowded up and out of the shelter of the home, as birds are pushed out of their nests. And those in whom the death-pull is more attractive than the call to live and do hard unpleasant things, we know have to be pushed and pulled all the more forcibly. Doctors and practicing psychologists may talk this way; but they never practice it with their patients or pupils.

Our parishioner had no true psychosis; her disturbance was more an exaggeration of what we find happening in religious conversions at revivals or in adolescents in their storms of rebellion. This woman throughout her period of soul-sickness was in touch emotionally with someone in the outside world. She never went into the isolation which is characteristic of the psychosis. Her battle, however, was a long one. And it is difficult for the pastor at times, to make it unnecessary for Jesus to repeat, this time to him, "What, could ye not watch with me one hour?" (Matt.26:40).

With our parishioner's forgiveness of her load of guilt, thus enabling her to use her natural energies to deal more adequately with her rather trying situation in the real world, the first step she took was to live apart from her husband until such time as he becomes ready to allow her to fulfill her woman's role in their life of love together. Following this she secured a position at ten dollars a week while living in her mother's home, in this way entering more fully into the responsibility of life and making it possible for her to support herself and her daughter to some extent. Her last move has been to accept a position as practical
nurse at twenty-five dollars a week, which fully cares for both herself and her daughter.

Our parishioner reads into her husband's inability to get work for the past three years, a hidden desire on his part to be free from the burden of his wife and child. This has in it for her, more of solicitation for him than anything else. She understands much of his difficulty, and prays for his release from his troubles. She hopes this will not come at the cost of the personal suffering which was necessary for her before she became willing to sorrow and have faith. For this woman guilt and forgiveness are no empty words; and the Cross of Christ for her is more than moral influence.

Parishioner II

Parishioner number two is a tall, angular man of 42 with dark hair touched with gray. He has hazel eyes, a long face with high cheek-bones, and a prominent nose. His mouth has a sensitiveness about it; but there is a lack of determination about it also. His arms are exceedingly long, and as he walks with somewhat of a stoop, he gives the effect of a more gorilla-like individual than he really is. As a matter of fact, his masculine characteristics are all over-emphasized in order to cover up a most refined and gentle quality, which dominates his emotional life but which interferes with his positiveness and general success in life. He was the sort of a man who would do two or three men's work, thus incurring the antagonism of his associates, in order to prove to himself and to others, that he was particularly a "he" man.

He came to the consultation room of the church about ready to give up, so far as remaining with his wife and three children was concerned. He had been working for her brother as an electrician's helper and her was sick of it. He had graduated from a technological college as a marine engineer; he had held positions as first and second engineer on ocean-going vessels; and he was about ready to desert his nagging wife and burdensome, though appealing, children, and go back to his life with men and ships and the sea.
He told the following story. He had been brought up in a roving Methodist preacher's family, his father having supplied the pulpit presence and his mother who had been a school teacher, having furnished the sermons. His elder brother, now a high school teacher, unhappily married with children, had been a model child. His sister, the oldest of the three, as their father had become older and less effective, had taken over his dictatorial and tyrannical characteristics, and had managed the family even after her own marriage and the arrival of her child. It was she who had broken-up his first two love-affairs, and had cleverly managed his marriage to his wife, who, though a university graduate, possessed a literalness of mind and a heckling disposition which nearly drove him to desperation.

As a boy he was considered the black-sheep of the family, the typical preacher's son "gone wrong". He got into all the deviltry that could be thought of, was too quick for his teachers, his companions and his parents, and succeeded in "making life hell" for himself and everybody else wherever he was. The only heavenly moments of his childhood and youth were those few spent in the company of his mother as she would read to him or share with him her thrills at the coming of the birds, the shapes of the trees, or the colors of the sky. He developed an intense love and hatred for his father. He cowered before him in his rages, or slunk into the house and to his bed in fear, lest he be discovered and threatened with all the horrible punishments that can befall an erring boy. His father seldom if ever administered corporal punishment. He "wished unto God" he had.

The hired man at the relative's farm, where he visited as a child, taught him overt masturbation; he practiced this with a few boys of his own age in the communities where he lived from time to time; he remembered an exploration party with his sister which always bothered him through later years; and he recalled with resentment his father's suspecting his brother and himself of practices in which they never indulged as they slept together. At 17 when he ran away from home and worked on a farm in another state, he developed an ailment of the prostate gland which to him, took on the proportions of punishment from the hand of God. This
trouble bore the marks of venereal infection; but he avowed that up to that time he had had no heterosexual experiences. His condition made it impossible for him to walk. His mother came to bring him home, heart-broken that he should have brought this disgrace upon the family. Neither she nor his father would ever believe that he had not been with an infected prostitute.

Upon his recovery he completed high school and worked his way through the institute of technology. During these days the mother of one of the students insisted that he live in their home. In return for this he was to help about the house. Among other things, he said, this included rubbing the legs and arms of this fellow-student's mother to relieve her from her "neuralgia pains".

After college in his sea-trips as marine engineer, he "saw the world" and "had his women". He says, however, that he miraculously escaped having venereal troubles in these escapades. While in his own country between trips, he met a nurse who appealed to him. They were secretly married; but after his second trip following their marriage, the nurse, who could not prevail upon him to give up the sea, committed suicide. He always held himself guilty to a considerable extent for her death.

His sister kept tabs on him during this time as best she could. And although married herself, she wore his engagement ring which he had bought but never given to his first wife. His sister cared for his money, and to a great extent told him what he could and what he could not do. Finally came the following: the sister-arranged marriage with his wife (herself a Swedish minister's daughter), his leaving the sea, the arrival in time of the three children, and his unsuccessful attempt to take-hold in work into which he could put no real interest. The sister remained firm in her domination of him and his family. His wife, at the time of his first visit to the church, had admittedly second place to his sister in all matters requiring decision or action. This sister's husband, who in her interest came to the pastor, was aware of the situation to a remarkable degree, and offered his support and continued patience. Our parishioner's sister's daughter, then a girl of 12, had become a neurotic child, whose compulsive behavior and emotional ill-balance
was the concern of the neighbors and of everyone except the child's mother. This sister ruled the family by her ailments and temper-tantrums; and upon her visit to the pastor's consultation room under the excuse of solicitation for her brother, she flew into a rage attacking the pastor for daring to interfere with her affairs.

Our parishioner's children were remarkably free from the marks of ill-adjustment in their parents with the exception of the oldest boy who was 8; he showed the tensions and precociousness which our parishioner described as his own when he was a child. Our parishioner's wife was worn-down sufficiently, by the care of the children, the anxieties of her husband and the domination of his sister, to do little else than welcome whatever wind might blow which promised change.

The story of parishioner two has been long, but, in comparison, his forgiveness experience has taken a far longer time. His inferiority feelings were so deeply rooted that he would break into sweats and chills in contemplation of difficulties ahead and in his anxieties during his dreams at night; his fear of employers and those in authority over him had grown to be little less than sheer terror; and the slightest responsibility under which he found himself, aroused in his mind such overwhelming possibilities of mistakes which he might make, or circumstances which might come about, that invariably he found himself a failure before his tasks had even been attempted.

A medical examination at the hospital, which he dreaded with expectations of all sorts of findings as regards his kidneys, lungs and heart, proved to be entirely negative, as to any serious trouble. And with almost real disappointment at finding himself in such good physical condition, he settled down to his daily hour at the church, determined to get at the bottom of the guilt which he felt but which he could not seem to locate by himself or succeed in throwing off. He was eager to impart information about himself, and it was not long before he had placed in the pastor's hands sufficient evidence to crowd him into corners, and allow him to face facts about himself which he had side-stepped for years.
One of the first unrealities about himself which disappeared under this procedure, was the over-compensation for his failure to which he clung, in his emphasis upon his college degree, his pride in his quickness of mind, his contempt for the plodders of life, and his bitterness towards the existing social and economic order with their blatant cruelties and injustice. Following this came his willingness to give himself, so far as he was able, in completeness to his wife and children, thus burning all bridges behind him and bending his energies, his intentions and will, to the acceptance of one woman. With this, his psychology of escape was given over in the interests of reality—living as regards this particular. Lusting after other women, suspicious as regards the faithfulness of his own wife, and his occasional lapses into auto-eroticism, dropped out of his life as he bent his energies to the total acceptance of his role as husband and father.

He next moved his family, free from the advice of the pastor, far enough away from his sister so that he and his wife could work out their lives together free from interference. This proved to be a complete brake except for remembered greetings at the usual seasons of the year. At this point he secured a regular position as a milk-driver for one of the large companies in the city, thus having to depend no longer on odd jobs and relatives. Here he proceeded to work out, with fear and trembling, his childhood weaknesses in touch with the severe competition of the actual world, as it is in days of marked financial depression. With his outdoor life and hard work he became physically more robust, morally more confident, and spiritually more humble and tolerant. He dealt with relatives fairly and firmly and he searched out his old father and slayed the old ghost which has caused him to tremble before him and all father-objects in life. He had his wife examined by a gynecologist who found that lacerations she had received in a previous delivery had rendered her practically ineffectual in copulation experiences, so funds were borrowed from his insurance policy for an operation which would correct this physical fault.

God, Christ and the Christian religion, free from our parishioner's old

(4) He was very interested in Communist propaganda at the time.
hate, fear and love of his father, the uneducated Methodist preacher, took on new meaning for him. His cynicism became no longer necessary to him; it even became inappropriate. He and his family are now functioning members of their local church; and his heart is warmed towards the gospel and the work of Christ in the lives of men. His wife's membership in the church is yet more or less perfunctory, although it means a great deal to her in a social sense. She is at present passing through her cynical phase, and perhaps, not without some cause and warrant. Our parishioner has moved his family into more pleasant surroundings where the children have a yard in which to play; and he has been advanced by his district superintendent to a position of foreman which carries with it responsibility for the work of several other men.

As to where the Work of Christ figures in a piece of work like this, in a general way it can be said of the pastor, as Phillips Brooks, of the preacher, and ________________ say, "preaching is expressing God through personality". That's what the pastor's ministry in the consultation room is. But in a more particular sense of the battering down of defences, the re-location of displaced guilt, the development in a parishioner of humbleness of heart, such is the work of God in the pastor, not the work of man. The casting out of fear in the parishioner, and his laying hold on the positive love released in Christ and his Cross, so that guilt is forgiven, self-punishment and neurotic symptoms dispelled, is again an operation which only the Cross can fathom a man lifts his head in the world of men, dead to his old sins and guilt, and alive in confidence in Christ, something has taken place in the depths of his nature where mighty universal play and inter-play.

This power of God was active in men before Jesus' days; it has been active through the centuries since, whether in his name or outside of it. Never, however, has this power appeared in history as it did in Jesus and His Cross. In Him the forces of God at work in the universe and in man, met and were expressed in such fashion, that thereafter, men need not despair. In fact, if men lived after His way of life they might be better, behave towards men as He did, and make possible in themselves the reality which he established once for all in His life and death on the Cross. ________________ (5) See footnote next sheet.
Just as "never man spake as He spake", so never man handled the healing power which resides in personality as He handled it. There have been "quacks" in the field of medicine who have been remarkably gifted in this direction. There have been "irregular" in religion who have been so in touch with these universals of God in personality that they could do what appeared to be wonders. God is no respecter of professions, however, any more than He is a respecter of persons. The only thing that is claimed here, is that God poured out Himself, in this respect, in the Person and Work of Christ, for man to see and know and experience, as at no other time in history. The pastor who is in the direct line of inheritance for this kind of life to be lived in him, finds, as he works with people things going on, or happening, deep within them. It is not the quick alleviation or the dismissal of symptoms which he wants for his people—although he does not stand in their way if these immediate satisfactions happen to be bestowed to meet their all-absorbing needs. Sins forgiven, and fullness of life unto salvation are his wants for people, and these usually come with time, even with much prayer and fasting.

Thus, referring to the three healing measures of Jesus, our parishioner number two had the water, oil and ointment at the out-patient clinic of the general hospital; the hand upon his fevered brow came from the more kindly embrace of the woman whom he in earnest took to wife, the arms of his baby children, and the handclasp of the pastor as he came each day to the consultation room. The faith, without which mountains of doubt and burdens of guilt are not removed, came with the passing days until its strength was sufficient to let the negative spiritual reality of unconscious guilt and fear, through Christ's psychological suffering through life, and death on the cross, run over the cliff like the swine into the sea, and swallow the positive spiritual reality of God's love in this same life and death, to establish in him its undying supremacy unto salvation.

(5) Lectures on Preaching.
PARISHIONER III.

Parishioner number three is an attractive girl of nineteen. She is of medium height, is well-formed, and has dark eyes and dark auburn hair. When she first came to the pastor's consultation room at the church, she wore heavy shell-rimmed glasses, and dressed, appeared, and talked, like a person over twice her age. She was brought to the church by her Mother following an appointment which had been made for her by her Father who had called previously to explain matters to the pastor. She had developed a decided negativism towards everyone especially towards her parents and an adopted sister her own age, (who had been brought into the family when our parishioner was a child of 8 in order to avoid the dreaded consequences to her of being an only child). Our parishioner had had a desperate time trying to mix with other girls, and get along in the private school to which she had been sent in company with her adopted sister. Following this, her days in high school had been a series of horribly trying incidents, until finally with graduation, at which time she fainted and had to be taken home, she refused to be pushed further into life. In fact, she withdrew from all outside interests and friends, girl friends, for she had never been able to mingle successfully with boys, and finally reached the stage where she would hardly leave her room to go downstairs for meals. One of the busy psychiatrists of the city called, interviewed her in the presence of her parents, scolded her for being an ungrateful child, and in this way aroused her antagonism to all doctors, especially psychiatrists, and produced in her a hopelessness which approached pathological depression, and a determination to project all blame and give herself to her world of isolation and discouragement. She was brought to the church under protest; and she was prejudiced against all churches, clergy, and church-loving people, because her Father had been an unsuccessful minister of independent means, who for some years had been without a parish.

Our parishioner gave the following facts which serve as causative factors for her condition at the time. Her Father had been the pampered child of a wealthy family in the city. He had been too protected as a child and was too
fat, to take his place with his brother and sisters, or his companions, in their
games at school. He made many complaints about his eyes as an excuse for avoid-
ing difficult situations and during the trying days of adolescence he had put
plaster and strong acids into his eyes in an almost insane attempt to injure him-
self sufficiently to solve his unbearable situation. He reached a certain College
standing with the help of tutors, and was admitted to theological seminary by
special arrangement. By this time he was suffering considerably from eye-trouble.

He was given a license to preach and was later ordained to the ministry. While
doing boy's work in a settlement parish of the city he suddenly decided it would
be preferable to marry than to continue living by himself and eating in dining
rooms and restaurants. He immediately took the train for a summer resort in
Maine, and the first young woman who appeared on the veranda his first evening at
the Hotel caught his attention. He proposed to her during the ten days that
followed, and in six weeks they were married. At this time he was forty years
of age and his bride, was 38.

Our parishioner's Mother had been brought up in a clergyman's home. She
was the eldest child. Her Father had been one of the outstanding Ministers of
her city, and she had worshipped the ground he walked on. She had grown to be
a woman of keen mental ability, positives in her convictions, highly refined in
her nature, but most ignorant in matters of love or even extended social comrad-
ship.

Two years after their marriage their only child, our parishioner, came. Life
in the home was tense and without harmony. One "nervous breakdown" after another
for the Mother, followed in rapid succession until finally, when our parishioner
was four years old, she was sent to a rest home in the country where she spent
the better part of a year. Before this and during the months that followed until
her menopause, she saw to it that her husband did not get a foothold in any parish
where he tried supply preaching or which he tried to serve.

All along there had been differences of opinion between the Father and Mother,
as to the right method of rearing their child. Their over-solicitation for her
well-being, and their building their world of interest around her, was carried to such ridiculous limits that they even supervised the child's bowel movements, (our parishioner says, "With apparent satisfaction to themselves"). When our parishioner's Mother was away on her "rest cures", her Father refused to have a nurse or relatives care for her, but insisted on doing it himself. Our parishioner once said during her hours in the consultation room at the church, "My Father is such an old man and my Mother is so strict I confess I am confused as to which is my Mother and which my Father." Her Father warned her as a child against all people, and he filled her mind with fears and dreads of what might befall her if she erred from the way he laid down. His fussiness, she said, nearly drove her frantic yet she felt herself bound to him with deep ties of love as well as hate.

Her Mother after menopause, became a great comfort to her, she said, and she felt her identity with her had grown to be so thorough-going that she had formed herself the past few years not caring for the interests of girls her own age. She, partly consciously, formed herself reading sophisticated books, dressing beyond her years and in general taking a place in her own estimation beyond her years and experience.

With the adopting of the daughter, the situation of tensions and distrusts was but increased. Her adopted sister proved to be a distinctively feminine child and took life easily, where our parishioner found it especially difficult. The adopted sister continued to outshine our parishioner at every turn until finally with this extra burden added to an already over-loaded spirit, in the course of the ten years that followed, she got to the place where she no longer responded to prodding. The burst of attention which her adopted sister received from the boys in high school proved the last straw. She said she was tired of living; it was no longer worth the effort.

Following the usual check-up by the doctors, these changes gradually occurred as our parishioner made her regular visit to the church. First, she decided that the pastors understood her situation; That he would let her work out of her condition without hurry, pressure, or judgment being used or exercised; she looked
upon the opportunity of coming regularly to the consultation room as her last chance to get a firm hold of life in the real world; therefore, she decided during the first hour to enter seriously into the business of grooming up emotionally, living her own life in an actual world etc. In a word she willingly undertook to learn "What she must do to get well or to be saved". With great effort she drove the family car to the church by herself three afternoons a week; and she forced herself to follow the routine of the family daily life without complaint.

She next determined that the reason she hid behind her heavy black spectacles could be traced to her sympathy for, and her impatience with, her father's eye-trouble, along with her dislike of facing facts which were in life for her. Also she believed her eyes were pretty and should be displayed to best advantage. She was examined at the eye-clinic, was given a negative report, and forthwith put aside her glasses, with the exception of some folding pince-nez glasses which she retained for effect; these she kept hanging from a ribbon about her neck, putting them on as she felt like it to satisfy her desire to look much older and really important.

Her daily masturbation experiences continued for the time being, for, she said, this was the one thing she could do to her satisfaction unsupervised by her "nosey" parents; she said she felt it was defying them for they would be scandalized if they knew it; also she said she depended upon this experience to help her get to sleep nights or to break up the awful blue spells which would come upon her. In this connection she told of the awful feelings of sloth which would be upon her some mornings upon awakening from sleep; she said some days it would be afternoon before she could shake this lethargy off; and other days it would cling to her without leaving. She spoke of her irritableness with her parents, her adopted sister and the house-maid. She told of her inability to buy things at the store. In fact, to make purchases and exchange money for goods over a counter was unbearable to her. She would have "fanny feelings" in her knees on the street, as though they might at any moment let her fall to the ground. And at the moving pictures, which she now began to attend occasionally, she would feel
a terror from the crowd of people about her, or she would become choked with a "smothering feeling" at certain stages in some of the film stories, so that she would have to get up and leave the theatre.

Her next change had to do with a studied objectivity toward each parent and towards her adopted sister. With this went a fuller entrance into activities and interests outside her home circle. She cultivated again her girl-friends whom she had known in high school; she experimented in shopping expeditions; she took her friends for long rides in the country; she became interested in fixing up her room; and she no longer avoided callers at the house.

About this time she became extremely interested in her personal appearance as a whole. She became careful with her hair and the correct shoes for different outfits became of great importance. A marked watchfulness during the hours at the church disappeared as well as some of the tensions behind this condition. Simultaneously with this increased interest in her appearance and reaching out into the outside world, went a falling off in the frequency of her masturbation experiences. She would go ten days to three weeks at a time without wanting this auto erotic pleasure, or having it break through into performance uninvited. She was careful to watch for the slightest sign of approval or disapproval in the pastor as regards this symptom which she watched as a kind of thermometer of her personality development. Finding that the pastor used the evidence she presented in this regard with no more nor no less emphasis than he did other facts about herself which she offered; this feature of her emotional life tended to drop into its place along with the others, with the inevitable sublimation or symbolization of much of this energy into socially useful interests and activities.

Rather than move to an apartment with girl friends in the city which she contemplated, our parishioner determined to remain at home and work out her problem right there in the midst of forces which she believes had brought on her illness. She had become largely objective towards the narrow world of her Mother and Father in which each ring of the telephone bell, each visit of the postman or milkman, each remark and gesture at meals, is an event to be clothed in terms of power, of
disadvantage or advantage in the unbearable economy of family loves and hates. She has secured from her parents a good portion of her yearly income from funds left her in their charge by relatives or means. This she handles carefully according to her budget plan by which she lives. She is too interested, perhaps, in her savings item in its promise of future independence.

She believes she has been on the rack for years, enough to equal a thorough-going death-experience. She believes that she has suffered more than the average woman of twice her age. And gratifyingly enough with the increased interest in her personal appearance and general return to the real world, has come a fascinating interest in the dress, carriage, mannerisms, intellectual interests, and conversation of this woman twice her age, which characterised her when she began coming to the church. Our parishioner is now an exceptionally attractive young woman of twenty, who is interested in building up in herself a power and a reserve, so that she may the more effectively bestow her affections on the right young man whom she believes is soon to come along.

Here we have been dealing with a veritable daughter of Jairus. Our Lord, had He been present in the flesh to call upon our parishioner when she had retreated to her room in those days when it was more desirable to her to die than to live, undoubtedly, would have taken her by the hand and, in His original way, would have said in effect "little girl, I say unto thee arise." The time element in the cure of the soul is a decidedly variable factor. Jesus, attuned as He was to the divine Father, and to the spiritual in the universe and man, perhaps needed not a moment.

The pastor who went through the trying hours with this parishioner needed months. The fact remains, however, that the victory over sin and guilt which was in Jesus Christ and His Cross, had to be present in this factor in some measure else forgiveness would never have become real to this parishioner, nor would her isolation and deep-rooted, almost compulsive, behaviour been lopped-off in favour of conscious and moral control. We cannot help but see in this parishioner the power of the cross to save. It must be expressed through personality.
or groups of personalties, but that Christ throws the weight of God's love on the positive side of the life and death struggle in a human soul, is as certain as the dawn follows the night and the storm. Not only was the cross in the heart of God before it appeared on Calvary, but when it fails to appear since then in the heart of man, God goes down to death with the sinner uncreated in this particular, so far as concerns this world of suffering and sinful men.

PARISHIONER IV.

Parishioner number four is a charming young woman of 32, a beautiful olive-skinned so-called Spanish type, with black eyes and hair, an aristocratic nose, and a sensitive, delicate mouth. Like the invalid daughter in "The Barretts of Wimpole Street," she had spent over half her days in bed since her menstrual periods began. Her Father had been an educator since her childhood; and he was an exceedingly gentle and religious man; she loved him in a different way from that of her older or younger sister, or her younger brother. He talked over with her, affairs which a man usually holds in reserve to discuss with his wife. Her Mother was a tired little woman who found our parishioner's chronic illness quite convenient; for her husband was away much of the time occupied in his educational work and her invalid daughter kept her company.

Our parishioner had been in the hands of the leading specialists for years. One of them in particular suspected that her arthritis had a functional basis, but he could not prevail upon his patient to leave her house and in a fresh environment face up to her trouble. During her hours in bed, and at other times, while fighting the pains in her back our parishioner had become a writer of some success. For at the time she first came to the church she already had two or three books accepted for publication. Curiously enough her speciality was the education of children.

One of the recurrent painful procedures which life seemed to deal out our parishioner was the way older men of her father's age, mostly ministers, would fall in love with her, and bring these affairs to their crisis by grabbing her in
their arms and hurting her back. Doctors of middle age during recent years, alas, it appears, had found her irresistible.

Parishioner number four came to the church for an hour every day. It was four months before she threw away her cage of steel staves, her brace, which she wore around herself. It was six months before she decided to move into the city "so that she could be nearer the church". At this point a leading specialist in arthritis in the city, wrote to congratulate the pastor on his success in helping this young woman get up the courage to leave her parental home. At the nine months stage in her calls at the church (for some time they had not been daily calls) facts became so unpleasant for her to face, that a sprained ankle resulting from a fall while leaving the consultation room, happily placed her in her bed making it impossible for her to keep her appointment at the church. Finally, after some weeks, her determination to go on, brought her to the church on crutches, and from this point onward her battle inside took a turn for the better. Her pains, which had moved from her back and the soles of her feet, made their exit after the ankles had mended; her periods of heaviness left her except for occasional recurrences; and she took on a radiance and an emotional accessibility which quite won the heart of a young minister of her own age who had just been called to a nearby parish. Six months following the cessation of her calls at the church she was happily married.

In this illustration of displaced guilt and self-punishment, we have one of the most tangible and clear cut problems of the sick soul. Such manifestations of the unreal world of the unconscious, with its tyranny exercised by the residues of infancy and childhood, can no more withstand the searching and healing rays of the reality of Christ's cross in the hands of a devoted follower, than can a skin-cancer withstand the healing power of radium. "Know the truth (by experiencing it in reality) and the truth shall set you free", becomes in such situations not only a great spiritual axiom proclaimed but a life redeemed.

**PARISHIONER V.**

Parishioner number five is a well-appearing young man just above medium
height, of 24, with bushy blond hair, blue eyes and a round face. As he walked
he carried his head slightly to the left side, as though apologising for his
presence and holding himself in readiness to make a quick retreat if unwelcome.
He had little or no confidence in himself, except in informal conversation or
class-room discussion which had to do with involved matters of philosophy or
metaphysics. Here he could argue ably and feel in his element. His use of
his hands, as well as his postures, betrayed an effeminate characteristic about
him, of which he was well aware and which have him no end of pain and discomfort.

He came to the consultation room at the church, because in the church where
he served as assistant minister, he felt powerless, because he had been fright­
ened by feelings of unreality which had come over him, and because he could
arrive at no certainty as regards his vocation as a Minister or his marriage to
his fiancée who was growing somewhat impatient. Preaching from the pulpit was
like torture to him so great was his anxiety. And his relationship with his
young woman was so unsatisfying that he distrusted his ability to go through
with the marriage.

During the hours as he came to the consultation room the following facts
were gathered. His father had been a shiftless though good man, as men in a
small Western town go. His mother was the dominating personality in the family;
she seemed never to give any of them any rest. His sister, younger than himself,
and his only brother, just younger than his sister, were easy-going children
considering the family characteristics first mentioned. He admitted feeling a
secret satisfaction at the time of the death of his brother at the age of 16.
It was as though life were being made more simple for him. But the memory of
his childhood which gave him peculiar pain, was the drowning of a chum in his
old leaky boat one afternoon when the other boys and himself were crossing the
river in their play at the age of 12. Four or Five of them were in the leaky
boat in mid-stream when it began to fill with water. Each boy made for the
nearest bank. After our parishioner had crawled out of the water he realized
the one of their number couldn't swim. He swam back where this boy was strugg-
ling, but was ineffectual in his efforts to be of help. He found himself getting
tired, and had to make for shore leaving his companion to drown. The other
boys reported our parishioner's attempt to rescue; the town papers made him out
to be a hero for making the effort to help; he said he felt ashamed and guilty.
After this he said he could not seem to feel much respect for himself.

At the time of his coming to the consultation room at the church, he was
having great difficulty with auto-erotic practices. He said he seemed to be
cought in a perpetual repetition of the act which had reached almost to the stage
of ritualistic behavior. The harder he laboured to control the experience, the
more sure he was to be pushed out of the way as this almost automatic process
went on. Prayer had long since been found but a seeming ally to the experience.
He had attempted to rationalize the practice, thus trying to dispell the slavery-
aspect of the habit and do away with accompanying anxiety, condemnation, and
guilt; but he had had no success. The preceding summer he had tried hetero-
sexual experience with a sophisticated young woman of his acquaintance, when he
was on his vacation some distance from the city where he served on the staff of
the church. This but increased his underlying guilt, though it did give him
he said, some reassurance as regards his superficial doubt about himself and his
suspected impotence. The young woman to whom he was engaged to be married, he
believed to be as ill-adjusted as he was himself; for in the degree of foreplay
in love making which they permitted themselves, she was assertive and too aggr-
ressive, and, in general, crowded him into what he felt to be an abject, overly-
receptive and futile position. He was drawn to the young woman and yet the
circumstances in which he found himself were becoming intolerable.

As his hours of emotional hide and seek passed in the consultation room,
and as he deliberately aided the pastor in crowding his unwilling self into
facing most unpleasant truths, things began to happen. First, more of the
parishioner's unconscious began to live in an overt way. Most people would say
that he became worse instead of better. Particularly during his hour at the
church he would rage and storm about the room, at times, becoming belligerent
towards the pastor in his child's battle with sofa cushions or verbal abuse.

Following this his interest in music and piano lessons took a deeper hold of him; an advanced degree at the university for which he was working became a more welcome goal towards which to bend his efforts; he said his friends and the young people at the church where he served, commented to him on the new lease he appeared to have taken on life; he encouraged his fiancee to visit a psychiatrist, as he had done before beginning his hours with the pastor, (this ended in their gradual drawing-apart and the dissolving of the engagement); his masturbation difficulty which had followed its ritualistic course became intermittent and of less significance to him; he became more careful of his appearance, mingled more socially, lost much of his self-consciousness, and had his long blond hair cut somewhat more after the uncomely fashion of the male; and he began to find less need for his former intellectual snobbishness.

When our parishioner stopped coming to the pastors' consultation room, he had secured his degree at the university, he had established an apparently healthy relationship with an outstanding young woman in one of the nearby colleges, and he had accepted a call to a small church at a summer resort in the country. Our parishioner showed a little too much zeal in his appreciation of the work of the Buckman Movement. And he had before him a tough row to hoe both in outgrowing his dependencies upon spiritual leaders of his selection and in coming to the place where, with his narcissism, occasional compulsions, and old inner identifications cast aside, he could stand on his own feet, look the world in the face and "know whereof he spoke". (His nervousness in the pulpit still troubled him to some extent.) His marriage and his parish responsibilities, it is hoped will advance the work of Christ in him which most certainly has been begun in his release from the chains of buried guilt.

PARISHIONER VI.

The temptations to the one citing these instances of forgiven sin, is to continue definitely; for the account of one brings several others to mind, which
are almost too satisfying in what they demonstrate to leave them unmentioned.

We shall stop, however, with this short account of attempted suicide in parish-
ioner number six.

She is a tall quiet woman of 46. There was a fatal serenity about her
attitude when she came to the pastor's consultation room, which spoke of "a last
resort" type of thinking and behavior. This somewhat, stately, highly, intelli-
gent, self-negating woman, with her extreme composure and amazing frankness,
came directly to the point and asked why it should be necessary for her to con-
tinue living at all. She told the pastor that during the past few years she had
had one illness after another; a few months back she had had her left breast
removed because of carcinoma; and the week before she had gone to the kitchen in
the night, turned on the gas and lay down on the floor waiting for the end. But,
as to this last experience, she said she had not known the time of night, and
to her dismay she found it had been near morning; for she awoke in her bed in
response to the physician's efforts, having been found by her husband and their
17 year old son, when they had gone to the kitchen in the morning.

Her husband, she said, was an impossible man to live with. For twenty years
she had stood his colorless and heavy existence. Her father and she had been
very close to each other; and when she returned home after graduating from college,
she had married the man he had picked out for her. This man, her husband, was
15 years older than herself, and was a man of no vision, and of extremely limited
interests. She realized her mistake soon, but determined to cling all the
closer to her bargain. She became active in all community affairs, and took a
great interest in the leadership of her college alumnae in her district. She
took decided satisfaction in her only child; but of late years she worried about
him a good deal, not sure that she had been wise in the way she had brought him
up. More recently, with her husband becoming of narrower mind each day, with
the arrival of her old mother, who was bossy and fretful, to live with them,
and with the escapades of her 17 year old boy breaking her heart - What was she
to do but try to get out of it all, in a sure and certain way?
The hours which this parishioner spent in the consultation room were taken up mainly with prayer, and with such conversation as might lift her soul, and place her feet in a larger place where she could view what had happened to her, what was happening to her, and what probably lay ahead for her, with a greater objectivity and a more thorough understanding. The interpretation of her relationship with her mother and father, the reasons why she married her husband and stayed with him, and the problem of adolescent boys in a city community were studied carefully and well, with no attempt on the part of the pastor at finality of opinion or pressure of explanation. The pastor’s part was largely that of introducing facts which she had mentioned long before, into unexpected places in the conversation, and in being there in the flesh to go with her through her valley experiences, careful only to distinguish fact from fancy in her ideas and former behavior. Soon she made her choice to die rather in the sense of her loved-self than in the flesh; she chose to return to the familiar setting where her husband and her old mother would no longer, to as great an extent, irritate her; and she chose in her new peace to trust to God that her son would feel his bearings in her faith and love and would come safely through the storm of his difficult adjustment period.

Here again we see that if we would be adequate to the really great tests life has for us, we must be released from the old burdens of childhood guilt and adolescent self-love from which people find it so difficult to shake themselves free. It is the realization of this forgiveness experience first of all, that amazingly and clearly accomplished for man in Jesus Christ and His Cross. Buried guilt must go and the loved self must fall into the discard and die. This happens for tired and worn-out men and women, where there are those who understand them and the gospel of forgiveness sufficiently and in their personalities can put these sufferers into touch with God’s love in the Cross of Christ.
CHAPTER XIV.

PASTORAL PSYCHOLOGY IN THE MINISTRY OF THE CHURCH.

Henry Drummond in his address on "Spiritual Diagnosis" before the Theological Society, New College, Edinburgh in November 1873, first pointed out the need in modern theology, for what has come to be called pastoral psychology. At the close of the nineteenth century William James in his Gifford Lectures at Edinburgh University, expressed this need in charging the Protestant Churches with having failed in their responsibility in this respect. In America one of the ablest younger theologians, Professor Walter Marshall Horton, is so outspoken as to state this need of a functioning ministry of pastoral psychology in the Church as follows, "The method of exact, discriminating diagnosis is now the regular way of dealing with difficulties and failures in every effective form of human endeavor.... There seems to be no reason in the nature of the case why the greatest of all failures—failure to achieve personal destiny—should not be dealt with by a process of diagnosis at least remotely comparable in skill— to the physician's skill in medical diagnosis. While medicine and psychiatry list hundreds of specific diseases, each identified by characteristic symptoms, conservative theology still talks about Sin in general, traces it to a single cause (the Fall of Adam) and prescribes a single remedy (the atoning blood of Christ). Liberal theology has departed from this position in theory, but clings to it in practice. Imagine a physician telling his patient that he is afflicted with Disease, or tracing all disease to a single cause, or prescribing in every case one identical panacea. As a matter of fact, theology is still at the stage

(1) "The study of the soul in health and disease ought to be as much an object of scientific study and training as the health and diseases of the body.—-Many men study men, but not to sympathize with them; the lawyer for gain, the artist for fame, the actor for applause, the novelist for profession—-An when there are men found to study human nature for its own sake, or for filthy lucre's sake, shall there be none to do it for man's sake—for God's sake?" The New Evangelism, pp. 191, 208.

(2) "The ideas of Christian Churches are not efficacious in the therapeutic direction today, whatever they may have been in earlier centuries; and when the whole question is asked why the salt has lost its savour here or gained it there, the mere blank waving of the word 'suggestion' as if it were a banner, gives no light—-the actual fact is that popular Christianity does absolutely nothing." The Varieties of Religious Experience, p. 112
which is represented in the history of medicine by the theory that all diseases
are due to demon possession, and all are to be cured by exorcism."

In the Preface to our study we referred to the statement of Dr. MacCurdy, Lecturer in Psychiatry at Cambridge University, to the effect that the mediæval theologians had made a fairly good start toward the classification of emotional difficulties which in religion we would deal with in terms of pastoral psychology or the cure of souls, and which the medical psychologists handle under the heading of psycho-therapy or psychoanalysis. Our position here is, that emphasis on the part of modern theologians, pastors, or religious workers upon the "Diagnosis" or classification aspect, of the problem of pastoral psychology or the cure of souls, is beside the point, and, on the whole, unnecessary. Whereas it is recognized that there is great need for a new religious terminology in that branch of theology which deals with man, sin and salvation, so that language used in the pulpit, as well as in the pastor's consultation room, will have in it the power of traction with the minds and hearts of parishioners, still this is secondary, and inevitable, to the primary need of doing first-hand healing work itself. Even the psychiatrists, psychoanalysts, and individual psychologists, who in the modern day have been the ones who have forged the framework for the classification of mental and emotional disorders, do not, in the healing aspects of their work, give much attention to diagnosis or labels. In fact, in their instruction on technique in handling these difficulties, not only do they say that the therapeutic result of explaining to a patient the diagnosis of his case is, in all serious illnesses, nil, but they point out that the physician, to the extent that he fixes in his mind the diagnosis of his patient previous to extended treatment, renders himself unable to hold himself in the state of "suspended attention" and free association of evidence received from his patient, which permits real healing work to go on.

(3) A Psychological Approach to Theology, Harper's, N.Y., 1931, p. 67, 68
The pastor doing the work of the cure of souls, therefore, should leave the work of analysis and classification to scientists who are doing such admirable work in the region of depth psychology. He cannot take over their clinical terminology and use it to any great extent in his consultation room, to say nothing of the preacher's ever being able to use it in his pulpit. Their findings in their textbooks and journals, however, are accessible, and the pastor who is to do this work in the Church should not only be acquainted with their teachings, but he should have undergone a period of training, under their supervision, in mental hospitals and related institutions.

In this chapter we shall consider the ministry of pastoral psychology in the Church in rather a practical fashion, taking up first the changed conditions in society which make necessary the development of this particular phase of the ministry; secondly, an explanation of just what pastoral psychology is; in the third place, we shall observe the dangers to be avoided in preparing divinity students for work in pastoral psychology; and finally the invaluable assistance to the pastor to be gained from his carefully supervised study in the clinical aspects of mental therapy.

1. Changed Conditions in the Pastoral Ministry.

There was a day, particularly in predominantly Protestant countries, or communities where the parish minister and the school master were the two best educated and most highly respected persons in the parish. Here and there where this is still the case, talk about specialization on the side of the pastoral office of the minister would not arouse much interest. Under these conditions the parish minister served his people as administrator, educator, preacher, pastor and priest, and met their varying needs when they would arise, as he was able. For fifty years, however, this type of

(7) In my files of collected material on this subject I have personal letters to this effect from the following prominent doctors and psychiatrists: Dr. Richard C. Cabot of Harvard University Medical School; Dr. Roy G. Hoskins, Director of the Neuro-Endocrine Memorial Foundation; Dr. W. A. Bryan, Supt. of the Worcester State Hospital; Dr. Arthur Noyes, Supt. of the Hospital for Mental Diseases of Rhode Island; and Dr. Arthur Ruggles, Chairman of the National Committee of Mental Hygiene and Supt. of Butler Hospital of Providence, R.I.
relationship between the parish minister and his people has been disappearing; especially is this true in America.

In parishes without number, the pastoral call, which was once the life-blood of fellowship in the Church, has deteriorated into a kind of contact-arrangement, by which the minister hopes to preserve the external organization of his church. Instead of this part of his duty being the experience of the blessing of God which warms his heart and confirms his ordination, it has become the balm of his existence. Some ministers under modern conditions, keep up their calling with dogged determination, but far the greater number have given up pastoral calling long ago, except for sick calls and official visits connected with weddings, funerals and possibly the administration of the sacraments.

This has happened not because the minister, or the people if they really stopped to think, wanted it this way. It came about because of the following changes which have taken place in social living. In the first place, there is apartment life. What chance does a pastor have to minister to the personal needs of a parishioner when the aged aunt is in her room close to the door, to pick up every word that could possibly reach her ear? Or what opportunity could there be for a young housewife, or a dear old grandmother, or a disappointed older daughter, to open up her heart to her pastor, when the children of the family or of the family next door are apt at any time to burst into the room with their freedom from concern for God or man? In apartment living, it is seldom that the pastor can talk with the man or men in the family alone; even when he tries to make his call at night when he has every right to be at home with his own family or his books.

In the second place, the social activities of people have developed to the degree that the pastor in many instances, must make an appointment often days ahead, if he is to be sure to find the parishioner at home when he calls. It is little wonder that the minister who is keeping up his pastoral rounds, returns from his hide-and-seek-experience of the afternoon, tired out and discouraged, ready "to be ministered unto rather than to minister". He will hang on as long as he can; but he knows, that
according to the proximity of his parish to city life, and according to the economic scale by which his people live, he finally will be forced to give up his efforts to keep close to them through pastoral calling, and will substitute some second choice group means of trying to minister to their Christian Salvation.

Finally, to confine ourselves to but three of the many alterations in community life which make pastoral calling no longer as effective, there is the development of secular institutions and agencies which produces an organized method of handling matters formerly intra-mural in the home, making next to impossible the intimacies so necessary to successful pastoral work. Such community institutions are: hospitals, men's and women's clubs and social organizations, varying all the way from Y.M.C.A. to community bridge cliques, attractive restaurants, theatres and recreational centers, church or chapel weddings and even funeral homes and chapels. The influences seem endless in modern society which decentralize family life, which, in a former day, was centered in a separate house, the home. The minister of an American Congregation of a thousand members, twenty-five years ago had at any one time, four or five members of his congregation in one hospital or another. At present he estimates that there are twenty-five at any one time in the hospitals.

Thus it is plain to see if the Church is to offer a personal ministration to its parishioners, it should cast about for some form of service which will take into consideration the changed conditions in social and family living, and at the same time will be wanted by the average church member.

2. What is the work of pastoral psychology in the Church?

The breakdown of adequate personal ministration on the part of parish ministers which changes in society have brought about, does not mean that the needs of individual people in the parish are lessened. Rather, mental hospital authorities assert that with greater complexity in modern family life has come an increase in anxieties and needs not properly met, which result in a corresponding increase in mental illness.

(9) See yearly reports of Department of Mental Diseases of the State of Mass. since 1910
What have people done in the meantime while the church has been adjusting itself
to changed conditions? They have sought out religious and faith cults, quack healers,
fortune tellers and astrologists, but they have turned in greatest numbers to two
professions, namely Christian Science practitioners and accredited medical doctors.
The question may be asked why isn't this all right? The answer is that it is all
right in so far as it goes. But there are two respects in which the problem of
anxious people is not met. The 70% of the local medical doctor's practice which is
made up of illnesses which have no basis in organic disease are, to use Luther's
phrase, finding the cost of indulgences beyond their reach. They are finding that
their continued treatment does not relieve their difficulty. And they are reading
the popular literature of the new psychology to the extent that the doctor himself
must soon find base line trenches to fall back to, when he sees the power of sug-
gestion and the hey-day of confidence in the medical doctor as a curer of all ills,
passing. This the doctor is doing by leaving his direct method of medical science
after his long period of discipline, and turning to an altogether different field
and discipline, i.e. psychopathology, where he deals in symbols, symptom disguises,
and meta-psychology if not metaphysics. The research and therapeutic aspects of
this can be most creative, and can result in what in religion has been called mir-
acles. But the expense of treatment mounts far beyond the previous level of faith
in the doctor with his electric machine, his Russian oil and his sugar or flour pills.
Individual analytical treatment for these thousands of sufferers is beyond the
range of possibility in any state or society. Even if it were possible, with the
exception of a physician here and there who has trained himself in the fundamental
truths of the Christian religion, these individuals would not be given a substitute
for their anxieties which would lift them to the level of aspiration and perfor-

(10) See in Mental Hygiene Bulletin for 1926 the article by Dr. Alice Paulson on
Religious Healing; also see "Spiritual Healing in Europe" by the Rev. Samuel McComb,
(11) Mental Hygiene Vol. 12 pp. 706-721
mance of a true follower of Christ. Therefore, with the dissemination of information to the public regarding the psycho-genic basis of anxiety, and with people becoming aware that of the 215 ailments known to the medical profession, but 18 of them can be cured by direct scientific means, there will be a backlash on the part of the general public at the cost of medical attention. Gifts from individuals or communities, will never be made in such amounts as will give a disillusioned populace the hours of attention required for any degree of effective psychotherapy. The state subsidizing a procedure of this sort is difficult to imagine, although it would be fraught with less disastrous after effects no doubt, than similar steps which the state has taken in assisting the Church. This one thing is certain, however, the medical group, slow as it is to welcome group therapy in any form, well never become a church or proclaim a common faith. The disciplines of theology and medicine have become more and more distinct as the centuries have passed, and even the concept of the medicine-man, to say nothing of the pastor and doctor ever again being rolled up into one package, has been left far behind. Communities already are grumbling about the cost of medical care. With the awareness spreading that the majority of illnesses is a condition of the soul primarily, and only much later a condition of the physical body, the boom in building hospitals and supporting clinics will cease, and people will turn again to the Church for salvation. The true shepherd of the Soul is the one worker in the community whom people will support to do this work, and they will maintain His dispensary of the Gospel in spite of the ups and downs of social and economic change. The work of the cure of souls eventually will be done again in the Church if for no other or higher reason than that people will not support it elsewhere.

Christian Science which has flourished due to the functional illnesses of people, although it is grounded in a philosophical concept of a respectable lineage, is

(13) Statement made by Dr. R. C. Cabot of Harvard Medical School in an address to Andover Newton Theological School students in the spring of 1932.
(14) See article in Sunday Social Features Section of N.Y. Times on "The Cost of Medical Care in U.S.", Dec. 1933.
bound to be an interim phenomenon. For, like the blind confidence of the functional patient in the doctor untrained in psychopathology, this faith will disappear when the psychogenic basis of illness becomes generally known. The Christian Religion is grounded on social law which is as old as social life itself, and it includes all of the Gospel of Christ. And instead of new truth, or more clearly understood old truth, endangering the reality which the Gospel of Christ proclaims, it but makes that knowledge, already accepted intuitively, all the more powerful and irresistible in its work in the world.

Thus, pastoral psychology is the pastor's work in the cure of souls carried on in his private office in his Church, and where the parish requires it, it becomes the specialized work of a full-time minister particularly trained for the task.

3. The Dangers to be avoided by the Pastoral Psychologist.

In the first place it hardly need be said that the pastor who has not a clear picture of himself as first and always a minister of the gospel to individuals, is in the gravest danger not only of bringing the disapproval of others of his profession down upon him, but of arousing the suspicion of workers and technicians in other professions who touch directly or indirectly the welfare of the individual or family. In addition to this, if the pastor is uncertain at the bottom of his own position and identification, he not only runs the risk of becoming isolated and prejudiced in his judgements both as regards people and ideas because of discrimination against him imagined or real, but he also is rendered ineffectual in the central purpose of his ministry, i.e. the cure of souls. Unless the minister who goes in for pastoral psychology has had a sufficient personal experience of ordination in the dispensing of the gospel, to establish his identity, and his affiliations in the church of Christ, he runs the constant danger of becoming uncertain within, apologetic without, and useless withall, as regards his pastoral ministry.

In the second place there is the danger of a pastor launching into this
controlled work with individuals without having had what has come to be called in clinical training. This type of training is to the pastor what internship is to the doctor. With theological students still in divinity school who have a bent in the direction of the pastoral ministry, this is not a difficult point to make. But with ministers a few years out, at work in the parish, not only in most instances is it too late for them to get this training, but there is the treacherous acceleration of confidence in themselves which comes with a measure of practical success although it be in an entirely different phase of religious work. The truth of the matter is the age of the pastor, the number of years he has been in the ministry, or his prominence in the community, argues nothing of weight about the maturity of his own emotional life, and the way he would behave at close quarters with an hysterical woman or an experienced man suffering from a marked perversion. The work of pastoral psychology in the conference room of the church may include the delivery of a person of an emotional burden which has been carried its appropriate time, and it is as senseless and inexcusable for a pastor to make a bungle of this operation, as for medical officers, dentists, or eye-specialists to try to do the work of the mid-wife or obstetrician without proper training and supervised internship. It has been so much the aim of the ministers to exhort people to repentance, that they tend altogether to lose sight of the fact that there is travail and delivery to follow. Clinical training for the pastoral ministry takes ministers who love people, teaches them the distinction between mature and immature love, and presents them in hospitals and related institutions with people for them to try their spiritual skills upon, than whom they will never meet more extreme types during the future years of their ministry.

The third danger which has already been hinted at, is the danger of antagonizing doctors and other specialists who work therapeutically with individuals. Their main objection is apt to be that ministers are tampering with problems which are essentially medical in nature. And if the doctors who in all good faith, have first of all the welfare of people's souls and bodies in mind, and the doctors who sense that in the not distant future such a service developed in the church
would strike at the root of their economic dependence upon patients suffering from functional illnesses, - if they want to forestall the introduction of the ministry of pastoral psychology into a parish church they will label the pastor a quack or a pseudo or second rate psychiatrist.

The danger that the pastor doing this work shall wade in too deep before he knows it, in instances where a medical or psychiatric problem is involved, can be met best by yielding completely at the start to the doctor. The minister trained in pastoral psychology already has the safeguard of hospital and clinical experience which should help him to recognize, not diagnose, the marks of mental illness and pronounced emotional instability. This however should take second place to the general procedure of insisting that a complete physical examination be given the parishioner by a respected doctor or medical clinic. As the work of the pastoral psychologist is primarily that of aiding in the parishioner's spiritual salvation, which is an essentially religious experience, the likelihood of success with his parishioner could only be enhanced through having faced the facts with the individual as regards his or her condition of physical or mental health. The great value of public hospital clinics, both distinctly medical as well as psychiatric, is their degree of objectivity as regards their findings; for they have no intention of increasing their clientele of patients unless it is necessary.

The best arrangement is complete cooperation between the pastoral minister and the parishioner's local medical doctor. Work with people of marked neurotic symptoms should, of course, be done only under the charge of a psychiatrist. This should be a psychiatrist at one of the city or state hospitals if possible, in order that records would be available and the pastor would be covered legally should an unforeseen tragedy take place.

There is noticed here an assumption that this work in pastoral psychology will not stop short of emotional disturbances in individuals as they arise. If pastors have become so frightened at what revivalists like Wesley and Finney took as signs of success in the ministry, that they had rather let people remain in their anxieties than pray with them through to the finish, then they are no longer committed to
handle the power that is in the Gospel and the corresponding reactions in people. There is much to be said in favor of the group method of handling these phenomena. But with the increasing scepticism as regards the bases of authority in religion, and the spread of awareness as regards the laws of group or crowd psychology, there are more and more people who must fight out their battles of love and hate, sin and salvation, in the controlled environment of the pastor's conference room. If these souls are to go through their death-experience, and know rebirth in Christ, pastoral psychology must take its place among the ministries of the Church, and pastors who know Whom they believe, and who mean business, must be found and trained for the office.

The fourth danger to be avoided, if pastoral psychology is to function adequately in the Church, is that the pastor who does this work shall not be an adherent of any one school of psychology or dominated by any one or two psychiatrists, psychoanalysts or doctors, no matter how respected, how sound, or how radical they may be. It is not the pastor's place to take sides in a field to which he primarily looks for clinical facts, and theories constructed on those facts. To learn theories and methods from all schools and practitioners, while keeping his philosophy of life in terms of the Gospel of Christ which he endeavors to make accessible to his parishioners, such is the purpose of the minister in pastoral psychology.

Finally there is the danger of the minister or ministers, forging ahead in establishing this work before they have gone through the necessary steps to insure its lasting success. It is just as foolish for a pastor to set up shop in his church conference room and proceed to see women of the community, or neighboring city, day after day without the backing of a responsible committee of men and women of the church and community, as it is foolish for the ministers or students to listen with unquestioned acceptance to venerable old ministerial gentlemen who warn them never to let themselves be found alone with a woman in a room with the door closed. The minister and doctor should be ordained to care for the needs of sick souls and bodies and when once they have been appointed by their teachers, their elders, and the people of their communities, to serve in these capacities, they should enter where angels fear to tread, if necessary, as they leave the ninety and nine and go in the
search of the one that is lost.

4. Things to be Learned From the Medical Psychologists.

The medical psychologists, a term which we use to include all medical doctors who do psychotherapeutic work with individuals,—although they are not the ones to whom to go for one's philosophy of life, are invaluable in what they have to teach us by way of provisional concepts, practical working methods, and by what they are in and of themselves.

(1) Helpful Concepts of the Medical Psychologists.

a. Their theory of the psychogenic origin of a large portion of mental disease, which paves the way for the possible functional reading of many of the neurotic's troubles, and somatic complaints and ailments generally, is a most revolutionary theory and is of vital importance to present day disciples of Christ who have puzzled over the recorded miracles of His healing work and statements of His, like "what reason ye in your hearts? Whether it is easier to say, Thy sins be forgiven thee; or to say, Rise up and walk?" (St. Luke, 5:22, 23)

b. Their use of the concept of the unconscious and their exploration of this theoretical region of the personality by means of dream interpretation, word-association tests, hypnotism, and the symbolic reading of symptoms and mannerisms, have placed in the hands of the pastor a chart, compass and glasses, which enable him to know about a region which he has never sailed, and which warn him away from tampering with psychological surgery which requires the most elaborate preparation and training in surgical skills.

c. Their carrying the idea of growth and development into the region of the individual's emotional life, has put the magical thread into the hand of those who would find their way in and out of the mazes of the behavior of people of all ages, and who would travel down the labyrinthian ways of their minds. Emotional isolation, the common factor of all psychopathological illness, and the recognized feature in most incipient personality troubles, throws considerable light on the problem of the.

(15) See F. Alexander—The Medical Value of Psychoanalysis, 1932 (course at Univ. of Chicago)

(16) Dr. Salmon of N.Y.C. speaking before H.E. Fosdick's class in Union Theological Seminary N.Y.C., in 1923
lost sheep about whom Jesus was so much concerned.

d. And finally to confine ourselves to a few of the great theories of the new medical psychologists, there is their conception of the Oedipus Complex. This concept, which a conservative psychiatrist of high standing in America compared in its value to Pasteur's discovery of bacteriology, may turn out to be one of the instruments for the exploration of the heavens of the unconscious of the individual, the constellations of family life, and the firmament of human society, which may give us "a new heaven and a new earth" after the manner of Copernicus, Galileo, and Darwin. It may be by revolutionary discoveries such as this, (which the Gospel of Christ will weather as it has the others) that the next great venture into the unknown will be begun, which the great scientist Steinmetz just before he died, prophesied would be made in the realm of the spiritual.

(2) Instruments used and Practical Procedures followed by Medical Psychologists.

a. One of the most fortunate steps taken by the medical psychologists was their study of psychotics, psychoneurotic people and very young children, as a method of acquiring a fuller understanding of personality in its varying degrees of health or illness, adjustment or mal-adjustment, success and failure. With all the religious concern evangelists, theologians and ministers have had for the salvation of men's souls, it never occurred to them that they could study the damned, the demented and the infant, as well as what the great had said about them.

b. The classification of mental disorders by Kraepelin and the improvement upon this classification going on constantly by men like Dr. Eugene Bleuler, Professor Kahn of Yale, Dr. George Kirby of Cornell University Medical School and Professor D.K. Henderson M.D., of Edinburgh University, is of important use to the state which

See note on Dr. Salmon on preceding page.
Reported by Roger Babson after a visit by Prof. Steinmetz at his home in Wellesley, Mass.
See Textbook of Psychiatry already referred to in Part I.
Psychopathic Personalities, 1932, Translated from German by H.F. Dunbar.
becomes ultimately responsible for suffering people in the great majority of instances. Its use to the Church will become more and more clear, as pastors become more aware of their part and the Church's responsibility, in understanding, ministering to and caring for the sick in soul.

o. An outstanding practical measure which the medical psychologists have shown themselves able to adopt is a high degree of cooperation with specialists, who work with individuals along other lines, like endocrinologists, physiologists, psychologists, social workers and occupational therapy workers. Their cooperation with social agencies and state or private institutions also, sets an example to officials and workers in the Church.

d. Their division of their methods of psychotherapy into suggestion, persuasion, analysis, and re-education is helpful to us. And their practical mindedness in listing the tricks of the thought-life in terms of mechanisms like cooperation, compromise, compensation, rationalization, substitution, sublimation, -gives a definiteness to the enigma of the human being. The same may be said and appreciated with reference to the reaction patterns, or commonly accepted ways of meeting difficult situations, which they use.

e. One of the most intelligent instruments which these psychotherapists use, is the controlled environment of the conference room. The experience of the clinic which taught them the value of repetition in hours of treatment in the same setting, arranged for the correct suggestion forces to operate, with a quiet light and a restful position for the patient, has been characteristic of this one specialization of this profession, and has been far underestimated by pastors. The settings which make so easy the work of the devil in the hands of some, can be used just as effectively for the work of God in the hands of others. The severity of church rooms and offices and the underlying fear of the accessories of mystery cults, the black arts,

(22) Protestant Churches of America are today supporting some 380 hospitals—only three of these hospitals are concerned with that problem (maladies of the mind) and the 375,000 mental sufferers are cared for almost entirely in state institutions; Anton T. Boisen, Journal of Religious Education, March, 1930
(23) Bernard Hart, Psychopathology; last two chapters.
and seances of any description, should have no place in the pastor's mind, who sees the clear light of day in his work as a conveyer of the love of God. The Buchman Groups are right in using the drawing rooms for their settings just as do the most of modern harlots. Why shouldn't "the children of light" take a few lessons at this point?

f. The technique of removing resistances, which again the Buchman Groupers have showed themselves awake to, is one of the most valuable instruments which can be taken over from the psychoterapists. A pastor in pressing for a conversion, an inheritance by the way which every child of God has as much right to expect as an adolescent girl has a right to look forward to the promise of a husband, must get back of every defence that is thrown up; and, with an experienced sinner, that pastor must be as keen in wit as a serpent, although as harmless as a dove.

g. Finally, the medical psychologists must be congratulated for slaying the dragon of counter-transfer in personal relations. With their clinical studies of the operations of love and hatred in the human heart, has come a fearlessness in dealing with these love and hate forces in men and women, at close quarters. Ministers have preached brotherly love without ceasing year in and year out, and soon as one of their troubled parishioners took them seriously and expressed the unfortunate state of his or her affective life exactly as it was, the minister for many reasons had to be afraid and had to desert his parishioner at the moment when perhaps most could have been accomplished for the Kingdom of God.

(3) What we can Learn From What the Medical Psychologists Are in and of Themselves.

The branch of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene in any American city lists the names of reputable local mental therapists. This list usually includes neurologists, psychiatrists, psychoanalysts, and in some instances consulting psychologists and pastors. For the most part this group of men and women are well-versed in the troubles of the sick soul; and they are gentle in their treatment of all people whether sick or well. There is much that the pastor can learn from them.

(26) Called also "The Oxford Group Movement" or "The Groupers".
a. Some of their outstanding characteristics are their breadth of mind, their depth of understanding and their tolerance for others which enables them to see a person in terms of the whole man. With this goes an imaginativeness which gives them a lightness of touch in human contact; and there is also their sensitiveness to symbolism which at times approaches the genius of the great novelist or poet.

b. Another characteristic of this group of workers with people is the degree of objectivity which is free from impatience or hidden criticism, from averseness or judgment, and yet one which retains a lively solicitation for the patient's health.

c. The attention to detail and thoroughness in follow-up which characterizes this group of mental therapists, is a standing example to all religious workers who intend to have the well-being of each human soul at heart. The lack of discrimination as regards social status of patients or their ability to pay on the part of these psychotherapists, in some instances, brings up the question if mental therapy as a whole may not be crowding the Protestant Church considerably as regards its teaching that real love is democratic and God is not a respecter of persons.

d. Finally, although we might go on at length taking lessons in applied Christianity from these workers, we shall stop with the mention of their practical self-sacrifice which comes into action with every encounter which they have with diseased personality. The hours they spend with warped and twisted children, with gnarled and vituperous men of all ages, and with unstable, foul-breathed and jabbering women, are never paid for in money they receive, no matter what they are given or what they charge for their services. To labor in a field which is suspect by all conservatives in the different professions, to run the constant risk of injury to their practice by mistakes which can happen so easily, to dare at all to match wits with the devil in his various disguises and moods and engage in battle with pandemonium, in their efforts to bring order out of chaos, and to lend themselves so unstintingly to hungry and parched souls during their times of famine or drought, this is what we mean by their spirit of self-sacrifice and service. There is no intention here to make the mental therapists out to be the saints of the modern day. Much could be said which
would make their services to man look far from glorious. It remains, however, that the good mental therapist is the man or woman who among other things serves as a temporary scapegoat for diseased minds or sick souls, and leaves his or her patient relatively uninfected with the therapist’s own latent germs of emotional or mental illness.

CONCLUSION.

In our study of Mental Therapy and the Forgiveness of Sin, we first went to the records of the psychiatrist, the psychologist, the endocrinologist, the psychiatric social worker and the occupational therapy worker, for the facts which gave us the clinical view of our problem of sin and suffering in Part I.

In Part II, the writer with his background of one year as assistant psychotherapist working with schizophrenic patients, another year as acting Chaplain in a mental hospital of two thousand patients, and a third year under the social service department of a general hospital working with neurotic patients, attempted to test the main theories of the doctrine of the Work of Christ in its bearing on guilt and forgiveness, either by a psychological study of the personality of the originator of the theory or by a similar study of a typical believer in the particular theory.

We are led to conclude from Part II of our study, that in no originator of a fresh statement of the doctrine, and in none of the believers of the classic theories whom we studied, was guilt, with its roots in their unconscious lives, sufficiently forgiven to produce the adequacy in the presentation of the Cross of Christ which is characteristic of St. Paul in his Epistles, or which we believe to have been known by first-century Christians. Pathological features, such as the concupiscence in St. Augustine, the activities of the "adversary" and motivations of hatred and anger in Luther, the compulsions of Bunyan, the overactivity and excessive need for work in Wesley, the continued self-condemnation and morbidity of Brainerd, the over-worked projection and legalism of Finney, and the overdetermination of ego-morality and self-assertion in Bushnell,—colored in each instance, or at least exaggerated, the particular reading of the Atonement which each exemplified. The Work of Christ, however, we found
expressed in the measure that the religious genius or leader was able to stand aside
and let himself become the embodiment of its reality.

In Part III we have held that the Work of Christ, as symbolized in His Cross, is
the expression of such total reality in God as can reach into the unconscious life
of man and dispell guilt or forgive sin, where such reality is adequately expressed
in personality. In view of the fact that the pastor must begin with a person where
he is, the sin-forgiving, or guilt-resolving, aspect of the Work of Christ comes first;
but for a well-rounded view of the Atonement, its moral influence or revelation aspect,
must also be included. Instances of the operation of the reality in the Work of Christ
"when two or three are gathered together in His name" have been cited in several
parishioners in a pastor's consultation room of a city church. An acknowledgement of
the contributions of mental therapy to the work of the pastor has been made, and
the suggestion has been offered of a clinically trained ministry in the Church.

Our Lord is reported as having said: "I am come that they might have life, and
that they might have it more abundantly." The pastor, who would say this in his limited
way after Him, cannot do less than be grateful to the mental therapists for their
assistance, as he continues the Work of Christ in the Church in the resolution of
guilt or forgiveness of sins.

(27) St. John 10:10
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APPENDIX

to

MENTAL THERAPY AND THE FORGIVENESS OF SINS

Austin Philip Guiles
14 Mason Road
Newton Center, Mass.
CONTENTS

2. Anselm, Abelard, and The Thomist Doctrine.
3. Luther's Teachings on the Work of Christ.
5. The Work of Christ in the Theology of John Wesley.
7. The Work of Christ in Bushnell's "The Vicarious Sacrifice".
According to his presentation of the doctrine of the Atonement in the "Enchiridion", for St. Augustine the origin of evil lay in the turning away of free will from unchangeable good to changeable good. This took place first in the rebellious angel then in man. Both are subjects of damnation. But with man, besides the punishment administered to the angel there is for him death of the body. Man also by his act brought penalty upon the race.

Eternal condemnation for both defiant angels and man might have justly continued except that God is not only just but merciful. It pleased God to save some from the mass of sinful humanity. This part of mankind could not be saved by the merit of their own works, for by the fall, free will was destroyed and so man could no longer do what is good. But God could give to certain of mankind, gifts of Divine Grace, the gifts of faith and regeneration. Thus the basis of all merit, free will, was restored to man as a gift of Divine Grace.

A mediator was necessary to man, a reconciler, one who could placate the just wrath of God by offering a unique sacrifice. God's Grace in Jesus Christ brings about this reconciliation and offers a suitable Mediator. And the gift of the Holy Ghost forthcoming to man makes enemies into Sons of God.

This Mediator was born of a virgin without sin and is God and Man. This Incarnation, this showing of Divine Grace, has for its purpose, to teach men that they are justified from sin by the same Grace that brought about a sinless Christ. Christ, except from original sin, is called sin, is made sin, and serves as a sacrifice for sin which might avail for man's reconciliation. Christ was made sin that man might become God-righteous. This death to sin and arising to new life is celebrated in the Sacrament of Baptism.

(1) Franks - Vol. I p. 122
(2) Franks - Vol. I p. 123
In Baptism all die to sin, infants to original sin only, adults to both original and actual sin. Baptism is a likeness to the death of Christ. The Death of Christ is a likeness to forgiveness of sins. As Christ truly died men can truly be forgiven. As Christ was truly raised, men can be truly justified.

Thus the sacrifice of Christ obtains for sinners reconciliation with God. Yet the whole work of Christ, from the Incarnation onward, is purely dependent on the Divine Grace. So justification depends simply upon the absolute, unmerited grace of God, making the work of Christ only relative.

From other writings of St. Augustine, the work of Christ is treated as follows: Men, for the sin of the first man, were handed over to the power of the devil (although still remaining subjects of God). "Thus the Devil held our sins and through them deservedly planted us in death. He (Christ) who had no sins of His own, dismissed them, and yet was undeservedly conducted by him (the Devil) to death. That blood was of so great worth that no one clothed with Christ ought to be detained in the eternal death which was his due by him who, even for a time, slew Christ with undeserved death." Thus St. Augustine at times distinctly treats the blood of Christ as a ransom which was given to the devil and which the devil received. More usually, however, Christ's death is treated as a penal infliction endured by Christ instead of man, endured in fact because justice requires it, - the Devil here becoming the executioner rather than the creditor.

Again, sometimes, St. Augustine represents Christ's death as a sacrifice of unique expiatory value: Christ is the victim offered for our sins. "He insists on the suitability of the sacrificer and the victim being the same; on the sacrifice being a sacrifice of mortal human flesh, the very flesh that had sinned; and, above all he insists on the cleansing power of a body born otherwise than of carnal desire and therefore sinless."

(3) De Trin. IX. C. 2.
(4) DeTrin. XIII C 15.
(5) De Trin. L.XIII. C. 12
(6) Rashdall p. 333
"Thus, on the whole, in St. Augustine the idea of substituted or vicarious punishment is the central one." (7)

The influence of St. Paul is predominant in St. Augustine. Something of St. Augustine's attitude toward human suffering and his technique for relieving it will be seen from following out the likenesses and differences in their teachings.

The Pauline doctrine of original sin, which has much in it which corresponds to facts observable in human nature, was taken over by St. Augustine pushed to its extreme and made the corner stone of his whole theology. For him man was originally endowed with free-will in the popular sense of the term. By the fall that freedom was lost forever. Adam's posterity were born not merely with the hereditary tendencies to sin, but were born actual sinners. They inherit both guilt and sin. None can escape this load except possibly the mother of Christ. "Original sin, even before it has manifested itself in actual sinful desire or act, is an act of will and is justly punishable. Sometimes the point is insisted upon that all his posterity was in the loins of Adam when he sinned, and so did actually sin; original sin is therefore actual sin." For that original sin God might justly have doomed the youngest infant dying a few minutes after birth to eternal torments, and He has so doomed enormously the greater part of the human race. And in the case of those who grow up, the natural badness of the human heart is such that it is absolutely incapable - apart from the supernatural grace of God, which is vouch-safed only to believers - of a single good desire or good action." (Later protestant theory only a little exaggerated St. Augustine's teaching when it converted the 'total depravity' of human nature into a dogma.).

(7) Rashdall p. 334
(8) The following is paraphrased from Rashdall p. 335 f.
(9) DeCorreptione et gratin, 12; Contin Julianum opus imperfect. l. 81
(10) Contin Julianum, opus imp. l. 1. l. 104, and II. 81
(11) DeNatura et Gratia, 36.
(12) Rashdall, p. 335-6 (Contin Julianum, l. 7. )
(13) Rashdall, p. 336
For St. Augustine the guilt of original sin was remitted by baptism, but the badness itself remained. Not all concupiscence is sin (because that would deny the efficacy of baptism.) The guilt is removed but the concupiscence remains, and concupiscence is always evil, even when the will does not assent to it or allow it to culminate in actual sin.) In a certain sense this concupiscence is sin and it is certain to result in actual sin. (Concupiscence is all natural desire, especially sexual desire, the existence of which for him is a consequence of the fall and a proof for the reality of original sin.)

As to Paul's doctrines of election, grace, and predestination, St. Augustine regards man's condition after the fall from the angle of an absolute predestinarian or determinist. This is not being inconsistent with the doctrine of human free-will understood as self-determination. On the other hand, the doctrine of free-will in the sense of indeterminism (the real possibility of two alternative courses) was to Augustine, Pelagianism. Paul is silent about the fate of those who are not elected to receive the grace which causes them to believe and to receive a moral regeneration. Generally he assumes that the fate of those who have died before the coming of Christ or who are rejected at the judgment will be "destruction". With St. Augustine all human beings who lived before the coming of Christ are doomed to everlasting torments except a very few for whom there is reserved mercy. If St. Augustine is asked why God creates so much misery and sin and so little goodness and happiness, why He gives grace to one and withholds it from another, he can only answer 'Some are saved to show God's mercy, others damned to show the truth of His vengeance'.

The conditions under which some of the human race are to be saved from the doom which is to overtake the vast majority are: baptism, repentance, penance, faith, reception of the eucharist and communion with the true visible church. For infants baptism alone is sufficient. There is no hope for the

(14) Contin Julianum, 11, 19, 60: II, 1; De Nuptus et Concup. 1, 23; DeDoro Perseverant, 1.
(16) De peccatorum Meritis, I, 24: I, 19. (Rashdall - 398.)
unbaptized infants though theirs is the mildest punishment. Equally little hope is there for the best of pagans. There is none of this in Paul. The worst interpretation of Paul would leave the heathen or unbaptized infant simply to perish.

As to faith, the belief which Paul required was a general belief in the Messiah-ship of Jesus and in the revelation of God through Him. St. Augustine meant by faith, intellectual belief, belief in the complicated mass of dogmatic statements particularly about the doctrine of the Holy Trinity embraced in the creed of the church. Paul never suggested that his opponents would be lost at the judgment. But for St. Augustine all heretics and schismatics were as lost as the pagans for, without correct belief charity would avail nothing. He is Pauline in his insistence that "although faith can exist without love it avails not", but he is not Pauline in his emphasis on doctrinal orthodoxy.

"There is a tendency in Paul for the conception of grace to become technical; yet in him it never lost its primary meaning which was simply the 'favor' or 'mercy' of God". To St. Augustine the term grace means "a divine influence upon the soul without which it is incapable of the smallest good action". Not only did St. Augustine erect a false difference between "the divine influence shown in the good works of the pagan and those of the baptized believer," but he "gave a powerful impetus to the tendency which almost identified the divine influence with a quasi-magical operation of the sacraments.

"The word 'justification' in St. Augustine means a making righteous, not as in Paul a declaring righteous". This obviously made impossible the disparagement of the necessity for good works. No real goodness, which includes good works if opportunity is given, no justification. St. Augustine adds that there is a 'merit' in these good works, the merit being however, a gift of God.

(17) Rashdall, p. 340 f.
(18) Rashdall, p. 341
(19) Rashdall, p. 341, 342
(20) Rashdall, p. 343
The greatest difference between St. Paul and St. Augustine lies in the difference of their moral ideal. That of St. Paul can be said to have been identical with the ethical ideal of Christ Himself. St. Augustine acknowledges with St. Paul the supremacy of charity and he was no less devoted to the Kingdom of God as he understood it. His tendency however to identify the Kingdom of God with ecclesiastical organization, along with his temper of the prelate and ecclesiastical disciplinarian, became most evident in his presentation of Christianity. In his moral ideal and practical judgments, asceticism took the place of Christian charity, and dulled him to human suffering. Hastings Rashdall refers, in this regard, to St. Augustine's failure to atone to the mother of his son Adeodatus and his taking his son from her, his handling of the crime of Boniface who introduced the Vandals into Africa as compared to the offense of Boniface's second marriage following his vow of continence, and his advocating the use of force against heretics and schismatics).

Most of St. Augustine's various views on the Atonement are brought together in this following passage from the "Enchiridion":

"When Adam was made, i.e. as a just man, there was no need of a mediator. When, however, sins had separated the human race far from God, it behooved us though the Mediator, who alone was born and lived and was slain without sin, to be reconciled to God even to the resurrection of the flesh unto eternal life; so that human pride might be reproved and healed by the humility of God, and it might be manifested to man how far he had departed from God, when he was recalled by God incarnate, and an example of obedience might be given to rebellious man by the God-man; and the Only Begotten assuming the form of a servant, which had before deserved nothing, the fount of grace might be opened, and also the resurrection of the flesh promised to the redeemed might be shown beforehand in the Redeemer himself; and by the same nature which he rejoiced to have deceived the devil might be conquered; and yet man should not glory lest pride

(21) Rashdall p. 343 f.
should again be born, and whatever else may be perceived and expressed by the advanced in knowledge concerning this great sacrament of the Mediator, or may only be perceived even if it cannot be expressed." (22)
THE TEACHINGS OF ANSELM and ADELARD, AND THE THOMIST DOCTRINE.

1. Shailer Mathews in his recent book "The Atonement and the Social Process" (1) has given us an outline of the technique of salvation in the Christian religion in Anselm's day (d. 1109), and has supplied us with a social and political setting for our study of the teachings of these great precursors or founders of scholastic theology, which ought to be quoted here: "The methods of thought which Anselm adopts in his attempt to show the reason for the incarnation without any appeal to Christian sources can hardly be appreciated until one locates him in the course of medieval history, and perceives how closely he was allied with the creative social mind of his time. First of all, it is necessary to realize that the Middle Ages was a time of reorganization of a civilization. The old Roman world which had developed so remarkably in western Europe had broken down under the armed immigration of northern tribes. Cities had been destroyed; the older population had been largely killed or reduced to serfdom; the art of writing had almost disappeared. The new peoples who appropriated the remains of the civilization they had destroyed were utterly without any of the political institutions or ideas which had characterized the great age of Roman imperialism. Society reverted to an almost savage state. Commerce disappeared, officials were killed, laws were neither understood nor observed, and the only elements which seemed capable of giving any semblance of social order were represented by the military control of land. The stronger soldier seized land on which he let weaker soldiers live in return for stipulated service. There were no taxes, there were no courts, - one had almost said there was no government. What emerged out of the disorder of the seventh and eighth centuries was a large number of feudal centers in which the relationship between the higher and the lower lord was

(1) MacMillan Co., New York, 1930
a curious combination of the functions of the landlord, the military commander, and the guardian. How far any control could be exercised would be determined in the long run by the ability of the lord to maintain his status as superior to the vassal. Whatever system there was in feudalism centered around the recognition of the relative honor or dignity of the parties who entered into the feudal relationship.

Anselm was a child of this social order and had an experience which tested its power. No sooner had he been appointed archbishop of Canterbury (1093) than he found himself in conflict with William Rufus, who was exploiting the feudal elements in the English church for his own advantage. The struggles which followed the refusal of the king to recognize Urban II as Pope found Anselm able to rely on the barons as opposed to the bishops. Indeed, it would be true to say that throughout a large part of his life he was involved in struggles upon which feudal customs like that of investiture, were unquestionably the beginnings of argument.

It was this creative and controlling premise of political practice which Anselm employed in his argument to show why God became a man."

As we view Anselm's presentation of the Work of Christ through the central concept of psychoanalysis, we note a marked advance over St. Augustine's interpretation of the Cross both with reference to the stability and general emotional health reflected in his concept of God, and the more responsible characteristics which he ascribes to man. The sick super-ego in St. Augustine which colors his understanding of God and leaves him with much of the oriental potentates - whimsicality, dotishness and cruelty, gives way in Anselm to a Monarch conception, which, although enough unlike the God of Jesus and St. Paul to well belong in what has come to be known as the Dark Ages, yet includes a more realistic note than is sounded in St. Augustine. For at least Anselm's

(2) Ibid - pp 103 - 106
Feudal God was dealing with actual problems in a real world in the midst of comparative economic, political and social chaos. And although the ego, man, for Anselm received a genuine sense of personal responsibility and resourcefulness little beyond man's condition of serfdom prevalent in his day, yet a certain respectability was given this human being and within his limits an integrity was expected of him. Thus God and man in Anselm's teachings had emerged from the mixture of the unreal and real of St. Augustine's day, and had taken their position in a world of reality where order must be evolved under a more healthy God by more responsible men.

It is a curious fact that St. Augustine's economy as regards man's relation to God, was permitted to retain so much that was unreal accordingly as the exterior features of life, like the political, social and ecclesiastical institutions of his day, were relatively strong. Whereas in the face of the breakup of these exterior securities in Anselm's time, the forces within personality in men of both high and low degree were organized to deal with outside danger and correspondingly – were compelled to give up some of their unreal and infantile proportions. We are not to lose sight of the fact that the emotional growth within man as reflected in Anselm, moved but little beyond the law of the talon (the military, obedience, protection, justice stage.) The point gained, however, is that battles which before had been going on in a phantasy world, "the fighting like one beating the air", were now being waged in a real world of flesh and blood. It is little wonder that a theology and a Church which were both organized and systematized to deal with traffic in a fairy land of dreams, superstitions and fancy, paid little notice to Anselm and his attempt to bring them down to earth.

So far as the forces which operate in the soul, the unconscious and consciousness of man, are concerned, Anselm was willing to let St. Augustine's reading of things stand. Original sin and inherited guilt are for him actual facts which every man must face. In terms of the Oedipus situation, an instinctive equipment which defies authoritarian controls, and unconscious incestuous
wishes, which provoke psychological hate, murder, cruelty and rape, which in turn produce fear, guilt and punishment, - make up the original state and inherited load of every human being. As stated before, Anselm differed from St. Augustine in the characteristics which his actors on this stage possessed. The outraged father, the feudal lord of depleted honor and injured dignity, for Anselm was free from the diseased super-ego features of St. Augustine. The economy of the inner world of man must be conserved and it must be carried into the outer world of the actual and tally with it and match the facts sufficiently to permit integrity. The super-ego and the id, the feudal lord and the serf, must therefore come to terms. Justice for Anselm carried in it the inexorable law of the jungle, an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, but it was free from over-determination. That is, justice features in this relationship were not eroticised with sadistic or masochistic tinge either on the side of feudal-justice (super-ego plus ego-ideal) or the side of serf-justice (id plus ego- id.) This means that anger or wrath did not figure in the settlement. It was purely a matter of balancing the budget according to the accepted economy. Satisfaction was therefore interchangeable with punishment.

The need for salvation for man in his predicament Anselm thus projects into the familiar social and political setting of his day. The superiority, honor and dignity of the feudal lord, must be conserved at all costs otherwise the economy of this world goes to pieces. This means absolute obedience of the serf to the interests and the will of his lord. But the facts are that in his heart every serf has the seeds of disobedience and in his thoughts has usurped the feudal lord's place. The only recourse the feudal lord has when he discovers this is to mete out death to the traitor. Of course the superiority, honor and dignity of the feudal lord will be conserved if the victim who restores the original economy is equal in value in every respect to the offender; he does not have to be the same individual; and in case the victim is of greater value than the offender this places the feudal lord in the position of granting favors to the
serf or serfs whose account the victim discharges.

This solution of Anselm's carried now into operation in the emotional life of one individual would appear as follows: the id-ego wants have taken gratification against the ruling of perfection, the Super-ego. As the id-ego is supposed to substantiate this perfection of the super-ego, now with this affront, not only does the id-ego owe its usual obedience, but it also must make up for this disobedience, or punishment must follow. The super-ego might have great plans for future of the id-ego and might, as inherent in its perfection, have great love for the id-ego. Punishment however, must be forthcoming before reinstatement of the id-ego takes place. But the Super-ego itself doesn't wish to destroy all the id-ego and is ready to accept such satisfaction as can be secured by the id-ego. But how can the id-ego supply such satisfaction? It must come from none other than the id-ego but the id-ego is incapable of doing this because it continues to be disobedient and besides this the perfection of the Super-ego, which it injured, is of infinite proportions whereas the stuff of which the id-ego is made is of quite another order. This dead-lock is broken by the availability of an entity made up of both the id-ego and super-ego called the ego-ideal. This ego-ideal suffers and dies to render to those honor and dignity aspects of perfection of the super-ego the satisfaction they require. This is possible because as id-ego the ego-ideal met that required of the id-ego, and as super-ego the ego-ideal gave its sufferings sufficient value for them to become effective. The reason the ego-ideal developed within the personality is that otherwise reinstatement of the id-ego would have been forever impossible, and besides the kindly aspects of the super-ego had always wanted to overlook the mistakes of the id-ego. The id-ego now appropriates forgiveness of guilt in this way. The ego-ideal had not been disobedient and thus owed no satisfaction to the budget-keeper or legal aspect of the super-ego; the ego-ideal was under no compulsion to die. But since the ego-ideal had done the legal super-ego a good turn, it had a right to a favor at the hand of the total super-ego. This
favor which the ego-ideal asks is that the id-ego which strives to become like the ego-ideal be allowed to enjoy salvation.

Projected now into the drama of God, mankind and the world, Ansélém's plan of salvation is this. Humanity disobeyed God and in doing so offered an affront to His dignity and honor. Proper legal answer for the affront together with the usual obedience required of mankind must be supplied to God by humanity. God might desire man to re-establish the original economy destroyed by fallen angels, and He might greatly love His creatures, but He could offer no forgiveness until satisfaction be rendered for his injured dignity. Punishment in fact must be administered. But God did not wish to punish all mankind. He was ready to accept such satisfaction as might be available. But this satisfaction would have to be rendered by none other than humanity. Humanity, however, is incapable of doing this because it continues sinful and it is faced by the fact that the dignity of God is infinite. The God-man here appears; He suffers and dies and renders God's honor the satisfaction required. He is able to do this because as a man He met the requirement of mankind and as God He gave His sufferings sufficient value to allow them to become effective. The God-man had to appear because sin could never have been forgiven otherwise and in reality God had forgiven believers and wanted them to be able to solve the legal demands of justice. The sinner appropriates the forgiveness now available to him because the God-man who had not sinned and was not disobedient, who owed no satisfaction and was under no compulsion to die, had done God a good turn and earned the right to a boon. That boon is that His followers enjoy the places of the fallen angels and receive salvation.

Opinions as to the value of Ansélém's "Cur Deus Homo" differ all the way from James Denney's tribute to it as "the truest and the greatest book on the Atonement that has ever been written", to Harnack's judgment "no theory so bad had ever before his days been given out as ecclesiastical" and Steven's severe (3) The Atonement and the Modern Mind p. 116-A.C.Armstrong & Son, N. Y. 1903 (4) History of Dogma, VI. p. 98
words "it would be difficult to name any prominent treatise on atonement whose conception of sin is so essentially ethical and superficial".

So far as we are concerned in this analytical study of the work of Christ in history, we note two steps in particular beyond the presentation of the doctrine by St. Augustine. In the first place Anselm lifted the struggle of man out of the unreal world of the individual's isolated feeling states, and set it down in a world of reality where men were faced with outside dangers and forced to work out their problems of feeling in relation to God and men in actual overt behavior. In the second place, Anselm extracted the venom and arbitrariness from God's handling of sinful man, indicating the beginning of a purification of the poisoned source of spiritual supply which Christian Theology and the Church had inherited from St. Augustine's unfortunate personal experience.

II. The Teachings of Abelard (d. A. D. 1142.)

Abelard's treatment of the Work of Christ is found in his commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. He rejects as Anselm did the doctrine of redemption from the devil. Christ, he held, redeemed only the elect who never were in the devil's power. In fact, if the devil seduced man that gives him no power over man but instead makes himself deserving of punishment. And what's more, the devil had no power to give man immortality so therefore could have no rights over him. So, Abelard concludes, "By these reasons it seems convincingly proved that the devil had acquired by the act of seduction no right against man whom he had seduced, unless perhaps, as we have said, in so far as our reasons related to the permission of the Lord, who had given man over to him as jailor or torturer for punishment."

Thus, Abelard taught, man sinned only against God, whose obedience he had abandoned. If God wished to forgive sin even apart from Christ's suffering


(6) Lit. II. Col 833 f. in Migne's edition of the Works of Abelard.

(7) Col. 834.
and death as had been done many times before Christ's passion and in particular by Christ in His earthly life, then there was nothing to prevent God saying to the torturer "I will that you punish man no more". Moreover the same grace that chose a man without any preceding merits for union with Christ in the Incarnation, could, also, without injury being done thereby to the devil, if God had willed it, have freely forgiven men's sins and delivered them from punishment. "Could not He, who showed man so great grace as to unite him with Himself in one person, expend on him the lesser grace, of forgiving his sins."(8)

Why then, asks Abelard the Incarnation, the sufferings and the death of Christ? Again, why when Christ died at the hands of men by a sinful act far greater than Adam's in eating the apple, did not this rather increase God's wrath against men than bring about as St. Paul says, the justification and reconciliation of men? And again if the solution of these questions be that Christ's blood was given not to the devil but to God does this not create a further difficulty?

In answer to these questions Abelard states, "It seems to us, however, that we are justified by the blood of Christ and reconciled to God, in this, that by this singular grace shown us, that His Son took our nature and persevered in instructing us both in word and deed even unto death, He more largely bound us to Himself by love, so that kindled as we are by so great a benefit of the Divine Grace, true charity should henceforth fear nothing at all -- And so our redemption is that supreme love manifested in our case by the passion of Christ, who not merely delivers us from the bondage of sin, but also acquires for us the liberty of the sons of God, so that we may fulfill all things from love rather than from fear of Him, who, as He himself bears witness, showed us grace so great that no greater is possible." (9)

Thus two benefits proceed from the passion of Christ: (1) the forgiveness of sins; (2) the liberty of the sons of God, that is the kindling in us of a love towards God causing us to willingly obey Him. For Abelard the remission
of sins is the direct result of the kindling of love and so the indirect result of the death of Christ. Abelard has thus reduced the whole process of redemption to one single principle: the manifestation of God's love to us in Christ which awakens an answering love in us.

As to the place of baptism under this psychological reading of the atonement, Abelard held that unless baptism or martyrdom follows the kindling of love it must be concluded that perseverance has been lacking. Remission of sins in fact does not take place till baptism, even though love be kindled before baptism. In the case of children, Abelard admitted that remission of sins precedes justification, for infants though clean in God's sight are not capable of charity or righteousness, nor can they have any merits.

Side by side with Abelard's psychological statement of the doctrine, he refers to Christ as a sacrifice for sin and as having borne our sins. He also, in comparing the results of Adam's sin with those of Christ's obedience, used the principle of merit which appears not so much supplementary as alternative to his main theory: "When God made His Son man, He indeed set Him under the law, which He had given in common to all men. And so He as man must according to the Divine precept, love His neighbour as Himself, and exercise in our case the grace of His charity, both in teaching us and also in praying for us ... But His supreme righteousness required that His prayer should in nothing meet repulse, since the Divinity in union with Him allowed Him to wish or do nothing but what should be ... And so, being made man, He is constrained by the law of the love of His neighbour, that He might redeem those who were under the law and could not be saved by the law, and might supply from His own what was wanting in our merits, and just as He was singular in holiness, so also He might be singular in His utility in the matter of others' salvation. Otherwise what great thing did His holiness merit, if it availed only for His own, and not for others' salvation?" 

(10) Col. 837-8.
(12) Col. 865.
Thus not only did Abelard give a new turn to the doctrine in stressing the moral effect of Christ's death, besides his effective criticism of the doctrine of redemption from the devil, he introduced the new element into the doctrine by formally subordinating it to the Augustinian doctrine of predestination, "Only the elect are the objects of Christ's redeeming work; it's scope is limited beforehand by the Divine decree". 

For Abelard, Jesus was neither a ransom to the devil nor a satisfaction to injured dignity. He was the manifestation of God's love to us which awakens in us answering love. Seen through the theory of the psychoanalysts, Abelard's position would be this: The Oedipus situation finds man condemned because of his seduction by unconscious incestuous wishes. These incestuous tendencies of early childhood have survived in distorted form and bring about sentence on all men except certain elected individuals, which leaves them lost in the throes of guilt, hate, and destruction. The type of Super-ego agent whose diseased condition makes necessary this widespread slaughter of souls is more prevalent in individuals of society than is that type of Super-ego whose kindly characteristics are more dominant than its prohibitory and death-requiring features. There is a group of human beings who are fortunate enough to be under this kindly super-ego's jurisdiction (those predestined to enjoy salvation.)

In these the super-ego was so gracious that it not only presented a scapegoat to them in the form of an ego-ideal resembling itself, but this ego-ideal was presented in such loveliness and the id-ego was so won to it, that upon the loss of this ego-ideal the id-ego becomes moulded to it's likeness. Cast in Abelard's language, it would read as follows: It seems to us (id-ego's) who have guilt to be forgiven, that this is remitted by the slaying of our ego-ideal (Christ) and the conflict within the emotional life (between Super-ego and id) is resolved (justification and reconciliation) this way.

(13) Franks - Vol. 1, p. 192
By this singular kindly quality shown us (id-egos), the super-ego's likeness became ego and instructed us (id-egos) in word and deed until it's death. This ego-ideal largely bound us id-egos to itself by love so that kindled as we are by so great a benefit of super-ego kindliness, true love should henceforth fear nothing at all. And so our salvation is that supreme love manifested in our case by the suffering of the ego-ideal, who not merely delivers us from the bondage of guilt but also acquires for us free egos (who meet the approval of the super-ego) so that we may fulfil all things from love rather than from fear.

For Abelard the resolution of guilt is the direct result of the love acquired for the ego-ideal, only the indirect result of the slaying of the ego-ideal.

Viewed analytically, the original contribution of Abelard to the solution of the Oedipus situation in which man found himself was that the forces of love as opposed to those of hatred are shown to be winning out in personality, and the experiencing of these attractions of goodness, beauty and truth, as incarnated in Jesus of Nazareth, when real to a human being, can lift him above the compulsive wants of the instinctual; can, in cases where the super-ego is not too diseased, satisfy the death of self (the-ego) demanded, and can produce healthy super-ego-likeness in the ego of man.

All of these paralleling of theological and psychological terms is little else than a clumsy business unless we appreciate the possibility of fresh insights which can come by considering a man's teachings autobiographically. As L. P. Jacks has somewhere stated "the soul of man is the universe turned outside in". Abelard's originality consisted in his personal freedom from the fears and superstitions of his day, due no doubt to healthy parental love-objects in his own family background, permitting him to realize in his own life and teachings a bit of reality lost to the world since the day of St. Paul. He experienced and revealed the new in a specialized sense within the framework of St. Augustine.
In fact it was within the limitation of St. Augustine's single doctrine, predestination, that Abelard opened the way for later moral influence theories of the Atonement. From the standpoint of the therapeutic side of psychoanalysis this contribution of Abelard is most important for it deals with the healing power of the transfer. Without the development of love toward the salvation object, the analyst, the removal of emotional isolation and the inauguration of realistic living in the patient is impossible. In this way Abelard's transfer to an ego object, Christ, as the direct step in the resolution of guilt, which is back of isolation and lost-ness, is sound clinical experience. The death of this loved-object, and the patients' or followers' necessity of living the ego-reality life of the one loved, is precisely what takes place in analyzing the transfer in successfully completed analyses.

Such a view as this one of Abelard's could not lift it's head in the presence of the growing power of the penitential system of the Church. It was condemned by the Council of Saens in 1141, but was not lost to later thinkers on this important problem.
III. The Thomist Doctrine of the Atonement.

"In St. Thomas' treatment of the Atonement no new idea emerges. In this matter, as in so many others, he does little more than give definite form and outline to the traditional theology of the past. St. Thomas was a great systematizer of other men's thoughts rather than a free and original thinker. Views which had given offense are slightly toned down rather than definitely abandoned. There is no leading thought in the Thomist doctrine on the subject: He enumerates a long list of distinct reasons for the death of Christ". If we see Christ's suffering and death as part of a drama in which the social forces of a people, as extensions of parallel forces in human personality, are spending themselves, and if we apply the reasons St. Thomas Aquinas lists for the death of Christ, to the economy of the total personality of a single human being, according to psychoanalytic doctrine, the readings would be somewhat as follows:

(1) The ego-ideal within the personality (Christ) merited from the Super-ego perfection the forgiveness of the guilt-load, felt by the id-ego, by the superabundant merit of it's voluntary death. That Super-ego part of the personality that loves the id-ego might have appropriated other ways to remove this load of guilt but it is enough that this is just and a convenient way of doing so. Without delving into high-flown metaphysics, it is simply this: that in the ego-ideal's submission to a death which in its case it didn't deserve, it earned a store of merit which was greater than was required to outweigh all the de-merit of the unconscious incestuous desires of the id and all the actual punishable mistakes of the id-ego.

(2) Instead of the abstract idea that all the multitudinous opportunities for unconscious incestuous desire could be compressed into one

1. single isolated punishable mistake to be squared by one compressed act, keeping
2. Rashdall p. 373
4. Summa Theologica Pt. I Qu. 46, art. 2
   (4) Rashdall p. 374
in mind the economy within a single personality, there is substituted the simpler thought of the ego-ideal as the Head and the id-ego believers as the members of a body of which the ego-ideal is the Head. Thus the merit which the ego-ideal won is transferred to the id-ego-super-ego through mystical union of id-ego believers with this body and of this body with it's Head.

(3) The Ego-ideal caused salvation for the id-ego by way of satisfaction. The suffering and death of the ego-ideal was not only a sufficient but even a superabundant satisfaction for the guilt of the id and id-ego. This idea of satisfaction is equivalent to the idea of punishment. "It is a convenient mode of satisfying for another, says St. Thomas, when any one subjects himself to the punishment which another merited".

(4) The death of the ego-ideal is a sacrifice which placates the wrathful features ascribed to the super-ego perfection agent within the personality. Yet it is not true that the love of super-ego-perfection for the id-ego was caused for the first time by the death of the ego-ideal; this death was simply to remove the obstacle to a continuance of that love, an obstacle which id-desires and id-ego thought and behavior had created.

(5) The id-ego is freed from guilt because it is provoked to the likeness of the ego-ideal by the exhibition of the love of Super-ego-perfection in the death of the ego-ideal.

(6) The death of the ego-ideal is a ransom, a kind of price. This price is not paid to the id but to the super-ego-perfection. This paying of a price is identical with satisfaction. The id-ego was justly allowed to incur the penalty of servitude to the clash of unconscious incestuous desires and the Super-ego, but only in the sense that a man is subjected by a just judge to a torturer - without prejudice to his continued allegiance to the Super-ego-perfection.

(5) Rashdall p. 375
(6) III, qu. 50, Art. 1
(7) Rashdall, p. 375
(8) III, qua 48, Art. 1
(9) III Qu. 49, Art. 1
(10) III qu. 48 Art. 4
the supreme Judge. The justice aspects of super-ego-perfection demanded that man would have to be redeemed only in respect to his standing with the super-ego-perfection. Had not the diseased super-ego plus the id (making up the Devil) exceeded the measure of power entrusted to it by super-ego-perfection, by devising the death of the ego-ideal who did not deserve death, the diseased super-ego - the id (the Devil) would have had some sort of quasi-rights which could not justly have been ignored.

(7). The suffering of the ego-ideal causes the removal of the guilt-load of the id-ego by way of efficiency. The physical ego aspect of this ego-ideal in respect of which this ego-ideal suffered physically, is the instrument of this ego-ideal's super-ego-perfection characteristic, from which sufferings and actions operate in a super-ego-perfection value, for the discharge of guilt.

Thus the suffering of the ego-ideal (Christ) is, as it were, a fountain from which flows a healing stream of super-ego-perfection value, by which guilt is discharged for the id-ego and balance within the personality restored (justification effected.)

II. "St. Thomas adhered rigidly to the Augustinian doctrine of predestination, of original sin, of the necessity for divine grace at every stage in the process of justification and sanctification". He regarded, however, "a moral act as essentially the work of the man himself, and in that sense free."

This combined with the doctrine of future reward and punishment, led to a marked emphasis on merit.

"St. Thomas is so far in earnest with the doctrine that a man's sins must be his own that he denies that the sin of Adam can descend to his posterity in such wise as to deserve actual pain. No one can merit damnation by original sin alone". St. Thomas provides a "limbus puerorum" for unbaptized infants instead of a place of torment.

(12) III qu. 49, Art. 1.
(13) Rashdall p. 377
(14) Rashdall p. 377
(15) Rashdall p. 378
St. Thomas was a predestinarian and a determinist and if he seems to waver by suggesting "that the individual is able to prepare himself for grace by doing good acts, it soon appears that in this preparatory step too, the will must be moved by God: the man must receive help which is due to first or prevenient grace. Then comes the grace which enables the man to do good works and so earn merit. In so far as the meritorious acts proceed from his free will, he may be said to earn merit of congruity. It is congruous that the man who does virtuous acts should be rewarded by God, though it is only God that has given him the formed faith or charity which enables him to do them; while in so far as the meritorious work proceeds from the Holy Spirit, the man who is in a state of grace may even be said to do good works which can really earn merit 'ex condigno'; that is to say, he may be looked upon as jointly with God causing the good works and merit their reward. The rights of faith are as it were technically saved. It is the faith that justifies, but then faith without love is merely unformed faith; it only passes into formed faith which alone justifies when it produces love and the good works to which love prompts." "Justification is, with St. Thomas, the actual making of the man good through the virtue which is infused into him by God. In some vague and undefined sense this bestowal of grace is connected with the passion of Christ".

The channels through which this grace is communicated to the individual are the sacraments. "St. Thomas stereotyped the doctrine of seven and only seven sacraments; and all the sacraments are now definitely pronounced to be founded by Christ Himself." They are all important but the most prominent is penance. "It is absolutely essential to salvation for anyone who has committed any actual mortal sin. The absolving priest is the 'instrument' of the divine forgiveness. Salvation is made to depend mainly, not upon any direct effects, objective or subjective, of Christ's atonement upon the soul, but upon a mysterious influence which acts upon it in a semi-physical manner through wholly physical channels. The penitent must be contrite, but no contrition can...

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(16) Rashdall, p. 379-380
dispense with the necessity for sacramental penance after mortal sin. Venial sins may, indeed, if repented of, be remitted without priestly absolution, but the sprinkling of holy water conduces to their remission. Good works are insisted on, and must be done from a motive of love; but the performance of penance and conformity to ecclesiastical regulations are the good works generally contemplated, while the deficiency of works in the penitent can always be supplied by the application to him of the merits of others. For him who aims at 'perfection' the monastery is open: for the secular — — — the whole stress of Thomas' teaching is laid upon the sacraments. Only in this somewhat external and mechanical way is the salvation of the individual connected with the work of Christ." The sacraments "have their virtue from the passion of Christ, the virtue of which is applied in some way to us by the reception of the sacraments." (17)

St. Thomas had a chief hand in formulating the plan of indulgences.

"Sin even in the man who is forgiven had to be satisfied for, by the personal sufferings or good works of the sinner. This necessity was due to the intrinsic justice of such satisfaction and was also required for the sake of its deterrent influence. These "Temporal" penalties of sin consisted partly in penalties, enjoined by the Church, partly in the pains of Purgatory, except for the saints or others who had satisfied sufficiently in this life. But the merits of Christ were more than sufficient for the redemption of mankind: they were sufficient to be allowed to compensate even for those temporal penalties. And the Saints by their works of supererogation, had added to these merits. The Pope or Bishop had therefore the power to apply this 'treasury of merits' to the remission of those penalties on any conditions he pleased." (18)

III. St. Thomas, as already stated, sheds no new light on the handling of forces that rage within the human soul. Because of the teachings of Aristotle, which were accessible to him and which carried a certain weight of conviction for him, he would have liked to have struck out in the direction of

(17) Rashdall, p. 380, 381.
(18) Part III qu. 61 Art. 1. Also supplement qu. 17, Art. 1.
real personal responsibility for man and the hope of emotional adulthood.

But this he could not do and at the same time add to the strength of the Christian Church to which he must remain loyal. Therefore the new insight which came to him from Aristotle regarding man's moral responsibility for his own mistakes and failures which were free from unconscious compulsion, he used as grist for his mill in building stronger the penitential system of the Church.

St. Thomas' removing the curse of damnation for original sin taken by itself, and his lack of ruthlessness toward unbaptized infants, served to tone down a little theologie's inheritance of sadism in the super-ego of St. Augustine. But he retained without change St. Augustine's crude and unhealthy super-ego characteristics, which not only required their pound of flesh but demanded their emotional spree of wrathfulness.

St. Thomas misses none of the previous important ways of transacting the dealings between God and man as regards the guilt and fears in which man has always been entangled. A ransom paid to the destructive and hate forces within the Universe, and within man, is not beyond the range of possibility for St. Thomas, although the patristic theory is civilized so that God gets the price paid instead of the Devil.

The measure of objectivity and realism attained in Anselm's experience and doctrine is given it's place, as is also Abelard's fresh grasp of the therapeutic power of love. In St. Thomas' hands, however, these became almost materialized as they are forced into the vaults and through the channels of the Church.

St. Thomas brought an orderliness out of chaos based upon the mixture of simple Christian, Platonic, Neoplatonic and Aristotelian learning of his day, and an organization gauged to the needs of a weltering mass of humanity who had little awareness of what life was all about. Some of these human beings wanted explanations and a framework for the interpretation of life. Most of them wanted a way out of their misery which would be practical and sure. St. Thomas made
room for all believers within his remarkable system whatever their preferred view of its central truth might be, and he made way for traffic in the exchange of sin and salvation, for the thinking and unthinking believers alike, which, geared to the undeveloped emotional states of people as it was, has stood the test of centuries.

St. Thomas swept the pages of learning of his day and saved the best along with the worst. He faced the facts and needs in the lives of individual sufferers as nearly as the technique of his day allowed one to get at them. And he formed an institution grounded in a prescribed faith, buttressed by learning and operated with the aid of an elaborate technique and treatment.
APPENDIX 3.
LUTHER'S DOCTRINE OF JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH.

Luther never reduced this new fundamental doctrine to a single point of view. Robert S. Franks quotes O. Ritschl as follows:-

"Luther's reformatory doctrine of justification contains the following ideas, which more or less stand in tension with one another. In the first place it is God, who, out of mercy for Christ's sake, justifies - i.e. holds and declares to be righteous - sinners, if they believe. Secondly, God justifies, in that he gives to the sinner justifying faith. Thirdly, faith justifies, so far as it establishes that relation of the sinner to God, which God by means of His imputation holds for righteousness and allows to avail as such. Fourthly, faith justifies, in that it is the righteousness of Christ, entirely alien to sinners, but infused into their hearts, and in so far is the ideal fulfilment of the law. Fifthly, there ever increasingly proceeds from the purity of heart, which thus comes to be in faith, the proper righteousness and fulfilment of the law of believers, which indeed is never perfect in this life, but in spite of the constant element of sin which it contains, is yet pleasing to God, since the latter is not imputed to them"

According to Robert W. Franks, if we are to understand Luther's doctrine of justification in relation to its conflict with the previous Catholic doctrine, it is necessary to mark, first, Luther's interpretation of the word grace. In Luther this is not a quality of the soul (the gratia creat of the schoolmen) charity, but it is God's free unmerited favor to sinners shown in the forgiveness of sins, which, however, is accompanied by the Holy Spirit. Secondly, Luther gave a new meaning to Faith. In Luther, faith (though presupposing belief in the creed) is confidence (fiducia), or trust, in the mercy of God revealed in Jesus Christ.

(1) and (2), Franks, A History of the Doctrine of the Work of Christ; I, pp 355, 356, 357
And when Luther spoke of faith, he meant that confidence one can feel inside, enabling a repentant sinner to stand unafraid in the presence of God, men and all life's tests, because the mercy of God, which makes possible this confidence in the sinner, was revealed in Jesus Christ. So since Jesus was true to God, for His sake if the sinner believes God justifies, makes righteous, frees the sinner from that inner feeling of inferiority, dread and fear of death, and lack of confidence like that which followed Luther from childhood.

The innocent condition "if the sinner believes" however, has in it more that meets the eye. St. Paul "believed", but even he, carried with him to his death his "thorn in the flesh". Luther "believed" and like St. Paul stood not only unafraid before his enemies but joyous in his anger in battle with them. But Luther could never be done with his adversary's visits in the form of death wishes, hypochondriacal pains and punishments in various disguises. Yet we conjecture, without the faith that Luther was able to feel, he would probably have been a helpless invalid all his life long, or else he would have gone insane.

God justifies in that he gives to the sinner justifying faith. He gives this to one in Luther's state of suffering, as to everyone, in the victory of Jesus Christ who superceded in the law under which the sinner struggles.

Faith, or confidence in God's mercy, in Jesus Christ justifies, (holds Luther for righteous) so far as this faith establishes that relation of the sinner to God which, by means of his imputation, God holds for righteousness and allows to avail as such. This, as we see, is entirely within the condition mentioned in one of the preceding paragraphs, "if the sinner believes". Here it could be stated: "In the measure that ye believe, righteousness before God, justification, will be measured out to you."
This "righteousness of Christ" alien to sinners, which is, "infused" into their hearts is the power that justifies. For Luther this happened to the extent that he placed confidence in God's mercy in Jesus Christ. This manifestation of God in Jesus Christ, being an act of love unto death, is the ideal fulfillment of the law. Thus, for Luther, the Act of God in Christ put a stop to the operation of his responsibility to pay up for every sinful wish, thought and deed most of which were beyond his control. By the sacrifice of such a life through love, God delivered Luther (man) from the denomination of responsibility for the uncontrollable forces and their results lying deep within.

There follows a release of energy in the sinner (in Luther) to live righteously and fulfill the law of love (law of believers) which in this life is always imperfect, but which, in spite of the element of sin it contains, is pleasing to God. And he does not impute the sinful content of their efforts to sinners thus released. Luther thus finds himself lifted free from the old treadmill of meritorious acts in the effort to win standing with an offended God. His efforts, now under his confidence in the mercy of God expressed to man in the sacrificed love of Jesus, are full-gauged and unhampered by contrary forces just to the extent that he believes. And to this extent the righteousness of Christ enters his heart and he is accepted as justified before God; to this extent his efforts in love are pleasing to God, and their imperfections are not registered against him. Luther now lives in another world in which God has supplanted the old law of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, by a higher law, the law of sacrificial and forgiving love in Jesus Christ.

In the Schmalkald Articles, Luther begins by acknowledging as the highest articles concerning the Divine Majesty, the Doctrines
of the Trinity and the Incarnation, as stated in the Apostle's and the Athanasian Creed. These he accepts. He next deals with the articles which concern the office and work of Jesus Christ and our redemption.

"The first and principle article is: that Jesus Christ our Lord and God, died for our sins, and rose again for our righteousness (Rom. 6/24). And that he alone is the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world (Jn.1/30), and that God laid upon him the iniquity of us all. (Is. 53/4) All have sinned, and are justified freely without works or their own merits, by His Grace, through the redemption, which is in Jesus Christ, in his blood, (Rom, 3/24).

Since it is necessary to believe this, and it can be acquired and apprehended by no work, law or merit, as Paul saith (Rom. 3/18, 26) No religious man may recede from this article or grant or allow anything against it, even though heaven and earth and all things be destroyed together; for their is no other name given to man, whereby we may be saved, saith Peter (Acts.4/12) 'And by his wounds we are healed'(Is.53/5) And in this article are set forth, and consist all things, which in our life we teach testify and treat of against the pope, the devil and all things contrary which would obtain the right and victory against us." (Para.II)

Luther, here we notice, "states the Doctrine of the Work of Christ as viewed through the principle of justification by faith". To him the two were not two but one.

Luther's great statement of his own doctrine of the work of Christ in the Larger Catechism runs as follows:

"I believe that Jesus Christ, the true Son of God has become my Lord, What does this mean: To become my Lord? It signified (3) Franks, I,p.362; (4) Franks,I,p.363; (5) II,2,27f.
He has delivered me by his blood from sin, the devil, death and all destruction ....

For when now we had been created by God, and had received from the Father inestimable gifts of every kind, there came the devil, envying our happiness, and drawing us by his devices brought us into the open and rebellious disobedience to God, death, and all dangers so that we lay under His wrath, condemned to perpetual damnation, as we had merited by our guilt. Here there was no longer left any hope of regaining grace, or way of winning salvation, or aid to placate the Father, or way to forgive sin, till that immortal Son of the immortal Father, pitying in the depth of his kindness our wretched misery and exile, descended from heaven to bring us help and liberated us from all captivity of sin and death, and the devil, into the freedom of his adoption. Thus then the power of all these tyrants and exactors was dispised and overthrown, and into their place came Jesus Christ, the author of life and righteousness, salvation, justification and all goods; who delivered us poor and wretched sinners from the jaws of hell, saved us and guaranteed us liberty; won the favor and grace of the angry Father by placating His wrath, and took us as His own possession under His own care, to rule and govern us through His justice, wisdom, power, life, and beatitude."

(6) Franks adds, "In virtue of all this Christ is 'Our Lord'. The rest of the article in the creed concerning Him explain the details and conditions of the above described redemption. Christ was incarnate and born of the Holy Ghost and the Virgin Mary to be the 'Lord of Sin'. He suffered, died, and was buried to 'satisfy for me and pay my debt (culpa) which I had to pay, not with gold or silver but with his own precious blood'. None of these things did

(6) Franks, I, p. 365
He do for His own sake, but to become my Lord. Then He rose, ascended and sits at the right hand of the Father to compell the submission of all the hosts of the devil, till He comes again to redeem us from the evil one". Luther concludes:

"The whole gospel which we preach tends to the right understanding of this article, as that in which the sum of our whole salvation and eternal happiness is placed, which because of familiarity and because of its far-and-wide spreading richness we can never thoroughly enough learn".

Franks would have us note that Luther's religious apprehension of the title "my Lord" in the above is practically the same thing as the doctrine of justification by faith.

In the next section of the Schmalkald Articles (Para VII) Luther first insists by way of basis for his new doctrine, on a more thoroughgoing adherence to the Augustinian doctrine of original sin. He says the principle "that, if a man do what in him lies, God certainly grants him his grace" and all such monstrosities have arisen from ignorance of sin and Christ our Savior, and are more heathen doctrines.

Next, Luther's distinction between the law and the gospel is important, for the understanding of his conception of the Divine Revelation and of the relation of his system to Catholicism. The proper office of the law says Luther is to reveal to man original sin and all its fruits. In this way he is terrified, hunted, cast down, despair of himself, and anxiously desires help, nor knows whither to flee; he begins to be angry with God and murmur for impatience". (Rom. 4:15 - 5:20.)

This office of the law continues in the new testament: it causes passive contrition, which is the torment of consciences, the true suffering of the heart, and fear of death.

(7) Art. 3.7; 3.8; Art. 4.
"This is the beginning of true repentance. The New Testament immediately adds to this office (of the law) the consolation and promise of the grace of the gospel which we must believe." (MK.1/15) When the law above exercises this its office without the gospel, nothing but death and hell oppress man, till he altogether despair. On the other hand the gospel brings consolation and forgiveness, not in one way only but by the word, the Sacraments and so on. (The gospel teaches us that God is infinitely rich and free in His grace and goodness). First by the Spoken Word, by which it bids the forgiveness of sins be preached in the whole world... Secondly, by baptism, thirdly, by the reverend sacrament of the altar, fourthly by the power of the keys and even by the mutual intercourse and consolation of the brethren.

Thus for Luther the principle function of the law is to convict man of sin, while the gospel has as its essence the message of the forgiveness of sins. "The Sacraments, of which Luther retains only three, viz:—baptism, the Eucharist and penances,—in the meaning of additional ways in which the gospel is set forth" he says:—

"Baptism works the forgiveness of sins, delivers from death and the devil, and grants eternal life to all and each, who believe that which the works and the divine assurances provide." It is not the water indeed that does such great things, but the word of God, which is in and with the water and faith, which believes in the word of God added to the water.

As regards the Eucharist the Schmalkald Articles say: "Concerning the sacrament of the altar we deem that the bread and wine in the supper are the very body and blood of Christ." But the heart of Luther's view comes out in the following:—

"The profit in eating and drinking in the Lord's supper is indicated in the words: (8) pro vobis datur et effunditur in remissionen peccat. (9) Art.3.2;3.4. (10) Franks, I, p.367. (11)S.Catq. IV,6. (12) Pars. III,6.1. (13) Pars. IV,10.
Without doubt through these words there are given to us in the Sacrament, the remission of sins, life, righteousness, and salvation. The words are together with the bodily eating the chief and sum of the sacrament. And he who believes these words has what they say and just as they sound, without doubt the remission of sins.

As to Luther's third Sacrament, Confession, the Schmalkald Articles say:

"Since absolution and the power of the keys is a consolation and assistance against sin and an evil conscience, instituted in the gospel by Christ himself, confession/absolution are by no means to be abolished in the church."

To quote Franks:

"Luther has fundamentally altered the conception of all the sacraments, in so much as he makes their common content, not grace on the Catholic sense but essentially grace as the remission of sins, as a gospel to be believed, i.e. trusted by the troubled conscience. All other benefits flow out of this grace; Where there is the forgiveness of sins, there is both life and salvation."

II

The Reaction of Luther's Doctrine of Justification on His Teachings concerning the Work of Christ.


(From Luther's sermons quoted by Thomasius in "Christi Person und Werk" Part III, pp 284-300, 1862).

a). "If now indeed out of pure grace our sins are not imputed by God, He has not willed to do this without first His law and His righteousness receiving satisfaction before all things and superabundantly. Such grace: imputation must first be bought and obtained for us from His righteousness. Therefore, since that was impossible to us, He has ordained one for us in our place, who should take upon Himself all punishments, which we had deserved, and fulfill the Law for us, and thus turn them from us and reconcile God's wrath."

b). "Christ...Who in thy place and for thee had made satisfaction superabundantly to every Divine command and of God's righteousness (Thomasius-287).

c). "It could not come about that God's wrath, judgment, and all evil things should be removed and all good be won, without satisfaction having to be made to the Divine righteousness, sin having to be paid for, and death having to be overcome in accordance with justice" (286).

2. Christ's Work as Redemption from the Devil and Death.

"The doctrine of the Gospel speaks nothing of the works of the law, but of God's mercy, who, seeing that we were oppressed under the curse of the law and unable to deliver ourselves from it, sent His only Son into the world, and laid upon Him the sins of all men, bidding Him pay and satisfy for them."

"Then comes the law and says: I find Him a sinner, and such a one indeed as taken upon Himself the sins of all men, and I see no sin anywhere but in Him, therefore let Him die upon the Cross, and so He attacks Him and slays Him. By this means the whole world is purged and cleansed from all sins and therefore delivered from death and all evils" (The Patristic-Gnostic form of the doctrine, Comm. Gal. II, 18, 19).

(18)

"Similarly Christ overcomes sins": (that is, the devil):

"He, I say, runs upon Christ, and will devour Him, as all others. But He does not see that He is a person of unconquered and eternal righteousness. Therefore in this combat sin must needs be conquered and killed, and righteousness conquer and live" (Comm. Gal. II, 20).

(19)

"So again with death and the curse":

"Because life was immortal, even though conquered it came off conqueror, conquering and slaying death" (Comm. Gal. II, 21). So the curse which is the Divine wrath upon the whole world, has the same conflict with the blessing, that is to say with the eternal grace and mercy of God in Christ. The curse therefore fights with the blessing, and would condemn it and bring it to nought, but it cannot do so. For the blessing is Divine and eternal, and therefore the curse must give it place" (Comm. Gal. II, 21).

"Finally here we have salvation in compendio. As Paul says, Christ spoiled the principalities and powers, and triumphed over them in Himself" (Col. II, 15).

(17) and (18) Franks, I, 378
(19) and (20) Franks, I, 379
"And this circumstance 'in Himself' makes that combat more wonderful and glorious. For it shows that it was necessary that these great things should be accomplished in that one only person Christ 'that is, that the curse, sin and death, should be destroyed, and the blessing righteousness and life, take their place), and so the whole creation should be transformed through Him... In so far therefore as Christ reigns by His grace in the hearts of the faithful there is no sin, no death, no curse. But where Christ is not known, those things remain" (Comm. Gal. II, 21, 22).

"Luther shows how well he understands the Patristic doctrine by pointing out how its very nerve is in the doctrine of the divinity of Christ". (21) "For to overcome the sin of the world, death, the curse, and the wrath of God in Himself, is not the work of any creature but of divine power. Therefore he who has overcome those things in Himself, must be truly and naturally God" (Comm. Gal. II, 22).

"The divinity of Christ, in fact, says Luther, is implied in the fundamental article of justification". (22) "Wherefore, when we teach that men are justified by Christ, that Christ is the conqueror of sin and death, and the eternal curse, we at the same time witness that He is by nature God" (Comm. Gal. II, 23).

"He passes on from the objective salvation of humanity by the Incarnation to its subjective salvation by the spiritual presence of Christ in the heart" (Comm. Gal. II, r124). "As Christ came once corporally at the time appointed, abrogated the whole law, abolished sin, destroyed death and hell, so He comes to us spiritually without ceasing, and daily quenches and kills these things in us. These things I say that thou mayest know how to answer, when the objection is made: 'Christ came into the world, and once for all took away our sins, cleansing us by His own blood, what need therefore for us to hear the Gospel? What is the use for absolution and the sacraments? It is true, in so far as thou lookest on Christ, the law and sin are in very fact abolished. But Christ is not yet come to thee, or if He is come, yet there is still in thee the remains of sin, thou art not yet all leavened. For where there is concupiscence, heaviness of spirit, fear of death, etc., there still is the law and sin, and Christ is not yet come, who when He comes, drives out fear and heaviness, and brings peace and quietness of conscience".


"Luther adopts the argument of Augustine except he substitutes the law for the devil. He is in agreement with the Agnostics in distin-
(21) and (22) Franks, I, 380"
guishing the law as a subordinate power from God as the Highest Power."

"Christ redeemed us by being made under the law which held us captive."

"What did He? He is the Lord of the law, and therefore the law has no authority over Him, it cannot accuse Him, because He is the Son of God. When, therefore, He is not under the law, of His own accord He subjected Himself to the law. Then the law exercised over Him the same tyranny as over us...Finally, by its sentence it condemned Him to death, and that the death of the Cross. This is indeed a wonderful combat, in which the law, a creature, thus joins battle with the Creator, and against all right exercises all its tyranny upon the Son of God, which it exercised upon us the children of wrath."

Christ says to them who believe in Him:

"I could have overcome the law by the highest right, without my hurt, for I am Lord of the law, and it therefore has no right over me. But I have made myself subject to the law for your sake who were under the law, taking your flesh upon me; that is, I have beyond all need (per-Superabundantiam) condescended to the same poison, tyranny, and bondage of the law, under which you were bound captive; I have allowed the law to lord it over me, Me, its Lord, to subject Me, as it ought not, to sin, death and the wrath of God. Therefore, by a double right I have conquered, overturned, slain the law; first as the Son of God, the Lord of the law; then in your person, which is the same as if you yourselves had conquered the law, for my victory is yours" (Comm. Gal. II, p 151f).

In another passage Luther speaks of Christ's obedience to the law as the condition of our redemption.

"He was not made a teacher of the law, but a scholar, obedient to the law, that by his obedience we might redeem those that were under the law. Christ therefore was related to the law passively, not actively...Whereas Christ in the Gospels gives commandments and teaches the law, or rather interprets, this belongs not to the doctrine of justification but to that of good works. Again it is not the proper office of Christ, for which He came especially into the world, to teach the law, but an accidental office" (Comm. Gal. II, p 155, 156).

"Christ is accordingly no Moses, nor exactor, nor legislator, but a giver of grace, saviour, and fount of mercy" (Comm. Gal. II, p 157; I, p 260).

"He abolished for the Christian not only the ceremonial, but also the moral law, as far as the conscience is concerned" (Comm. Gal. I, p 229f).

"For Luther, the Incarnation with the consequent life, death and resurrection of Christ, is above all a revelation of God's love, in which he is manifested as he is not manifested in nature and reason, through which he appears as lawgiver."

"Wherefore when thou wouldst know and treat of thy salvation, setting all speculations on the Divine majesty, all thoughts of works, traditions, philosophy, and even the Divine law, run straight to the manger and the mother's bosom, embrace that babe the little Son of the Virgin, and behold Him being born, sucking, growing up, having conversation with men, teaching, dying, rising again, ascending up above all heavens and having power over all things" (Comm. Gal. I, p 50).

As to how the God of the law stands related to the God of the Gospel: "God's nature is to exalt the humble, to feed the hungry, to enlighten the blind, to console the wretched and afflicted, to justify sinners, to quicken the dead, to save the desparate and the damned etc... For he is an Almighty Creator, making all things out of nothing. But that most pernicious plague, man's opinion of his own righteousness, which will not be a sinner, unclean, miserable and damned, but, just, holy etc., prevents God from coming to this His own natural and proper work. Therefore God must use that hammer, to wit the law, to break, beat, pound, and in a word, reduce to nothing, that beast with its vain confidence, wisdom, righteousness, power, etc., that at length it may learn that it is lost and damned" (Comm. Gal. II, p 70).

(24) Franks, I, 384.
In Calvin's Institutes we find the first complete Protestant system of theology which could be called of equal weight with the great medieval systems of Catholicism like that of Thomas Aquinas. Not only does Calvin represent in his teachings a synthesis of reformation theology but he presents a new doctrine of the work of Christ which is distinct from either the patristic or the medieval doctrines. His doctrine of the threefold office of Christ is characteristically Protestant. It not merely presents the whole work of Christ in a single view but it gives it in such a manner that it shows how Christ's work terminates in the production of faith through the Gospel. (1)

Through the fall and revolt of Adam the whole human race was made accursed and degenerate. Adam involved himself and the race in this dreadful calamity not as a result of sensual intemperance but as a result of infidelity, the source of other heinous sins. This led to revolt from God from whom all true happiness must be derived. Augustine's idea that pride was the beginning of all evil, Calvin says, is not far from the mark. Disobedience mentioned in the Old Testament and confirmed by Paul, defines it. Despising the truth, and turning aside to lies, means all reverence for God is gone. Thus infidelity is at the root of the revolt. Infidelity opened the door to ambition, ambition was the parent of rebellion, casting off the fear of God and giving free vent to lust. (2)

The influence of Adam's repugnance to the Command of God and his being incredulous to His word extends to all creatures, though they be unoffending, and to all posterity. Therefore all are corrupt through inherited original sin and human nature previously pure and good is depraved. This depravation is communicated to the whole posterity of Adam and is not confined to Adam as asserted by Pelagius. In fact "before we behold the light of the sun we are in God's

(1) Franks Vol. I. p. 441
(2) This and other references are to the final edition of the Institutes (1559)
(3) This depravation was communicated not merely by imitation but by propagation. "Accordingly so Augustine says, 'Both the condemned unbeliever and the acquitted believer beget off-spring not acquitted but condemned, because the nature which begets is corrupt'".

"Original sin may be defined as hereditary corruption and depravity of our nature, extending to all the parts of the soul, which first makes us obnoxious to the wrath of God, and then producing in us works which in the Scripture are termed works of the flesh (Gal. 5:19)". God is not the author of sin. "The blame of our ruin rests with our own carnality, not with God, its only cause being our degeneracy from original condition". And this inherent vitiou-

ness although natural, does not proceed from nature. It was rather an adventitious event which befell man, not a substantial property assigned to him from the be-
ginning.

Man is now deprived of freedom of will and is miserably enslaved. And he who is most deeply abased and alarmed, by the consciousness of his disgrace, nakedness, want and misery, has made the greatest progress in the knowledge of himself. And "man is in no danger of taking too much from himself provided he learns that whatever he wants is to be recovered in God". In fact, "whenever our minds are seized with a longing to possess a somewhat of our own, which may reside in us rather than in God, we may rest assured that the thought is suggested by no other counsellor than he who enticed our first parents to aspire to be like Gods, knowing good and evil". As a matter of fact "none are admitted to enjoy the blessings of God save those who are pining under a sense of their own poverty". Thus the natural endowments of man are corrupted and the supernatural (the light of faith and righteousness sufficient for heavenly life and everlast-
ing felicity) almost entirely lost.

(5) Book II, 1, 5.; Book II, Chapter 1., Section 4.
(4) Book II, 1, 7.
(5) II, 1, 8.
(6) II, 1,10.
(7) II, 1,11.
(8) II,11,10.
(9) II,11,12
The intellect however possesses some powers of perception. Men are
endued with some light but not enough to enable them to comprehend God. In fact
they "possess none of the gifts which the elect receive from their Heavenly Father
through the spirit of regeneration". The human intellect is blind as to Heavenly
things until it is illuminated. The natural desire of good which is universally
felt is no proof of the freedom of the human will. Rather the sentiment of
Augustine is to be held, when he says "Confess that you have all these things from
God, that all the good you have is from him, all the evil from yourself ---- of
our own we have nothing but sin ". Thus the whole man being subject to the power
of sin, it follows that the will, which is the chief seat of sin, requires to be
most strictly curbed. Man has still the faculty of willing but there is no
soundness in it. He falls under the bondage of sin necessarily and yet volun-
tarily. Conversion to God constitutes the remedy or soundness of the human
will. This is not only begun but continued and completed entirely by God .

Thus having taken the doctrine of original sin with utmost thorough-
ness and having made sure that there is no free will to good in fallen man, Calvin
then takes up the future knowledge of God as Redeemer. "Since our fall from
life unto death, all that knowledge of God the Creator, of which we have discoursed
would be useless, were it not followed up by faith, holding forth to us God as a
Father in Christ. The natural course undoubtedly was that the fabric of the
world should be a school where we learn piety and from it pass to eternal life
and perfect felicity. But after the fall, wherever we turn our eyes, above and
below, we are met by the Divine malediction, which while it seizes upon innocent
creatures and involves them in our fault, of necessity fills our own souls with
despair. For, although God is still pleased in many ways to manifest His paternal
favour towards us, we cannot from a mere survey of the world infer that He is a

(10) II, 11, 20
(11) II, 11, 22, 25.
(12) II, 11, 27
(13) II, 11, 28 & 6
Father. Conscience urges us further and shows that sin is a just ground for our being disowned, which will not allow God to account or to treat us for sins. In addition to this are our own sloth and ingratitude. Our minds are so blinded that they cannot perceive the truth, and our senses are so corrupt that we wickedly rob God of His Glory."

"If then, the first step in piety is to acknowledge that God is a Father, to defend, govern, and cherish us, until He gathers us to the eternal inheritance of His Kingdom; hence it is plain, as we lately observed, that there is no saving knowledge of God without Christ, and that consequently from the beginning of the world Christ was held forth to all the elect as the object of their faith and confidence."

As to the doctrine of the Incarnation and the Work of Christ, "It deeply concerns us that He who was to be our Mediator should be very God and very man. If the necessity be inquired into, it is not what was called simple or absolute, but flowed from the Divine decree, on which the salvation of man depended. What was best for us, our merciful Father determined. "Man was of too humble a condition to penetrate to God without a mediator"; "all the sons of Adam shuddered at the sight of God" ... "Thus the Son of God needed to become our Emmanuel, i.e., God with us; and in such a way that by mutual union His dignity and our nature might be combined." "This will become still clearer if we reflect that the work to be performed by the Mediator was of no common description, being to restore us to Divine favor, so as to make us, instead of sons of men, sons of God; instead of heirs of hell, heirs of a heavenly kingdom." The Redeemer needed to be both God and man for only Life could swallow up death. Only Righteousness could conquer sin. Only Almighty Power could conquer powers of the world and air. But Life, Righteousness and Almighty Power are alone found in God."

"Another principal point of our reconciliation with God was, that man,
who had lost himself by his disobedience, should by way of remedy offer to it obedience, satisfy the justice of God, and pay the penalty of sin. Therefore our Lord came forth very man, adopted the person of Adam, and assumed his name, that He might in his stead obey the Father; that He might present our flesh as the price of satisfaction to the just judgment of God, and in the same flesh pay the penalty which we had incurred. Finally, since as God only He could not suffer, and as man only He could not overcome death, He united the human nature with the Divine, that He might subject the weakness of the one to death as an expiation of sin, and by the power of the other, maintaining a struggle with death, might gain us the victory."

"In the present day though the Papists have the words, Son of God, Redeemer of the World, sounding in their mouths, yet, because contented with an empty name, they deprive Him of His Virtue and dignity, what Paul says of 'not holding the head' (Col. II, 19) is truly applicable to them. Therefore that faith may find in Christ a solid ground of salvation and so rest in Him, we must set out with this principle that the office which He received from the Father consists of three parts. For He was appointed both Prophet, King and Priest; though little were regained by holding the names unaccompanied by a knowledge of their end and use. These two are spoken of in the Papacy, but frigidly and with no great benefit, the full meaning comprehended under each title not being understood." As a prophet Christ is to herald and witness of the Father's grace, and that beyond all other teachers: His doctrine is perfect and ends the line of prophecy. Moreover "the unction which He received, in order to perform the office of teacher, was not only for Himself, but for His whole body, that a corresponding efficacy of the Spirit might always accompany the preaching of the Gospel. As King Christ endows His people with all the gifts of the Spirit. He imparts to them the royal unction with which He was enriched; and as He is King and Shepherd of all believers He will destroy all His enemies. As Priest Christ is

(18) II, XII, 3.
(19) II, XV, 1.
(20) II, XV, 2.
(21) II, XV, 4 & 5.
a Mediator free from all taint and by virtue of this His holiness, He can procure the favor of God for us. "But because a deserved curse obstructs the entrance, and God in His character as judge is hostile to us, expiation must necessarily intervene, that as a priest employed to appease the wrath of God, He may re-state us in His favor. Wherefore, in order that Christ might fulfill this office, it behooved Him to appear with a sacrifice. - - By the sacrifice of His death He wiped away our guilt, and made satisfaction for sin". Moreover the honor of the priesthood was for none other than Christ. He alone, at once Victim and Priest, could both become the fit satisfaction for sin, and be worthy to offer an Only Begotten Son to God. The benefit and efficacy of Christ's priesthood begins with His death; but He continues to be a perpetual Intercessor. And through his priesthood we are not only reconciled to God but are ourselves constituted priests and offer to God sacrifices of prayer and praise.

"If we seek salvation, we are taught by the very name of Jesus that He possesses it (Acts 4: 12; I. Cox. 1:30 ; Heb. 2 :17; Gal. 3:13); if we seek any other gifts of the spirit, we shall find them in his unction; strength in his government; purity in his conception; indulgence in his nativity, in which he was made like us in all respects in order that he might learn to sympathize with us; if we seek redemption, we shall find it in his passion, acquittal in his condemnation; remission of the curse in his cross; satisfaction in his sacrifice; purification in his blood; reconciliation in his descent to hell; mortification of the flesh in his sepulchre; newness of life in his resurrection, immortality also in his resurrection; the inheritance of a celestial kingdom in his entrance into heaven; protection, security, and the abundant supply of all blessings in his kingdom; secure anticipation of judgment in the power of judgment committed to him." Thus every aspect of salvation is sufficiently grounded in Christ. As to our grasping the effects of the Work of Christ, "To communicate

(22) Franks Vol. I, pp. 431, 432
(23) Book II, XVI, 19.
to us the blessing which He received from the Father, He must become ours and dwell in us". Christ is thus called our Head, and we are said to be engrafted into Him. Though this union takes place through faith, yet as all are not believers, we must go higher and attribute it to the secret efficacy of the Spirit, whose chief gift is faith. Faith "is a firm and sure knowledge of the Divine favor toward us, founded on the truth of a free promise in Christ, and revealed to our minds and sealed in our hearts by the Holy Spirit". Now true knowledge of Christ consists in viewing Him as He is offered by the Father, the Carrier of His Gospel. Thus "since faith embraces Christ as He is offered by the Father, and He is offered not only for justification for forgiveness of sins and peace, but also for sanctification and as the fountain of living water, it is certain that no man will know Him aright without at the same time receiving the sanctification of the Spirit."

Repentance always follows faith and is produced by it. True repentance is not legal but evangelical, not caused by fear of punishment but sorrow for sin. Repentance is a real conversion of our life to God, proceeding from sincere and serious fear of God; and consisting in the mortification of our flesh and the old man, and the quickening of the Spirit. That is, repentance is regeneration, the renewal in us of the image of God, all but effaced by the Fall.

Justification also always follows faith. A man is said to be justified in the sight of God, when in the judgment of God he is deemed righteous, and is accepted on account of his righteousness. Justification by faith is opposed to justification by works. A man is justified by works when his holiness merits an attestation of righteousness before God. On the contrary a man will be justified by faith, when excluded from the righteousness of works, he by faith lays hold of the righteousness of Christ, and clothed in it appears in the sight of God not as a sinner but as righteous. Thus we simply interpret justification

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25) III, I, 1.
26) III, I, 4.
27) III, II, 7.
28) III, II, 6.
29) III, II, 8
30) III, III, 5.
31) III, III, 9.
32) III, XI, 2.
as the acceptance with which God receives us into His favor and holds us for righteous, and say that this justification consists in the forgiveness of sins and the imputation of the righteousness of Christ. Justification by faith is reconciliation with God, and this consists solely in the remission of sins. It is the imputation of Christ's righteousness (which comes of His expiation and obedience), which produces reconciliation and forgiveness of sins.

God chooses to bring the elect, who make up His people, to completeness by the education of the Church. This is done by the preaching of the Word which God accompanies by His Spirit, and by the instrumentality of the sacraments. "A sacrament is an external sign by which God seals on our consciences His promises of goodwill toward us, in order to sustain the weakness of our faith, and we in turn testify our piety towards Him, both before Himself and the angels and also among men." Because we are corporeal God leads us to Himself through earthly elements. But there is no sacrament unless the rite is accompanied with the Word which explains its meaning, that is the promise. All sacraments have the common objective of exhibiting Christ. The two which the Christian Church employs are baptism and the Lord's Supper. Baptism attests the forgiveness of sins, not only past but future and teaches us that we are united to Christ for mortification and newness of life, and as partakers of all His blessings. The Lord's Supper exhibits the great blessings of redemption and even Christ Himself. "Christ gave Himself that He might become bread, when He offered Himself to be crucified for the redemption of the world, and He gives Himself daily, when in the Word of the Gospel He offers Himself to be partaken by us, in so far as He was crucified, when He seals that offer by the sacred mystery of the Supper, and when He accomplishes inwardly what He externally designates."

(33) III, XI, 2.
(34) III, XI, 21.
(35) LII, XI, 22, 23.
(36) IV, I, 5, 10.
(37) IV, XIV, 1.
(38) IV, XIV, 4.
(39) IV, XVII, 5.
(40) IV, XIV, 20.
APPENDIX 5.

THE WORK OF CHRIST IN THE TEACHINGS OF JOHN WESLEYS.

In presenting Wesley's doctrine of the work of Christ, first his Methodist teaching will be distinguished from Calvinism, and Wesley's position will be made clear with reference to preaching the acceptable in the Church of England. And secondly, Wesley's program of salvation will be outlined. Here he tells us what faith it is through which we are saved; he explains justification and sanctification as branches of salvation; and finally he shows what salvation it is which comes through this faith.

1. Let us begin by Wesley's telling us wherein he differs from the Calvinists:

"The errors charged upon these (usually termed Arminians) by their opponents are five: (1) That they deny original sin; (2) That they deny justification by faith; (3) They deny absolute predestination; (4) That they deny the grace of God to be irresistible; and (5) That they affirm a believer may fall from grace."

"With regard to the first two of these charged, they (Arminians) plead not guilty. They are entirely false—not John Calvin himself ever asserted either original sin, or justification by faith, in more strong, more clear and express terms, than Arminians has done."

"But there is an undeniable difference between the Calvinists and Arminians, with regard to the three other questions. Here they divide; the former believe absolute, the latter only conditional, predestination. The Calvinists hold (1) God has absolutely decreed, from all eternity, to save such and such persons and no others; and that Christ died for these, and none else. The Arminians hold, God has decreed, from all eternity, touching all that have the written word "He that believed shall be saved: He that believeth not, shall be condemned." And in order to this, "Christ died for all, all that were dead in trespasses and sins";

"The Calvinists hold (2) that the saving grace of God is absolutely irresistible; that no man is any more able to resist it, than to resist the stroke of lightning. The Arminians hold, that although these may be some moments wherein the grace of God acts irresistibly, yet, in general, any man may resist, and that it is his eternal ruin, the grace whereby it was the will of God be should have been eternally saved."
"The Calvinists hold (3) that a true believer in Christ cannot possibly fall from grace. The Arminians hold, that a true believer may "make shipwreck of faith and a good conscience"; that he may fall, not only foully, but finally so as to perish forever."

"--- the two latter points, irresistible grace and infallible perseverance, are the natural consequence of the former, of the unconditional decree. For if God has eternally and absolutely decreed to some such and such persons, it follows, both that they cannot resist his saving grace, (else they might miss salvation), and that they cannot finally fall from that grace which they cannot resist. So that, in effect, the three questions come into one, "As re­ destination, absolute or conditional". The Arminians believe it is conditional the Calvinists that it is absolute". (1).

It will assist us still further to succeed in recalling the position of Wesley if we follow him in his answer to those who inquired in what points he differed from the other clergy of the Church of England.

We differ "In none from that part of the clergy who adhere to the doctrines of the church; but from that part of the clergy who dissent from the church (though they own it not) I differ in the points following:
First - They speak of justification, either as the same thing with sanctification, or as something consequent upon it. I believe justification to be wholly distinct from sanctification, and necessarily antecedent to it.
Secondly - They speak of our own holiness, or good works, as the cause of our justification; or that for the sake of which, on account of which, we are justified before God. I believe neither our own holiness nor good works are any part of the cause of our justification; but that the death and righteousness of Christ are the whole and sole cause of it, or that for the sake of which, on account of which, we are justified before God.
Thirdly - They speak of good works as a condition of justi­ fication necessarily previous to it. I believe no good work can be previous to justification, nor consequently, a condition of it; but that we are justified (being till that hour ungodly, and therefore, incapable of doing any good work) by faith alone, faith without works, faith (through producing all, yet) including no good work.
Fourthly - They speak of sanctification (or holiness) as if it were an outward thing; as if it consisted chiefly, if not wholly, in those two points: (1) the doing no harm; (2) the doing good (as it is called): that is, the using the means of grace, and helping our neighbor. I believe it to be an inward thing, namely, the life of God in the soul of man; a participation of the divine nature; the mind that was in Christ; or the renewal of our heart after the image of Him that created us.

"Lastly - They speak of the new birth as an outward thing, as if it were no more than baptism; or at most, a change from outward wickedness to outward goodness, from a vicious to (what is called) a virtuous life. I believe it to be an inward thing; a change from inward wickedness to inward goodness; an entire change of our inmost nature from the image of the devil (wherein we are born) to the image of God; a change from the love of the creature to the love of the Creator; from earthly and sensual to heavenly and holy affections --- in a word, a change from the tempers of the spirits of darkness to those of the angels of God in heaven.

There is, therefore, a wide essential, fundamental, irreconcilable difference between us; so that, if they speak the truth as it is in Jesus, I am found a false witness before God. But if I teach the way of God in truth, they are blind leaders of the blind." (2)

2. In the following excerpt from Wesley's treatise on "The Principles of a Methodist" we find him setting forth the great rediscovery of Luther.

"First I believe justification by faith alone". (p.361)

My conception of our nature is that, "every person born into the world deserves God's wrath and damnation ------ if ever we receive the remission of our sins, and are accounted righteous before God, it must be only for the merit of Christ, by faith and not for our own works, or desirings of any kind. Nay, I am persuaded that all works done before justification, have in them the nature of sin; and that consequently, till he is justified, a man has no power to do any work which is pleasing and acceptable to God ------ three things go together in our justification:

1. Upon God's part, his great mercy and grace.
2. Upon Christ's part the sanctification of God's justice by offering his body and shedding his blood.
3. Upon our part, true and living faith in the merits of Jesus Christ.

So that in our justification there is not only God's mercy and grace but his justice also. And so the grace of God does not shut out the righteousness of God in our justification; but only shuts out the righteousness of man, that is the righteousness of our works ---------------"

"Our justification comes freely of the mere mercy of God, for whereas all the world was not able to pay any part towards their ransom, it pleased him, without any of our deserving, to prepare for use Christ's body and blood, whereas our ransom might be paid and his justice satisfied. Christ therefore is never the righteousness of all them that truly believe in him.

But be it observed, the true sense of those words, "We are justified by faith in Christ only" is not, that this our own act "to be believe in Christ", or this our faith which is within us, justifies us; for that were to account

(2) John Wesley and the Religious Societies; p.331,332.
ourselves to be justified by some act or virtue, that is within us. In structures, therefore, neither our faith nor our works justify us, that is, deserve the remission of our sins. But God Himself justifies us, of His own mercy, through the merits of His Son only. The true Christian faith is, not only to believe the Holy Scriptures and the articles of our faith are true: but also, to have "a sure trust and confidence to be saved from everlasting damnation by Christ" whereof doth follow a loving heart, to obey his commandments.

Secondly as regards Perfection:- (p.364)

"We willingly allow...there is no such perfection in this life as implies either dispensation from doing good and attending all the ordinances of God; or a freedom from ignorance, mistake, temptation and a thousand infirmities necessarily connected with flesh and blood...(infirmities where with the corruptible body more or less presses down the soul)... by one that is perfect, we mean one in whom,'is the mind of Christ' and who so walketh as Christ walked', a man that hath clean hands and a pure heart', or that is 'cleansed from all filthiness of flesh and spirit'; one in whom 'is no occasion of stumbling, and who accordingly 'doth not commit sin'.(3)

3. Now that we have before us the general position of Wesley, before we pursue further his program of salvation, let us note his reference to the condition of suffering people which we find in his sermon on "The New Birth". There is so much that is familiar to us here as we recall the clinical view of sin in Part I. 

I. The foundation of the doctrine of new birth. Why it is necessary.
".....every man born into the world now bears the image of the devil in pride and self-will; the image of the beast in sensual appetites and desires. This then is the foundation of the new birth, - the entire corruption of our nature. Hence it is that being born in sin, we must be born again. Hence every one that is born of woman must be born again of the spirit of God."

II. The nature of the new birth.
"It is that great change which God works in the soul when He brings it into life; when He raises it from the death of sin to the life of righteousness.... when the love of the world is changed into the love of God; pride into humility; passion into meekness; hatred, envy, malice, into sincere tender, disinterested love for all mankind. In a word it is that change whereby the earthly, sensual, devilish mind, is turned into the 'mind which was in Christ'. This is the nature of the new birth; 'so is every one that is born of the spirit'.

(3) Wesley's Works; Vol. VIII; p. 361 - 365
III. The necessity of the new birth.

"...this is necessary first in order to holiness" for "without holiness no man shall see the Lord". "Of a consequence the new birth is absolutely necessary in order to eternal salvation... .Except he be born again none can be happy in this world. For it is impossible in the nature of things that a man should be happy who is not holy... .The reason is plain; all unhappy tempers are uneasy tempers; not only malice, hatred, envy, malicious jealousy, revenge, create a present hell in the breast; but even the softer passions, if not kept within due bounds, give a thousand times more pain than pleasure. Even hope, when deferred, "maketh the heart sick"; and every desire which is not according to the will of God is liable to "pierce" us "through with many sorrows". And all those general sources of sin - pride, self-will, and idolatry - are, in the same proportion as they reign, general sources of misery. Therefore as long as these reign in any soul, happiness has no place there. But they must reign till the bent of our nature is changed, that is, till we are born again". (4)

Wesley here is referring to exactly the same states and conditions in people which we found to be the case in Part I no matter how we chose to describe them. (5)

4. Wesley held that there was but one instrument of salvation and that is faith. Justification and sanctification are just branches of salvation. In the following excerpt from his sermon on faith, he tells us what this faith is, through which we are saved.

".....it is a faith in Christ; Christ and God through Christ, are the proper objects of it... .herein does it differ from that faith which the apostles themselves had while our Lord was on earth, that it acknowledges the necessity and merit of his death, and the power of his resurrection. It acknowledges his death as the only sufficient means of redeeming man from death eternal, and his resurrection as the restoration of us all to life and immortality; inasmuch as He was delivered for our sins and rose again for our justification. Christian faith is then, not only an assent to the whole Gospel of Christ, but also a full reliance on the blood of Christ; a trust in the merits of His life, death and resurrection; a recumbency upon Him as our atonement and our life, as given for us and living in us; and in consequence a closing with Him and a cleaving to Him, as our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, or in a word, salvation".

5. Wesley presents his doctrine of justification by faith as follows: (7)

I. The ground of the doctrine.

"Man was originally in the state of paradise. But he disobeyed God, he ate of the tree which God commanded him saying,

"Thou shalt not eat of it";...so by that offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation! (Rom. V, 12f.). In this state we were...when God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten Son, to the end we might not perish but have everlasting life....for the sake of His well-beloved Son, of what He hath done and suffered for us, God now vouchsafes, on one only condition (which Himself also enables us to perform) both to remit the punishment due to our sins, to reinstate us in His favor, and to restore our dead souls to spiritual life".

II. What justification is.

Justification is not "the being made actually just and righteous. This is sanctification; which is indeed, in some degree, the immediate fruit of justification, but, nevertheless, is a distinct gift of God, and of a totally different nature. The one implies what God does for us through His Son; the other what He works in us by His Spirit. The plain scriptural notion of justification is pardon, the forgiveness of sins. It is that act of God the Father, whereby for the sake of the propitiation made by the blood of His Son, He showeth forth His righteousness (or mercy) by the remission of the sins that are past!"

III. Who they are who are justified.

"He, that is God, justifieth the ungodly;...It is only sinners that have any occasion for pardon. It is sin alone which admits of being forgiven. Forgiveness, therefore, has an immediate reference to sin, and in this respect, to nothing else. It is our unrighteousness to which the pardoning God is merciful; it is our iniquity which He remembereth no more!...the good Shepherd...seeks and saves that which is lost...he saves from the guilt of sin (and at the same time from the power), sinners of every kind, of every degree; men who, till then, were altogether ungodly; in whom the love of the Father was not; and consequently, in whom dwelt no good thing, no good or truly Christian temper, - but all such as were evil and abominable, - pride, anger, love of the world, - the genuine fruits of the 'carnal mind' which is 'enmity against God'. These who are sick, the burden of whose sins is intolerable, are they that need a physician; these who are guilty, who groan under the wrath of God, are they that need a physician and a pardon. These who are condemned already, not only by God, but also by their own conscience, as by a thousand witnesses, of all their ungodliness, both of thought and word and work, - cry aloud for Him that justifieth the ungodly through the redemption that is in Jesus!".

IV. The terms on which they are justified.

"...one one alone which is faith; He that believeth on Him that justifieth the ungodly; He that believeth is not condemned; yea he is passed from death unto life....Therefore we conclude that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law; without previous obedience to the moral law, which, indeed, he could not till now perform. Justifying faith implies, not only a divine evidence or conviction that, 'God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself', but a sure trust and confidence that Christ died for my sins, that He loved me, and gave Himself for me....By affirming
that this faith is the term or condition of justification, I mean, first, that there is no justification without it. 

...This is the second point carefully to be observed; that the very moment God gives faith (for it is the gift of God) to the ungodly that worketh not, that 'faith is counted to him for righteousness.... One reason, however we may humbly conceive, of God's fixing this condition of justification, 'If thou believest in the Lord Jesus Christ, thou shalt be saved', was to hide pride from man...he that cometh to God by this faith must fix his eye singly on his own wickedness, on his guilt and helplessness, without having the least regard to any supposed good in himself, to any virtue or righteousness whatsoever. He must come as a mere sinner, inwardly and outwardly, self-destroyed and self-condemned, bringing nothing to God but ungodliness only, pleading nothing of his own but sin and misery. Thus it is and thus alone, when his mouth is stopped, and he stands utterly guilty before God, that he can look unto Jesus, as the whole and sole propitiation for his sins. Thus only can He be formed in him, and can he receive the righteousness which is of God by faith."

The doctrine of sanctification assumes a place of great importance in Wesley's writings, not only because of his constant personal need for the continuation of the salvation state which he experienced through faith in Christ, but because it served as the least defended spot in his armor upon which his enemies could make their attacks. As our main interest is the forgiveness of sins we shall include here only the following short summary of Wesley's thought on Christian Perfection. (8)

"In the year 1764, upon a review of the whole subject (Christian Perfection), I wrote down the sum of what I had observed in the following short propositions: -

(1) There is such a thing as perfection for it is again and again mentioned in the Scriptures.
(2) It is not so early as justification; for justified persons are to 'go on unto perfection' (Heb. 6:1).
(3) It is not so late as death; for St. Paul speaks of livemen that were perfect (Phil. 3:15).
(4) It is not absolute. Absolute perfection belongs not to man, nor angels, but to God alone.
(5) It does not make a man infallible. None is infallible while he remains in the body.
(6) Is it sinless? It is not worth while to contend for a term. It is 'salvation from sin.'
(7) It is 'perfect love' (I John 4:18). This is the essence of it; its properties or inseparable fruits, are, rejoicing evermore, praying without ceasing, and in everything giving thanks (Thes. 1st; 5:16).
(8) It is improvable. It is so far from lying in an indivisable point, from being incapable of increase, that one perfected in love may grow in grace far swifter than he did before.
(9) It is amissable, capable of being lost; of which we have numerous instances.

(8) Works, XI, p. 441
(10) It is constantly both preceded and followed by a gradual work.

(11) But is it in itself instantaneous or not? I believe this perfection is always wrought in the soul by a simple act of faith; consequently in an instant... I believe this instant generally is the instant of death, the moment before the soul leaves the body. But I believe it may be ten or twenty years before. I believe it usually is many years after justification. But it may be within five years or five months after it."

6. Wesley has told us what faith, the instrument of salvation, is; and he has explained to us justification, which to him was a branch of salvation. Let us now observe what salvation it is which according to Wesley, comes through this faith.

"...it is present salvation...First, from the guilt of all past sin. For whereas all the world is guilty before God....; and whereas by the law is only knowledge of sin, but no deliverance from it....; no, 'the righteousness of God, which is by faith of Jesus Christ, is manifested unto all that believe'. Now they are justified freely by grace, through the redemption which is in Jesus Christ. Him God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of the sins that are past. Now hath Christ taken away the curse of the law, being made a curse for us....There is therefore now 'no condemnation to them which believe in Christ Jesus'.

Secondly, being saved from guilt they are saved from fear. Not... from a filial fear of offending; but from all servile fear; from that fear which hath torment; from fear of punishment; from fear of the wrath of God....They are also saved from the fear, though not from the possibility, of falling away from the grace of God, and coming short of the great and precious promises. Thus have they peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ. Again, through this faith they are saved from the power of sin as well as from the guilt of it. 'Whosoever abideth in him sinneth not (John 3:5); (1) He sinneth not by any habitual sin; (2) by any wilful sin; nor (3) by any sinful desire; nor (4) by infirmities whether in act, word, or thought (mistakes) for these have not the concurrence of his will and so are not properly sins.

This then is the salvation through faith, even in the present world:—a salvation from sin, and the consequences of sin, both often expressed in the word justification which taken in its largest sense implies a deliverance from guilt and punishment by the atonement of Christ actually applied to the soul of the sinner now believing in him, and a deliverance from the power of sin, through Christ formed in the heart. So that he who is thus justified, or saved by faith, is indeed born again."
The marks of this new birth Wesley outlines as follows:

"What is it to be born of God?...This it is, in the judgment of the Spirit of God, to be a son or a child of God. It is so to believe in God, through Christ, as 'not to commit sin', and to enjoy at all times, and in all places, that peace of God which passeth understanding. It is so to hope in God through the Son of his love, as to have not only 'the testimony of a good conscience', but also the Spirit of God 'bearing witness with your spirit that ye are the children of God'; whence cannot but spring the rejoicing in him, through whom ye 'have received atonement'. It is so to love God, who hath loved you, as you never did love any creature; so that ye are constrained to love all men as yourselves; with a love not only ever burning in your hearts, but flaming out in all your actions and conversations, and making your whole life one labour of love, one continued obedience to those commands, 'be ye merciful as God is merciful': 'be ye holy, as I the Lord am holy': 'be ye perfect as your father which is in heaven is perfect'!"
APPENDIX 6.

(1)

The Governmental Theory of Uro-tius.

Uro-tius speaks of Christ 'paying' or 'suffering' the penalty of our sins, 'receiving our punishment' and 'being chastised', that is punished. He declared that since death is the ordained punishment of sin, it can by no means be doubted that with reference to God the suffering and death of Christ had the character of a punishment. He does not hesitate to speak of the blood of Christ as 'propitiating God' and says that by his death God is appeased and reconciled to us. His general definition of the Catholic doctrine is as follows:

God was moved by His own goodness to bestow distinguished blessings on us. But since our sins, which deserved punishment, were an obstacle to this, he determined that Christ, being willing of his own love toward men, should, by bearing the most severe tortures, and bodily and ignominious death, pay the penalty for our sins, in order that without prejudice to the exhibition of Divine justice, we might be liberated, upon intervention of a true faith, from the punishment of eternal death. As to the positive law cited in Deut. xxiv. 16 about every man being put to death for his own sin, God can reveal it as easily as he enacted it. "The essence of punishment is infliction on account of sin; it is not essential that it should be inflicted upon the sinner himself; nothing prevents that it should be ordained as punishment of another's sin."

In chapter X of the treatise of Uro-tius on "Satisfaction of Christ," he attempts to prove that "God is induced by victims not to punish sin." He writes, "sacrifice consists in slaying, and the history of

(1) The following is an outline of G.B. Stevens Chapter on "The Governmental Theory of Uro-tius." Numbers refer to pages in edition cited.
religion, biblical and profane, shows that by the slaughter of victims, animal and human, God is propitiated." Thus God is placated by expiatory sacrifices.

164 Grotius conceived God as the Supreme Moral Ruler who must maintain the dignity and authority of his government. Grotius viewed sin as a breach of God's public law, a rebellion against the government which must be maintained and vindicated. Grotius parted from the old Protestant theology in that he held love to be the primary attribute of God, and in that he left out of view entirely the whole scheme of equivalence and imputation. "Christ's death is the equivalent of our punishment only in the sense that by it the dignity of God's government is as effectively proclaimed and vindicated as it would have been by our punishment. Christ's sufferings are only vicarious or quasi-vicarious."

With Grotius justice is not 'distributive justice' the strict equivalence principle of the post-Reformation orthodoxy; it is 'rectorale justice', regard to the interests of public law and order, by whose maintenance alone the general good can be conserved. "When, now, the law has been broken by sin, it is necessary (in sinners are to be spared) that the authority of the divine government should be asserted and displayed".

As to the question of vicarious punishment, the conception of God and sin which Grotius held, permit one to conclude that, strictly speaking, although he frequently speaks of Christ being punished in our stead, his real view is that Christ was not punished at all, but his affliction was substituted for our punishment. "His sufferings were those of a penal example set forth for the sake of the community whereby God testified his own hatred of sin and so deterred us from it. God's law, ordaining eternal death as the wages of sin, is declared 'relaxable', though 'not easily', or 'upon slight cause', or 'without
some compensation', lest sin should be lightly regarded. Now in ordaining and accepting the death of Christ instead of the death of the sinner, God has exhibited both his clemency and his hatred for sin, and by this 'singular method of relaxation' has shown us how serious a thing sin is, and has furnished a strong motive to deter us from it.

As to the relation of that law or government in his theory, to the divine will or nature, first of all, Grotius 'entertains a statutory conception of the law whose demands the death of Christ satisfies. God enacted the law that every man that sinneth shall bear the punishment of eternal death'. But since, in point of fact, some men are saved, it is certain that this law is not in all cases executed, but relaxed. 'The law is not abrogated; for unbelievers are still exposed to its penalty; .... There are irrelaxable laws (such that God cannot lie, or deny Himself); but his determination to punish every sin with its full measure of penalty is not of this character. 'All positive laws are absolutely relaxable'. If in some other way than by the punishment of sin, God maintains his rectoral authority, he may, without inconsistency, remit the penalty of sin. By such a supposition we do not make God immutable. 'The law is not something internal within God, or the will of God itself, but only an effect of that will. It is perfectly certain that the effects of the divine will are mutable'. It belongs to the very nature of a positive law that the legislator may, under certain circumstances, suspend its operation'.

As to the objection that it is just and necessary that sinners be punished with the full penalty of their sin, Grotius replies in effect, 'it does not follow that because it is just it is necessary. It may be just to do a thing which (even in the circumstances) it is not unjust not to do.... nothing prevents the relaxation of penal law,' as regards criminals. 'Accordingly we find that divine threats of
punishment have not always been carried out; on proper conditions, their execution has been withheld,...The penal law is, then, dispensable.

"Now the sufficient reason for the relaxation in question was God's desire that men be saved; for if the penal law were to be rigidly and strictly carried out, the salvation of any would have been absolutely impossible. God in His mercy substituted the sufferings of Christ for the punishment of sinners, and by means of this 'penal example' more highly honored His law and more effectively warned and deterred men from sin than He could have done by punishing the sinners themselves."

Not that penal law is an arbitrary enactment of God, nor that punitive justice rather than being resident in God is an effect of His will. Nor does Grotius make justice dependent on the divine will and optional as to its exercise. He "uses the word 'justice' in a more comprehensive sense than the advocates of penal satisfaction. God's justice is his rectitude, and that, is an attribute residing in God. God must disapprove and condemn sin; it does not follow He must punish it. The actual exercise of 'punitive justice' is dependent on the divine will. Sin must ever appear blameworthy in God's sight, and His most holy nature must ever react against it; but it is not necessary that He should always proceed to inflict the penalty which the sin inherently deserves. If it were, then God would be precluded from exercising mercy at all."

Grotius, equally with the Calvinists, grounds justice in the being or essence of God; but he has a different conception of the nature, action and requirements of justice.... for him justice means the rectitude, or right character of God which He exercises in establishing and administering the moral system. This character of God is immutably just, but the specific ways and means by which He shall conduct his government are dependent upon His will and wisdom.
"As a ruler he may strictly execute or relax his positive laws as he wills. It is not unjust for him to will to relax them if, at the same time, he protects his dignity and authority in other ways. Moreover, it is certain that in point of fact, he has not invariably punished sin, since he has saved and is saving some men, that is, remitting their punishment."

Grotius has not discussed the divine benevolence and its relation to justice. "His principles seem, however, to require that justice conditions love or determines the method of its exercise toward sinners although he holds the view that love is primary in God. He wrote: "The first cause which moved God (to send his Son) is mercy or love to men": "elsewhere he declares that the fact of God's choosing to remit to us eternal punishment 'has its cause in benevolence, which is, of all the attributes of God, most peculiar to him'". Again he wrote: "Among all his attributes love of the human race is preeminent..." In this connection he contents" says Stevens, that alongside of this clemency exists also the severity of God which conditions the operation of his grace."

"In order to show that he has no low estimate of sin, and as a means of preventing it, a due regard to the preservation of his government requires that he should set forth Christ as a 'distinguished example', who by revealing the ill desert of sin meets the moral ends of penalty. Salvation is treated by Grotius chiefly on its negative side; it is liberation from penalty! "It is true that the sufferings of Christ as man's representative have a deterrent effect upon the commission of sin; but this aspect of his saving work is evidently regarded as secondary and incidental. Primarily the sufferings and death of Christ are not part of a 'work' of salvation; they belong to a plan or scheme of salvation; they represent conditions which
have to be fulfilled before God is at liberty to save men."

"All historic theories of the Atonement have this common problem: 'How can God, consistently with His justice, forgive sin, that is, withhold the penalty which He has ordained for transgression? How can He plan both to express His hatred for sin and to realize His desire to forgive the sinner?' Atonement, then, appears as a device whereby forgiveness, that is suspension of penalty, becomes possible; it is a compromise of some sort between the determination to punish and the desire to forgive...... for Grotius God's righteousness was sufficiently asserted by requiring Christ to suffer as man's representative in order to show to the world how strenuous were the requirements of His government".
APPENDIX 7.

HORACE BUSHNELL'S "THE VICARIOUS SACRIFICE". (1)

There is nothing superlative in vicarious sacrifice and nothing which is above the universal principles of right and duty. The true meaning of vicarious sacrifice is that Christ simply engages, at the expense of great suffering and death itself, to bring us out of sins themselves and so out of their penalties, being Himself profoundly identified with us in sin, and burdened in feeling with our evils. 

Love is a vicarious principle as is seen in motherhood, friendship and patriotism. Vicarious sacrifice belongs to the essential nature of all holy virtue.

The idea that there is superlativement in the Cross and sacrifice of Christ is fiction. We must bring everything back under the common standards of eternal victory and we must find Christ doing and suffering just what He ought, or felt that He ought, neither more nor less. And vicarious sacrifice is the common property of holy virtue in all minds, uncreated and created. The main suffering of Jesus was not in the pangs of His body and Cross, but in the burdens that care on His mind. In these burdens God, or the Eternal Father suffered before Him, being the same God in the Old Testament as in the New. God is one, a strict unity, always in the same perfect character and feeling, and always bearing the same relation of feeling to men's evils and sins, always working in the same great principle of love and sacrifice. But in God's government of the world there is progress. The partisan soul has always known God as it can, not as He is. God is shown all along in history to be waiting for a

better possibility to open His whole heart's love and He knows of what He can bear and do for mankind. The retention before the coming of Christ was a greater burden on His feeling than His glorious outburst into loss and suffering now. Christ in His suffering represents the feeling of God in all preceding ages, a love that had been struggling always in God. Christ in fact is God more fully expressed. And God from eternity is thus such a Being as enters into all that belongs to love, that is, patience, long-suffering, sacrifice, and the good of enemies.

Christ is a mediator only in the sense that as being in humanity He is a medium of God to us, such a medium that, when we cling to Him in faith, we take hold of God's own life and feeling as the Infinite Unseen, and are taken hold of by Him, reconciled and knit to Him by what we receive. As for intercession, this means intervention, coming between; it is not God that wants to be softened or made better. The stress of intercession is rather with us and in our heart's feeling. We but objectify when we conceive Christ as the priest who seeks intercession for us. The peace He obtains comes in fact from our mitigation, not from the mitigation of God, And as to the God whom Christ manifests needing to be pacified, He is not one whose indignation overtops His mercies, nor one who will not be satisfied save as He is appeased by another who is in better and milder feeling. Jesus is not some other and better side of deity; rather there is a Cross in God before the wood is seen upon Calvary.

In what is called His vicarious sacrifice, Christ simply fulfills what belongs universally to love; doing neither more nor less than what the common standard of holiness and right requires. And then since there can be no other standard, and no perfect world or society can be constituted under a different or lower kind of excellence, it follows that the restoration of mankind must restore them to a love that works vicariously, and conforms in all respects to the work and
passion of Christ Himself. It is a great mistake to think that Christ, in the matter of his vicarious sacrifice, is a being by himself and is not to be followed in this matter by us though followed in everything else. Christ was no "official" atoner but rather suffered what was incidental to His love just as any missionary suffers what belongs to the work of love he is in. To consider vicarious sacrifice beyond the pale of human virtue supposes a kind of vicarious intervention for sin on the part of Christ that is artificial and has no root in moral obligation. To hold the view of the restriction of vicariousness to Christ alone, in fact, corrupts the very idea of sacrifice itself when imposed as a condition of human discipleship. Such a view goes so far as to forbid us to think of reciprocating in any sense the sacrifice of Christ for us, and takes away one of the dearest, most softening and soul-renewing exercises which we have. In the Scriptures Christ calls His followers to follow Him. In fact their sacrifice is the economic law of discipleship as we note in the apostles. In fact when the vicarious element is withdrawn from the passages which speak of their discipleship, there is left mock sentiment only. Particularly true is all of this when we examine Paul’s consciousness and experiences.

Part II

The life and sacrifice of Christ is what He does to become a renovating power and a saving power.

Christ did not come into the world to contribute so much pain or judicial suffering as was required to square the account of sin. Rather, Christ was not here to die, but died because He was here. It was simply the bad fortune which His work must encounter on the way. The end or object He was here to accomplish then was to carry on a transaction with souls, to carry on a regenerative, saving, truth-subjecting, all-restoring, inward change of life.
Christ performed a healing ministry. There is a deep-seated original conviction among men that diseases are from God or the gods because of their displeasure on account of sin. This comes from their bad consciousness of sin. Hence the need for mitigation, hence the need for a healer who had access to the retributive causes punishing the body and with power to abate their action. Christ did this. He did not do this for the power He might obtain with men. Christ's healings in fact were incompatible with the idea of His coming to satisfy God's justice or pacify His wrath against sin, because: firstly, there is no real agreement between offering mere suffering to God and a general healing offered to mankind; and secondly, since all diseases are but issues of penal consequence under the retributive law of God, He would be but blocking or defeating the ordinances of justice whose wrath He had supposedly come to satisfy and whose rule to propitiate. Christ's work viewed as vicarious sacrifice, is gloriously compatible with the healing of souls. If these mighty works had not been wrought, nothing else that Christ could have done in the sphere of truth and the spirit, would have had the necessary energy of a Gospel. Not even His Cross would have signified much beyond the proof of His weakness. It is only when the great Healer dies that we look to find His Cross a deed of power.

Christ's object is the healing of souls. It is in this and only this that He becomes a Redeemer. The preparation of forgiveness is at best secondary. His principal work is that which He undertakes and is able to do in the bad mind's healing and recovery to God, the reconciliation of men to God.

In order to make sin let go of the sinner three things are required which are included in the sacrifice and suffering of Jesus: first, there had to be something done to raise a favorable prejudice in man's feeling; secondly, a more piercing conviction of sin than
remorse had to be produced; and thirdly, a new type of feeling and
life had to be restored. The Scriptures show Christ to have the
power of regeneration. They were regenerated in holiness by Him. And
in a remoter sense this is also done by the Holy Spirit. This kind
of efficacy in human character is revealed in the consciousness of
His disciples.

Christ’s being here to new-create or regenerate fallen character
is not a work to be carried on by any kind of doing, or efficient
activity, or even by the fiat-force of omnipotence itself, but only
by such higher kind of potency as can do so great a thing through
our consent and without infringing our liberty. The force-princ-
iple is not fitting for this task in so far as it over-rides or
omits our concurrent choice. Were this done, it would not be chang-
ing our character but demolishing our personality. But representa-
tion in Christ, in His life and passion, of the moral power of God,
presents us with a higher kind of power which executes that internal
new creation for which He came into the world. As to the nature of
this moral power of God, it is not such a power as we mean when we
speak of example. Nor do we understand the nature of this power to
be the revelation merely of God’s love, for mere love suffers dis-
respect and we need to feel that love is a principled love, grounded
in immovable convictions of right. The moral power of God is the
greatness of God, that is, greatness of character. In this it is
that so great moral power is conceived to be developed in the self-
devoting sacrifice of Christ’s life and death. Thus Christ will be
the regenerator of souls, not by action upon them, but by what He is
to the sight, for there shall be in Him that quality of good and
glory, which, being fixedly beheld, shall go through all inmost dis-
temper and subtlety of sin as a power of immortal healing. And so
He is to gain subjects for His kingdom not so much by any direct
doing in them, or action upon them, but by the sublime royalties of his character.

As to how Christ becomes so great a power, look at the process of living that obtains character and weight for men. Moral power among men is the power that a man finally gets, by the courses and achievements of a great and worthy life, to impress and hold sway over men. It must be with Christ as with men, His deific perfections which He brought with Him of course expressing themselves under such laws of expression as pertain to humanity. Moral power is a growth and the result of a process. God had attribute power before. In Christ He has a new kind of power, the greatest and most sovereign we know, and He obtained it under human laws and methods,—hence the Incarnation. This new power in the Incarnation is to be a new power which is cumulative, gained by God among men as truly as they gain it with each other. Only it will turn out in the end to be the grandest, closest to feeling, most impressive, most soul-renovating, and spiritually sublime power that was ever obtained in this or any other world.

The "name" of Jesus in the New Testament refers to the power He obtained. The apostles did everything in this "name." Previous to His public ministry when Jesus was thirty years old, although His name was good, true and lovely, it was so far as possible from being above every name. He went into His work as a merely common man, respected for nothing except as He compelled respect by His works and words. He went through the short years of His ministry without the glory of His moral power being recognized to any great extent. It was only after He died that the clue was given. This moral power is proved by its effect on human life and character beginning within a few weeks after His death. It has increased through the centuries so that this name is a greater power now than it was then; not that Christ grows better but that He is more and more completely apprehended. Thus the reality of Christ is what He expresses under life's
laws of expression.

Four points about the process and effect of Christ's life make the power of it more intelligible: (1) the kind of moral power obtained is different from any which had been obtained by men in that it is more difficult, deeper and holier; (2) this kind of moral power in Christ humanizes God to men; Christ builds in the open facts of His ministry the divine perfections themselves; (3) this moral power of Christ raised at once the sense of guilt and attracted the confidence of the guilty; (4) the moral power obtained by Christ gets its principal weight from the fact, made evident by His vicarious sacrifice, that God suffers on account of evil. Christ's moral power is consummated in the agony of the Cross. Besides the pure moral suffering there, there is also a physical suffering. But there is nothing penal in either. Christ suffered just what such a nature ought to suffer and could not humanly avoid. So it is in the revelation of a suffering God that the great name of Jesus becomes the embodied glory and the great moral power of God; and the believer who takes the power of it is transformed even at the deepest center of his life.

Part III

The Implications of the Work of Christ as related to Law and Government.

On the one hand there is the eternal and unchangeable moral law of God, the absolute standard of right and wrong, the ideal of righteousness, to which humanity is to be conformed. On the other hand, there is the divine government of the universe, which is a means that God uses in a sinful world to bring about this conformity to law. The law is impersonal and abstract; the government is personal, is essentially God. While righteousness is conformity to law, justice in the sense of exaction of penalty belongs not to
law but to government. But to government in a larger sense belongs also redemption.

Justice and mercy are accordingly not in opposition, but are collateral means of attaining the same end. Nor does mercy have to satisfy justice before it can do its own work. Justice means in God a deep principle of wrath which guides Him for the infliction of suffering upon wrong-doing. But the principle of wrath is no law to God that compels Him to inflict so much suffering till it is satisfied. On the contrary. He has pledged Himself not to give Himself up to wrath, but to exercise mercy. Justice and mercy are, as it were, the two hands of God's constituted government. They are to have a properly joint action; one to work by enforcement and the other by attraction, or moral inspiration; both having as their end or office, to restore and establish the everlasting, impersonal law.

The antagonism between them is formal not real; partial, not absolute. As a matter of fact, both justice and mercy are exercised at once. God dispenses justice, not by direct infliction, but by a law of natural consequences. Now this natural law of retribution is never infringed by mercy; but mercy only interacts supernaturally with justice. God's new-creating and delivering work of mercy, operating only as by moral power, falls in conjunctively among the retributive causes of nature, and without any discontinuance turns them to a serviceable office in accomplishing its own great designs. The compensational contrivances of the traditional theology for the saving of God's justices are therefore unnecessary.

Mercy does not contradict justice; it honors both the law and justice. The various sacrifice restores men to the precept of the law, bringing them once more into subjection to it. Christ by it reasserts the law, organizing a kingdom for it in the world. He again Himself incarnates the precept and brings it near to men's
feelings and convictions by the personal footing he gains for it in humanity. Again He honors it by his obedience. For what is law but love, and what is love but vicarious sacrificial? Finally He reveals in His obedience God's obedience to the law. For what is the ultimate obedience of Christ? The law of love is an eternal necessity for God Himself, prior to His will. In this manner we are prepared for the conclusion, and ever brought down close upon it, that Christ came into the world as the Incarnate Word and Savior of sinners, just because the eternal, necessary law of love made it obligatory in Him to be such a Savior. Christ's work, therefore, makes visible the eternal necessity of love which lies upon God Himself. Accordingly, an immense honor is done to the law by Christ's obedience. It is, in fact, the very law that man had dishonored which organizes redemption. The violated law comes back upon us to overwhelm us, by showing us, in Christ, just what goodness was in it.

But the Christian redemption does not diminish the penal enforcements of the law. Not only does it take up the natural consequences of sin and turn them to good, but it also press the enforcements of the law with new emphasis, and ever increases the responsibilities enforced. Christianity, in fact, reinforces the natural penalties of sin by a positive promulgation of future judgment; it also increases the crime of disobedience against law, inasmuch as it appears now not only against law, but against Christ. The gospel is, therefore, infinitely stern, while infinitely gracious.

More than this, the Christian redemption effectively maintains the rectoral honor of God. Not, however, according to the Edwardian Theory, that Christ has shown by His death the same abhorrence of sin that would have been shown by the punishment of the guilty. Abhorrence to sin expresses almost nothing that would be expressed
by punishment, abhorrence is a word of recoil simply and not a word of majesty. There is no enforcement, no judicial vigor in it. Abhorrence is, therefore, no fit substitute for punishment. And equally fatal is the objection that in reality no abhorrence at all of sin is expressed in the death of Christ. To what in the transaction of the cross can God's abhorrence, by any possibility, fasten itself? Does God abhor the person of Jesus? No. His character? No. His redeeming office? No. Does God abhor the sins of the world upon Him? They are not upon Him, save in a figure, as the burden that His love so divinely assumes. The fact is that the abhorrence theory, if it is pressed, ultimately reverts to the idea that Christ's sufferings were in some way penal. Only so can they express the divine abhorrence of sin. The penal theory of Christ's suffering is not just. Moreover, it is not justice or wrath, but righteousness, which is absolute in God. Neither justice nor wrath can claim to be "satisfied" in the sense of the traditional theory. Nevertheless, Christ has done enough even in the interests of justice. Christ is incarnated into the curse of the world, so far as He comes into an order of things where suffering follows sin, and so far as He suffers the corporate evil with us. In accepting this last, He recognizes the general course of the divine justice.

Neither the traditional Catholic, nor the traditional Protestant theories of justification are acceptable. Justification is no mere remission of sins or pardon, which latter is in itself only a kind of formality or verbal discharge that carries no discharge at all. Justice alone is real redemption. It is our restoration to the law before government, to the normal state of our being. When we are justified by faith or by yielding our members, instruments of righteousness unto God, which is the same thing, we are taken by all the foundations of the world, and the governings,
compulsions, fears, and judgments that make up the scaffolding of our existence, and have our relations with God only to the law before government: being in it, and the freedom of it, as being in Him and His freedom. Such justification is the effect of moral power of Christ operating upon us. Justice still runs its course upon us, but its effects are transmuted by redemption. Justification as just described is imputed righteousness not in the sense that there is any transfer of Christ's merits to us, but in the sense that the soul, when it is gained to faith, is brought back, according to the degree of faith, into its original normal relation to God; to be invested with God's light, feeling, character - in one word, righteousness, and live derivatively from Him. In other words the believer is judged not by his works, but by his general relation of dependence upon God into which the moral power of Christ lifts him. Luther felt the truth concerning justification but his head did not understand his heart.

"By the previous exposition Christ is shown to be a Saviour, not as being a ground of justification, but as being the moral power of God upon us, so a power of salvation. His work terminates, not in the release of penalties by due compensation, but in the transformation of character, and the rescue, in that manner of guilty men from the retributive causations provoked by their sin. He does not prepare the remission of sins in the sense of mere letting go, but he execites the remission by taking away the sins and dispensing the justification of life. This one word 'life' is the condensed import of all that he is, or undertakes to be".