

Anton T. Boisen papers

Section 14, Pages 391 - 420

Boisen's papers consist of thorough case histories of patients he saw in the 1920s/1930s; 1933-1934 newsletters from the Elgin State Hospital; some incoming and outgoing correspondence, such as with Seward Hiltner; hand-illustrated poetry written by various individuals (none of them Boisen); manuscripts, reprints, and outlines and course lectures by Boisen, dating from the 1920s-1950s; annual reports to the directors of the Chicago Council for the Clinical Training of Theological Students, 1933-1935; information related to Boisen's time in Wabaunsee, Kansas in the 1910s and to the Congregational church located there; memorials after Boisen's death in 1965; and some other miscellaneous materials.

Major topics found in Boisen's manuscripts and article reprints include psychology of religion, clinical training and religion, various psychiatric illnesses (including schizophrenia), war and religion, and similar topics. While the materials span much of Boisen's adulthood, the bulk of his papers date from the 1930s and 1940s.

Creator: Boisen, Anton T. (Anton Theophilus), 1876-1965

Date: 1915 - 1965 (bulk 1930s-1940s)

Callnumber: Menninger Historic Psychiatry Coll., Boisen, Box 1

KSHS Identifier: DaRT ID: 223252

Item Identifier: 223252

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great respect for learning, represented by Confucianism and the imperialistic bureaucracy with which it has been associated. On these foundations was built the most unchanging of all cultures.

In contrast with India China has had no caste system. Even the blood relationship has been more strongly emphasized in China than anywhere else in the world. China's ruling class is not an aristocracy of birth but one of learning. One entered it by passing examinations. This system goes back to Confucius and his influence.

The Three Religions

Confucianism.

It seems fairly clear that before the time of Confucius the ruling class of China had been a hereditary nobility and that the sacred literature was filled with stories of war-like heroes and popular gods not unlike those of India or Greece (Weber, op. cit. 1: 314 ff., also 459 ff.) Now Confucius was a great teacher, one of a group of teachers who lived in the sixth century B.C. and looked with clear eyes upon their fellows and formed their own ideas about some of these ancient tales. To him fell the task of editing the classic literature. He took advantage of the opportunity to do a little surgery upon it, cutting out all that was inconsistent with his ethical principles. It seems clear also that Confucius made a deep impression upon his students and that he left a small collection of wise and pithy sayings. In any case his memory lived on. The man and his teachings caught the imagination of the Chinese people. He became the symbol of their culture, the subject of many legends and stories and from him the Chinese social organization has taken its stamp. Altho he himself had little to say about religion, he became in time an object of worship and Confucianism has become the religion of Chinese officialdom.

The Chinese State Religion The imperial government of China has never been strongly centralized. It was developed thru the common need of flood control and of protection against enemies. It has seldom had a large standing army, and the continued dominion of the Emperor has not rested on military might but on the belief on the part of the people that he was the representative of Heaven and that Confucian officials possessed something in the nature of magic power by virtue of their knowledge of the sacred writings.

Just how all this came about is not wholly clear, but one thing is sure. The Confucian system has been upheld by religious belief. Back of it was the "Tao," the eternal Order of the Universe. The Emperor was the "Son of Heaven" and its legitimate high priest. He was the mainstay of Chinese culture in the face of constantly changing conditions and separatist tendencies. Even tho the dynasties came and went; even the invaders appeared and usurpers took the throne, Heaven still ruled as the protector of unchanging and constant values. In the eyes of the people only the masters and tax-gatherers had changed (ibid. p. 305).

Characteristics of Confucianism But Confucianism had serious weaknesses. While it laid stress on ceaseless learning and study, the learning which it exalted had to do with the sayings of wise men of former ages. It did not encourage men to think for themselves. It was deficient in mathematics, uninterested in natural science and its philosophy was not at all of the speculative type. Moreover it was merely a state religion. It had nothing which applied to the personal problems of individuals beyond its insistent ethical emphasis and an intellectualist philosophy of life (*). There was no priestly class. The ceremonies were performed

* It is not without significance that China has no word for Religion. There are only 1) "teaching" and 2) "rite" without any distinction between the religious and the secular. cf. Weber, op. cit. 1: 432.

formed by State officials and the Chinese official maintained a somewhat sceptical

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aloofness in matters of religion. Any concept of salvation was for him utterly lacking. He placed his confidence in a rational ethics. The world for him was good. Man was good and capable of becoming better. His ideal was that of the gentleman, never that of the holy man. Only one thing for him was sin - an offence against filial piety. The only thing from which he needed to be saved was social blundering, and the way of salvation lay in complete knowledge of the rules of etiquette and in alert self-control, reserve and suppression of emotion (ibid. p. 445).

Confucianism and the Popular Gods What happened in China, Weber suggests (op. cit. 1: 461), was just the reverse of what happened in Greece. Confucius had been able to banish the popular gods and heroes from the Chinese sacred literature and his ethical system had become the official religion. The Greek philosophers, however much they might have liked to do so, had been unable to deal with Homer in any such cavalier fashion. The result was that in Greece the popular religion remained the official religion, while Greek philosophy remained a matter of personal acceptance. For the Greek development to have been parallel to the Chinese we would have to suppose that the Greek philosophers had been able to expurgate Homer, that stoicism had been made the official religion, and that for twenty five hundred years in an enduring Graeco-Roman empire all the courtiers and officials had to be stoic philosophers who qualified for office by passing examinations on their knowledge of Plato and Aristotle.

T a o i s m

Banishment from the official religion of China did not, however, by any means put an end to the influence of the popular deities. The common people had needs which Confucianism did not meet. Their extreme poverty excluded all possibility of any inner identification with the ideal of the gentleman. They needed comfort and support in the face of the trials and tragedies of their grinding struggle for existence and protection from the mysterious forces with which they believed themselves surrounded. Confucianism was remote from their problems. It was an intellectualist religion of the fortunate few. Its God was an impersonal Heaven, unapproachable except by the Emperor and wholly out of reach of the common people. They therefore relied all the more upon the ancestral spirits. They turned anew to the gods of the original Chinese nature religion and added to them. They canonized well-doers. They developed the belief that there were persons who had been endowed with the "Tao," holy persons with supernatural powers of all sorts. Such persons were supposed to be able to influence spirits and thus secure for them long life, success in business, protection against evil spirits with which they believed the world to be inhabited. This popular religion became associated with the name of a contemporary of Confucius, Lao-Tse, a really great teacher, who represented the mystical rather than the ethical emphasis. That Lao-Tse had much to do with what is now called "Taoism" seems very doubtful. However that may be the movement grew. It developed its own leadership, its own professional priesthood, its own philosophy. It became powerful politically. Under the influence, perhaps, of Buddhism it developed a monastic life. For the most part however its characteristic functionaries have been necromancers and magicians, living in the community and carrying on their sorceries as a vocation, often alongside of some other occupation. Characteristically Taoism has laid little stress on ethics, much on sacramental acts. It has been extreme in its irrationalism and traditionalism (ibid. pp. 458 ff.).

B u d d h i s m

The Mahayana Form The Buddhism which found its way into China was of the Mahayana variety. In contrast with the form of Buddhism which we saw in Siam it was a popular religion of salvation. Where in the Hinayana form, salvation was a matter of individual achievement, the Mahayanist believed in holy men whom he worshiped under the name of "Boddhisattvas." These Boddhisattvas were Buddhas-in-being who had acquired a great store of merit and were ready to enter the Nirvana

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state, but who instead, as an act of grace, elected to use their stored-up merit for the relief of suffering humanity. They thus became saviors of men. The people could turn to them for help in sickness and misfortune. However, this help was mediated thru monks who served as priests and, as in all Buddhism, the highest blessings were open only to those who dedicated themselves to the monastic life (Pratt, op. cit. pp. 217 ff.)

Buddhism's Rapid Growth Buddhism spread rapidly in China, especially in the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries. In the eighth and ninth centuries it encountered severe persecution. That it did not meet with even more persecution is due to its open-minded attitude toward other religions. Particularly important was the fact that Buddhist missionaries adopted into their teaching the Confucian ideal of filial piety and made themselves useful to the Chinese family thru their masses for the dead and their hope for life beyond the grave (ibid. p. 274). They also accepted many of the Chinese nature gods and made use of the Taoist magical practices.

Its Influence upon Chinese Culture From the beginning Chinese Buddhism has been a monastic church without mendicant monks. The monastic discipline has tended to lay stress upon ceremonial rather than upon moral offences, and attempts to work out a system of conduct for laymen have been absent (Weber, op. cit. p. 292). The original message of salvation fell by the wayside and the Buddhist monasteries became places of irrational asceticism and meditation. Buddhist influence has, however, brought into China the attitude of compassion for man and beast. Buddhist monasteries have taken care of the friendless and the homeless. It is chiefly from children of families in straitened circumstances to whom they have given refuge that their ranks have been recruited (Fries and Schneider, op. cit. p. 194). The number of monks in the 1920's has been estimated at 400,000 and has even been put as high as 1,000,000 (Pratt, op. cit. p. 336).

Non-Sectarianism of the Chinese The number of Buddhists in China is pretty much identical with the number of Buddhist monks and nuns. There is general agreement among observers that the common people are neither Buddhist, not Taoist nor Confucianist. They are all three at the same time. It is only the professionals who belong to one and not to the others. The scholars would thus consider themselves Confucianists, the magicians Taoists, while the Buddhists are the monks.

S o c i a l O r g a n i z a t i o n

China may be characterized as a huge aggregate of kinship groups held together somewhat loosely by a common attitude of filial piety and a common acceptance of the authority of the Emperor and of his Confucianist representative. Two organizations have thus been of primary importance in the life of the Chinese, his family and his country. A third organization is the gild, found chiefly in the cities, which in China wields immense power.

A C h i n e s e V i l l a g e

The Kinship Group The family is the all-important unit in China. Down thru the centuries it has constantly challenged the authority of the imperial government. Each clan in China has its own Ten Commandments. The right to determine its own moral standards has never been questioned, even when these standards have run counter to accepted law. As against the outside world the clan, or kinship group, has stood solidly together and loyalty to it was placed above loyalty to the Emperor. This did not mean war-like resistance, but it did mean, all too often, nepotism and graft at government expense. It meant also an insuperable obstacle to the development of a strong national consciousness (Weber, op. cit. 1: 378ff.; also Holt, The Fate of the Family in the Modern World, p. 18).



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In order to see more clearly what the kinship group means in Chinese life we shall look at a village in South China not far from Swatow, which has been described by Kulp under the name of Phenix Village (*Country Life in South China*, New York, Teachers' College, Columbia University, Bureau of Publications, 1925.). At the time of the study in 1919 this village had been relatively little influenced by the changes which have been taking place so rapidly in recent years.

External Characteristics Phenix Village was a community of 650 inhabitants, all of them dependent upon the crops, chiefly oranges, which they were able to produce on perhaps 250 acres of land. The general picture was one of poverty, with much that was ugly and unsanitary and squalid. The survey revealed that 18 percent of the families were in comfortable economic circumstances. That is, they had more rice than they needed, money at interest and other sources of income. 31 per cent had enough to maintain themselves but none to spare. The rest lived from hand to mouth, dependent upon the aid granted them by the village leader. In spite of the poverty, Kulp concludes, there was ample means to create real improvements, if the desire for such improvements had been present. These people were extremely industrious, working seven days a week, long hours a day. They were moreover not lacking in ingenuity. The difficulty lay in their tradition-mindedness and their lack of interest in many things which people of other cultures hold dear. (p.48)

The Family Name All the inhabitants of this village, with the exception of some fifteen shop-keepers, bore the same surname. That is, they traced their descent in the male line and were named after the same ancestor. However, membership might be established not only by birth, but also by adoption, two types of persons being adopted, brides and sons. Both were inducted by means of very simple ceremonies before the ancestral tablets. As soon as these ceremonies were performed, the individual was held to have broken relations with his previous kin-group. It is for this reason that girls have been much less valued than boys. A girl, when she married, would leave the village and become identified with another family. Only a son could perpetuate the family. Since for the old-time Chinese there is nothing more terrible than to have his family perish, it is all-important that he should have a son. If after marriage there were no son, the man was faced with two alternatives: either he must take a concubine, or else he must adopt a son. In the latter case a young boy would usually be purchased from some poor family, perhaps from a relative. (ibid. chapter 6).

Concubinage is not confined to those who have no sons. It is looked upon as a sign of wealth and honor. Out of 182 marriages in Phenix Village there were 14 cases of "polygyny." The concubines were accepted by the community, the not on equal status with the wife.

Filial Piety Within the kinship group filial piety was dominant. It fixed the obligations, duties and responsibilities toward others. It also guaranteed the individual's own rights in accordance with his changing status, as he grew older, married, had children etc. Filial piety and ancestor worship are closely interrelated. The one has to do with the living, the other with the dead. For the old-time Chinese the family does not live apart from its ancestors. The past moves and has its being in the present and the present in the past.

Ancestor Worship The system of ancestor worship is somewhat complicated. Each family has its own ancestral tablets and thirteen times each year at specified times ceremonies must be performed. It has been customary to burn incense, to make an offering of food - which is later eaten, and to offer a prayer to the ancestor most recently departed, mentioning also the name of the most remote ancestor and adding a gesture to indicate that all between are included (ibid. p. 138).

There is also an ancestral hall for the entire village and an ancestral hall for each of the two "branch families." At each of these ancestral halls ceremonies were performed once each year by the head man in the presence of other members of the group concerned. Each ceremony was minutely prescribed. It involved the offering of food, the burning of incense, the uttering of certain formulae and the making of

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certain gestures. Two of the ancestral halls were used as schools (ibid. pl46).

The Temples In addition to the ancestral halls the village had also two temples.

Both of these contained images of various popular gods. A priest had a bed in the temple. He acted as care-taker and also gave his services to those who visited it. Such visits were generally made by those who had some problem weighing upon them and felt the need of help. Frequently the desired help had to do with the foretelling of the future and involved the use of divining rods. In any case the worship in these temples was a purely individual performance.

The Nature Spirits The purpose of these various religious ceremonies was to secure protection from the mischievous or unfriendly spirits with which the Chinese believed the world to be populated. For the Phenix Villager every tree, every house, every door, every field was the abode of a spirit. If the orange trees did not bear well, it was because the spirit that dwelt in them had been offended. The farmer would therefore take no chances but would write a prayer on a bit of red paper and burn it at the foot of each tree. The boatman believed in a spirit of the river, of the rocks, of the rain, and he would paste bits of red paper inscribed with prayers all over his boat. A man who bought a piece of land must first discover with the aid of a necromancer whether the spirits who dwelt there would be offended or pleased. Always it was assumed that the spirits of the departed ancestors were stronger than the nature spirits and that the latter could do nothing except with their permission.

The Three Religions Until Christianity came there was no sectarianism in the village(*). The scholars of the village were indeed sceptical regarding Buddhist and Taoist beliefs and called themselves followers of Confucius, but for the laity religion was a mingling of all three. They deferred to the teachings of Confucius, they made use of Taoist charms and exorcisms, they called upon Buddhist monks at time of death and they spoke of their temples as "temples of the three religions."

* Christian missionaries, in sharp contrast to the Buddhist, have been intolerant toward the native religions and have been uncompromising with reference to the institution of ancestor worship. A very different attitude is that taken by the distinguished American missionary, W. A. P. Martin. He sees something sublime in the spectacle of a great nation gathered around the altars of its ancestors, tracing their lineage back to the hundredth generation, and recognizing the ties of kindred to the hundredth degree. He felt that there were some features of the Chinese which might with profit be engrafted into western civilization, and which should certainly be recognized by the Christian missionary as worthy of a permanent place in the Chinese culture (The Chinese, New York, Harper & Bros. 1881, pp. 267 ff.). Dr. Martin's own record testifies to the Chinese response to a sympathetic attitude in this matter, in that he was for many years President of the Imperial University in Peking and a trusted adviser of the Chinese government. He was made a Chinese mandarin.

Chinese Respect for Old Age The village leader had to be a man and belong to the kinship group, but the choice was not determined by seniority, neither did it pass from father to son. It went rather to some other family head, the one next in line whose leadership was acceptable. While age has long commanded prestige, it was seldom, even in the past, that a man of more than seventy would be chosen. In 1919 the prestige accorded to old age had given way to that of scholarship and ability sufficiently to permit men of 39 and 45 to be the heads of the two branch families.

The Scholar There has been quite a rivalry among the various villages in the production of recognized scholars. The scholar seemed to embody the villages ideals and hopes. The student who left the village to study elsewhere was followed with keenest interest by the villagers. His success was their boast, his fail-



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ure their disappointment, his letters topics for village gossip and discussion. The student was quite aware of this interest and was stimulated by it to zealous effort. Within the village the scholar was the teacher, the source of information, the political adviser to the head man and the village representative in state and national affairs.

Other Chinese Villages Phenix seemed to be fairly representative of the Chinese kinship groups. The characteristic Chinese village is organized on the same kinship basis and it is this type of organization rather than size which has distinguished it from the cities. While most of these villages are small, there are not a few of twenty thousand or more, each tracing its lineage to a common ancestor, sharing a common surname and having a common ancestral hall (Weber, op. cit. 1:381; Martin, op. cit. p 266).

The Gild

Its Power in the Cities An important feature of Chinese city life is the gild. Nowhere else in the world, according to Weber (op. cit. 1:292ff.), has the dependence of the individual upon the gild been so far developed as in China. Frequently the gild has absolute power over its members. It controls all that is economically significant to them - standardization of weights and measures, credit, policing, competition, prices, wages etc. The absence of legal protection has forced the workers into rigorous and often unscrupulous self-help. In the city the gild performs somewhat the same function as the kinship group in the village.

Membership The gild is made up of men who are connected with one kind of work. It includes both employers and employes. Membership requires generally a three years' apprenticeship. It is thus not determined by birth, as in the case of the Hindu caste system. There are however some skilled trades in which heredity counts heavily in the selection of members (Gamble and Burgess, Peking, A Social Survey New York, Doran, 1921, pp. 163 ff.)

Religion All gilds have some deity or hero whom they worship as a patron saint and a religious service has been an important part of a gild meeting. This service has generally consisted in offering a feast and burning incense before the image or picture of the god of the gild and having all the members bow before him. (ibid. pp. 175 ff.)

S u m m a r y

What strikes one most forcibly in this review of the religious situation in China is the failure on the part of the intellectual leaders, to whom the common people looked up perhaps more than in any other culture, to concern themselves with the realm of religion. The Confucian scholar was by turns sceptical, agnostic, patronizing and credulous toward the religious beliefs of his people. Like the scientists of to-day he devoted himself to the problems of technical scholarship - which in his case had to do with the teachings of the ancient sages - and made no attempt to understand religion or to lay the foundation for new insights and new discoveries in that field. The result was that popular religion went its own way uninfluenced by China's best intelligence. This popular religion was indeed to a remarkable degree free from the orgiastic elements and the crude sexualism so common in India, but the old superstitions remained in full force. The common people believed in all sorts of primitive nature deities and depended upon magical rites and ceremonies for protection against them. Religion there has been in China on every hand. It has upheld the social order. It has been the basis of the kinship organization. But it has not been religion of the creative type. It has prevented rather than encouraged social change. It has kept the industrious, ingenious, loyal Chinese bound by the iron fetters of obedience to ancient custom and precedent. The Chinese has never been permitted to emancipate himself from the requirement of obedience to his finite parents, something which in our culture of to-day is regarded as essential to spiri-

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tual maturity. On the contrary that requirement has remained in full force even after the parents died. This meant obedience to finite ancestral spirits, not to an infinite heavenly Father of all mankind. For this reason the Chinese people, in spite of their fidelity and industry and intellectual ability have been bound and not free and science and industry have made little progress among them.

I S L A M

The Moslem world includes more than 200,000,000 persons. It stretches over a vast territory, centering in Asia Minor and extending from Algeria on the west to the Philippines on the east. Culturally it is characterized by the absence of any professional religious class, by the fatalistic acceptance of the status quo, by the lack of interest in popular education, and by the rigidity of its ritualistic requirements and by the intolerance of other faiths.

Missionary Zeal Like Buddhism, Mohammedanism has been a missionary religion. It began in Arabia in the early part of the seventh century under the leadership of an untutored Arab and spread rapidly, partly thru the appeal of its simple message and partly also thru forcible conquest.

Its founder believed that he had received a direct revelation from God. This he recorded in the Koran. His fundamental beliefs seem to have been derived very largely from Judaism and Christianity.

For Islam there is no God but Allah and Mohammed is his prophet. Allah is a personal God and a jealous God. He will not tolerate rival deities and his will is supreme. He controls absolutely the lives of his people.

Uniformity of Belief Islam is characterized by an unusual uniformity of belief. There are indeed several sects, but the issues have been chiefly matters of leadership. In spite of the geographical spread and the diversity of the racial groups included, there has been surprisingly little differentiation in matters of belief and practice.

Islamic Rituals In sharp contrast with Hinduism and Buddhism the Islamic rituals have been little corrupted by the local nature religions which Islam supplanted(*). These rituals are taken very seriously. Five times every day

* In India, according to Professor Arnold (Proaching of Islam, p. 286), Hindu influence is strong among the people. They observe caste rules and join in festivals and idolatrous ceremonies. But the official beliefs and practices seem little affected.

at the appointed times the faithful Moslem kneels down, facing toward the holy city of Mecca, and repeats certain formulae, all of them in Arabic. At noon on Fridays he goes to the mosque to offer prayer and sometimes to listen to a sermon. He also observes certain festivals and certain seasons of fasting and once in his life he must make the pilgrimage to Mecca. It has been estimated that in Turkestan the pious Moslem will devote nearly a third of his day to the religious ablutions and prayers and other religious requirements (A Varbery, In Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics).

Sobriety Great stress is laid upon the prohibition of gambling and of strong drink. There may be drunkenness among Moslems, Pratt observes (India and Its Faiths, p. 315), but the drunken Moslem is like the Sunday school superintendent who robs a bank.

Sex Code The position of women has been somewhat improved but that, Pratt thinks (*ibid.*, p. 312), is about all that can be said. Women have been kept isolated and polygamy is a recognized institution. A man may have four wives if he is able to support them. But sexual relations outside of marriage are possible only in defiance of Islam.

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Representative Class In the beginning, according to Max Weber (op. cit. 1: 239 - 40) the representative class was the warriors. These constituted a finely disciplined monastic order of knights of the faith whose fanatical zeal was upheld by the belief that Allah held their fate in his hand, that no man could die before his time and that rich rewards of a rather material sort awaited the fallen warrior in the life beyond. With the passing of its militant zeal Moslem fatalism has taken on a different tone. It has now become a passive acceptance of the present order.

The social organization of Islam is essentially democratic. There is no professional clergy. Each man, or rather each head of a family, is his own priest. In India Pratt found that the "Imam", who presided over the Friday noon services was in no sense a priest (op. cit. p. 306). He was merely a member of the community paid by the others to read the Koran and care for the mosque. He was chosen not because of any special learning or zeal, but often because he was unable to make his living in any other way.

Source of Authority The Koran is looked upon as absolutely and infallibly inspired. It was written not by Mohammed but by Allah himself in the Arabic language (ibid. p. 296). The Koran, together with an associated body of interpretations, is therefore the source of religious authority. The doctrine of inspiration is so rigid as to preclude new developments.

Education Islam has taken great pride in its universities. These universities however, have been concerned primarily with the study of the Koran. There is little encouragement of free inquiry either in philosophy or in natural science. Primary education in the Moslem world is very deficient (ibid. 305).

Mysticism In Islam there has been little emphasis upon the mystical. There are still groups of dervishes, the types from which the Hebrew prophets sprang. There are still "Sufis," who devote themselves to the cultivation of mystical experiences, but these groups are neither large nor influential. They seem to be expressions of a spontaneous religious fervor which apparently contributes little to the central institutions of Islam.

Summary It seems clear that Islam's rigid doctrine of inspiration, its lack of a professional priestly or teaching class, its lack of provision for re-thinking its religious beliefs in the light of changing conditions must inevitably make for a static religion and a static culture. It has been very successful in maintaining its faith, maintaining it unusually free from foreign elements, but it has little provision for re-creation and growth.



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THE HEBREW-CHRISTIAN RELIGION

Boisen
1942

J U D A I S M

The Social Organization of Ancient Judaism

For nineteen centuries the Jews have been a people without a country. Widely scattered thruout the earth, they have lived as guests among people of other cultures. And yet they have remained culturally distinct. This has not been due to any physical peculiarities of their own, as in the case of the southern negroes. Neither has it been due to an inflexible caste system as in India. There has been rather a certain racial solidarity based upon a proud faith in themselves which has been engendered by their religion. Herein, according to Weber, is the distinctive problem which Judaism presents to the student of sociology of religion(1).

The Covenant The explanation of this Jewish separateness Weber finds first of all in their social organization. Theirs was a society based upon contractual obligations with each other and with Jahwe, their God. In the use of oaths to give religious sanction to political organization or to private agreements there is nothing unusual. What is unusual is that a religious covenant should in so thorough fashion be made the basis of their entire social organization and that their God, Jahwe, should be looked upon as a contracting party. This emphasis runs thruout the Old Testament. Jahwe is represented as having chosen them from among all the peoples of the world to be his people. Central in its teaching is the promise that if they keep the covenant and obey the Lord they will be given a place among the leading peoples of the world (2).

Distinctive Features of the Hebrew Religion

From this peculiar character of the Hebrew social organization there follow certain important contrasts with other world religions.

Practical and Ethical Emphasis Because of the emphasis upon contractual obligations, the Hebrew religion was primarily concerned with practical and for the most part ethical considerations. It was unusually free from magical practices and its emphasis was upon the present life. Even tho there had been rather close contact with Egypt, there was no belief in immortality. The fate of the nation was the one concern. There was no idea of individual salvation either in the present or in the future life and individual sin was important only in so far as it affected the group. In all this there was a sharp contrast with Hinduism, Buddhism and Taoism and to a lesser extent with Confucianism (3).

Importance of Middle Classes In sharp contrast with the Asiatic religions Judaism was a religion of the common people - Hinduism and Confucianism beings religions of aristocratic intellectuals, Buddhism a religion of monks and Taoism one of monks and magicians (4).

Deity Personal and Monotheistic In sharp contrast with the intellectualist religions of India and China the Hebre God was personal, even crudely anthropomorphic. In equally sharp contrast with the popular Asiatic religions the Hebrews believed in only one God. Jahwe was originally a war-god, the God of Hosts. The early picture was that of a jealous God, a God of wrath, but also a God of justice and mercy and love.

The Hebrew Prophets

The separateness of the Jewish people began fairly early, but it was only with the exile that it became a pronounced feature. This development may be attributed to the prophets.



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Early Prophecy The Hebrews, like most other peoples, had their ecstatic devotees of religion in the early period. Because of the relative lack of development of a priestly hierarchy these early prophets had considerable influence. They were looked upon as persons who spoke with authority because of the unusual experiences thru which they had passed, Samuel, Saul, Nathan may be classed among them. Elijah was their most conspicuous representative. Elisha was a necromancer of a rather unpraiseworthy type (5).

The Great Prophets The great prophets belong to a different group. They were also ecstatics. Some of them even showed distinct pathological features. But their ecstatic experiences were rooted in the war situation with which their people were faced(#). The people were aflame with the question, What is the reason

Even in the case of Amos and Hosea and other pre-exilic major prophets, the burden of their message had to do with the anticipated danger to their people.

for Jahwe's anger? How can that anger be appeased and the promise to our people realized? The great prophets were men who had gone down into the depths with that question. They felt that they had discovered Jahwe's answer and that they were sent by him to deliver it. Hence the deep feeling, which in some cases may have reached the point of psychosis (6).

The Written Message Their message was not given orally. It was above all also a written message. They were essentially political pamphleteers, whose writings were copied and circulated by friends and followers (7).

Defense of the Common People These prophets came from different social strata. Some were of noble, some of lowly family; but all of them addressed the people and were concerned with the rights of the common man as against the rich and powerful. They were political prophets of a type elsewhere unknown. Altho dealing with national issues they were concerned not about the duties of citizens but about obedience to Jahwe's commandments. Their point of view was entirely religious (8).

The Prophetic Burden For their services these prophets received no remuneration. They acted on their own initiative and not as members of an organization. They were solitary men. In no case did their prophetic call derive from a group of spirit-filled persons, as among the early Christians. Neither did they found any orders. They made no use of techniques for inducing ecstatic experiences. In contrast to the holy men of India and China they claimed for themselves no special virtue or power to save. Neither was there any sense on their part of being lifted out of the misery and meaningless of life into the peace and joy of union with God, such as we find among the Asiatic mystics. They were men with a message to deliver which lay as a burden upon them. Any euphoric mood would be projected into the future. There is no reason to assume that the passive type of mysticism did not exist in Palestine; but just as turbulent ecstatics of the Hebrew type would have been objects of suspicion in India, so also the passive type of ecstasy would have received no recognition in Palestine (9).

Emphasis on the Practical Just as mystical union with an other-worldly God was rejected in favor of the active service of a super-worldly but comprehensible God, so also speculation regarding the nature of being was rejected in favor of devotion to the divine commands. The ancient Hebrew spent little time mulling over the meaning of the universe (10).

The Impending Boom The tremendous passion of the prophetic message as contrasted with the mildness of the Deuteronomic admonitions is not to be explained in terms of temperamental peculiarities. It was due rather to the urgency of impending events. The prophets' message was a message of doom but also

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of promise. Their answer to the question, Why the sufferings of the chosen people? was that it was Jahve's will, that it was because of their sins, but that if they would repent and mend their ways a remnant would be saved(11).

The Apotheosis of Suffering Out of this literary prophecy came the apotheosis of suffering set forth in Deutero*Isaiah. For the anonymous writer of this prophecy the problem is the meaning of suffering in a universal, divine order. It is perhas not accidental that he represents Israel, now as object, now as agent of redemption. The meaning is the same. The explanation of their hard lot is to be found not so much in Jahve's anger at their sins as in the requirement of patient endurance, whereby the suffering servant of the Lord and the people thus personified may become the redeemer of the world. In so far as the suffering servant is to be thought of as an individual, the redemption must come thru his free acceptance of his lot. In this prophecy the promise that in Abraham all the nations of the earth should be blessed is raised to its sublimest height (12).

The Development of Jewish Separateness

The Sense of Mission The sense of special mission and of separateness on the part of the Jews was thus forged by the prophets in the furnace of affliction. It was derived from the promise that the present order was to be changed so that they would again be free and become the leading people of the earth. The world was thus neither eternal nor unchangeable, as it was to the Hindu, and there was no thought of merely raising the individual status thru rebirth into a higher caste. The present order was instead the product of the interaction of God and man and the Jewish hope was that of a divinely-led social and political revolution.

Ritualistic Requirements The Jewish separateness was established by Nehemiah and Ezra and the priestly group thru ritualistic regulations which set the Jews apart from other peoples. These may be summed up as follows:

1. The rite of circumcision, originating early, not peculiar to the Hebrews, but regarded more and more as distinctive.
2. The prohibition of marriage with gentiles. This requirement was not in force in early times, but was rigidly enforced after the time of Ezra.
3. Strict observance of the Sabbath on the seventh day of the week, thus bringing the Jews into conflict with the people around them.
4. The prohibition of eating pork and the regulations regarding the slaughter of animals used for food (13).

Consequences of Ritual Demands The keeping of the purification regulations laid a great burden upon the peasant class. The result was that the latter were practically excluded from the group of the pious. For this reason Judaism has become increasingly a city-dwelling, ritualistically separate, international group, which has been recruited by birth and to some extent by proselytizing (14).

S u m m a r y

The Jewish religion was thus fitted to become the basis of a great culture. It was remarkably free from magical practices and from irrational methods of seeking salvation. Its emphasis was upon the present life and it was severely ethical in its requirements. It was however barred from such development, partly by its ritualistic separateness, and partly - as regards industrial development - by the sharp dichotomy in its attitude toward those within and those without the group. In spite of effort of great Jewish teachers like Maimonides, the injunctions against harboring hatred and the requirement of loving one's enemies have applied only within the group. Discriminatory practices have in consequence blocked the development of a universal

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ethic which could have served as a basis for the credit system which has had so much to do with the industrial development of the past century. (15).

CHRISTIANITY

Period of Beginnings

Jesus of Nazareth The founder of Christianity was a Jew whose spirit had been kindled by the Jewish prophets and their message. In the light of this study there is reason to believe that he passed thru one of those searching crisis experiences which have been shared by so many men of religious genius and that the crisis in his case was not a matter of personal self-realization but had to do with the fate of his people (16). The answer which he found was that of Deutero-Isaiah,-- the redemption of the world thru the suffering of the righteous.

The Messianic Claim Whether Jesus thought of himself in the role of the suffering redeemer of the world is a question difficult to answer (17). The gospels indicate that he did. They also give us the picture of a man of remarkable poise and beauty and power, who was interested in the men about him, and whose teachings are unsurpassed in their ethical and religious insight and in their literary form. In any case his followers, a little group of Galilean villagers, thought of his tragic death at the hands of the conservative religious leaders of his people as an atonement for the sins of the world. They also believed that after his crucifixion he rose again from the dead and manifested himself to them. This conviction changed their sorrow and bewilderment into an enthusiastic faith which sent them forth to carry a gospel of redemption to the world.

Saul of Tarsus Their missionary zeal encountered opposition. Among the opponents was a young Pharisee of good family and fine education. After participating in efforts to destroy the new movement with a fury which apparently increased with his own mounting doubts and discomfort, this man underwent a sudden and dramatic conversion (18). It was this representative of the enemies of Jesus who now, as Paul the Apostle, became the most important champion of the new faith. It was he who made it a world-wide religion. Not only did he journey all over the Roman empire founding Christian churches, not only are letters of unquestioned authenticity, written by him, the starting point of modern New Testament criticism, but it was he who after a bitter struggle freed Christianity from the ritualistic fetters which would have kept it an obscure sect within the separatistic Jewish religion. Freed from those fetters, with the Old Testament still an integral part of its sacred literature, the religion of the Hebrew prophets now came into its own. In Christianity it became the foundation of a world-wide culture in which science and industry reach unheard-of development (19).

The Message of Jesus In the early years the message of Christianity was addressed mainly to the oppressed and it sought and won adherents chiefly among the lower classes of the cities. Jesus considered wealth a danger to the soul and he opposed the Jewish priestly aristocracy. His teaching, however, was purely religious. It concerned itself with such questions as the salvation of the soul, life after death, purity of worship, the ideals of daily living and the coming kingdom of God. This kingdom of God was primarily the vision of an ethical and religious situation in a world controlled entirely by God. There is in the teaching of Jesus no contempt for the life of the senses, no glorification of poverty for its own sake. He was concerned always about fellowship with God and renunciation of possessions was merely a means to that end. (20).

The Early Church Following the death of Jesus came the development of the Christian Church. The group of followers who had shared the faith of Jesus now organized on the basis of their faith in Jesus as the exalted and risen Lord. It became an independent religious community into which men were incorporated thru baptism and were nourished by the Supper of the Lord. In this community there was



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the idea of equality thru grace but of difference of function (23).

This development was of the utmost importance. It is something not found in other religions. There is no religious assemblage for instruction and for common worship, save in embryonic form, either in Hinduism or Buddhism or Taoism or Confucianism. In Judaism we find the synagogue, beginning as a school for instruction in Hebrew history and law and then gradually introducing religious assemblage for common worship. The Christian Church is a continuation of the synagogue, but it is more than that. It is first of all a mystical fellowship.

Early Catholicism

The Church's Rapid Growth The Christian message met with a remarkable response and in spite of severe persecution the Church grew rapidly. In the course of its development its original message and its original character were much changed. The idea grew that the sacraments of baptism and of the Lord's Supper had miraculous power and that they were only valid when administered within a properly constituted Christian community thru the hands of a regular clergy. The idea also grew that the holy life was to be found in complete renunciation of the world and commitment to an ascetic way of life. Out of this new emphasis upon sacramentalism and asceticism came two new representative groups, the professional clergy and the monastic orders. Meantime the membership of the church increased in numbers and influence until in 325 A. D. Christianity was recognized by the State (22).

Adaptation and Compromise The gospel of Jesus, which was completely non-sacramental and purely ethical had thus assimilated a body of ideas wholly alien to itself but inherent in all natural religion. The influence of popular belief in spirits and demons and magic may be seen in the development of sacramentalism and asceticism. In addition the need of coming to terms with the speculative philosophy of the Greek and Roman world in order to meet the demands of respectability was responsible for much sterile theologizing as well as for some substantial accomplishment.

Attitude toward Present Order The marked feature during this period was the decline of the hope for the return of the Lord and the gradual transformation of the idea of the Kingdom of God and its identification with the Church. There was an increasing conviction that existing conditions were static and immutable. Salvation thus became more and more an affair of the future life. There was no effort to heal the social wrongs or to improve the social order and the Christian spirit of love expressed itself chiefly in works of charity. Meantime the social and economic status of the members of the Church was becoming increasingly complex and the church itself more worldly. With the appearance of Christian emperors new complications arose. The general principle agreed upon was that in all secular matters laity and clergy alike must obey the emperor, but in all spiritual matters the law of the church. The imperial power thus secured protection and privilege for the church, but there was no idea of a Christian State (23).

Monasticism It was chiefly in monasticism, according to Troeltsch (24), that the primitive ideal of the Gospel lived on. In its origin monasticism is a complex phenomenon, but in its practical effect it was simply the sanctuary in which the early Christian ideal had taken refuge. The monastery represented the intimate fellowship of those who were wholly committed to the Christian life.

The Eastern Churches

Corresponding to the division of the Roman Empire in its later years the Church also divided into an Eastern and a Western branch.

The Eastern churches represented a continuation of the situation which followed the recognition of the Church by the State. Inasmuch as the Eastern Empire



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was not overthrown until 1453 the Church in that region was not jarred loose from its complacency. Its relation to the State was one of compromise (25). Its emphasis was upon ritual. To keep the ancient symbols unchanged became the paramount religious duty. The deference for the past became so great that little independent thinking was done, least of all in theology (26). The chief distinctive development was the recognition of ikons as aids to worship.

In sharp contrast with the Western Church there has been in the East no single head. Instead there are to-day fourteen "autocephalous" bodies, of which the largest is the Russian Church.

In Russia the Church has been at once the champion of the people and the upholder of the established order. Elsewhere it has been for the most part the religious institution of oppressed peoples and its task has been the preservation of its people and their culture in the face of hostile cultures (27).

As in the West the Eastern churches had also their monasteries and their celibate priesthood. But they had also married priests, especially in the village parishes. The educational standards for their clergy were not particularly high (28).

Medieval Catholicism

The Dark Ages With the overthrow of the Roman Empire in the West the Christian Church became the custodian of the ancient learning. The barbarian conquerors accepted the Graeco-Roman culture as superior to their own and with it the Christian religion. Christian priests and monks thus became the chief interpreters of the ancient culture. During the dark ages it was they chiefly who knew the arts of reading and writing and who had command of the ancient languages. The monasteries were likewise the chief repositories of the ancient manuscripts.

The Territorial Church For about five hundred years the Church functioned in the West as an adjunct of the State. It was a period of ecclesiastical vassalage in which the forces of religion were placed at the service of the State in its tasks of civilization (29). In the Imperial period this meant that altho the Church had nominally a single head it was actually divided into a Roman and a German party.

Papal Supremacy From the tenth century onward, however, the idea of a Universal Church in opposition to the Territorial Church system came more and more to the fore. This idea of a Universal Church was closely related to a revival of ascetic idealism, which emphasized the superiority of the spiritual over the temporal, the universal episcopate of the Pope, and the impartation of grace thru the seven sacraments. The unification of the Church was also furthered by the increasing strength of the Latin nations and the belief on the part of the German emperors that they could control the Pope and have his support in their own efforts at reform (30). The idea of papal supremacy became a reality under Gregory VII. (1073 - 1085). The power of electing the Pope was now taken out of the hands of the emperors and kings and placed in the hands of the cardinals. There arose the doctrine of papal infallibility in questions of faith and morals and the bishops were looked upon merely as representatives of the Pope.

Attitude toward Present Order All during this period the Church had been gaining in power and influence. As an ecclesiastical organization it was overwhelmingly conservative. It utilized the State and the ruling classes and became an integral part of the existing social order, stabilizing it, helping to determine it and becoming dependent upon it. It looked upon the secular order as a means and a preparation for the supernatural end of life.



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Monasticism Alongside of this conservative ecclesiasticism there was another tendency, the radical religion represented in monasticism. In the monasteries were those whose aim was personal perfection and union with God, those who sought to live the holy life. Down thru the centuries the monasteries continued to be sanctuaries in which the thoro-going Christian ideal took refuge. But in Roman Catholicism the monasteries never gained the ascendancy which they won in Buddhism. The ecclesiastical organization stood in the way, and that organization was wise enough to incorporate them into its structure and to control them by recognizing them (31).

Mediaeval Sects In addition to the monasteries there were also, especially in the later mediaval period, certain believers' groups, or sects, drawn mainly from the underprivileged classes, who also took their religion in earnest and sought after personal perfection and union with God. Where the Church emphasized the idea of grace and made it objective, something to be imparted automatically thru the sacraments, these sects emphasized the idea of subjective holiness. The Church was an institution into which men were born and under whose miraculous influence they were brought thru baptism. The Church represented the eternal existence of the God-Man, the extension of his incarnation. To its sacramental grace the priest held the keys. The sect on the other hand was a voluntary community whose members joined of their own free-will on the basis of a conscious experience of religion. The sect made no attempt to educate the masses but to select out a group of the elect. In contrast with the monasteries the sects did not for the most part require celibacy but were built upon the family (32).

The point of departure for the development of the mediaeval sects, according to Troetsch (33), was the Gregorian reform. Gregory and his supporters had utilized for their own purposes the widespread popular agitation against the abuses of the seigniorial church, particularly the simony of the married clergy. Following the abolition of the married clergy there was much confusion. Often there was no one to conduct services. More than that, scepticism regarding individual priests led to scepticism about the office of the priest. Lay movements thereupon appeared. After the Gregorian reform had been established and its leaders felt tolerably secure, they severed their connection with the democratic movement, which for a time they had encouraged, and formulated terrible laws against heresy and against independent lay Christianity.

Among the sects which appeared about this time were the Cathari, the Waldensians, the Flagellants, the Soccati, the Apostolic Brethren, the Spirituals and the Molards. The latter grew out of Wyclif's influence and were represented on the continent by the Hussites, by the Moravians and by various peasant uprisings. Francis of Assisi was much influenced by the Waldensians and his movement began as a sect. It was however recognized by the Church and used by it to win back the discontented. Even so the Franciscan Order remained vigorously opposed to ecclesiasticism.

Roman Catholicism in the Modern Period

The Roman Catholic Church is to-day the largest and most powerful religious body in the world. Its strength lies chiefly in southern Europe and in South America. It remains still a unified and disciplined and finely trained organization which has its headquarters in Rome.

Following the Protestant defection it has set its house in order and has adapted itself ~~to~~ with great wisdom to the changing conditions of the modern world. Modern thought has not failed to register within it, but its theological and philosophical position is essentially that which Thomas Aquinas worked out in the thirteenth century. Due perhaps to the draining off into Protestantism of its more radical spirits, there has been surprisingly little change in its fundamental positions, and it still seeks to control the thinking of its people.



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P r o t e s t a n t i s m

Driving Forces in the Reformation The conditions under which the Protestant Reformation developed are very complex. We may however recognize three main driving forces. In the first place there was the upsurge of deep religious thought and feeling represented by the sects. This had been dealt with very severely by the Catholic Church and the repressive measures had increased its explosive power. In the second place there was the growing enlightenment represented by the Protestant Renaissance. The New World had been discovered, The printing press had been invented. More and more men were learning to read. There was increasing acquaintance with the writings of Greek and Roman thinkers and a growing tendency to think for oneself. In the third place there was increasing restlessness on the part of the rulers of European states under the attempts by the papacy to regulate their affairs (34).

Martin Luther Martin Luther, the leader of the Reformation represented all three tendencies. First of all he was a profoundly religious man. As a young man he had passed thru a searching religious experience and religion for him was no mere acceptance of traditional beliefs, but something real and genuine and creative. There was in him a deep pietistic strain. He was also a representative of the enlightenment of his time. He was a master of Latin and Greek and Hebrew. He was versed in the ancient sources and acquainted with current thought (35). And

35) McGiffert (Protestant Thought before Kant, pp. 20 ff.) holds that Luther was singularly untouched by the intellectual currents of the day. His genius, he says, was wholly practical and his great work was accomplished in the religious sphere.

then he felt himself under obligations to the Elector and to others of the nationalistic leaders and he was sympathetic to their point of view.

Luther was characteristically independent in his thinking and quick to attack existing evils wherever he found them, but he was no mere fault-finder and no constitutional reformer. At the time he posted his famous theses on the door of the Church in Wittenberg he had no thought of doing anything revolutionary. His only thought was to challenge what seemed to him a simple and manifest abuse. He was at that time the outstanding preacher in the country round about. He was an idolized teacher in his University. He was also a musician, something of a poet, a clear and vigorous thinker who knew how to express his thought in racy and picturesque language, and a warm, vivid colorful person who followed with unswerving fidelity the voice of conscience and reason. When the storm broke he did not shrink back but stuck to his guns and then gave himself with unremitting zeal to the task of thinking thru and re-stating the implications of the Christian faith for the men of his time.

Luther's Theology Central in Luther's theology was the doctrine of justification by faith. Grace was for him no miraculous, mystical substance to be imparted thru the sacraments, but a matter of inner attitude. The whole idea of mediation thru a hierarchy was swept away and the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers came to the fore. New significance was given to the idea of "vocation" or "calling." Religious devotion was to be expressed in the work of the world rather than in monastic meditation. And the source of authority in religion was to be found not in a hierarchy but in the holy Scriptures interpreted by the individual.

Luther's Social Outlook In his social and economic outlook Luther was essentially conservative. He believed in order and in control. At times he broke out in violent invective against the princes and magistrates, but he held that the powers that be are ordained of God and that it is a duty to obey the government. Down to the present day the motto of Lutheranism has been "Piety within the established order." Typical of Luther's social attitude was his strong opposition to



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the Anabaptist movement and to the peasant uprisings. It is no accident that in Europe the Lutheran Church is a State church, supported by public taxation. Luther's own relationships with the German rulers of his time will account for it. But the church's dependence upon the state has accentuated its conservative attitude. It has had to live at peace with the ruling class. For this reason it has hallowed the virtues of obedience, reverence and respect for authority and its tendency has been to alleviate rather than to re-~~create~~ in all that has to do with social well-being (36)

Calvinism The cultural significance of the Reformation may be seen even more clearly in Calvinism than in Lutheranism. Calvinism in its beginnings was closely associated with Lutheranism. The Swiss reformers Melancthon and Zwingli were closely associated with Luther and Calvin was a great admirer of his. But they represented a different combination of tendencies. They were primarily representatives of the Renaissance. They were also associated with free industrial enterprise. Their view-point was thus that of the trader-class where Luther was more agrarian in his outlook. And their pietistic tendencies were less in evidence. From the beginning Calvinism was thus a middle-class, urban movement, believing firmly in the gospel of enlightenment and hard-work.

The Sovereignty of God John Calvin's idea of God was in many ways similar to the Jahwe of the Old Testament. God for him was absolute sovereign Will and the end of life was to create a community in which the glory of God could be realized. The doctrine of predestination, so commonly regarded as distinctive of Calvinism, is really a corollary of his teaching regarding the sovereignty of God. It was neither determinism nor fatalism, but rather an expression of the faith that God is all-wise and all-powerful and that the believer has nothing to fear. It was also an interpretation of the stubborn unresponsiveness and intractability of the non-believing world. (37)

Productivity Even more than Luther Calvin exalted the conception of calling and raised the daily work to the level of a religious duty. From being a means to provide for material needs, work now became an end in itself, providing scope for the exercise of faith. It thus gave rise to the ideal of work for work's sake which has undergirded the modern bourgeois way of life. More than this, Calvin was convinced that the Christian spirit could express itself and maintain its existence within a society which was based upon a money economy, trade and industry. Unlike Luther, Calvin did not hark back to the agrarian, patriarchal way of life. He rejected the prohibition of usury and supported the theory of money and credit. For him there was an inner connection between economic progress and moral elevation. Capitalism thus became incorporated into the Calvinistic ethic all over the world. Once incorporated capitalism produced results which increased its power (38).

For the most part Calvinism has found expression in free churches. Its Scotch representative is to-day tax-supported, so also the Dutch. Its greatest development has been in North America.

Pietism The term "Pietism" is here used to designate those groups, recruited chiefly from the under-privileged, which are radically mystical in their emphasis. Like the Catholic monastic orders and the sects of the late mediaeval period they represent the out-cropping of the spontaneous religious fervor of the people. Groups of this type have already been studied. It is only necessary at this point to call attention to the fact that they have been much in evidence in European Protestantism. The Anabaptist movement, which began in Luther's time, has continued under various forms. The Moravians, the Mennonites, the Quakers all belong to the same household. So also do the Methodists.

All of these groups under Protestantism are characterized by their insistence upon the Bible as the source of religious authority, by their faith in the promptings of the Holy Spirit, by their opposition to ecclesiasticism and sacerdotalism, and by their insistence upon holy living.



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All of these groups have begun as informal believers' groups and have striven earnestly to maintain the mystical emphasis. They have however shown the same tendency toward institutionalization which we have already examined. Some of them have perpetuated their fellowship by withdrawing into self-sustaining communities of their own where they have sought to realize the ideals of Christian brotherhood within their own fellowship. These groups have often instituted a strict discipline and in some cases they dress in a distinctive garb.

Summary There seems to be ample justification for saying that Luther and his fellow reformers made a contribution of enormous importance to the building of modern civilization. They swept away the accumulated impedimenta of the centuries and returned to the essentials of the Hebrew religion. They opened the doors of the monasteries and directed religious zeal into the work of the world. They opened the Bible and placed the responsibility for interpreting it upon the enlightened conscience of the individual. They sanctified marriage and found their ideal of the holy life in the Christian home. They still sought salvation in a future life, but they so interpreted the doctrine of immortality as to enable them to defy the established order and seek to remake it. Even the sublimated magic of the sacraments was in large measure dispensed with. Certain sacraments were still observed, but they were regarded more or less as outward symbols of inward grace. It is not necessary to oversimplify the complexity of the forces involved in the development of the modern age to recognize the importance of these accomplishments. Without them that development could hardly have taken place. The Reformation therefore laid the foundations of a culture in which popular education, thrift, honesty and personal initiative made possible the vast industrial and scientific structure of the Western World.

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CHARACTERISTICS OF TYPICAL AMERICAN CHURCHES

1941

	INTERNATIONAL	TRANSPLANTED NATIONAL CHURCHES		TRANSPLANTED FREE CHURCHES				INDIGENOUS CHURCHES			
		STATUS UNCHANGED	STATUS ALTERED	INTELLECTUALIST	DOGMATIST	EVANGELISTIC	COMMUNAL	REFORMIST	MYSTICAL	ADVENTIST	THERAPEUTIC
BEST REPRESENTATIVE	Roman Catholic	Protestant Episcopal	Missouri Synod Lutheran	Congregational	Reformed Presbyterian	Methodist	Mennonite	Disciples of Christ	Assemblies of God	Jehovah's Witnesses	Christian Science
HISTORICAL ANTECEDENTS	A world-wide organization centered in Rome. Members from many races.	The established Church of England.	The established church of Germany.	An English body which became the established church of early New England.	A Scotch-Irish peals-singing body of the "come-outer" type.	An English body which recruited most of its members in America.	A German branch of the Anabaptists, semi-communal, strongly non-resistant.	An adaptation to frontier conditions in Middle West. The largest indigenous group.	The largest and fastest-growing Holiness sect. Organized in 1914.	The most active and distinctive of the adventist sects.	The largest of the healing sects.
ATTITUDE TOWARD PRESENT ORDER	Institutional interests paramount. Inclined to support status quo.	Discriminating acceptance. Inclined to support status quo.	Non-interference. Fifty within established order. Intent on preserving cultural heritage.	Discriminating acceptance - favorable to social change.	A tradition of defiance. Intent on preserving group integrity.	Increasing concern with social betterment.	Non-interference & non-resistance. Withdrawal into communities of its own.	Discriminating acceptance - favorable to social change.	Absorbed with personal salvation in face of imminent return of the Lord.	Evil beyond repair. Parousia imminent. Refusal to fight or to salute flag.	Absorbed with personal, indifferent to social problems.
REPRESENTATIVE CLASS	Priests & monks. Membership from all classes. Underprivileged urban classes well-represented.	Laymen & clergy on equal footing. Members from middle & upper urban strata. Monied aristocracy prominent.	Members from lower German immigration of rural artisan & tradesman classes.	Laymen ascendant. Members from middle & upper urban classes. Intellectual aristocracy prominent.	Membership largely rural.	All classes well represented. Strong in country as well as city.	Chiefly farmers & small tradesmen of German descent.	All classes well represented. Strong in country & city.	Recruited chiefly from underprivileged classes.	Recruited chiefly from underprivileged classes.	A white-collar, middle-class constituency.
SOURCES OF RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY	The Bible as interpreted by the hierarchy.	Widely divergent views - held together by loyalty to organization.	A literally inspired Bible. Little stress on present-day inspiration.	Tested experience. Scientific efforts supported & findings welcomed.	A literally inspired Bible. Its authority demanded for all church procedures.	Stress on personal religious experience & guidance. Open-minded toward science.	A literally inspired Bible & the leading of the Holy Spirit.	Somewhat divided.	A literally inspired Bible & promptings of Holy Spirit.	A literally inspired Bible & present-day revelation.	The Bible as interpreted by Mrs. Eddy.
CONCEPT OF THE SUPERHUMAN	Deity of Jesus; worship of Virgin & of saints. Some belief in demons.	Diversities of belief.	Rigidly Fundamentalist.	Somewhat nebulous.	Rigidly Fundamentalist.	Personalistic.	Fundamentalist.	Divided.	Fundamentalist beliefs w. special stress on Holy Spirit.	Fundamentalist beliefs w. special stress on deity of Jesus & his return.	Omnipotent Mind.
CHIEF END OF LIFE	Salvation in future life. Holy life in present thru escape from world.	Personal & social regeneration. Magnification of beauty.	Personal piety & future salvation.	Personal & social regeneration.	Future salvation thru right living in present.	Personal & social regeneration.	Future salvation thru dramatic transformation within Christian community.	Personal & social regeneration.	Personal salvation thru dramatic transformation of character.	Escape from a perishing world.	Peace of mind.
MEANS OF GRACE	Sacraments working "ex opere operato." Penance. Holy life thru celibacy & monasticism.	Much stress on sacraments. Religious assemblage stresses common worship.	Faith & right living in present. Belief in sacraments retained.	Education, discipline, industry, co-operation. Instruction stressed in religious meeting.	Obedience, industry, austerity, neighborliness, education.	Old charismatic emphasis giving way to educational.	Faith, industry, obedience to church discipline.	Baptism by immersion still required. Emphasis otherwise educational.	Charismatic & ascetic. Speaking with tongues required. Ban on worldly amusements.	Faith, spreading of gospel. Little stress on common worship.	Faith, meditation.
METHODS OF RECRUITING	High immigration & birth-rates. Training in parochial schools.	Birth-rate low. Many members drawn from other bodies thru social interests.	High birth-rate. Training in parochial schools.	Birth-rate low. Somewhat dependent upon transfers from other churches.	Birth-rate high. No other sources. Losing ground.	High birth-rate, evangelistic campaigns.	High birth-rate. No other source.	Birth-rate fairly high. Fractured meetings much used in past.	Chiefly thru evangelistic campaigns.	Thru personal visiting & distributing of literature.	Personal evangelism.
TRAINING OF CLERGY	Highly trained.	College & seminary.	College & seminary.	College & seminary.	College & Seminary.	Untrained men formerly ordained. Standard now higher.	Mostly a self-supporting lay ministry.	Untrained men were used. College training now the rule.	Special calls & group endorsement.	No regular ministers.	Mostly lay readers and healers.
INTERCHURCH RELATIONS	Rigidly forbidden.	Limited by requirement of episcopal ordination.	Rigidly non-cooperative.	Eagerly co-operative.	Somewhat aloof.	Co-operative	Aloof & self-sufficient.	Co-operative.	Sometimes ignored by established churches.	Aloof.	Aloof.



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THE AMERICAN EXPERIMENT

Boisen
1942

A salient feature of American Christianity is the number and diversity of its constituent bodies. Unlike most European countries it has no established church and the right to worship in accordance with the dictates of the individual conscience has given rise to a multiplicity of churches and sects. Not only have the many racial groups which make up this nation brought with them their own churches, but new sects have appeared in considerable number. To a remarkable degree therefore the religious propensities of our people have been free to express themselves and to run their own course, no matter how unusual or bizarre the form they might assume. The result has been an experiment in variation and selection of greatest interest to the student of religion.

This chapter will attempt to take stock of that experiment. It will try to discover the significant tendencies represented amid this diversity of form. It will then consider the social significance of the distinctive characteristics of certain typical Christian churches. The accompanying chart gives the findings in schematic form. Only white churches are here included, not because we are uninterested in the Negro churches, but because the latter call for special consideration.

It will of course be understood that the characteristics here given cannot pretend to do justice to the complexities involved. The aim was to set down what seemed to be the central and distinctive traits and tendencies, together with certain related factors.

HISTORICAL SETTING

According to the Religious Census of 1936 there are in the United States of America 218 churches and sects. Of these 125 were brought here from across the ocean and 93 may be called indigenous. By far the greater number have thus been imported from Europe. In the matter of membership the contrast is much greater. Of the indigenous bodies only one, the Disciples of Christ, has more than a million members, and the total for the 93 bodies is not much over 3,000,000 as compared with 36,000,000 (1)

1) These figures are for persons over 13 years of age. The Jews are not included.

And even in the case of those bodies which originated here it is important to recognize how closely related they are to the imported groups. In this attempt to consider the characteristics of our American churches I have therefore begun with the church in its historical setting. The following types have then been distinguished:

I. Internationalist.

The Roman Catholic Church with its membership of more than 12,000,000 is the one representative. It is a world-wide organization with a single head, the Pope, who resides in Rome and rules by virtue of the divine right which is attributed to him. It was brought to this country by different national groups, notably the Irish, the Austrians and southern Germans, the Italians, the Poles, the French Canadians and the Mexicans.

II. Transplanted National Churches.

Some 34 bodies with an aggregate membership of more than 4,500,000 represent established (i. e. tax-supported) national churches in Europe. Among these we may distinguish two types:

1. Those whose social status is unaltered. The Episcopal Church is here the best representative. While no longer tax-supported it was transplanted into a kindred culture. The monied aristocracy is well-represented in its membership and it gets many new members thru the drawing power of social prestige.



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2. Those whose status has been changed. The Lutheran Church is the best representative. It was transplanted into an alien culture. More than that it came in with a later stream of migration and it was made up largely of artisans, farmers and small tradesmen. This has been particularly true of the Missouri Synod and of the Scandinavian bodies. The Dutch Reformed, altho it has been the established church of Holland, seems to have closer affinities with the other Calvinistic bodies and to belong rather among the free churches.

III. Transplanted Free Churches

Eighty seven of the churches listed in the 1936 Census with a total membership of more than 15,000,000 belong in this group. Inasmuch as these churches list as members only those who join of their own accord and who maintain their interest in the church, these figures do not do justice to the relative strength of this group as compared with the Catholic and Lutheran groups. Within this group we may distinguish the following dominant interests or tendencies:

1. Intellectualist. The Congregational Church is perhaps the best representative. In the old country it was a non-conformist group and was overshadowed by the Church of England. In this country it became the established church of early New England. As such it was able to give expression to a faith in education characteristic of Protestantism which it has represented to an unusual degree. It founded the first college in the new world and many others thereafter. It also established schools for popular education. It is to be noted that the two splits in the Congregational Church resulted in radically liberal bodies. The reference here is to the Unitarian and the Universalist churches, the one being the intellectualist and the other the popular form of the same movement. The Congregational Church to-day is pretty solidly committed to the liberal point of view.

2. Dogmatist. The Presbyterian Church has shared the Congregational Church's faith in education and has been scarcely less active in the founding of schools and colleges. It has however been more concerned about correctness of doctrine. Six of its nine sub-divisions have grown out of the demand for scriptural authority for all church procedures and articles of faith. In general the church bodies which have emerged from the Presbyterian Church have been characterized by strong resistance to change and great concern for the letter of the law, while the main body represents the more liberal point of view. This change-resisting, legalistic tendency, based upon the view that the Bible is the literally inspired Word of God is widespread in our American churches. An extreme representative is the Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church of North America, a small body which sings only the Psalms of David and permits no instrumental in its services of worship and is at the same time rigid in its requirement of college and seminary training for its ministers. Its refusal to allow its members to vote or sit in juries or swear to support the Constitution of the United States is a carry-over of its "come-outer" attitude in the old country.

3. Evangelistic. This emphasis has been best represented in the Methodist Church. This church, like the Congregational and Baptist churches was an English Non-conformist body. In this country it adapted itself to pioneer conditions and met the needs of the common people. Thru its revival meetings it cultivated dramatic types of religious experience and most of its membership was recruited in this country. It is significant that of its nine sub-types, not one was determined by doctrinal considerations but rather on the basis of differences regarding organization, slave-holding and type of religious experience. The latter has been the most frequent issue and most of the bodies which have emerged from the Methodist Church have been made up of persons who felt that the main body was getting too worldly and who sought more dramatic expression for their religious feelings.

The powerful Baptist Church, like the Methodist, early adapted itself to pioneer conditions and made wide and vigorous use of the revival meeting. Its subdividing has however been largely on issues of doctrine.

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4. Communal. This emphasis is best represented by the Mennonites, a pietistic body, chiefly German in origin, which believes profoundly in the leading of the Holy Spirit and has sought to work out the principles of Christian brotherhood in communities of its own. The severe discipline and the requirement of distinctive dress and other evidences of separateness has been a chief factor in its much subdividing and accounts for the fact that this group is now 83% rural. The Society of Friends, the Dunkers, the Moravians and the Plymouth Brethren are related groups, all arising out of the European Pietistic movement.

IV. Indigenous Bodies

In classifying 125 churches as importations from the old world it is not to be assumed that each one has its counterpart in Europe. Such is far from the case. The number has been greatly increased in the process of transplantation. The German Lutheran Church, for example, is represented by three distinct bodies, each representing a different generation of immigrants, with the most recent the most conservative (Douglas and Brunner, The Protestant Church as a Social Institution, New York, Harpers, 1935 - xv and 368 pp. - p. 24). Among these three bodies there is little co-operation. The two Scotch-Irish psalm-singing Presbyterian churches brought to this country in the eighteenth century are now represented in America by five bodies. The sub-divisions represent different streams of immigration and reflect the difficulties of getting adapted to the new conditions. The story of their formation has already been considered.

A most important factor, from the standpoint of this study, is the fact that in many of the imported churches a major concern has been the preservation of the group integrity against new customs and attitudes. They were intent upon preserving their own culture and were not ready to give themselves whole-heartedly to new situations and to new and larger loyalties. They were looking backward rather than forward. Hence the strong resistance to change which characterizes them. New bodies formed on this basis I have not regarded as indigenous. I am concerned here with new formations which represent attempts to meet new conditions. Among these we may distinguish the following types:

1. Reformist Movements. The Unitarians, the Universalists and the Disciples of Christ represent this tendency. The Unitarians under the leadership of Channing, Parker and others went somewhat too fast for the main body of the Congregational Church and were disowned. The Universalists represented a popular rebellion against the old Calvinistic doctrine of pre-destination. Neither group, however, ever won a large following. The Disciples on the other hand under the leadership of Thomas and Alexander Campbell won a wide following. Their appeal was for common sense as against the emotionalism of the Methodists and for Christian unity as against the divisiveness of the Presbyterians and Baptists. Their following was chiefly in the Middle West and the movement was essentially an adaptation to frontier conditions. The Unitarians represented an adaptation to the frontiers of knowledge.

2. Mystical Cults. While not large in its aggregate membership this group is today the fastest-growing of our American churches and sects. It is represented by more than forty bodies with a total membership of more than 700,000 (2). A number

2) The 1936 Census figures must be accepted with much caution. They are based entirely on returns from individual churches and these returns were incomplete, even for the well-organized churches. In the case of the loosely organized Holiness groups there will be a far greater error. The actual numbers will be considerably greater.

of these are off-shoots of the Methodist Church and claim, not without reason, to be what the Methodist Church was a hundred years ago. Their rapid growth cannot be



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accounted for by any one factor but, as we have seen, it has attended the economic depression and it seems to represent the spontaneous attempt to meet the strains of shared distress on the part of those strata of society upon whom these strains have fallen most heavily (chapter 4, pp. 9 ff.). The Pentecostal and Holiness sects are made up of people who are taking their religion in earnest. They are conservative in their theology, radical in their religious faith. The Assemblies of God is the largest and fastest growing of these bodies. It has a membership of about 200,000.

3. Adventist Cults. Jehovah's Witnesses is to-day the most active of these groups. This is a body of perhaps 100,000 members which lays little stress on common worship but engages in vigorous missionary activity. These people regard the present order as evil beyond repair and their aim is to save souls from a perishing world. The Seventh Day Adventists are an older organization which is now more or less respectable. Expectations of the Second Coming are prominent in many other bodies, particularly in the mystical cults.

4. Healing Cults. The practice of faith healing is found in many of the Holiness cults. The out-standing representative is however the Christian Science Church. Their membership is close to 200,000. They are mostly a middle-class, white collar group who are concerned with the solution of personal ills to the neglect of social evils. Unity, New Thought, Divine Science are other groups of kindred type.

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE PRESENT ORDER

Six different attitudes toward the social order may be distinguished among American churches:

1. Institutional Interests Paramount. It is probably not unfair to give this as the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church. The hierarchy is vigilantly watchful of all that goes on in the social order but it seldom interferes except as the interests of the church are affected. This follows from the view that it is the one true "ark of salvation" for a future life. It has therefore little faith in social change and it is unwilling to join hands with other churches for the common good.

2. Non-Interference. This has been the characteristic attitude of the Lutheran Church. Its motto has been "Piety within the established order." As a national church they have long been accustomed to live at peace with the state under the doctrine that politics is none of their business. This attitude has been characteristic of American Lutherans. As a body they have never interfered in American politics. Such an attitude has made for peaceable relations with their neighbors and has at the same time helped them to maintain their cultural heritage in the new surroundings.

This attitude has also characterized those communal groups whose aim has been to make the principles of Christian brotherhood effective within communities of their own. With them it has taken the form of the doctrine of non-resistance and represents a lesson learned from futile attempts at rebellion (Niebuhr, Social Sources of Denominationalism, p. 52.).

3. Indifference. This attitude differs from that of "non-interference" in that it arises not so much out of doctrinal rationalization of a delicate situation as out of a special interest and emphasis. The Christian Science Church is a good example. In their effort to secure peace of mind they show little concern about changing social conditions. Indifference to social problems is likewise found in groups which are intent on saving souls and therefore focus their attempt upon individual to the neglect of social salvation.

4. Pessimism. This attitude is best represented in the Adventist groups. They are very much concerned about the present order, but they look upon it as bad and due to get worse and worse until the Lord returns in glory. Efforts to improve it



are therefore worthless. They seek only to save souls as brands from the burning.

5. Defiance. The older Calvinists also looked upon the present order as bad. Man was totally depraved and needed to be re-born; so also the present order. But they proposed to do something about it and they set out to make the world over. Among the churches of America to-day there are no conspicuous representatives of this attitude. The outstanding representatives of Calvinism are the churches which did most toward the making of the nation. They are to-day well-established and strong and their attitude is rather that of

6. Discriminating acceptance. This is the attitude of an intelligent, well-meaning ruling class. It is also the attitude of any truly democratic society. It is the attitude of the majority of the old-line American churches.

REPRESENTATIVE CLASS

Our assumption here is Weber's proposition that the different religions are represented most distinctively by certain strata and that the social situation of the representative group has much influence upon its beliefs (chapter X. p. 24 Weber, op. cit. 1: 238 ff.). For American Christianity there will be four series of contrasts to be taken into account: Clergy ---- Laity; 2. Native --- Foreign; 3. Ruling-class --- under-privileged; 4. Urban - Rural.

1. Clergy - Laity. At one end of the scale stands the Roman Catholic Church. Here we see an organized hierarchy with priests and monks as the holy group and a Pope who rules by divine right. The interpretation of the sacred book is left entirely to the hierarchy, so also the means of grace. The laity are merely objects of their ministrations and have nothing whatsoever to say regarding religious beliefs or ecclesiastical polity. In the Episcopal Church the belief in the Apostolic Succession is retained. Their clergy are priests, set apart and endowed with power by virtue of their office, but laymen are given a voice in the affairs of the church, more or less on an even footing with the clergy. In the Congregational, Presbyterian, Methodist and Baptist churches the ministers are not thought of as having any special power because of their office but only because of special training and equipment. Some smaller bodies, like the Mennonites, the Primitive Baptists and the early Friends have refused to recognize any professional clergy.

2. Native - Foreign. The contrast here is between those who have set the patterns of American culture and the later arrivals who are not ready to be assimilated into that culture. For the most part the unassimilated groups speak a foreign language and their churches have constituted themselves, sometimes unwittingly, agencies for the perpetuation of the imported cultures and the languages with which they are associated. But even groups which speak the English language, as in the case of the Scotch-Irish psalm-singers, may show considerable resistance to the process of assimilation.

3. Ruling-Class - Under-privileged. There is much difference among our churches as regards the social strata of which their congregations are composed. Many local churches have in fact somewhat the semblance of a social club. Weber holds that the club is an institution distinctive of American life and explains it as an outgrowth of the Protestant sect (op. cit. 1: 207 ff.) However that may be a considerable degree of social stratification is likely to be represented by the churches of a community. The Episcopal Church is made up largely of the middle and upper classes with a strong representation of the well-to-do. The Congregationalists and Presbyterians are likewise composed largely of upper and middle class families with an especially good representation of the professional and business classes. The Methodists have all classes well-represented, so also do the Baptists. The Holiness and Pentecostal sects draw chiefly from the under-privileged. The Roman Catholic Church, which is the least democratic so far as control and organization are concerned, is the most democratic in the make-up of its congregations. In its membership there is



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a heavy representation of the more recent population strata and of the under-privileged groups and in its churches people of all classes worship together.

4. Rural - Urban . This contrast may appear in local rather than in ecclesiastical organization. Country people not infrequently prefer a church of their own rather than a church of the same denomination in town. There are however considerable differences among the denominations in the matter of rural representation. The Episcopal Church thus has less than 15% of its membership in town of less than 2,500 inhabitants. In the case of the Presbyterians the rural representation is 29%, of the Congregationalists 35%, of the Methodists 45% and of the Baptists 53%. It is obvious that a denomination with a strong rural representation is in a far more healthy state than one which is heavily urban. This follows from the fact that the middle and upper classes in the cities are not reproducing themselves. The surplus population comes from the country. The fact that 80% of the Roman Catholic membership is urban may be taken as an indication that the United States is likely to remain a Protestant country, except for the fact that the urban strata from which the Catholic Church draws most heavily has a high birth-rate.

Some religious bodies, such as the Christian Scientists and the Unitarians are almost entirely urban.

SOURCES OF RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY

Two chief issues are involved among American churches in the matter of religious authority. One has to do with the attitude toward the Bible as the sacred book. The other has to do with present-day divine guidance.

As regards the Bible there are three clear-cut positions:

1. The Bible is accepted as the literally inspired revelation of God, but its interpretation is left entirely to the priestly class. This is the Roman Catholic position.
2. The Bible is likewise accepted as the divinely inspired Word of God, but its interpretation is entrusted to the enlightened conscience of the individual. This was the position of the old reformers and is still the position of orthodox Protestants, which means about three fourths of the Protestant membership.
3. The Bible is looked upon as the record of the religious experience of the Hebrew people and religious authority is sought in the tested experience of the present. This is the position of the liberal Protestant. The present-day liberal Christian thus accepts the findings of modern science and seeks to make use of its methods in the domain of religious experience itself.

As regards divine guidance the contrast is between

1. those groups which make little provision for its cultivation and take little account of it in the conduct of life; and
2. those that place great reliance upon the leading of the Holy Spirit and upon the validity of those experiences to which we give the name of "mystical."

It is to be noted that the effect of mystical experience is very frequently the re-inforcement of traditional authority. This is particularly apt to be the case when the experience has been induced within a social matrix and where it follows accepted patterns. In such cases it serves usually to give emotional validation to the beliefs and practices which before had seemed dry and profitless. For this reason we find that those sects which go in for radical mysticism are usually conservative in their theology. For the same reason the Roman Catholic Church has been able to encourage and, within the limits of its system, support its mystics.

Mystical experiences may however bring new insights and even result in breaks with the culture patterns of the time. This was the case with the great Hebrew prophets, with Paul, with George Fox and others. Where the break goes too far, the in-



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dividual may be segregated in a mental hospital. This is not likely to happen, however, no matter how bizarre the beliefs, if he succeeds in getting a following (chapter 4, p. 11 ff.). Our Father Divines are left to their own devices.

CONCEPTS OF THE SUPERHUMAN

Amid the wide variety of beliefs regarding the superhuman we may distinguish three major issues which have figured in the more important cleavages: 1) the worship of the Virgin Mary and of the saints, 2) the belief in the deity of Jesus, 3) the belief in the personality of God. There are accordingly four positions represented among our American churches:

1. Among the Roman Catholics there is something in the nature of a pantheon. Not only do they believe in the deity of Jesus but they worship the Virgin and the saints. There is also among them not a little belief in demons.
2. Among orthodox Protestants there is no worship of the Virgin or of the saints but the deity of Jesus is a cardinal doctrine. Probably three fourths of our American Protestants thus believe in his virgin birth, in his vicarious atonement, in his resurrection and in his promised return in glory.
3. Among liberal Protestants Jesus is accepted as the supreme revelation of a God of love, who is thought of as personal. Jesus is divine, but that divinity consists in the full manifestation of possibilities present in all men. He has thus set the norms by which they judge themselves and has given direction to Western culture.
4. The fourth position is that of agnosticism with reference to the personality of God. God, it is said, is man-made. As a frank religious belief this is held by a relatively small group, chiefly at our educational centers, but it is reflected in the increasing nebulousness of the beliefs of liberal Christians.

THE CHIEF END OF LIFE

Three major positions are found among our American churches and several subtypes:

I. Personal Salvation in a Future Life.

1. Thru escape from the world. The extreme position is that of the Roman Catholic Church. Here religious zeal is directed into monasteries and celibacy is regarded as essential to the holy life. It is required of both priests and monks. The monastic discipline stresses prayer and contemplation. There are elaborate concepts of the future world with a purgatory which is the intermediate stage between heaven and hell. It is a place of purification and preparation, and masses are said for the souls of the dead.
2. Thru the miraculous transformation of the world upon the return of the Lord. The individual is called upon to escape from the wrath to come thru the acceptance of the warning and consequent preparation. This is the position of the Adventist groups and of many Holiness and Pentecostal churches.
3. Thru a life of devotion and service in the present. Faith in a future salvation becomes an incentive to right living and makes the individual superior to the trials of the present. This is characteristic of Protestantism at its best and even of its more eccentric forms. Among liberal Protestants the driving power of the belief in immortality is diminishing.

II. Personal Regeneration in the Present World

1. Thru a sudden and dramatic transformation of character and experiences interpreted as union with God. The ethical emphasis is combined with the mystical. This is the position of present-day Holiness and Pentecostal churches and until recently of Methodists and Baptists.

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2. Thru education and discipline with little stress on the mystical and little stress on the "twice-born" type of religious experience. This was the old Puritan attitude. It is wide-spread to-day.

III. A Re-generated Social Order thru the co-operative efforts and sacrifices of men of good will. This is the characteristic position of the present-day liberal Christian.

There are also many whose positions may be characterized by saying that their goals are not clear.

These goals, as indicated in chapter 10, p. 5, are not mutually exclusive but represent for the most part complementary requirements. Thus the Catholic priest or monk, whose idea of salvation is withdrawal from the world, may like Heinrich Suso, go forth again to seek and to succor his neighbor. The monastic plan does serve to relieve the religious devotee from worldly involvements and to set him free to attack social evils.

The conclusion seems justified that the complementary requirements are far better satisfied in American Christianity than in the other ethical religions we have examined. There is however far too great a tendency for those who are interested in social betterment to neglect the mystical and far too great a tendency on the part of the Holiness devotee, of whatever type, to ignore social evil.

MEANS OF GRACE

The means of grace emphasized in the different church bodies will of course be closely related to their concepts of the chief end of life. Six general types may be distinguished:

1. Sacramentarian. This is associated with the other-worldly emphasis and is seen in its extreme form in the Roman Catholic Church. The Catholic doctrine is that the sacraments work "ex opere operato" and are effective only in the hands of a priest by virtue of his office. The Episcopal Church retains a strong sacramentarian emphasis, particularly as regards the office of the priest. Insistence upon a particular form of baptism, as with the Baptists and Disciples, rests upon an assumption that makes these rites something more than symbolic.

2. Ascetic. Asceticism has long been employed by religious devotees in all parts of the world and rests undoubtedly upon certain laws of the spiritual life. There are many persons who require an opportunity for dramatic commitment and self-sacrifice. Such opportunities the Roman Catholic Church has provided in its monastic orders and in the discipline which they enforce. Abstinence from worldly pleasures is a requirement of the Holiness and Pentecostal sects. The significance of these ascetic practices has already been considered (chapter 6, pp. 8 ff.). In Protestantism at large such practices are on the decline.

3. Charismatic. This type is represented by those bodies which insist upon some form of dramatic religious experience such as conversion, sanctification and speaking with tongues.

4. Legalistic. A considerable number of churches lay stress upon creedal conformity and upon obedience and adherence to established custom. This is particularly true of those bodies which are intent upon preserving their special cultural heritage against the encroachments of the culture of their adopted country.

5. Educational. Where the holy life is found in the vocation and the virtues of discipline and industry are stressed, education comes to be recognized as a chief means of grace. Education becomes especially important when the responsibility for interpreting a divinely inspired holy book is placed upon the enlightened conscience of the individual. Hence the educational zeal of Protestantism. In the Pres-

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byterian and Congregational churches there has been especial stress upon the gospel of enlightenment. Even the Holiness sects feel it necessary to found schools and colleges.

6. Devotional. In common with other religions Christianity stresses private prayer and meditation. This is particularly true of the Roman Catholic Church. It also stresses religious assemblage for common worship and for instruction. This, as we have seen (chapter X, pp. 7ff.) is distinctive of Christianity and of Judaism. The significance of such assemblage is to be found in two considerations. In the first place it provides for the re-thinking of the implications of the traditional in the light of changing conditions. In the second place it contributes to the sense of fellowship with the best, which according to our hypothesis is the condition of mental health and the essence of religion. As has already been shown, the sense of guilt, which is the primary evil in functional mental illness, is essentially the sense of being estranged from the fellowship which is symbolized by the idea of God and represented in the Church, and psychotherapy, under whatever name it may go and whatever techniques it may use, rests always upon the principle of restoration to that fellowship thru confession and forgiveness (chapter 3, section 3; also Boisen, Exploration of the Inner World, chapters 7 & 10.). The practice of religious assemblage is then a recognition of this vitally important principle. During the past forty years there has been a marked decrease in the number of worship services, especially among churches of the liberal persuasion, but with hardly an exception the Sunday morning religious service is still the focal point of the church's program.

METHODS OF RECRUITING

In any consideration of the increase and maintenance of membership in the different churches four chief factors must be taken into account:

I. Population Movements.

1. Immigration from Europe. Most of our churches were imported from Europe and the changes in the rate of immigration from particular countries has been the explanation of changes in the rate of growth of many religious bodies. The increased immigration from southern and eastern Europe in the period before the last war thus accounts for the rapid growth of the Roman Catholic Church. If non-Christian religions have not also flooded the country it is because a very non-Christian race prejudice has operated to exclude the Chinese and the Japanese and the Hindus.

2. Population Displacements within this Country. The westward trek and the movement from country to city has had a profound effect upon the churches, depopulating some and greatly augmenting others. This factor has been especially noticeable in the growth of the cities.

II. Birth-Rate.

Church bodies which are chiefly urban, such as the Episcopalians, the Unitarians, the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists are at a considerable disadvantage in the matter of growth in membership because the population strata from which they draw their members have a low birth-rate. Churches with strength in the rural districts, such as the Methodists, the Baptists and the Lutherans are in a much more favorable state. The Roman Catholic Church, altho chiefly urban, draws from population strata which have still a high birth-rate.

III. Religious Education. Two plans are in common use:

1. Complete control of the education of the young by means of church schools. This is the Roman Catholic plan. They are to-day supporting 6,500 parochial schools with an enrollment of more than 2,000,000 pupils. The Missouri Synod

Lutherans also make wide use of the parochial school

2. Secularized common schools supplemented by religious instruction thru the Sunday school. This is the plan followed by practically all the Protestant churches.

IV. Transfer from Other Church Bodies.

1. Thru evangelistic campaigns. The Holiness sects of to-day and the Methodists, Baptists and Disciples of former years got most of their membership in this way. The fact that many of the children of established churches do not identify themselves with the church of their parents and that new-comers in a given community may be neglected by the established churches has favored this process. This is especially true in the case of the less privileged strata.

2. Thru Social Stratification. There is always a tendency to gravitate toward those of kindred tastes, especially when the factor of social prestige is involved.

THE EDUCATION OF THE CLERGY

During the settlement of the Middle West the education of the clergy became a burning issue and the Presbyterians by insisting upon an educated ministry lost a constituency which was logically their own. The Methodists, the Baptists and the Disciples, who made use of untrained ministers, took it over. The factors involved were not merely the practical ones of serving a widely scattered population with an insufficient supply of trained men. There was also a healthy rebellion against the sterile scholasticism of many of the trained men. The untrained men often had a better understanding of the frontier people. They shared their experiences. They spoke their language. They were moreover committed to an emotional type of religion and a style of preaching which was repugnant to the educated man but which found favor among the people.

The Methodists and Baptists and Disciples to-day are raising their standards of theological training but they still have many ministers who are without either college or seminary training. The Holiness groups of to-day have few trained men. There are some bodies, such as the Mennonites, which believe in a self-supporting lay ministry. The most rigorous educational requirements are found in the two most conservative bodies, the Roman Catholics and the Missouri Synod Lutherans (3).

3) A study made in 1926 and quoted by Douglass and Brunner (op. cit. p 113) gives the following figures on the education of ministers:

	Both College & Seminary	College Only	Seminary Only	Neither College nor Seminary
Lutheran (Mo. Synod)	85%	3%	7%	5%
Protestant Episcopal	62%	7	20	11
Presbyterian, U. S. A.	69	7	11	13
Congregational	53	10	14	23
Disciples of Christ	18	37	4	42
Methodist Episcopal	26	20	9	45
Northern Baptist	36	10	22	32
Roman Catholic	68	4	20	8

INTER-CHURCH RELATIONS

Of the white churches listed in the 1936 Census 19 bodies with a total of about 18,000,000 members belong to the Federal Council of Churches. This means



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that about two thirds of the Protestant church membership is in the co-operating bodies. It also means that nine tenths of the Protestant bodies listed in the Census report are not co-operating in this important interchurch organization. The explanation is to be found partly in the fact that the Federal Council itself could not without serious difficulty recognize those numerous small sects whose standards are unsatisfactory, even tho those sects might wish membership. But it is also true that certain large and important bodies still refuse to co-operate.

IN CONCLUSION

A review of our findings indicates that the first effect of the commingling of religions in this proving-ground of Protestantism seems to have been an accentuation of the differences. Each group finds itself placed on the defensive. Beliefs and practices dear to it are challenged. The natural reaction is to reaffirm those beliefs and practices. This reaction may even extend to matters about which the group had had misgivings. Thus in the South at the beginning of the last century forward-looking Southerners were strongly opposed to the institution of slave-holding. When however Northern abolitionists put in their appearance and began to find fault with a Southern institution, Southerners united in its defence and Southern clergymen found scriptural support for what they had formerly regarded as an evil. Or, again, the competitive situation itself may bring about a certain degree of differentiation. The Southern Methodist is thus more liberal than he might otherwise be because the Southern Baptist is conservative, and the Baptist tends to stress his conservatism in proportion as the Methodist becomes liberal (cf. Niebuhr, Social Sources of Denominationalism, pp. 230 - 31).

But the process does not stop here. The association as friends and neighbors of people of different faiths has also the effect of promoting mutual understanding and rapprochement between them. The number of churches and sects may be multiplying but the major bodies are decreasing in number and increasing in size. The recent amalgamation of the three important Methodist bodies is merely part of a general trend. The distance feeling between our major Protestant churches is steadily diminishing. A study reported by Douglass and Brunner (op. cit. pp. 259 - 264) based upon some 14,000 reports, indicates that among Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Methodists, Baptists, Episcopalians, Friends, Disciples and Lutherans there are practically no prejudices against intermarriage and that membership in any one of these bodies would not constitute a bar to presidential availability in the minds of the members of the other bodies.

As to the small bodies which do not co-operate, the staunchly conservative "come-outer" groups may be regarded as mile-stones along the path of progress. They represent positions once held by the larger bodies but now abandoned by them. The mystical and Adventist sects, on the other hand, are reminders of our unsolved problems. As reactions to the process of social stratification they tell us of the existence of class and even of caste lines in this professedly democratic country. As reactions to the problems of unemployment and of poverty they tell us that the free play of individual self-interest has resulted in the piling up of immense fortunes for the few rather than in the well-being of the many. As reactions to the growing nebulousness of liberal religious belief, they tell us of the limitations of the gospel of enlightenment and of the sagging foundations of the faith on which this nation was built.

Among the larger co-operating bodies the main lines of advance may be summarized as follows:

1. A growing liberalization of religious belief coming as a result of the spread of education and enlightenment in which the Protestant churches have believed so strongly. The old belief in a literally inspired Bible is giving way before the view that the Bible is the record of the religious experience and insights of the