Dividing or Strengthening:

Five Ways of Christianity
Supplement

Sources and Development

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NB: This booklet is meant to be read with the first volume. It does not stand alone.

## Introduction

Cardinal Avery Dulles pioneered the use of models in 1978, with his *Models of the Church*. Of his six models, the first two, institutional and sacramental, correspond to "catholic" as used here. The third, mystical communion, resembles "evangelical," and the last three, herald, servant and eschatological resemble "reformed." Dulles reminds us that the Anglican Communion has tried with the greatest explicitness to maintain within itself models that on the surface at least, conflict with each other.¹

Dulles' 1989 Fordham University McGlinley lecture "Catholicism and American Culture: The Uneasy Dialogue" applies to all denominations, as he sketches the four major strategies of Christians within our American culture. His description of Catholic liberalism is especially accurate. I highly recommend this article.²

Fathers Hans Kung and David Tracy have done the master work on paradigms: *Paradigm Change in Theology*. Their work does explore the

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relationship between models and paradigms.\textsuperscript{3}

The four great Christian leaders who addressed the 1960 WSCF conference were Karl Barth, Lesslie Newbigin, D.T. Niles and W.A. Visser 't Hooft. Gerald H. Anderson's article was written as the presidential address for the annual meeting of the American Society of Missiology, June 7, 1975. It was first published in 2000 because of its interesting successes and failures in both "forecasting" (less successful) and "backcasting" (more, even brilliant).\textsuperscript{4}

Liberal concern for the world caused some Christians to state "it is the world that must be allowed to provide the agenda for the churches." South African David Bosch (1929-92) rejected this in his classic work on missiology, \textit{Transforming Mission}.\textsuperscript{5} Liberals tend to throw the baby out with the bathwater. (Fundamentalists tend to drown the baby in the bathwater).

COCU and CUIC materials may be obtained from their office at Highland Station, P.O. Box 2143, Lowell, MA 01851; tel. (978) 453-2842; fax (978) 441-0692. COCU started with nine denominations, representing about 25 million Christians. Because of mergers of some

\textsuperscript{3} Hans Kung and David Tracy (eds.), \textit{Paradigm Change in Theology} (NY: Crossroad, 1989), pp. 7-33.
and expansion of others, COCU today still numbers nine denominations, including about 21,250,000 Christians.\(^6\)

Brother Jeff Gros’ 1985 "The ARC and The Covenant" is an excellent overview of COCU development.\(^7\) It should be noted that the original proposal only called for "catholic" and "reformed". Due to the impetus of the United Presbyterian Church at its annual General Assembly of 1961 and Stated Clerk Blake's insistence, "evangelical" was added.\(^8\) The original proposal may be heard on the recording available from Reigner Recording Library, Union Theological Seminary, Richmond, VA.\(^9\)

The best place to find the two lung metaphor is in Pope John Paul II's encyclical on ecumenism That All May Be One.\(^10\) He may have taken it from the great theologian of Vatican II, Cardinal Yves Congar.\(^11\) The best introduction to the complexity and richness of the Eastern churches

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\(^9\) This lending library of tapes is a marvelous source for the actual voices of many Christian leaders.

\(^10\) John Paul II, That All May Be One, May 30, 1995, #54, for example in Origins 25 (June 8, 1995, #4), p. 61.

is Father Ronald Roberson’s *The Eastern Christian Churches*. He frequently updates it.\(^\text{12}\)

For the way the three middle models can do mission together, see my contribution to the report of the SEDOS Research Seminar on the Future of Mission (March 9-19, 1981).\(^\text{13}\)

Gros (and others) have written the standard text for Christians of differing denominations, who wish to learn more from, and share with, other Christians, for the sake of mission: *Introduction to Ecumenism*.\(^\text{14}\) This book cannot be too highly recommended.

Monsignor Joseph Champlin’s *The Marginal Catholic*, with its subtitle "Challenge, Don't Crush," walks the difficult middle way between making Christianity too easy, and imposing a difficulty not found in the Bible. It is highly recommended not only for Catholics, but for all involved with decisions of church membership.\(^\text{15}\)

Our third highly recommended book is Father Ronald Rolheiser *The Holy Longing: The Search for a Christian Spirituality*.\(^\text{16}\) Rolheiser also writes a weekly syndicated column on living the Christian life today; Canadian and western U.S. Catholic newspapers such as the *Catholic*

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\(^{16}\) Ronald Rolheiser, O.M.I., *The Holy Longing* (NY: Doubleday, 1999); it is available on six cassettes from St. Anthony Messenger Press (1-800-488-0488).
Northwest Progress (Seattle, WA) carry it. It is also available on the Internet.

Robert Wuthnow, described by Gros as “an evangelical Protestant sociologist” who now writes from Princeton University, insists that the divide among Christians today is no longer between Protestants and Catholics, but within each domination between liberals and conservatives.

For students and scholars interested in any aspect of mission and evangelism, the annual Bibliographia Missionaria is indispensable. It lists every book or article published the year before in any major and many other languages. Other mission reviews we rely on are The International Bulletin of Missionary Research, and Missiology, each produced quarterly.

Quaker author Richard J. Foster describes six “streams,” “dimensions,” “traditions” which are converging. He separates the evangelical and charismatic, and doesn’t include the fundamentalist.

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But I believe his paradigm supports mine, and I shall refer to it in several chapters.\(^{21}\)

CUIC’s Michael Kinnamon summarized the new situation this way:

> The ecumenical movement, in the coming years, must be a place where the actual divisions of the church are painfully present. Many of the old divisions associated with 451, 1054 and 1517 have been addressed to an amazing extent; but new divisions associated with such labels as “evangelical,” “pentecostal,” “liberal” and “conservative” should now be on the agenda. The trick will be to reach out to new partners without weakening the bonds of fellowship that have developed over the past one, two or three generations among the rest of us.\(^{22}\)


CHAPTER ONE: CATHOLIC CHRISTIANITY

Overview

Tracy analyzes the catholic position as “orthodoxy,” and finds a wide “spectrum” within it.¹ Cardinal Dulles seems to downplay his own esteem for the catholic or institutional model: “the institution is not primary.”² See also Richard McBrien’s evaluation of this in particular, and Dulles in general.³ Note that the original 1980 edition of McBrien’s magisterial work Catholicism was thoroughly revised after the Vatican complained.⁴

Knox’s Enthusiasm was first published in 1950 by Oxford U. Press; a paperback edition came out in 1961. Christian Classics of Westminster, MD printed it in 1983, and Notre Dame U. issued it in 1994. He noted regarding enthusiasm: the “chief disruptive symptom . . . the attempt to root up nature and plant the seed of grace in fallow soil, instead of grafting the supernatural onto the natural, after the timorous fashion of orthodoxy.”⁵

Knox pointed out the tension between “the charismatic and the institutional” (p. 7). Among the characteristics of emotional religion,

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¹ David Tracy, Blessed Rage for Order, pp. 24-25.
⁵ Knox, p. 584; see also p. 3.
which Knox warns against, are the emphasis on direct, experiential access to God (p. 2), ecstasy (p. 4), reliance on lots (p. 87), the assumption that New Testament times were perfect (his chapter on 1st Cor. blows that notion out of the water, pp. 9-24), and the distrust of reasoned discussion (p. 577). He makes an important distinction between mystical enthusiasm and evangelical enthusiasm (579-83). And he observes “enthusiasm is a recurring Christian phenomenon” (16).

His book is both intriguing and difficult. For Americans, he has some very British observations (see his index).

Rolheiser recently devoted his column to a series on the Eucharist. “Eucharist as God’s physical embrace” presents catholic instincts on the material very well.6

“Catholic” remains a very complex term.7

Scripture Image and Implications

Professor Leon Z. Zander died the year before I took part in one of his great achievements, the yearly seminar of Holy Week and Easter conducted in the Eastern Orthodox tradition at the Ecumenical Institute of Bossey and the Russian Orthodox Seminary

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of St. Sergius, Paris. But his widow and daughter were present in Paris and greatly venerated.8

Dr. Nikos A. Nissiotis was the only Greek Orthodox theologian present at the first session of Vatican II (he went courtesy of the World Council of Churches) and the only Orthodox present at all four sessions. He loved to tell how he would make a suggestion one day to a bishop or Catholic theologian, and the next day it would be included in the official reports. He related with great glee how his father was excommunicated many times by the Greek Orthodox Church for distributing the New Testament in modern Greek.

Nissiotis held three doctorates: one from the University of Athens; one from the University of Basle, where he studied under Karl Barth, and one from Louvain University. He died suddenly in 1987, after serving many years at the Ecumenical Institute. In 1996 a convocation was held in his memory: “Nikos Nissiotis Memorial Colloquium on Ecumenical Education,” Bossey, July 28-August 2.9 The appendix below is an important paper of his on living theology.

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Frank Sheed’s intriguing introduction to the Gospels To Know Christ Jesus has recently been reissued by Ignatius Press. Praised by one of my Scripture professors at the Gregorian, Francis Moriaarity, S.J., as the best way to study Scripture devotionally, this book still merits reading.10

The thesis popularized by Congar, that the Church goes back to Abraham, has even further antecedents: Abel and Adam, as the Catechism (Catholic) shows in #769.

The literature on koinonia is immense. An evangelical Lutheran pastor, Mark E. Chapman has written clearly.11 The Methodist liturgist Geoffrey Wainwright explores communion.12 When Cardinal Walter Kasper wrote “a friendly reply” to Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, he agreed with the 1985 Extraordinary Synod of Bishops that “communion” was the central and foundational idea of the Second Vatican Council.”13

One should not forget the classic work on the Patristic period:

Father Louis Hertling, *Communio*, especially the very thorough introduction by Father Jared Wicks.\(^{14}\)

Foster’s description of the catholic “Biblical Paradigm,” especially in corporate worship, is significant.\(^{15}\)

**Current Situation, Evangelicals Becoming Catholic**

Professor Emeritus William Bush (U. Of Western Ontario, Canada) left the Southern Baptist Convention at age 38 for the Greek Orthodox Church. He co-founded Holy Transfiguration Orthodox Church, London, Ontario.\(^{16}\) Rev. David Hudson was “an Evangelical Protestant minister,” converted to the Romanian Orthodox Church in 1998, and serves as a missionary under the auspices of the Orthodox Christian Mission Center, St. Augustine, FL.\(^{17}\) One could read Mark Shea’s *This Is My Body, An Evangelical Discovers the Real Presence* to see another example of the drift within evangelicalism to catholicity. This especially involves sacramental worship.\(^{18}\)

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\(^{15}\) Richard Foster, *Streams of Living Water*, pp. 247-51; 261-63.


Al Kresta, executive editor of Credo newspaper and “evangelist of the airways,” grew up in a Catholic family, becoming an evangelical Protestant minister, and rejoined the Catholic Church. He has developed the popular radio program “Kresta in the Afternoon,” which airs in ten cities.\textsuperscript{19}

Monsignor Thomas Hadden told the story of sacramental worship attracting Afro-American Pentecostal minister Alex Jones to the Catholic Church.\textsuperscript{20}

Tim Drake, a reporter for the National Catholic Register, described many more converts (all clergy) in his account of the “Coming Home Network,” an organization which supports those who have joined the Catholic Church. Many of the 8,000 members of the network were evangelicals.\textsuperscript{21}

Spectrum, Presbyterianism

Horton Davies has observed: “no Presbyterian minister has more ardently encouraged the applications of the insights of the Continental Liturgical Movement to the Reformed tradition,” than modern Iona’s founder, Rev. Dr. Lord George MacLeod.\textsuperscript{22}


The Iona Community may be reached at the Abbey, Iona, Argyll, Scotland  PA 76 6SN or Community House, Pearce Institute, Govan, Glasgow, Scotland  G51 3UT. The Presbyterian Church (USA) devoted an issue in 2000 of its journal Reformed Liturgy & Music (now Call to Worship) to “Celebrating the Iona Community.”

The Taizé Community’s impact on Presbyterianism may be followed in the journal Theology Today. Max Thurian, who along with Roger Schutz founded Taizé, was the single most important person for urging Presbyterians to adopt the Vatican II Sunday Lectionary of Scripture readings before Catholics had actually begun using it in the USA. Taizé worship spirituality is increasingly spreading inside the Catholic Church, especially as regards music.

Like Iona, Taizé has had a lasting impact on youth. The 2500 young people who turned up, unannounced, for Easter 1970 had grown to 15,000 by Easter 1972. The “Council of Youth” held in the
summer of 1974 by the prior of Taizē, Roger Schutz certainly scattered Taizē’s catholic worship across the world.

Max Thurian did fulfill the fear of some “that Taizē is about to go to Rome.” But considering the length of time he took to do it, and the fact that most of the Presbyterians have stayed Presbyterian, seems to mean that one can be catholic regarding the sacraments, and still be Presbyterian.

Von Allmen’s 1958 Companion to the Bible drew the attention of scripture scholars. His influence on the international liturgical movement began at Montreal in 1963, when he served as an adviser to the Fourth World Conference on Faith and Order.

Spectrum, Catholicism

The Priestly Fraternity of St. Peter was organized in 1988, and under the leadership of Father Joseph Bisig enjoyed rapid growth “both in its apostolates and at its North American seminary.” The rather moderate National Catholic Register and the more conservative Wanderer noted the difficulties of the change in leadership from Bisig to Father

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Arnaud Devillers in 2000. Columnist George Weigel described the Solesmes Benedictine Monastery in Oklahoma which uses “the pre-conciliar liturgy” as “no Lefebvrst enclave.” Probably the most professional treatment by Catholic conservatives rejecting experiments in worship is the ten times yearly Adoremus Bulletin. Perhaps the best single presentation by a Catholic explaining the fascination with the Tridentine (Latin, pre-Vatican II Mass) is a tape by Michael Davies produced by Keep the Faith. In a humorous yet poignant manner, Davies defends the action of the late Archbishop Lefevre to consecrate three bishops against Rome’s decision, and claims that Rome really wanted that action. And he explains logically why the Tridentine Mass is superior to the Latin version of the Vatican II Mass.

The following full page ad (illustration 1) for the New Oxford Review was published by the Jesuit national America. The editors apologized for its offensiveness. Catholics who tend to be conservative probably exaggerate the number of parishes where such experiments occurred.

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30 National Catholic Register, July 23-29, 2000, p. 2; ibid., July 30-Aug. 5, 2000, p. 2, strongly urging members to also use the Vatican II Mass, especially with their local bishop at the Chrism Mass on Holy Thursday; Wanderer, July 27, 2000, pp. 1, 8 for much more on the delicacy of the situation.
33 Michael Davies, “The Present Position of Traditional Catholics,” #2947A, Keep the Faith, Ramsey, NJ. www.keepthefaith.org Other speakers in this series include Fr. George Rutler, “Pius XII and the Jews,” given to the Keep the Faith chapter in Dallas, TX, 2-26-00.
34 America, Oct. 11, 1997 p. 32 (back cover); disclaimer, Nov. 1, 1997, p. 35.
Catholic liberals probably deny that they ever occurred: unfortunately, they did.

Illustration 1

Does St. Bozo’s Parish No Longer Amuse You?

In many Catholic parishes today, the sense of the sacred—of mystery and majesty and even of worship itself—has largely been banished. The bells, incense, votive candles, and Communion rail are gone. The Tabernacle with the reserved Sacrament can’t be found. Elegant statues of our friends, the saints, are locked in the basement, replaced by balloons, banners with greeting-card sentiments, and other dime-store decorations. The organ gathers cobwebs. The sanctuary has become a stage. And the kneelers are now being ripped out, the crucifix taken down.

It’s virtually impossible to pray before (or after) Mass because of all the chatter and backslapping. The Creed is left unsaid. Homilists pander with (unfunny) jokes and (not quite the latest) pop-psychology blather. The words of the liturgy are improvised upon by politically-correct clerics and lectors with weird agendas—God our Father becomes “God our Parent,” the Son of God becomes the “Child of God,” etc. And we must clap, clap, clap for the band and the liturgical dancers and the clowns—we aren’t making a joyful noise unto the Lord, but only unto the (amateurish) entertainers.

In many parishes the primary purpose of the Mass has been transformed from receiving Christ and worshiping the Almighty into “celebrating community”—i.e., celebrating our wonderful selves. One influential liturgical “expert” has said the Mass shouldn’t convey “a feeling of infinity or eternity or the world beyond,” for it’s really about “communal sensitivity” among parishioners. But touchie-feelie Catholicism—where the Sign of Peace seems to be the high point of the Mass—has no power or magnetism. Not many people get out of bed on Sunday morning in search of warm huggies.

Catholics who are alienated by trivialized or freakish Masses—who are sick of being guinea pigs in a liturgical lab—often jump ship for an Evangelical church, or just stay in bed. Indeed, church attendance among Catholics has dropped from 70%, just before the liturgical experiments began, to 25% today! And today, two out of three Catholics don’t believe in the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist—which isn’t surprising, given that how we worship has a profound effect on what we believe about the meaning of the Mass.

The liturgical experiments have largely been a miserable failure. We at the NEW OXFORD REVIEW, a monthly orthodox Catholic magazine, agree with Cardinal Ratzinger that our damaged liturgy needs to be repaired. We articulate the Catholic Faith in all its splendor and truth. We don’t just chronicle liturgical horror stories, we cover the full range of issues of concern to orthodox Catholics. According to The Catholic Answer, we’re having “a notable impact” for the good on our deeply troubled Church. Subscribe today and take heart!
One Catholic archbishop, the Benedictine Rembert G. Weakland, has written often regarding the modern worship renewal. He clearly views the option of the Tridentine Mass as a disaster. “As well-meaning as that decision to broaden the Tridentine usage was [1989], one cannot emphasize enough how devastating the results have been.”\(^{35}\) A good source of the three groups which populate the right edge of Catholicism (conservatives, separatists/traditionalists, and apocalypticists/mystical Marianists) is the scholar Michael Cuneo.\(^{36}\)

**The Legionaries of Christ, founded by Mexican Father Marcial Maciel Degolledo in 1941, when he was a 20 year-old seminarian,** remained very traditional during the changes of Vatican II. Their growth to 450 priests and 2500 seminarians continued after the Council, in contrast to many other religious communities. They also have developed a group of laity with the “primary focus . . . to transform people and society with the power of the Gospel.” In 1998, this resulted in the program “Nucleus of Christian Life.”\(^{37}\)

**The Wanderer** newspaper and its allied group “Catholics United for the Faith” (CUF) can be shrill. The front page story of February 15, 2001 calling the Religious Education Congress in Los Angeles “A Parody of the


Faith,” is, unfortunately, not untypical. Yet some of the leaders of this group show a sense of humor and ability to reason without shrillness. In the July 27, 2000 issue, a positive article “Is ‘Ecumenism’ A Bad Word?” illustrated both the sympathy with, and the decision to affirm the Catholic Church’s vital concern for the unity of Christians. The overall impression from reading The Wanderer is one of siege and defensiveness. But there are occasional flashes of humor, such as CUF’s whimsy on saints names.

The Catholic Worker movement maintained a strong devotion to the sacraments during the life of its founder, Dorothy Day (1887-1980). As a lay led group, it struggles with its relation to the Catholic Church hierarchy. A short and accessible article by Day may be found in America.

Day may have been the author of the pithy expression that Christians are called to “comfort the afflicted and afflict the comfortable.”

The Community of Sant ‘Egidio took the lead in responding to the Sept. 11, 2001 tragedy. On October 3-4, a meeting in Rome

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41 Dorothy Day, “Letter to an Agnostic,” America, April 17, 1999, pp. 6-8. This 90th Anniversary issue also contains articles of great historical interest by Thomas Merton, Flannery O’Connor, Henri Nouwen and others.
“attracted leading representatives of the Muslim and Christian world to discuss ways to build a culture of peace.”

The media covered Focolare’s founder, Chiara Lubich very thoroughly when she was awarded an honorary doctorate from Catholic University of America (Washington, DC) on November 10, 2000. What especially captured them was the dialogue on November 12 “Faith Communities Together,” at the Washington Convention Center between Lubich and Imman Warith Deen Mohammed of the Muslim American Society. 10,000 people were expected and did attend.

Her remarks after the September 11, 2001 event are well worth considering; her relationship with Islam gives her special importance.

Earlier, Ecumenical Trends noticed that the President of the Lutheran World Federation and the Catholic bishop of Augsburg, Austria, had honored Lubich in 1988 for her ecumenical activity.

When Lubich visited the USA in 1997, the Focolare magazine Living City put out a special edition, which is very useful for the history of the movement.

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47 Living City 36 (May/June, 1997, #5/6), 204 Cardinal Road, Hyde Park, NY 12538.
Within Catholicism, the conversion of former evangelicals and their attempts to interpret Catholicism, have caused some strains. Rausch explores these very well, with excellent documentation of “neoconservative Catholic Colleges like Franciscan University of Stubenville (sic) or Christendom College in Front Royal, Virginia.”

Rausch’s survey in *America* “Divisions, Dialogue and the Catholicity of the Church” is also an excellent overview, stressing more the various models within Catholicism. Rausch experienced the strength of ecumenism at Bossey, Switzerland, and wrote effectively about it: “Rome and Geneva: The Experience of Ecumenism.”

Both the redoubtable William Buckley and the articulate Mother Angelica struggle with the changes within the catholic camp.

A short description of Opus Dei may be found in Chester Gillis’ recent work. Francis Fernandez has compiled seven volumes of daily meditations *In Conversation with God*, which have become popular with many catholics.

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The emergence of seminarians who as a group are more traditional and stricter has concerned some Christians. The New York Times Magazine, on Easter Sunday, 1999 worried about them being “counter-cultural.”\textsuperscript{55} The liberal Catholic journal Commonweal expressed its concern that future priests were preparing “to serve a church in full retreat from the modern world.”\textsuperscript{56} Columnist George Weigel approved the response of one priest, trained in the center of Catholicism at Rome’s North American College. Wayne Sattler used the typical catholic approach that conscience, although free, is in need of formation. “The church, as a mother, has always been concerned with helping to form the consciences of her children and has entrusted this duty to her priests.”\textsuperscript{57}

Further Characteristics

Sociologist Robert Bellah urged “an infusion” of Greeley’s “Catholic imagination” to counter the dominance of Protestantism in American culture.\textsuperscript{58}

Chesterton continued to influence Christianity, with the revision of Garry Wills’ biography.\textsuperscript{59} C.S. Lewis’ impact seems to increase each

\textsuperscript{56} “The Future?” (editorial), Commonweal, April 23, 1999, pp. 5-6.
\textsuperscript{59} Garry Wills, Chesterton (NY: Doubleday, 2001), rev. ed.
J.R.R. Tolkien was the subject of a November 5, 2001 lecture by Catholic convert Joseph Pearce, at Christendom College, Front Royal, VA. Pearce believes that Tolkien’s view on myths is far more positive than Lewis’.61

The quote from Vincent of Lerins, and many other official documents can be found in the collection by Neuner and Dupuis, The Christian Faith.62

**Current Situation**

In a multicultural society, many young people, including a growing number of catholic seminarians, seems to sense the need for roots. The current desire for more basics about their denomination, even a return to clerical garb, and “old fashioned” daily regulation, may not necessarily be escapism and nostalgia, but perhaps more deeply, a very real need for roots to confront the work in a rapidly changing multicultural society. Father Willard Jabusch presented a forceful picture of “young and conservative” Christians as a growing force.63

One of the newer groups illustrates very well the emphasis on sacraments, with a strong sympathy for charismatic fervor. FOCUS, the Fellowship of Catholic University Students, seeks to strengthen

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the Catholic allegiance of college students. Concerned by the high percentage of Catholic freshman who drop out of organized religion, or become evangelical, this group predicts “an explosion of growth: within five years we project over 240 missionaries on 60 campuses with nearly 10,000 students involved in the program.”

George M. Anderson interviewed the superior general of “The Sisters of Life” very sympathetically. Founded by Cardinal John O’Connor to promote the sanctity of human life, this group takes a special fourth vow “to protect and advance the sacredness of human life.”

Many of the new groups accept both lay and clergy: “Miles Christi” member layman Dan Osborn was featured favorably in the Buffalo News. The Society of St. John Cantius, described in NC Register, mentioned that “dozens of new religious communities have been formed in the United States and elsewhere in the past 30 years.” Chicago’s “Institute of Religious Life” assists many of these groups.

Rausch uses the term familiar to many catholics to describe these leaders: apologists. In a very intellectual way, they demonstrate the

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64 “FOCUS Quarterly Update,” Fall Semester, 2001, p. 2 (P.O. Box 1210, Greeley, CO 80631/80632; 970/806-875-336-9881; www.FOCUSonline.org. An inspiring audio tape “FOCUS on the New Evangelization” was distributed in December, 2002.
credibility of Christianity: Peter Kreeft, Scott Hahn, Karl Keating and others “associated with The New Oxford Review.”

The eleven times a year Crisis magazine was founded in 1988, and has grown steadily. John Burger’s article on a dying Chicago parish’s resurrection illustrates the magazine’s concern for conservative catholic renewal. He claims that “on December 8, 1992, a large group of Catholics who had worshiped with the schismatic Society of St. Pius X at their Oak Park mission began attending the Tridentine Mass at St. John’s. Many have stayed.” The parish is the origin of a new religious order, the Society of St. John Cantius, which “will celebrate the Tridentine Mass—but not exclusively.”

Weigel claims that Neuhaus, on the floor of the synod of bishops in the Vatican (1997) stated that these Catholics, by joining with Protestant evangelicals, could evangelize and re-evangelize the Americas.

A surprisingly high number of the seminarians from these groups attend the Jesuit Geogorian University in Rome, Italy. One, “Family of Mary Coredemptrix,” was featured in the Greg’s USA March 2000 newsletter.

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70 Ibid, 29.


One of the more controversial groups, Neo-Catechumenal Way, capitalized on the World Youth Day in Rome, August 20, 2000. Eighty thousand young people, from 70 countries, attended the rally led by this group.73

Some blame the plummeting number of Catholic nuns on the betrayal by leaders of basic principles of Christianity. Ann Carey sides with those who are experiencing renewal by more strongly emphasizing catholic identity.74

**Richard Neuhaus (a convert from Lutheranism to Catholicism)** created a sensation with his 1987 *The Catholic Moment*,75 and an exchange in the English Catholic journal *The Tablet* in 1994, “Getting Ready for the Catholic Moment.” Liberals and evangelicals commented on Neuhaus’ thesis that Pope John Paul II has changed from accommodating modern culture, to challenging it with a hopeful Christian humanism.76

Neuhaus is also responsible for perfecting the catholic approach on the natural law (today, human rights) and the relationship between Christianity and society, with his expression in 1984 “The Naked Public Square.” He argues that catholic Christianity is vitally needed for any

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73 “5,000 Decide to Consecrate Their Lives to God,” *Wanderer*, Aug. 31, 2000, p. 7. See *National Catholic Register, July 7-13, 2002*, p. 4, and *Oct. 6-12, 2002* p. 5 for updates.
society and culture to achieve its goal. He cogently believes that it is now politically correct in the USA to remove religious values from public life.

Neuhaus’ friend, George Weigel, describes their role in the debate over Prof. David Schindler’s book *Heart of the World, Center of the Church* and incidentally citing one of its critics calling the book “the most important Catholic text to be published in the United States for some time.” Economics, natural law, and Pope John Paul II’s analysis of American public values all enter into the debate between Michael Sean Winters on one side and Neuhaus, Weigel and Michael Novak on the other.

The experience in Buffalo regarding the growth of the Tridentine Mass in frequency is probably occurring in many other dioceses. Father David Bialkowski explained it in November, 2001.

**Spirituality**

Boylan, Durrwell, and all those with a catholic instinct sense that the efficacy of the Church does not depend on the holiness of its members, but primarily on the power of Christ, the head of this Body. A technical term was coined in early Christianity regarding the efficacy of the sacraments, and this applies to the Church also: “ex opere operato,”

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not “ex opere operantis.” When the water is poured over a person and the Trinity invoked, the person is baptized into Christ and His body whether the administrator is a Christian or not, whether the administrator is graced or a sinner.  

William Buckley’s famous quip when Pope John XXIII authored the encyclical on social justice Mater and Magistra reveals the reluctance of certain Catholics to move from liturgy to justice. “Mater si, Magistra no,” fumed Buckley: he was willing to accept the Church as a mother, but not as an authoritative teacher in matters of justice, especially when these matters move into economics.  

Others, such as Andrew Greeley, seem to hold the bishops responsible for much of the turmoil in the world. “The destabilization of the Catholic Church launched by the Second Vatican Council will continue to produce substantial losses for the Catholic Church.” Some catholic authors, such as Dolores Curran, assert “The truth is we would have experienced the tensions of Vatican II even if there had been no Vatican II.”

Catholic University of America theologian Father Joseph Komonchak reminds us of Congar’s conclusion: “Father Congar was  

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81 See McBrian, Catholicism, pp. 792-93.
of the view that the damned-up energies of such efforts, when
finally set free by Vatican II, swept away much that was valuable in
pre-conciliar Catholicism.”\textsuperscript{85} As we shall see in chs. 4 and 5, one
doesn’t have to be a bitter fundamentalist to admit that Vatican
II and subsequent actions in its name, destroyed more than we ever
imagined could be destroyed. The achievements are great, but so
are the unintended side-effects.

Ronald Knox’s hesitation regarding emotion is marvelously
countered by Mary Sherry, begging for a deeper sense of reverence and
mystery in our worship today.\textsuperscript{86}

\textsuperscript{86} Mary Sherry, “Sometimes Your Best Friends Do Tell You,” \textit{America}, May 12, 2003, pp. 18-19.
CHAPTER TWO, EVANGELICAL AND CHARISMATIC

CHRISTIANITY

Scripture Image and Implications

Does the Scriptural evidence justify individual testimony during worship? The commentator for the New American Bible, 1971 edition, notes this about Ps. 22:23-27, which begins “I will proclaim your name to my brethren; in the midst of the assembly I will praise you”:

The language of vv 23-27 is based on the custom whereby a person who offered a thanksgiving sacrifice in the temple would recount to his fellow worshipers the favor received from God and then invite them to share in his sacrificial banquet.¹

When Scandinavian Artur Weiser’s fifth German edition The Psalms was translated into English, it was immediately recommended by Catholic scholars for its emphasis on public worship as the place where not only the psalms, but much of the Bible, was composed.² Evangelicals and charismatics seem to have a solid Biblical basis for justifying their use of testimony during public worship.

Cardinal Lawrence Shehan argued with Congar’s and Brown’s insistence that priesthood and hierarchy came after the emphasis on forming a priestly people. He noted that St. Paul did, in Rm 15:16, use

sacrificial language, implying a cultic notion of priesthood.\(^3\) It may be significant, though, that this sole text where Paul talks of some other leader than Jesus in priestly terms is not sacrificial, but preaching: “God has given me . . . the priestly duty of preaching . . .”

**Historical Overview**

In the classic work on the Roman Catholic Mass, Father Josef Jungmann shows how the original sobriety and “we” language of worship was vastly changed when the Celtic and German tribes insisted on emotion, feelings and “I” language. Jungmann writes of the “restlessness and agitation, the strong passionate estheticism” which entered the Mass structure from the 8\(^{th}\) to 11\(^{th}\) centuries.\(^4\)

Practically nothing is written that is easily accessible on how individual Catholic religious orders, and even dioceses preached parish missions. Dolan mentions only a few religious orders.\(^5\) For my own order, the Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate, Father Alfred Hubenig’s work on the Founder, St. Eugene de Mazenod (1782-1861) shows how the parish mission developed in France.\(^6\)

The only work in English to describe the parish mission in the USA

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by Oblates is not easily available. However, *America* did publish an article on de Mazenod which gives some of his preaching dynamism.

In the early 20th century, when Catholics and Methodists were not allowed to worship together, the Chautauqua summer tours of performing arts did begin to break down the barriers. And as Rev. Michael Kinnamon, General Secretary of the Consultation of Church Union shows, Chautauqua is now developing “a curriculum or what we are calling ‘Chautauqua Seminars in Ecumenical and Interfaith Formation’.”

Chautauqua spread countrywide. The Mt. Sequoyah Assembly, Fayetteville, Arkansas, is one of the many which developed from the original Chautauqua movement. It serves an eight-state area, for the United Methodist Church. Each summer, it hosts the “Conference on Ecumenical Mission,” one of eleven regional interdenominational summer conferences held in cooperation with the Dept. of Education for Mission, National Council of Churches, and Church Women United. Here evangelicals, Catholics, and main line Protestants gather with their

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9 Personal recollections of my father, Joseph C. Winter, Sr.

families for a week to examine a theme chosen yearly on Mission. It was my privilege to be part of the leadership board for two summers, 1977 and 1978, representing the Texas Conference of Churches.\textsuperscript{11}

The Marriage Encounter movement, despite its splitting into two groups, did produce a single journal: \textit{Marriage}\textsuperscript{12}. And because of the experience of dealing with troubled marriages, the movement developed and spun off “Retrouvaille,” designed to work especially with marriages in serious difficulty.\textsuperscript{13} Retrouvaille uses a much less emotional approach than Marriage Encounter.

\textbf{Stransky was part of the 1999 Consultation between the World Evangelical Fellowship and the Vatican. During Vatican II, he was one of the original staff of the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, and one of the first, if not the first, Catholic theologian to visit Southern Baptists seminaries, joking that no one knew if he would emerge unscathed. See his important conference “Protestant and Catholic Fundamentalists.”}\textsuperscript{14} He served as the first rector of the Tantur Ecumenical Institute, Jerusalem, until 1998.

\textsuperscript{11} Mt. Sequoyah Assembly, Fayetteville, AR, 72701.
\textsuperscript{12} International Marriage Encounter, Inc., \textit{Marriage}, bi-monthly since 1970, 955 Lake Drive, St. Paul, MN 55120.
\textsuperscript{13} National leaders are Fr. Bob Jones, (781) 585-8355, \texttt{MiramarMA@aol.com}; and Josh and Roz Howell, (760) 414-9463; \texttt{JRH 9463@smn.com}.
Several concrete ways for catholics and evangelicals to work together appeared in print in the early 1970’s.\footnote{Harry E. Winter, O.M.I., “Evangelical and Catholic?,” America, Aug. 5, 1972. especially pp. 64-66.}

**Charismatic Emergence**

**A very moving account of the Feb. 17-19 weekend is told by Patti Gallagher Mansfield, one of the original participants. She includes a great deal of background from other renewal movements (Cursillo, Campus Crusade, etc.).**\footnote{Patti Gallagher Mansfield, As By A New Pentecost (Steubenville, OH: Franciscan University Press, 1992).} I cannot recommend this book too highly.


In 1973, Cardinal Leo Suenens (1904-96), who had always been interested in Catholic renewal moments, especially the Legion of Mary, traveled incognito, using the pseudonym Father Michal Dubois, to Ann Arbor, Michigan, to observe the Catholic charismatic movement. The
interview he gave was published in 1973, and republished in 1996.\textsuperscript{19}

Suenens was eulogized in an accessible manner in 1996: the author stressed his role in legitimizing the charismatic movement in the Catholic Church.\textsuperscript{20}

Since the third Monday in June, 1974, the charismatic movement in Philadelphia, PA has featured a “Malvern Priests’ Retreat.” Led by Mgr. Vincent Walsh, the Philadelphia group publishes a great deal and is one example of the many local and strong charismatic centers.\textsuperscript{21}

\textbf{Charismatics and Classical Pentecostals}

McDonnell had noted the ecumenical significance of Pentecostalism even before the emergence of the charismatics.\textsuperscript{22} He became a charter member of the Society for Pentecostal Studies,\textsuperscript{23} the Catholic chair of the “International Dialogue Between Some Classical Pentecostal Churches and the Roman Catholic Church” (begun in 1972). His 1980 collection of documents regarding charismatics is the definitive source.\textsuperscript{24}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{21} Key of David Publications, 204 Haverford Road, Wynnewood, PA. 19096.
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By 1984, the USA Catholic Church was including Pentecostal documents in its collection of official dialogues.\textsuperscript{25}

One of the Pentecostal scholars who published widely and responsibly was the late Walter J. Hollenweger.\textsuperscript{26}

Quebedeaux had noted the emergence of the charismatics very early.\textsuperscript{27}

Rev. Dr. Lord George MacLeod, founder of the Iona Community, addressed the first Charismatic Conference in Scotland.\textsuperscript{28} When he challenged the 1973 U.S. Presbyterian Charismatic conference, the Catholic New Covenant magazine claimed the meeting consisted of people mainly from “a conservative, evangelical background.”\textsuperscript{29}

\textbf{During the 41\textsuperscript{st} International Eucharistic Congress, held in Philadelphia in August, 1976, “the Eucharistic Liturgy and Prayer Meeting, Catholic Charismatic Renewal” was presided over by Cardinal Suenens. Celebrated in Veteran’s Stadium on August 5, the worship was a great vindication for inserting the charismatic style within the ritual of the Mass.}\textsuperscript{30}

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\textsuperscript{27} Richard Quebedeaux, \textit{The New Charismatics} (Garden City, NJ: Doubleday. 1976).
\textsuperscript{29} New Covenant, “Presbyterian Charismatic Conference,” June 1973, p. 7.
\textsuperscript{30} See the 8 page leaflet with hymns (18), and description of “Catholic Charismatic Renewal,” published by the National Service Committee of the Catholic Charismatic Renewal of the United States.
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The Jesuit Francis Sullivan and the English Catholic priest Peter Hocken are among the contributors to the *Dictionary of Pentecostal and Charismatic Movements*, which by 1988 joined the two streams.\(^{31}\)

McDonnell’s 1989 18 page introductory essay “Charismatic Renewal: On the Periphery or at the Center?” brilliantly summed up the importance and influence of the movement. His booklet was widely distributed in the Catholic Church.\(^{32}\)

**Development within Evangelicalism**

The “Chicago Call” of 1977 was featured in Webber and Bloesch along with a very extensive bibliography.\(^{33}\) *Ecumenical Trends* noted this “summons” by which evangelical churches should “re-establish communications with the Christian mainstream,” and also that “the emergence of the charismatic movement in many ‘mainline churches’ makes this statement of greater than usual significance.”\(^{34}\)

By 1982, evangelical scholar Mark Noll was challenging both evangelicals and reformed to learn from each other.\(^{35}\)

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31 F. A. Sullivan, S.J., “Catholic Charismatic Renewal,” (pp. 110-26); P.D. Hocken, “Charismatic Movement” (ecumenical, especially Latin America), Stanley M. Burgess and Gary B. McGee, eds. (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1988).


Bloesch’s call for unity among evangelicals received favorable Catholic reviews.\textsuperscript{36}

The groundbreaking work of C.B. Hastings and Joe O’Donnell between Southern Baptists and Catholics was described in the SB Interfaith Witness Associate News, and Glenmary Challenge in the late 1970’s and early 1980’s. Hastings thirty page pamphlet, “A Baptist View of Changes in Roman Catholicism,” is a model of ecumenical analysis.\textsuperscript{37}

At the National Workshop on Christian Unity, Pittsburgh, PA, Feb. 16, 1978, Paulist priest Alvin Illig, was co-chairing a small seminar on evangelization. One participant asked why Catholics speak of evangelization and Protestants of evangelism. There was a long silence, until Hastings spoke up. He explained that he couldn’t give a complete answer, but as an observer at the recent Synod of Bishops on Evangelization (1974), he had learned that Catholics preferred a noun which indicates that the action of sharing Christ continues; it (evangelization) is an action. Protestants, especially evangelicals, consider accepting Jesus as Lord a defining moment, and so use a noun which denotes more of a concluding instant and less of an action (evangelism). We then discovered that Hastings was the only American Protestant to attend the first three synods of bishops in Rome.


William Martin, the prolific author in *Texas Monthly*, studied “The Power and the Glory of Billy Graham,” presenting well (with a few snide remarks) the influence of the elder statesman of evangelism in our era.\textsuperscript{38} Graham noted in his Foreword to *Life’s* tribute to Pope John Paul II, that he (Graham) was preaching in Wojtyla’s home church long before it was fashionable.\textsuperscript{39} The Billy Graham Center at Wheaton College, IL, has grown into a force for intellectual evangelism rivaling Fuller Theological. Note that the U.S. Catholic Bishops met there to prepare for the millennium observance.\textsuperscript{40}

NY Times religion editor Kenneth Briggs noticed “Southern Baptists and Catholics Find Ties,” as early as 1976.\textsuperscript{41} Of course, the campaign of Jimmy Carter for president that year meant all national magazines examined the born again reality.\textsuperscript{42}

During the late 1970s, the liberal *National Catholic Reporter* was headlining “Southern Baptists adopt public issue positions that parallel Catholics.”\textsuperscript{43}

Illig attended the August, 1979 Stanford meeting of Catholics and evangelicals. He was quoted in the Catholic press: “We have so very

\textsuperscript{40} Evangelism and Missions Information Service (EMIS), publishing *Evangelical Missions Quarterly* (EMQ) and *WORLD PULSE* (semi-monthly). Billy Graham Center, P.O. Box 794, Wheaton, IL. 60189.
\textsuperscript{42} See *Newsweek*, “Born Again!,” October 25, 1976, pp. 68-70, 75-78; *Time*, June 21, 1976, pp. 52-53.
much to learn from our Protestant brothers and sisters who have such a
great heritage and tradition in evangelization.”

In 1978, it was my privilege to conduct a seminar at the
National Workshop on Christian Unity with Dr. L.L. Morriss, Director
of Evangelism for the (Southern) Baptist General Convention of
Texas. Dr. Morriss explained the “Good News Texas” 1977
evangelism effort, and I presented what the Texas Conference of
Churches had done at its Faith and Order meeting of Nov. 17-19,
1977, centering on evangelization and spirituality. Both Hastings
and O’Donnell attended the Workshop.

By 1989, the Pew Foundation was funding two conferences by the
Institute for the Study of American Evangelicals, especially the
relationship between evangelicalism and fundamentalism.

George M. Marsden is easily the most respected and quoted author
on fundamentalism. He vindicates the distinction between evangelicals
and fundamentalists. His first book, Fundamentalism and American
Culture carried the subtitle The Shaping of Twentieth Century

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44 NC news release, Catholic Virginian, Sept, 10, 1979, p. 8.
45 Tulsa, OK., April 10-13, 1978, covered extensively by Beth Macklin, religion editor, Tulsa
World. A candid analysis of “Good News Texas” was made in the Texas SBC magazine Baptist Standard,
46 See Ecumenical Trends, (Feb. 1989):29-30. For a view that evangelicalism is thriving in our
culture, see sociologist Christian Smith, American Evangelicalism (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago
Evangelicalism, 1870-1925, and contains much valuable information on evangelicalism.\textsuperscript{47}

In 1987, after several years of study, including unprecedented access to both people and written sources, he published his study of Fuller Theological Seminary: Reforming Fundamentalism: Fuller Seminary and the New Evangelicalism.\textsuperscript{48} His two-page summary “Fundamentalists’ and ‘Evangelicals’” reflects what has become the standard explanation.\textsuperscript{49}

His 1991 book is especially good for reflecting on the convergence of charismatics and Pentecostals with evangelicals, fostering “a major shift in evangelicalism, substantially bringing an end to the hostilities that had been intense as late as 1960.”\textsuperscript{50}

The work of the world wide United Bible Societies, the American Bible Society, and the Vatican continued to be better coordinated.\textsuperscript{51} The official collection of Catholic USA documents now included evangelical-Catholic statements, and the Hispanic situation continued to improve.\textsuperscript{52}

\textsuperscript{47} George M. Marsden, Fundamentalism and American Culture (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980).
\textsuperscript{48} George Marsden, Reforming Fundamentalism (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1987).
\textsuperscript{49} Ibid, pp. 10-11.
\textsuperscript{50} Marsden, Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1991), p. 78; see also p. 6.
Catholic missiologist Stephen B. Bevans examined sympathetically evangelical missiology.\textsuperscript{53} Presbyterian theologian Daniel Paul Alvarez presented both Mark Noll and Thomas Oden.\textsuperscript{54} Rausch (joined by evangelical Cecil Robeck) continued his work of bringing Catholic and evangelicals together, this time locally in Los Angeles, exploring vibrant worship in both traditions.\textsuperscript{55} And reviewer Emilie Griffin noted that evangelical historian Mark Noll “is most attentive to Catholic concerns” in his \textit{Turning Points: Decisive Moments in the History of Christianity}.\textsuperscript{56}

Culturally, \textit{Smithsonian Magazine} showed the atmosphere at camp meetings.\textsuperscript{57} Archbishop Rembert Weakland found “these newer evangelical groups” to be quite a challenge to Catholic ecumenism, and urged that the relationship with mainline Protestant churches not be neglected.\textsuperscript{58}

\textbf{Charismatic and Pentecostal Developments}

The \textit{Washington Post} noted an important development in late 1994: Black and white Pentecostal denominations formed a new multiracial association, “the Pentecostal Charismatic Churches of North

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Chapter Two

America.” Included are the largest white Pentecostal denominations (Assemblies of God, Foursquare Gospel) and black denominations such as the Church of God in Christ.\textsuperscript{59}

McDonnell analyzed the early 20\textsuperscript{th} century “First Wave Pentecostals,” now the second largest Christian group world-wide (after Catholics), numbering about 193 million in 1990. He then presented “the 33 million charismatics in the historic churches, called the Second Wave.” And he examined “the Third Wave . . . independent, non-denominational Pentecostals.” By 1990 these numbered about 26 million.\textsuperscript{60}

Hocken was alerting Catholics to the growing contact with evangelicals and Pentecostals. He affirmed: “Indeed, the official international Catholic-Pentecostal dialogue would have been impossible without the Catholic charismatic renewal.”\textsuperscript{61} David Cole and others noted the tension.\textsuperscript{62} World-wide contacts were carefully recorded, especially the fifth in 1994, and the seventh in 1996.\textsuperscript{63}

The \textit{New York Times} carried articles both by Laurie Goodstein and Gustav Niebuhr on Promise Keepers.\textsuperscript{64} Amy White examined its effect in

\textsuperscript{60} Kilian McDonnell, O.S.B., “The Death of Mythologies,” \textit{America}, March 25, 1995, p. 15.
Chapter Two

Catholic circles. Dolores Leckey, then chair of the U.S. Bishops Committee on Women, Family and Youth affirmed in 1996 that some local chapters were very fundamentalistic; at that time, some Catholic dioceses were setting up their own programs for men, dedicated to St. Joseph.

McDonnell presented information about Rome’s relationship with Pentecostals, “the professional Society for Pentecostal Studies,” and the critical distinction between evangelization and proselytism.

Rev. Dr. Ronald Kydd, a professor of theology at Eastern Pentecostal Bible College, Peterborough, ONT, Canada, discussed his experience since 1974 regarding papal primacy and his own role as minister. The documentation he presents is impressive.

Hocken found the silence in Ut Unum Sint in particular (and in ecumenism in general) regarding the charismatic movement to be deafening. The secular world however, such as the Associated Press writer Bill Kaczor, noted the four-year old Pensacola

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Outpouring, “the century’s longest running charismatic revival,” to be worth a great deal of investigation.\(^{70}\)

As the Millennium Began

In November 2000, *Ecumenical Trends* made available not only the papers of the Society for Pentecostal Studies ecumenical seminar of March 16-18, 2000 at Northwest College, Kirkland WA, but also the report of the fourth phase (1990-97) of the International Dialogue between the Catholic Church and some Classical Pentecostal Churches and Leaders.\(^{71}\) But the most interesting document was the apology made by McDonnell “in a private capacity” for sins that Catholics have committed against Classical Pentecostals, and the response by Pentecostal Frank Macchia.\(^{72}\) (In chapter three, we will examine the theology of apologies.)

In November, 2000, the Vatican issued “Instruction on Prayers for Healing.”\(^{73}\) The charismatic movement especially conducts faith-healing services; Katherine Kuhlman’s famous audience with Pope Paul VI had illustrated the convergence of evangelicalism’s faith healing with Catholic practice.\(^{74}\)

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\(^{71}\) *Ecumenical Trends* 29 (Nov. 2000, #10): 1/145-14/158 with excellent bibliography.


Other documentation regarding charismatic influence within the Eastern Churches is hard to obtain. A sophisticated magazine was published in the 1970’s: The Logos, edited by the Very Rev. Archimandrite Eusebius A. Stephanou, Ft. Wayne, IN. An extensive search of charismatic sources has failed to reveal any trace of the journal.  

Timothy George, Dean of Beeson Divinity School, Samford University, reviewed the Southern Baptist situation in May, 1999. 

Former president Jimmy Carter’s departure drew this comment from the president of the SB Convention, Rev. James Merritt:

“With all due respect to the president, he is a theological moderate. We are not a theological moderate convention.”

More and more evangelicals home school their children. ABC national evening news emphasized that colleges are now actively seeking home schooled children, because of their high academic achievements. Gros thoroughly examined the new ecumenical situation caused by evangelicals.

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75 The copy I have is March-April, 1975 (8:#2), 16 pp., advertising the 3rd Annual Pan-Orthodox Charismatic Conference, July 3-6, Ft. Wayne.
Campus Crusade’s Bill Bright, founder and head for 50 years, resigned in 2000 and announced his successor: Steve Douglass.  

Two very different writers both showed, as the new century began, a strong openness to evangelical/charismatic spirituality, even though both are catholic at heart. George Weigel, in his April 26, 2001 column, reflected sympathetically on his 15 year relationship with evangelicals. He analyzed his own infant baptism and the remarkable faith of his born again as adult evangelical friends. David Nantais, a Jesuit minister at the University of Detroit Mercy, resists “love talk” about Jesus. But he concluded, “Although Catholics are not Evangelicals, we are called to be evangelists, and there is much we could learn from our Christian companions.”

One very puzzling omission in the concern for the Holy Spirit’s place in worship is the set of recent prayers at the beginning of the Roman Rite Mass, the alternative prayers. Few mention the Holy Spirit, and the conclusion, which in the older prayers is always Trinitarian, is shortened, omitting the Holy Spirit.

I was able to take part in the Easter Vigil on April 11, 1998, 

with the Charismatic Community at Our Lady of Hope Center,

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Newburgh, NY. It was amazing and edifying to see how the celebrant and the people inserted the enthusiasm and vigor of charismatic prayer into the structure of the Easter Vigil.

My own experience in trying to blend Afro-American worship with that of Cursillistas, etc., in a tri-cultural parish was described in 1996, then summarized by the National Catholic Reporter in 2001. 84

One of the newer religious communities in the Catholic Church, which shows the convergence of catholic and charismatic styles, is The Family of Jesus Healer (founded in 1989). Its founder, Father Phillip Scott, returned to the Catholic Church via “Communion and Liberation,” and the charismatic movement. 85 After the September 11, 2001 tragedy, “Communion and Liberation” sent a copy of the USA edition of its monthly magazine Traces to all Catholic Churches in the USA. The magazine demonstrates, I believe, its catholic emphasis, with a strong sympathy for charismatics and evangelicals. 86

Kenneth Woodward, longtime and respected editor of religion for Newsweek, criticized Southern Baptists, Jerry Falwell, and Pat Robertson for their response to Sept. 11, 2001. He found it particularly offensive

that “bands of Baptists descended on ground zero to proselytize fire fighters and other workers.”

Successive articles in America showed the convergence of catholic and charismatic/evangelical strands within Catholicism.

Marsden’s critique of evangelicalism extends also to the evaluation that “evangelicalism’s vaunted challenge to the secular culture becomes increasingly difficult to sustain.” Charismatics also find their enthusiasm difficult to maintain, not only from the secular culture’s challenge, but from structures of the Churches within which they exist. Yet there is no doubt that within the Catholic Church, charismatics have transformed worship and evangelization.

Judy Roberts believed on the thirty-fifth anniversary of the charismatic movement, that it is “flourishing” in Brazil and Italy, but diminishing in the USA, “except among certain ethnic groups like Hispanics.” Dwight Longenencker has shown that not only are Charismatics growing in England, but having increasing influence on English evangelicals. Paul Freston has documented evangelicalism’s influence on politics in the Third World.

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87 America, Nov. 5, 2001, p. 5.
89 Marsden, Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism, p. 82.
In the summer of 2002, the continuing group which produced “Evangelicals and Catholics Together” (1994) issued their third statement “Your Word Is Truth.” 93 By spring, 2003, they issued their fourth statement “The Communion of Saints.” Their rationale is “our historical circumstance makes our common witness increasingly urgent.” 94

Southern Baptists, Catholics and mainline Protestants continued to improve their relationship in Texas, with the Catholic Bishop of San Angelo observing at the end of the day-long dialogue (Jan. 15, 2003) “the Spirit is moving us in a direction of cooperation, collaboration and solidarity.” 95

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Chapter Three: Protestant Neo-Orthodoxy and Vatican II Catholicism: The Reformed

Overview

My first experience of this convergence was during Presbyterian observer (first session, Vatican II) James Hastings Nichols brilliant presentation to the English-speaking seminarians in Rome. He had been invited partly through the good offices of Father Georges Tavard, A.A., to the Carmelite Seminary, November 25, 1962. During his remarks to us he volunteered that he had never expected, during his lifetime, to see reform burst forth in the Catholic Church.¹ (He was not alone in this; many Catholic bishops went to the Council not expecting reform either).

Scripture Model and Implications

Robert McAfee Brown presents the importance of the pilgrim people image, and the “always reforming” for both Vatican II and Protestantism.² Reforming and stripping down were first tested in the long examination of the Catholic church’s public worship. Formally, in #8 of the Constitution of Liturgy, the term pilgrimage is used. So “reform” and “pilgrimage” are tied together: Abbott’s index “Reform of

the liturgy” has 20 entries. Note that Abbott, who first translated the Vatican II documents, does not always combine pilgrim and people. Father Austin Flannery’s translation is sometimes subtly different. We do tend to read back into Vatican II documents a great development in the use of the pilgrim image.

When American Presbyterians adopted the Vatican II Sunday Lectionary, they discovered that the key text on reconciliation (2 Cor. 5:16-21) was not used at all. They remedied this by inserting it not only on Reformation Sunday (Sunday closest to Oct. 31), but also for the 5th Sunday after Pentecost, Year B. Its omission from the Catholic Sunday Lectionary is regrettable. (It was also missing from the Scottish Presbyterian 1940 Book of Common Order, whose lectionaries had been the earlier model for American Presbyterianism.)

Dr. Alex Garcia-Rivera has explained how the initial drafts of the Constitution on the Church spoke of the “church militant.” In the last draft, “the language . . . had changed to the ‘pilgrim’ church.” One should also note the way “Pilgrim Church” and “Pilgrim People” has worked its way into the 1994 Catechism (Catholic).

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7 Catechism, #769 (only one in index under “church;” see also #’s 165, 1344, 1392 and 1419).
For the practical problems of “reconciliation,” see James O. Duke’s reflections on COCU.\(^8\)

German Catholic theologian Hermann Pottmeyer has written frankly about the Vatican Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith’s 1998 document “Reflections on the Primacy of Peter.” He bluntly states:

In a radical step, “Reflections” acknowledges that the manner of the practice of the primacy is historically conditioned and changeable. It explains: “The pilgrim church, in its sacraments and institutions, which belong to this age, carries the mark of this world which is passing’ (Lumen Gentium, 48). For this reason too, the immutable nature of the primacy of Peter’s successor has historically been expressed in different forms of exercise appropriate to the situation of a pilgrim church in this changing world.”\(^9\)

Note that after citing this passage, with its two-fold use of the “pilgrim” image, Pottmeyer then calls it “truly a revolutionary statement.”\(^10\)

**In the mid-1960’s, Biblical theology, largely developed by Protestant scholars either neo-orthodox or influenced by neo-orthodoxy, had begun to permeate Catholic seminaries. My professors at the Gregorian University, Rome, Italy, were regularly using Vincent Taylor’s work on Mark, Oscar Cullman’s on Matthew 16:16, C.H. Dodd on eschatology, etc.**\(^11\)

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\(^10\) Pottmeyer, p. 16.

Historical Overview

The contrasts of Diognetus continued in people such as Gregory Nazianzus (c. 329-89), and used by the Catholic Worker Community of Syracuse, NY:

Reflections On A Paradox

He was born, but he was already begotten;
He issued from a woman, but she was a virgin . . .
He was baptized as man, but he remitted sins as God,
He was tempted as man, but he conquered as God,
He hungered, but he fed thousands. . . .
He dies, but he gives life, and by his death destroys death . . .
He is buried, but he rises again.12

“Learned Ignorance,” according to N. Sharkey, originally came from St. Augustine, by way of St. Bonaventure, to Nicholas Cusa.13 When Eastern Christianity speaks of apophatic theology, we have a link with docta ignorantia.14 Gettysburg (PA) Lutheran seminary held their 5th biennial conference (autumn, 1994) on Nicholas.15

Welch’s 1954 survey of neo-orthodoxy is masterful.16 Barth’s Knowledge of God and Service of God contains many of his insights on worship.17 And he observed “There is undoubtedly a connection between

15 Gettysburg Lutheran Seminary maintains an ongoing interest in Nicholas, and recommends the American Cusanus Society Website, with a newsletter; H. Lawrence Bond, Nicholas of Cusa (NY: Paulist, 1997) is highly recommended and Bond took part in the most recent efforts on Nicholas; see http://www.library.jhur.edu/findit/subjects/medren/cusanus.html.
16 Welch and Dillenberger, Protestant Christianity, pp. 268-83.
the neglect of the sacrament and Protestantism’s becoming Modernist.”18

A Presbyterian liturgist commented on this:

> The Roman Catholic Church has a sacramental service without preaching. . . . We have a service with a sermon but without sacraments. Both types of service are impossible.19

The convergence of Protestant and Catholic reformers helped reduce this separation.

Recently, a minor controversy arose over the quote attributed to Karl Barth that we should preach with one foot in the Bible and the other in the daily newspaper. Father Robert P. Waznak has observed that no one has ever been able to find this in Barth’s writings.20 So Father John Donohue consulted with “Claude Welch, preeminent living historian of modern Protestant theology,” and found it as part of the oral tradition, very much a Barthian theme.21

A Jesuit professor noticed how both Karl Barth and Thomas Merton (who died on the same day, December 10, 1968) are linked: “both could speak of God only in paradox”—a favorite and necessary device of Reformed.22

Newman significantly changed the expression after he joined the Catholic Church. Martin Marty, for example, uses the softened phrase of

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his Catholic days: “To grow is to change and to have grown much is to have changed often.”

Newman’s importance, especially his influence on Vatican II, continues to be explored. The newest ecumenical journal dedicated its inaugural issue (Dec. 2001) to the bicentenary of his birth.

The Italians hit upon a happy word, which avoided the term “reformation.” In the early descriptions of the goals of Vatican II, the word “aggiornamento” was used: “bringing up-to-date.” Thus was avoided a Protestant term, and a clever word used which later would allow almost all to gradually become used to the reality of reform.

Catholics have also been told that “aggiornamento” means “a fresh breeze blowing in through a just-opened window.” Perhaps more poetic, it still means reform.

For more on the importance of J.H. Nichols, see his contribution to the Vatican II Lectionary being adopted by American Presbyterians, and

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his role in the Declaration on Religious Liberty. Like most neo-orthodox, he was in his early career very suspicious of Rome, meriting Andrew Greeley calling him “no friend of Catholicism.” But Vatican II changed his mind, as it changed the mind of many Catholics about Protestant reformers.

George Weigel’s column of December 16, 1999 contains the important description of Rahner as “the most influential Catholic theologian of the second half of the 20th century.” Then Weigel summarized the column: “Rahner is not the future of theology, because he mistakenly imagined his fellow German academics to be the forerunners of world culture.”

For a much more appreciative viewpoint, see the long letter to the editor by bishop and theologian Edward K. Braxton. Congar’s classic work True and False Reform in the Church (1950) was originally withdrawn from sale and prohibited from being translated. But as Catholic theologian Father Joseph Komonchak pointed out recently, Pope John XXIII let it be known that “he had read and annotated Congar’s book, which surely had some influence

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in his assigning the council the primary tasks of spiritual renewal and pastoral updating (aggiornamento), the latter term itself perhaps a euphemism for the word ‘reform’.”  

(Komonchak was reviewing Christopher Bellitto’s important work on reform).  

Congar perhaps best summed up the tension between unity and plurality with his book Diversity and Communion.  

In 2000, Ralph Del Colle noted Congar’s work in distinguishing levels of agreement, precisely in Diversity and Communion.  

Apologies and Reparation  

For an insider’s view of Paul VI’s leadership regarding apologies, see Cardinal Lorenz Jaeger’s work, and Brown’s description of the opening of the second session of Vatican II.  

In 1992, the U.S. Catholic Bishops apologized to Native Americans, admitting that “as church, we often have been unconscious and insensitive to the mistreatment of our Native American brothers and sisters and have at times reflected the racism of the dominant culture of which we have been a part.” During the fifth century of the coming of

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34 Yves Congar, O.P., Diversity and Communion (Mystic, CT: Twenty-Third Publications, 1985.)  
Europeans to the Americans, the bishops, through, did not want the record to be inaccurate; they also recognized that “the expansion of Christianity into our hemisphere brought to the peoples of this land the gift of the Christian faith with its power of humanization and salvation, dignity and fraternity, justice and love.”

Father Richard McBrien confidently asserted in a 2000 column regarding John Paul II’s apologies that “many of his closet advisers, including some cardinals, were strongly opposed to public apologies of any kind.” These began in 1991 when the pope published his plans for the 2000 jubilee and continued through the 1994 consistory of cardinals, which dealt primarily with preparations for the jubilee year. Thomas Reese, a Jesuit expert on the Vatican, wrote that during the 1994 meeting “John Paul heard opposition to his planned admission of past failing by the church. . . . He went ahead anyway and made history.”

The 50th anniversary of the fire-bombing of Dresden received a very moving tribute in the Washington Post. Reconciliation reached a new stage.

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Against the “outrage” of the Polish people, Archbishop Wojtyla insisted the Polish bishops write a letter to the German bishops for the millennium of Christianity in Poland, offering forgiveness for the atrocities of World War II: Kevin Keenan, “A Time to Forgive,” Western New York Catholic, July 2002, p. 2.  
By 1997, Germany and the Czech Republic were apologizing to each other.\textsuperscript{41} Forgiveness in politics was now an accepted publishing area.\textsuperscript{42}

When Pope John Paul II visited Romania in 1999, it was the first country with a majority of Eastern Orthodox to receive him. Romanian Orthodox Archbishop Nicolae Comeanu of Timisoara took that occasion to issue an historic apology of repentance for cooperating with the Communist regime.\textsuperscript{43}

In 1999, COCU General Secretary Michael Kinnamon attended a “reconciliation conference” sponsored by Southern Baptists and other conservative evangelical Christians.\textsuperscript{44}

The pope’s decision to make an official “mea culpa” (my fault) during the Jubilee Year caught the attention of both the religious press and the secular press. In August, 1998, Catholic News Service (CNS) headlined “Pope to pronounce ‘mea culpa’ in 2000,”\textsuperscript{45} and in 1999, Reuters bannered, “Pope says Church will seek forgiveness for past injustices.”\textsuperscript{46}

During the Special Assembly for Europe of the Synod of Bishops in 1999, Father Maciel Zieba, O.P., the provincial of the Dominican Order in

\textsuperscript{42} Donald W. Shriver, Jr., \textit{An Ethic for Enemies} (NY: Oxford University Press, 1995).
Poland, made an intervention which caught the attention of columnist George Weigel. Zieba noted that apologies are necessary in order to counter the libels of Christianity’s enemies, a caricature which “is still widespread today, ‘from primary school up to university’ in many European countries.” Therefore, the Church itself should “offer a more complete, less tendentious, historical account, one that takes the full measure of Christianity’s failures as well as its great contributions to European civilization.”

On December 17, 1999, the pope apologized for the Church’s treatment of the 15th century priest, theologian and reformer John Hus. About a month later, on January 18, 2000, when he needed the help of the Anglican primate and ecumenical patriarch of Constantinople representative Metropolitan Athanasios of Heliopolis to open the holy door at St. Paul’s, CNS reporter Cindy Wooden noted, “Then, departing from the Vatican’s script for the event, the archbishop and the metropolitan dropped to their knees, praying in silence on either side of the kneeling pope.

The Catholic Northwest Progress carried the entire text of the seven very complete “Confession of Sins” (first in general and then six very specific), along with the names of the clerics who admitted them on behalf of the entire Catholic Church (five cardinals, two archbishops).

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48 See, for example, America, Jan. 1-8, 2000, p. 5.
The Introduction and Concluding Prayer were made by the pope. Then the Progress gave an entire page “Many resources on forgiveness and reconciliation.”

**How quickly did the pope’s action spread? It is, of course, hard to document, but the newsletter from the Oblate Partners of Virginia for March 2000, noted that on the very next Sunday, March 12, at its monthly Mass, the community, lead by two Oblate priests, “read the prayers for forgiveness of the whole church which had also been used by Pope John Paul II in Rome the previous Sunday.” They then lighted candles, which had also been done in the papal Mass.**

When the Archdiocese of Seattle celebrated 150 years of Catholic history in the Pacific Northwest in 2000, its archbishop took a cue from both the 1987 formal apology to Native Americans, and the papal Jubilee apology several months earlier. To the one to Native Americans, he added a formal apology to the Presbyterians in the Walla Walla area who lost so many missionaries during the Whitman Massacre of 1847. The context was not one of groveling, but of seeking a balanced record.

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50 Catholic Northwest Progress, from CNS, p. 17B for service (which occurred during Mass in St. Peter’s on the First Sunday of Lent, March 12); 19B for the documents, including videos.
51 Marilyn Lawrence, ed., “Newsletter,” Oblate Partners of Virginia, March 2000, 8902 Moat Crossing Place, Bristow, VA. 20136.
During their 2000 General Conference, United Methodists atoned for the racism which resulted in separate Methodist Churches.\textsuperscript{53} And the Divine Word Missionaries began publishing articles in their magazine, which told, not only of their victories, but of their failures. “Such honesty is good. Deceit cannot be hidden; truth overcomes.”\textsuperscript{54}

When the pope prayed at the Western Wall of the Temple in Jerusalem on March 26, 2000, he left the prayer asking God’s forgiveness for those who caused the descendants of Abraham to suffer. Jewish authorities have since moved the written prayer to the museum at Yad Vashem.\textsuperscript{55}

When representatives of the National Federation of Priests Councils met in Oakland, CA., May 1-4, 2000, Father Daniel Danielson, a pioneer in developing the spirituality of U.S. Catholic clergy, was honored. In his presentation, he reflected thoroughly and deeply on the pope’s call for reconciliation.\textsuperscript{56}

In his weekly reflection on the Sunday readings, Father John R. Donahue worked into his explanation of the Easter Sunday, 2001 Scriptures, a plea for admitting that Catholics have “departed from the spirit of Christ and his Gospel,” citing the March 16, 1998 Vatican document on the Holocaust. The convergence of Protestant neo-orthodox

\textsuperscript{56} Daniel Danielson, “Reflection on President’s Award,” I’m indebted to Monsignor Al Clody of Buffalo, NY for his report on this talk: \textit{Appendix A, Priests Council Minutes}, May 16, 2000.
Scripture achievements, and Catholic reformed Vatican II efforts at better relationship with Jews, is beautifully reflected in Donahue’s explanation.\textsuperscript{57}

\textbf{A Spirituality of Tensions}

America’s editor George W. Hunt noted the issue of January 21, 1985 had four “fine articles . . . devoted to a positive assessment of the recent first draft of the American bishops’ pastoral letter on the U.S. economy.” And he quoted the article by Professor Beverly W. Harrison who stated “this first draft builds on the spirit and substance of Vatican II theology, working within a \textit{broadly neo-orthodox methodology}.” She then went on to note the integration of “Thomist social ethical teaching . . . [especially] the Thomistic theory of justice.”\textsuperscript{58} Note how Catholic Vatican II reform, Protestant neo-orthodox methodology, and classic Catholic reliance on St. Thomas Aquinas, have converged, all in tension.

Father John Sheerin masterfully explained the tension between evangelization (“primary”) and ecumenism (“necessary for successful evangelization”).\textsuperscript{59}

The beauty of this world (stressed by paganism) and the transcendence of God attracted Rolheiser, especially the three ways in

which we sell out, because the “two worlds . . . are not easy to keep in harmony.”

Cardinal Dulles sketches concisely the creative tension between personal freedom and obedience, as he explores the use of the Ignatian Exercises today. When he was named a cardinal, James Martin, S.J. interviewed him, and this extensive article is the best summary of his evolution. The reprint done of a challenge he issued in 1967 is still very relevant:

Many people are tempted to choose between faith and reason, Church and world, tradition and modernity. But God is summoning us to bring these polar opposites into a new synthesis.

We remember his debate with McCormick cited in our first volume, ch. 1, p. 21; Dulles does tilt towards continuity in the tension between change and continuity, but he attempts to hold both together.

Weigel described the tensions well, as they affected Catholics;

Much of world Catholicism after Vatican II experienced the church as a traumatic set of sharp-edged, binary choices: between historically-rooted popular piety and liturgical renewal; between intellectual security and theological sophistication; between traditio and aggiornamento.

Bellah’s article cited above in ch. 1, p. 21 also illustrates some interesting tensions. In commenting on Roger Williams being “a moral

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genius, but . . . a sociological catastrophe,” Bellah concludes “Williams gives us an early and local example of what happens when the sacredness of the individual is not balanced by any sense of the whole or concern for the common good.” Reformed Christians are continually calling us to the struggle of reconciling the sacredness of the individual and the common good.

Reformed and the Death Penalty

One of Reinhold Niebuhr’s typical reformed terms is “a measure of coercion,” which the individual requires if he is to perceive the need to change behavior. Note that liberals believe the individual would automatically see the need for improvement (given enough education and money). Coercion by society is a reformed note.

In a review of Arthur Schlesinger’s A Life in the 20th Century, Dennis O’Brien observed:

In the prewar years Schlesinger was profoundly influenced by Reinhold Niebuhr. The doctrine of original sin so powerfully preached in Niebuhr’s examination of the ironies of American history attracted the young historian, who could never believe in utopianism—Communist-style or otherwise.

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64 Robert Bellah, “Religion and the Shape of the National Culture,” America, July 31, 1999, p. 11.
Reformation of Christology and Mariology

The signing by Lutherans and Catholics in October, 1999, of the “Joint Declaration on Justification” was a landmark event for reformers on both sides.⁶⁷ (For a summming up of the situation as of 1997, see Paul O’Callaghan’s monumental work).⁶⁸

Perhaps the most intriguing of the practical results of the agreements with the Assyrian Church of the East (Chaldean) is that the Eucharist celebrated by this Church, which does not actually have the words of institution, is valid. In November, 2001, the Vatican declared that Catholics who are not able to find a Catholic Mass, may commune with the Assyrians. Robert Taft, a liturgist at the Oriental Institute in Rome called this decision “extremely important.” He commented:

It says the Catholic Church recognized the validity of a eucharistic prayer which does not have the words of institution, abandoning a ritualistic insistence which began in the Middle Ages and showing enormous openness to the ancient traditions of another church.⁶⁹

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⁶⁷ Text in Origens, 28 (July 16, 1998, #8) 120-27; 29 (Nov. 11, 1999, #22), 342, 344-47.
Scottish liturgist William Maxwell had observed in 1936 that the words of institution are not essential to consecration. “Consecration is not by formula but by prayer: it may even be by intention.”

Father Ernest Falardeau has pointed out that the agreements between Rome and “two Ancient Eastern Churches (East Syrian and West Syrian)” permit “the laity to share the Eucharist mutually (though not concelebration).”

Fr. Georges Florovsky’s observations on the impact of the Protestant Reformation on Eastern Christianity are especially relevant, particularly the enigmatic figure of the Ecumenical Patriarch Cyril Loukaris.

Those Eastern Churches in union with Rome had, over the centuries, adopted many practices of the Latin Church. At Vatican II, the Decree on the Eastern Churches began a long and complicated process of slowly discarding many of those practices, and returning to their original traditions.

Roberson observes that “The Chaldean Catholic Church’s relationship with the Assyrian Church of the East has improved dramatically since the signing” of the joint 1994 Christological

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73 “Decree on the Eastern Churches,” #’s 4, 6; see also Decree on Ecumenism, #’s 14-18.
agreement. A Church in communion with Rome, and an Eastern Church not in union have thus become healthier, and more likely to evangelize.

The Reformed Position in Decline, and Rebirth?

Hudson’s 1965 treatment of neo-orthodoxy is full and complete. By the 1992 edition, there is not even an entry. It seems that Protestant historians appreciation of the reformed position began to wane just as Catholic reformers such as Rahner and Congar were beginning to be appreciated.

Stanley Hauerwas’s proposal of Karth Barth’s theology as a solution to our problems was undoubtedly written before September 11, 2001. But the choice of America to so positively review it was undoubtedly influenced by the need for Barth’s insights because of Sept. 11.

Paradox, Tensions and Pilgrimage as the Millennium Began

Catholic News Service John Thavis followed the pope’s visit to Greece, Syria and Malta, May 4-9, 2001. He commented:

Balancing dialogue and proclamation of the Gospel has been a hallmark of the pope’s pilgrimages, which have taken

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him to areas of tense relations among Christians, Muslims and Jews.  

The tension between dialogue (which does not explicitly seek conversion) and proclamation (which does) is one of the most delicate, and congenial to the neo-orthodox/Vatican II Christian. To sustain that tension, one must resort to the pilgrim way.

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CHAPTER FOUR: FUNDAMENTALIST CHRISTIANITY

Overview

Fundamentalism outside of Christianity does not concern us directly; however, we will give the most accessible works. “Beyond Christianity, fundamentalism is a worldwide phenomenon.”

Fox’s book is very remarkable in its sympathy towards fundamentalism. He founded the Fatima Family Apostolate, which publishes the Fatima Family Messenger, Box 217, Alexandria, SD 57311. Shortly before I became pastor of St. Rose of Lima Church, in North Buffalo, NY (1998), the Carmelite Convent which was the mother of my parish was overflowing with candidates. Fox invited them to come to his parish. They are Discalced (very strict), and both convents are doing quite well for candidates.

The “Born-again Catholic” is not necessarily emotional, but one who understands what baptism and Church do. Fox cites Fulton Sheen’s “fire of an Apostle,” and observes “It can easily be the weakness of conservative Catholic intellectuals to play down

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emotions so completely that even the valid use of emotions are neglected.”

A Note Regarding Fundamentalism, Conservatism and Liberalism

The Jesuit theologian Patrick Arnold has called it “extremely important” to distinguish between conservatism and fundamentalism.

Conservatism may be described broadly as a philosophy that values established, traditional ideas and practices, and seeks to preserve a given community’s historical heritage—especially in times of cultural change.

Mostly broadly speaking, fundamentalism is a historically recurring tendency within the Judeo-Christian-Muslim religious traditions that regularly erupts in reaction to cultural change. Psychological studies describe its strongest adherents as “authoritarian personalities”: individuals who feel threatened in a world of conspiring evil forces, who think in simplistic and stereotypical terms and who are attracted to authoritarian and moralistic answers to their problems.

In the United States, the phrase “secular humanism” encapsulates all that is threatening to reactionary Protestants and Catholics alike. For Christian fundamentalists, the term implies a conscious conspiracy of liberals, media and government to undermine America’s religious heritage.

Arnold calls upon conservatives “to discern properly those aspects of the tradition that are truly essential and those that are merely time-bound, antiquated relics.” Note also that Arnold cannot fully describe fundamentalism unless he includes something about liberalism. He also

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3 Fox, p. 4.
5 Arnold, p. 298.
reports that there is a tendency among Catholic fundamentalists to call their movement “neo-orthodoxy,” or “reform.” This usage needs to be distinguished from the older usage employed in chapter three above.

O’Meara asserts “History shows there is no golden age! But fundamentalism is intent upon recapturing a past golden age and upon condemning other periods as inferior or apostate.” Of course, the question remains: were some ages better for Christianity than others?

Regarding the fighting instinct of fundamentalists, Martin Marty has written about its “oppositionalism” and “fighting back as a constitutive principle.”

Father Desmond O'Donnell drew up the following chart:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conservatism</th>
<th>Liberalism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Resistance to rapid and possibly uncontrollable change.</td>
<td>Desire for and confidence in change as likely to be beneficial.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satisfaction with the status quo.</td>
<td>Movement toward egalitarianism in social structures.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pessimism and suspicion with regard to human nature.</td>
<td>Optimism regarding and faith in human nature.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The virtues of order, duty, obedience are stressed.</td>
<td>A preference for some form of socialism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social structures should ideally be hierarchical.</td>
<td>Personal freedom is seen as a prime value.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acceptance of and some</td>
<td>A willingnessness to question all law</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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7 O’Meara, *Fundamentalism, A Catholic Perspective*, p. 88, with some rebuttal “that Europe has never been Christian.”
expectation of aggression. and all institutions for their improvement.
Reliance on punitive control to keep order. Inclined to be more aggressive than others (Aggression can be passive or active).
Expectations of hope for non-aggressive action to achieve change.
More at home with sensible and physically measurable entities. Suspcion of the equation of law with order. 9

O’Donnell notes that when comparing religious conservatism and political conservatism, “religious and political liberalism go together as do religious and political conservatism.” His source, Liu and Pallone, noted that the National Catholic Reporter (liberal) and The Wanderer (conservative) take consistently opposite views on both political and religious questions. “These authors however failed to find a similar coincidence of views in a later study of the general Catholic population.”10

Andrew Greeley observed: “Conservatives always think they are winning. . . . Liberals always think they are losing.”11

Recently, the Vatican nuncio to the United Nations used liberal-conservative terms in addressing a pro-life audience, one of the issues where fundamentalists of all stripes converge. Catholic News Service

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10 Ibid, citing William Liu and Nathaniel Pallone, Catholics/USA (NY: Wiley, 1970); O’Donnell’s article was reprinted in OMI Documentation (English, 133/85), April, 1985, pp. 1-5.
11 Andrew M. Greeley, “Who are the Catholic ‘Conservatives’?” America, Sept. 21, 1991, p. 158. The five page article is based on his analysis of data from the General Social Survey of the National Opinion Research Center, 1972-91.
(CNS) described his talk as observing that “both liberals and conservatives deal with right-to-life issues ‘at best inconsistently’.”

Keating’s book centers on the attacks by Protestant fundamentalists on the Catholic Church. However, he gives a great deal of useful bibliography on the entire fundamentalist movement. He is also struck by the “hundreds of thousands” of U.S. Catholics who have converted to Protestant fundamentalist groups. He believes “as many as one out of six Hispanics in the country is now fundamentalist.”

Rather than publish a second edition of his 1988 book, Keating issued in 2000 *The Usual Suspects: Answering Anti-Catholic Fundamentalists*. He calls it “not so much a sequel as a supplement.” He has made the field of apologetics respectable again, after it had a difficult time adjusting to Catholic ecumenism in the 1960’s.

In 2002, Marsden published a study on the secularization of Protestant colleges in the USA. As a good evangelical, he observed that “academics who are deeply religious say they are tired of apologizing for their faith or suppressing it in the classroom.”

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Scripture Model and Implications

One may consult Nancy Tenfelde Clasby’s examination of the figures of Eden and the New Jerusalem in American literature. 17 See also Father Witherup’s Biblical Fundamentalism.18 Although Gorenberg’s book on the struggle for the “Temple Mount” is situated in Ariel Sharon’s 2000 provocation on that sacred site, I believe it also supports my thesis that fundamentalists of all three faiths hold to immovable symbols for their community.19

Archbishop Whealon recommended the Paulist Fathers’ magazine Share the Word, observing that “even now the poorest, most isolated parish in the country could do a fine job at a Bible Mass with its help.” He concluded by citing Pope John Paul II’s exhortation in April, 1985 to the World Catholic Federation of the Biblical Apostolate, urging both ministers and laity to immerse themselves in the Bible, and the living tradition of the church, thus “avoiding a narrow fundamentalism.”20

In 1992, Share the Word gently explained one of the fundamentalists favorite texts against Catholics, Mt. 23:9 “Call no one on earth your Father.” Noting that Paul did exactly that in I Cor. 4:15, the author concluded, “Never, it must be noted, should we ever use a

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17 Nancy Tenfelde Clasby, New Jerusalem: Myth, Literature and The Sacred (Scranton, PA: University of Scranton Press, 2002).
passage from that word to challenge the faith or practices of those who do not share our views.”

Father Martin Pable used the same text in explaining to Catholics how to understand the difference between them and fundamentalists. Pable’s book is a little gem (94 pages) and also exists in Spanish.

Father Richard McBrien notes that Catholic fundamentalism exists in two “forms: biblical and doctrinal.” He explains that “‘You are Peter . . .’ (Mt. 16:18-19) is the hermeneutical prism through which all else in the Bible is to be read.”

Fox spends much time on the proper use of the Bible, as does O’Meara. Norris has this observation:

As a professor in what some view as a conservative Protestant seminary, I can tell you that nearly every biblical book which we study requires us to read a Roman Catholic commentary. In many ways Roman Catholic scholarship has understood the place of the Bible in the community of faith more clearly than has much of the so-called Protestant establishment of scriptural study. I know numerous Protestant Scripture specialists who have great difficulty seeing the Bible as the book of worshipping people. . . .

Unlike Fundamentalists who have often called for the demise of historical criticism or prematurely celebrated its death, many Evangelicals have incorporated careful, critical

21 “Q and A,” Share the Word, Jan. 19, 1992, p. 42. Published seven times a year, $20.00 with substantial bulk discounts: 1-800-237-5515. For the many excellent Paulist resources for evangelization, see their web site: www.pncea.org.
22 Martin Pable, O.F.M. Cap., Catholics and Fundamentalists (Chicago, IL: ACTA, 1997), 2nd ed., p. 25.
study of Scripture into their regular practice.\textsuperscript{26}

Norris gently criticizes both O’Meara’s approach as being “marked by considerable irritation and anger,” and a work used by many, James Barr, \textit{Fundamentalism}.\textsuperscript{27}

\textbf{Arnold’s comment about the belief by some fundamentalists that the Bible was written in English reminds me of the story I heard when I served on the staff of the Texas Conference of Churches (1976-79). When “Pa” Ferguson, governor of Texas was impeached and dismissed in 1917, his wife, “Ma” Ferguson succeeded him, and carried on his feud with the University of Texas, because of its liberalism. When Ma heard that Latin was taught at the University, she snorted: “That’s a useless expense; after all, English was good enough for Jesus and His Bible.”}\textsuperscript{28}

\textbf{Historical Overview}

Charlemagne concentrated on uniformity in worship, a normal reaction to a threatened society. His task was complicated of course by

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{28} While the story is not in T.R. Fehrenback, \textit{Lone Star} (NY: Macmillan, 1968), the story about the feud with the University is: pp. 639, 646.}
\end{footnotes}
the challenge of blending the Roman sobriety and conciseness with the “barbarian” love of emotions and length.\textsuperscript{29}

\textbf{Until Vidler wrote in 1970, there was quite a dispute over whom Pope Pius X relied on when he attacked Catholic liberalism, and tilted towards fundamentalism. Vidler asserted that his theologian was “Father Joseph Lemius (1860-1923), an Oblate of Mary Immaculate, an able theologian who held various posts in the Curia at Rome.”}\textsuperscript{30} Since I had lived in the building where, according to our lore, Fr. Lemius wrote the encyclical \textit{Pascendi} for Pius X, I began to research the story.\textsuperscript{31} Others have since accepted Vidler’s explanation, and elaborated on it.\textsuperscript{32}

Daly summed up the atmosphere which resulted from Pius X’s efforts:

\begin{quote}
It inaugurated a period of ecclesiastical McCarthyism when “modernists” were hunted down with a zeal that was as pathological as the paranoia that fed it. . . . Vigilance committees met in solemn conclave to determine who was guilty, or at least suspect, of this newest and most nebulous of heresies.\textsuperscript{33}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{32} Gabriel Daly, O.S.A., \textit{Transcendence and Immanence} (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), pp. 179-87; David G. Schultenover, S.J., \textit{A View from Rome} (NY: Fordham University Press, 1993), pp. 29, 37. R. Scott Appleby, In his otherwise excellent “Church and Age Unite:”; \textit{The Modernist Impulse in American Catholicism} (which we will examine in ch. 5) confuses Joseph with his brother John Baptist Lemius (pp. 58-59).
Happily, all absolve Lemius from any complicity in this
fundamentalist effort. Daly summed it up: “I found him to have been
the most moderate and well-informed of all the Roman anti-
modernists.”

Schultenover has an interesting insight on the role of
Mediterranean ethos in any dispute over authority. He especially applies
it to the Modernist crisis of 1890-1910.

**Protestant Fundamentalism, 1900-60**

The Billy Graham Center, Wheaton (Illinois) College is supervising
a 45 volume facsimile series on Fundamentalism in American Religion,
1980-1950. The first four volumes were published in 1988, and reprint,
with substantial commentary, the initial twelve small volumes of 1905-
15. Harris gives a very concise summary of these volumes and their
development.

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34 Daly, *Transcendence*, p. 179.
Protestant Fundamentalism, 1960-

When David Tracy rejects a fundamentalist’s search for “his own secure and tamed world,” he may be thinking of the small hard core. But I believe Marsden’s observations about the polarizing impact of World War I and Viet-Nam (and now Sept. 11?) on our scene mean that most fundamentalists and their sympathizers have no illusions about obtaining a tamed world here; they simply want to survive.

The Reformed Episcopal Church, founded in 1873, claimed only 125 churches and 6,400 full communicant members in 2001. The Episcopal Orthodox Church, founded in 1963, described “strong growth . . . in 1990’s,” but gave no statistics.

In 1998, the Missouri Lutheran Synod revealed its catholic side. On April 15, over 700 people from Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America, and the Catholic Church came to Missouri Synod’s Concordia Theological Seminary, Fort Wayne, IN to listen and respond to the keynote address by Cardinal Edward I. Cassidy, then president of the Pontifical Council for Promoting Christian Unity. The synod is an interesting mix of fundamentalism and catholicism.
Liberal causes in the Presbyterian Church did affect membership. When the United Presbyterian Church USA’s Council on Church and Race made $100,000 available to Communist sympathizer Angela Davis’ defense fund in 1971, “record numbers” left. Stated Clerk Eugene Carson Blake had led the integration effort; Cumberland Presbyterian official Harold Davis had supported the sanitation workers’ strike which led to Dr. Martin Luther King’s assassination. These prophetic stances cost the church membership. But the drop-outs do not seem to have joined the splinter fundamentalist Presbyterian Churches, the Orthodox Presbyterian Church, and Francis Schaeffer’s Bible Presbyterian Church. The former numbered 14,300 in 1970 and had grown to only 23,002 in 1998; the latter had no figures available in 1970 and is not even listed in the Yearbook of American and Canadian Churches for 2000. Two less fundamentalist Churches, the Evangelical Presbyterian Church, started in 1981 and gave 1998 figures of 61,347; the Presbyterian Church in America, started in 1973 but picking up momentum after the 1983 merger of United Presbyterian Church USA and Presbyterian Church US, numbered 279,549 in 1997.

During the 1970’s, two Presbyterian groups provide a way to gauge conservative and fundamentalist sympathies within the Presbyterian-

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43 See Harry E. Winter, Journal of Ecumenical Studies 38:141; for Blake and Davis, pp. 133, n. 28; 144.
Reformed tradition. Presbyterian Lay Committee, with its publication Presbyterian Layman, and Presbyterians United for Biblical Confession both significantly affected the Confession of 1967, and subsequent developments with the Reformed tradition.45

By 1993, the Presbyterian Church USA had dropped to 2.8 million, from its high of 3,122,213 at the time of the 1983 merger.46 There seems to be no single factor for the drop. Dean Hoge and others did perhaps the most thorough study of any church, when they analyzed Presbyterianism.47

In 1980, a scholar stated “Indeed, though eight of the ten largest graduate schools of theology in this country, including three Southern Baptist ones, are thoroughly evangelical, not one is Fundamentalist.” After the 1990s takeover, he would have to revise this view.48

Ammerman recommends two works on Christian schools as “excellent studies”: Peskin and Rose.49

Our American “Bible Belt” of the south and mid-west has become a sociological term dear to fundamentalists. In 1987, an intriguing debate occurred when a Jewish rabbi, who, while rejecting the “fits of fanaticism

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45 Harry E. Winter, O.M.I., Catholic, Evangelical and Reformed, pp. 203-04, 708, 712-13, 721. Until the merger of 1983, these groups had to submit annual reports which were printed each year in the General Assembly Minutes.
. . . among fundamentalist extremists,” affirmed his solidarity with “America’s Bible belt as our safety belt, the enduring guarantee of our fundamental rights and freedoms.”

Wuthnow gives a good summary of the importance of the Bible Belt.

The discussion over the suitability of the term “fundamentalism” continued in vol 4 of Marty-Appleby, and especially in the fifth and final volume. The absence of Marsden as involved in the project is puzzling; he is cited a great deal. The authors do admit that the humanities suffered in the selection of experts; sociologists prevailed. But the inclusion of Appleby, a historian, in all phases, particularly the final volume, may offset this.

On the continuing question of the relation between traditionalism and fundamentalism, Samuel C. Heilman’s contribution is valuable.

Nancy Ammerman finds a positive convergence among fundamentalist movements on the role of women.

What has become increasingly clear to observers of a variety of fundamentalist, evangelical, Pentecostal, and Orthodox Jewish communities, however, is that the

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52 Martin E. Marty and R. Scott Appleby, Accounting for Fundamentalisms (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1994), pp. 8-9 and n. 27, p. 49.

53 Marty-Appleby, Fundamentalisms Comprehended (1995), pp. 6-7. The authors do not seem anywhere to explain why the project shrank from 6 to 5 volumes, unless the paperback of 1992, The Glory and the Power is included.


rhetoric of patriarchy and submission serves primarily as a normative counterweight to the individualistic and hedonistic ways of the larger society. The rhetorical contrast is between a secular world where people put personal pleasure ahead of family responsibility and a religious community where individuals accept their rightful and God-given roles and responsibilities. Between those two ideological poles, actual fundamentalist families negotiate an everyday routine that encompasses as much discussion and compromise as male dominance—and more male “nurturance” than male aggression. . . . And many women are willing to submit to the authority of the caring and responsible men created by fundamentalist conversions.  

Harris is especially good on summarizing Marty-Appleby. Her Table I sketches the differences between fundamentalists and evangelicals.

**TABLE 1. Distinctions between fundamentalists and evangelicals**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fundamentalists</th>
<th>Evangelicals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Are suspicious of scholarship and science.</td>
<td>Encourage academic study in order to develop a deeper understanding of faith.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tend to be anti-intellectual.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have a ‘mechanical’ view of how the Bible was written.</td>
<td>Believe it essential to understand the culture and circumstances in which the Bible written.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Believe the Authorized (King James) Version of the Bible as the only inspired translation.</td>
<td>Value the Authorized Version, but believe there are now more accurate translations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have a literalistic approach to interpreting the Bible.</td>
<td>See the Bible as a rich collection of history, poetry, prophecy, metaphor, and symbol—to be understood accordingly.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Reject involvement with Christians who do not accept their views. Will not negotiate on the essentials of the Christian faith, but believe secondary differences do not prevent co-operation with others.

Often allow their culture to influence their beliefs. Thus, some support racial intolerance, ‘prosperity teaching’, and politically ‘right-wing’ views. Seek to allow the Bible to question and challenge culture—including their own.

Have denied, until recently, that the Christian gospel has social implications. Believe that Christians have a duty to be ‘salt and light’ in society.

Insist on certain views concerning the Second Coming of Christ. Believe there are legitimate differences of interpretation about the details of the return of the Lord Jesus Christ to this earth.  

Armstrong served as “theologian-in-residence for the summer season” at Chautauqua in 2002, thus bringing one of the British experts on fundamentalism and evangelicalism to this famous and historic center (see above, ch. 2, p. 31).  

Catholic Fundamentalism, 1960-

Devotion to Mary and the rosary is very catholic, since we are using the concrete, incarnational approach. But as with any good, it can become an idol. Stephen J. Stein is especially accurate on documenting this.  

Practically every Catholic parish in the country has received complimentary copies of Fr. Nicholas Gruner’s The Fatima Crusader. Gruner has made the apparitions of Mary at Fatima in 1917 an

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58 Ibid., p. 6, crediting The Evangelical Alliance.  
obsession, and was officially suspended by the Vatican in 2002.  

Gruner did a special mailing on Sept. 11, dated Ash Wednesday, 2002, which is in the same category as the Southern Baptist effort above (ch. 2, pp. 47-48).

Dinges notes that Archbishop Lefebvre’s “efforts in mobilizing traditionalist dissent were preceded by nearly a decade by those of Father Gommar De Pauw,” and his “Catholic Traditionalist Movement.” Later “eclipsed” by Lefebvre’s group, De Pauw’s literature is an excellent source for early dissent from the reforms of Vatican II.

One of the several small groups who claim that popes beginning with John XXIII and culminating with John Paul II are really “antipopes” and betrayers of the true faith is located near Buffalo, NY, Most Holy Family Monastery. Led by two Benedictines, Brothers Michael and Peter Dimond, O.S.B., the group publishes a review “A Voice Crying in the Wilderness,” videos and tapes.

O’Meara gives a good summary of Archbishop Lefebvre’s appeal and problems.

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62 Nicholas Gruner to “Dear Father Winter” (these are mass produced), 4 pp. with a 5th page postscript, a color flyer of the twin towers in flames; Tapes were promoted of the 18 talks of a Nov. 10-12, 2001 New York City “Rally Against Terrorism.”
64 Most Holy Family Monastery, 4425 Schneider Rd. Fillmore, NY 14735; (800) 275-1126 or (716) 567-4433; fax (716) 567-8352.
The 1988 document of Pope John Paul II, encouraging the use of the Tridentine Mass, made no mention of the Tridentine Lectionary.\textsuperscript{66} Bonneau gives a very good comparison of this lectionary, with the Vatican II Sunday Lectionary.\textsuperscript{67}

Showing again the Catholic preference for “traditionalism” over “fundamentalism,” Hermann Pottmyer distinguished three kinds of traditionalism, none of them complimentary.\textsuperscript{68}

My own experience of fundamentalist rudeness occurred at L’Abri on April 8\textsuperscript{th}, 1972. At dinner, during conversation, I identified myself as Catholic, and one young woman immediately snapped that she didn’t think Catholics were Christian. Before I could help myself, I snapped back that I had met some Protestants whom I didn’t think were Christian either. Also seated at the table were two Catholic charismatics with the symbolic names of Stephan and Paul; they jumped into the conversation and assured me that they considered me a Christian.\textsuperscript{69}

Schaeffer himself was not overjoyed to be interviewed by a Catholic priest. But he was polite.

Kung’s contribution to the Concilium volume is especially negative and whining. Yet he does plead for finding “a way between a modernism without foundations and a fundamentalism without modernity,” giving four requests for dialogue with Christian, Jewish and Moslem fundamentalists. The Eastern Orthodox have a study on their fundamentalism. Rabbi Samuel Karff is not well known outside of Texas, but his contribution may change that.

In 1999, fundamentalism seemed to raise its head inside the Polish Catholic Church, a “small minority.”

Convergence of Protestant and Catholic Fundamentalism

Jerry Falwell’s Fundamentalist Journal has reprinted articles from the very conservative Catholic journal Fidelity (to Fidelity’s delight). Fidelity’s masthead carried Nehemiah 2:17 concerning the need to rebuild Jerusalem, reminding us of how fundamentalists love the stable symbolism of the Holy City.

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Marsden explains how the emergence of “secular humanism” helped all fundamentalist groups converge. He comments on how earlier “anti-Catholicism” has now diminished, especially as a political consensus emerged around family values.\(^76\)

As early as 1983, Ferenc M. Szasz listed three areas in which some fundamentalists were willing to cooperate with Catholics: abortion, race, and social programs such as World Vision’s famine relief, child care, and economic development.\(^77\)

In 1986, the Vatican, with World Council of Churches input, produced its document on the sects, in which fundamentalism was discussed.\(^78\) This was following in 2003 by a broader document on New Age thought.\(^79\)

A conservative source which joins religious dedication is the Claremont Institute.\(^80\)

The 2003 March for Life annual Report portrays a rainbow of conservative and fundamentalist groups: Liberty University, Lynchburg, VA; evangelical Bible colleges, Catholic seminaries, etc. Many note that the participants have grown younger over the years.

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\(^76\) Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism*, pp. 95-109.
\(^80\) Founded 1979, (909) 621-6825; website: www.claremont.org.
CHAPTER FIVE: LIBERAL CHRISTIANITY

Overview

Time magazine, in 1996, reported that the Bible Belt had almost entirely voted Republican, and the more liberal Northeast and West Coasts, Democrat.¹ The author noted that if this trend continued, the 2000 election could result in a constitutional crisis leading to the electoral college vote differing from the popular vote.

Of course, the 2000 map, and religious analysis demonstrated that the vast majority of conservatives voted for Bush, and the vast majority of liberals for Gore.²

Newsweek Magazine, in 1979, had spoken of “our country’s history, continually liberal since its inception,” and of our “country’s predominant liberalism.”³

Many scholars use “modernism” to talk of Catholic liberals, and “liberalism” to speak of Protestants. David Tracy has now begun to use liberal for both Catholic and Protestants.⁴

When Avery Dulles described the elements of a Catholic university, he required “a genuinely humanist formation, . . . enabling them to find

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¹ See, for example, Richard Lacayo, “Election ’96,” Time Magazine, Nov. 18, 1996 (148, #18), pp. 40-43, 68-70. One reporter noted that if this trend continued, the 2000 election could result in a constitutional crisis with the popular vote differing from the electoral college vote. See also America, “It’s Morality Stupid!” Dec. 7, 1996, p. 3.
³ Newsweek, July 2, 1979, p. 74.
truth and meaning in their lives. As Newman contended, liberal education is its own end." As Newman contended, liberal education is its own end." His short, three page article demonstrates that a university can be both religious and genuinely liberal.

Healey’s comment about the “scattered left” reminds us of Will Rogers’ quip when asked if he belonged to a political party. “No,” he replied, “I’m a Democrat.”

Scripture Model of the Church and Its Implications

I’m indebted to Claude Welch for the model of a nation changing its form of government. A variation is the image of the standard bearer of the army’s flag falling in battle, and an ordinary soldier snatching the flag and leading the army to victory, an example used by John Calvin to justify breaking with Rome. These images emphasize flexibility rather than continuity.

As we noted in ch. 1, the institution of Peter as the rock in Mt. 16:18-19 was considered by liberals and even a neo-orthodox such as J.H. Nichols, “apocryphal, and that Jesus never said these words at all.” Yet Oscar Cullman showed exactly the opposite, that it was not a late

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6 Alex Ayres (ed.), Wit and Wisdom of Will Rogers (1991)
8 Calvin, Letter to Cardinal Sadolet.
Greek interpolation, but smells Hebrew, and was almost certainly spoken by Jesus, although perhaps not all at the same time or place.  

James Gaffney has some interesting observations on the liberal-conservative difference regarding models of the Church.

Tertullian asked “What, indeed, has Athens to do with Jerusalem?,” and Raymond Williams uses this as a current reflection on the tension between liberal arts and religion.

Former Jesuit Scripture scholar and then diocesan priest John L. McKenzie wrote: “Since the Enlightenment, no educated person has believed in the devil.” Liberals have a great deal of difficulty with realities which science cannot verify, such as the existence of devils and angels.

During Claude Welch’s graduate seminar in Modernism, I was assigned the French Protestant liberal August Sabatier (1839-1901). At first I wondered what possible interest this scholar could be, but his writings about Scripture are most moving, and his book on Paul still profitable. Gabriel Daly found “many long quotations from Loisy and Sabatier” among the resources Joseph Lemius used for...

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13 I can remember exactly where I read this (in the library at the former Episcopal Divinity School, Philadelphia) but a search of McKenzie’s writings have failed to verify it.
portraying modernism.\textsuperscript{15} Still, he suffered the fate of many liberals: his writings and even pastoral achievements were forgotten in the terror of two World Wars.\textsuperscript{16}

For a modern, popular theologian wrestling with demon language, see Walter Wink. Rather than personal beings, devils and angels are “the spirituality of institutions and systems.”\textsuperscript{17}

The much publicized Jesus Seminar\textsuperscript{18} by an ecumenical team of liberal Scripture scholars seems to have been rejected by most reviewers.\textsuperscript{19}

Jesus’ violent ejection from the Temple of the money-changers (told in all four Gospels) is a puzzling omission from the Common Lectionary. The fact that so many of his parables feature murder is also politically incorrect to raise among liberals.

\textbf{Historical Overview}

Eusebius gives even more of a sense of freedom in book 10.\textsuperscript{20} (The Penguin Classics version may be more accessible.)\textsuperscript{21}

\textsuperscript{16} Harper Torchbook published his 1897 Outlines of a Philosophy of Religion in a very disappointing 1957 edition.
\textsuperscript{17} Walter Wink, The Powers That Be: Theology for a New Millennium (NY: Galilee-Doubleday, 1998).
\textsuperscript{21} Eusebius of Caesarea, The History of the Church, ed. Andrew Louth, Penguin Classics (NY: Penguin Group, 1989), Book 9, 1 (pp. 283-84); Book 10, 3-4 (pp. 305-22).
Leo the Great’s “one sacramental priesthood is celebrated throughout the entire body of the Church” emphasizes the dignity of all the baptized. He is commenting on I Pt. 2:9-10. It may be no coincidence that this theme is a theme of the great Patristic period of the Church at relative peace; during these peaceful times, liberal Christianity flourishes.22

State University of New York (New Paltz) history professor Donald D’Elia has examined Jefferson’s view of Christianity as one of the seven founding fathers of the U.S.A.23 David McCullough’s 2001 John Adams gives much information comparing Adam’s and Jefferson’s views on religion.24

American Liberal Protestantism, 1870’s - 1960’s

Newman Smyth, a liberal Congregational pastor, discerned in 1908 how modernist Catholics and liberal Protestants were converging.25 Hutchinson concluded about Smyth’s work:

“Catholics and Protestants, by way of their respective liberal movements, might yet make their way back from the most egregious division marring Christian history.” Hutchinson also

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22 Leo the Great, sermon 4, 1-2, used in the Liturgy of the Hours, Nov. 10.
believes that liberals were surprisingly quiet as a group about ecumenism; “the liberals left this field to a distinguished line of evangelicals whose greater solicitude for the Church as an institution prescribed a more explicit interest in its unification.”

Americanism and Catholic Modernism, 1880’s – 1960

To write that Pius X and his Secretary of State Cardinal Merry del Val created a “Reign of Terror” seems to be an overstatement. When Joseph Blenkinsopp wrote these words, he was John A. O’Brien Professor of Biblical Studies at the University of Notre Dame and president of the Catholic Biblical Association.

Rev. Marvin O’Connell is quite hard on Pius X in his 1994 work. Thomas Michael Loome is an excellent source especially for French and German research before 1979.

Barmann and Hill edited valuable papers on the Modernist controversy.

For more on Mgr. John Ryan’s support of New Deal Progressives, see Joseph McShane. Irish Catholic historian Thomas Fleming

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26 Hutchinson, ibid, p. 127.
29 Thomas Michael Loome, Liberal Catholicism, Reform Catholicism, Modernism (Mainz: Matthias-Grunwald-Verlag, 1979), Tubinger Theologische Studien.
documents his own disillusionment with Roosevelt’s liberalism. Fleming also presents Harry Truman’s distinction between “professional liberals” (whom Truman despised) and “forward-looking Democrat,” considering himself “a liberal.”

Rev. James Gilhooley showed how even Father Duffy, the famous chaplain of the Fighting 69th, in his earlier life as associate editor of the journal which articulated progressive themes, suffered from ecclesiastical censure.

For Cardinal Newman’s rejection of liberals, yet promotion of some of their themes, see Michael Davies, Lee Yearley, and Mary Jo Weaver.

In 1970, Alec Vidler felt “it is too soon” to deal historically with the similarities between the Modernists and Vatican II. Ten years later, Daly had some remarkable insights, labeling the comparison “both liberating and disturbing.”

Philip Gleason’s 1994 comments are accurate: “a new and more ideologically self-conscious species of Catholic liberalism

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38 Gabriel Daly, O.S.A., Transcendence and Immanence (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), p. 218; the entire chapter “Modernism in Retrospect” is worthwhile, especially the comparison of Catholic modernism and Protestant liberalism (p. 221).
emerged in the midst of the post-World War II controversies. . . . It was not the dominant strain in American Catholic life as a whole, but, at least among the Catholic intellectual elite, it contested for dominance.” After noting that “‘Commonweal Catholics’ were New Deal liberals in political outlook,” he observes that “John Courtney Murray’s ‘project’ was incomparably the most important instance of liberal Catholic Americanism in the post-World War II era.”

Also in 1994, Paul Weithman updated Murray’s importance, noting that “Murray explicitly located himself in the liberal tradition,” and that the acceptance of religious toleration (Murray’s achievement at Vatican II), “is often deemed liberalism’s first and greatest triumph.”

**Vatican II: A Liberal Council?**

Adrian Hastings edited and contributed to, along with 40 others, *Modern Catholicism: Vatican II and After*. It is an extremely uneven book, but very valuable because of its bibliographies, and the fact that some of the contributors were at Vatican II, and had 25 years to reflect on it.

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39 Philip Gleason, *Catholicism and Liberalism*, pp. 64-65; see p. 67 for linking JFK’s election to Murray.
When John Connolly, professor of theology at Loyola Marymount
University, Los Angeles reviewed this book, he stated “Vatican II’s main
contribution to theology is that it locates the starting point of theology in
human experience,” perhaps the best short description of Vatican II.42

Joseph Kobler’s evaluation of Vatican II was stimulated by the
appearance of Alberigo-Komonchak. He sees “existential Thomism” as
influencing Vatican II, yet neglected by commentators.43

Alberigo-Komonchak’s fourth volume, presenting the third session
and interval of Vatican II has just appeared.44

Two widely differing views of the results of Vatican II are
worth considering. James Hitchcock sought the reason why
Catholic radicals failed in their implementation:

They are trying to find themselves, and they wish to
use the Church for this purpose. . . . everything which he
[progressive layman of 1970] earnestly thought he
wanted has failed to bring him peace. It is the discovery
of the empty spaces within himself, rather than the
empty spaces in the Church, which is profoundly
demoralizing.45

Joseph Komonchak finds serious differences among the
progressives, and “at the risk of considerable over-simplification,”

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43 John F. Kobler, C.P., “Toward a History of Vatican II,” Chicago Studies 38 (Summer/Fall,
1999, #2), p. 185. See also Christoph Theobald, “Reconciling Modernity and Religion in Catholic and
Protestant Theology,” and Giovanni Turbanti, “Attitude of the Church in the Modern World at and After
Vatican II,” both in The Debate on Modernity, eds. Claude Geffre and Jean-Pierre Jossua, Consilium
describes one of “these tensions” as the traditional opposition thought to exist between Augustinians and Thomists.\textsuperscript{46}

Janet Smith, visiting professor of life issues at Sacred Heart Major Seminary, Detroit, MI recently gave a list of authors who have attacked “the victory of the culture of dissent in the Church.” She began with Hitchcock’s \textit{Decline}, and joined “George Kelly’s \textit{Battle for the American Church} (1979, revised 1995), Ralph Martin’s \textit{Crisis of Truth} (1982), Ann Muggeridge’s \textit{The Desolate City} (1986), Dietrich Von Hildebrand’s \textit{Trojan Horse in the City of God} (1970, revised 1993) or more recently, Ralph McInerny’s \textit{What Went Wrong with Vatican II} (1998).”\textsuperscript{47} Although Smith’s concern is the treatment of homosexual priests, it is intriguing that the books she lists are criticisms of the way Catholic liberals mismanaged renewal after Vatican II.

\textbf{1965-2002: Highlights of Protestant and Catholic Liberalism}

Cutler notes that Lear supported “politically liberal institutions such as People for the American Way.” His new interest in the Declaration of Independence, devising additions to the roadshow

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accompanying an original copy for which he and a partner paid $8.14 million, is not patriotism as such, but growth.  

**The 1975 Call to Action Conference**

In its 25th anniversary literature (2001), Call to Action claimed 22,500 members. Calling itself “a breath of air for a suffocating Church,” the three “National Conferences” of Aug. 3-5, 2001 (Los Angeles); Sept. 14-16, 2001 (Philadelphia) and Nov. 2-4, 2001 (Chicago) saluted liberals such as Sr. Jeannine Gramick (then a School Sister of Notre Dame) and her co-leader in ministry to gays, Father Robert Nugent, S.D.S.  

Michele Dillon examines Dignity, Women’s Ordination Conference, and Catholics for a Free Choice. It does seem odd that *America* would advertise New Ways Ministry (Gramick and Nugent’s organization) in its Jan. 7-14, 2002 issue, when this group was being severely censured by the Vatican.  

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51 *America*, Jan. 7-14, 2002, p. 29; see *America*’s rejection of the *New Oxford Review* ad above, pp. 15-16.
The 1976 Call to Action meeting was not the beginning of the end of Catholic liberalism. The papal letter of Paul VI on birth control, “Humanae Vitae,” in 1968 had already disturbed liberals. Andrew Greeley has amply documented the problems it caused in his circle.52 Recently, Notre Dame University professor Ralph McInerny made it the center of his book What Went Wrong with Vatican II.53 (Neither Greeley nor McInerny are liberals; their solutions to the present situation tend to be solid orthodoxy).

The Archdiocese of Washington, DC was easily the worst for the hardship and tragedy caused by the harsh enforcement of this letter. As a young instructor of theology from 1965-67, I met many of the diocesan and religious order priests who were soon rigidly disciplined by Cardinal Patrick O’Boyle. When I returned from

52 Andrew Greeley, Religious Change in America (Harvard University Press, 1990).
53 Ralph M. McInerny, What Went Wrong with Vatican II (Manchester, NH: Sophia Institute, 1998).

George Weigel’s latest book, The Courage to be Catholic, blames Rome for forcing O’Boyle to reinstate the priests who neither committed suicide nor resigned from the ministry.54

As one looks at the phenomenon of laity dissenting over the birth control letter, and exercising leadership in the Call to Action process, one is reminded of the quip preserved by Robert McAfee Brown, when he described how the Church of South India managed to incorporate the episcopacy, presbyterial and congregational elements. This is clearly the work of the Holy Spirit, and it must not be allowed to happen again.55

The most articulate priest theologian of those who accept the title of moderate liberal is easily Richard McBrien. AP writer Rachel Zoll typifies many when she quotes him as “a liberal theologian from the University of Notre Dame.”56 Ecumenical theologian George Tavard wrote about McBrien’s HarperCollins Encyclopedia of Catholicism:

One can learn many things from this encyclopedia but it should be consulted with caution. Its best use may be as a companion volume to Father McBrien’s Catholicism.57

Among his many articles in America, his analysis of theology’s public responsibility\(^{58}\) and conflict in the Church\(^{59}\) describe the liberal viewpoint. For his syndicated column, his view of James Hitchcock,\(^{60}\) prayer in schools,\(^{61}\) and blaming Vatican II\(^{62}\) are interesting. His most recent book, Lives of the Saints, reveals his breadth of concern.\(^{63}\) His attack on Thomas Monaghan’s founding of a more explicitly Catholic law school reveals a narrowness.\(^{64}\)

**Renewal at Two Parishes**

Father Callan’s own description of the situation until 1997 is available.\(^{65}\) Lucy Ramerman’s ordination in the Old Catholic Church on Nov. 17, 2001 was described extensively.\(^{66}\) (Her firing in 1998 was


\(^{65}\) James Brady Callan, Can’t Hold Back the Spring: The Blossoming of Corpus Christi Church (Rochester, NY: Corpus Christi Publications, 1997).

detailed by AP). Ben Dobbin, AP writer, followed the entire story closely. Catholic News Service gives a slightly different slant.

Secularism and Its Impact

Cox's work did not start the secular question. Owen Chadwick explores its European roots in the nineteenth century. Paul Blanshard's role as a secular liberal who could attract Protestant liberals against Catholics in the 1950’s is discussed by Gleason. Gleason gives the best short definition of secularism: “the practical exclusion of God from human thinking and living.” He views liberals as pushing this, and a strand within Catholicism (Neoscholasticism) as being diametrically opposed.

In the same Woodstock Project, Komonchak brings out the newness of Vatican II’s treatment of the modern world, reflecting “a new and far more positive encounter with modernity.” Especially the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World (Gaudium et Spes),

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71 Philip Gleason, Catholicism and Liberalism, p. 63.
72 Ibid, p. 60.
called for “a new humanism, for which man is primarily defined by his responsibility for his brothers and for history’ (GS 55).”

Many philosophers and sociologists have examined the intriguing topic of civil religion, observing that if leaders reject a religion held by many, the society proceeds to construct one. The leaders of the French Revolution and Communism both recognized this. A fascinating approach in our time frame is McShane’s explanation of how Puritan John Winthrop’s “City Upon a Hill” discourse influenced John F. Kennedy, leading McShane to call Kennedy “one of the nation’s most able civil religious theologians.”

A very interesting critique of liberalism from the Presbyterian standpoint is contained in “An Open Letter to Presbyterians,” from six male theologians at Princeton Theological Seminary, on the occasion of the global theological colloquium of “feminist and womanist theologians,” Re-imagining, Nov. 4-7, 1993, Minneapolis, MN. The authors noted that “at the Re-imagining Conference, the theme of orthodoxy was often spoken of in derisive tones,” and observed that not all ideas “are equally valid. Some ideas are simply false and even pernicious.”

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73 Joseph A. Komonchak, in Catholicism and Liberalism, pp. 80-81, noting that Vatican II never uses “secularization,” (p. 96, n. 11).

74 Joseph M. McShane, S.J., “Winthrop’s ‘City Upon a Hill’ in Recent Political Discourse,” America, Oct. 1, 1988, p. 196 (pp. 194-98, including Ronald Reagan). See Komonchak’s comment that “the liberal Jewish academic, Lawrence Fuchs, undertook to explain John F. Kennedy and American Catholicism (1967), it was clear that he (Fuchs) accepted a version of American civil religion” in Catholicism and Liberalism, p. 67.

75 Diogenes Allen et al, “An Open Letter to Presbyterians;” Reeves describes this conference, and a similar one for Catholics in 1993: Empty Church, pp. 177-80. For a more irenic view, see Mary C. Segers, “Feminism, Liberalism and Catholicism,” in the Woodstock Project: Catholicism and Liberalism, pp. 242-68.
The definition of secular humanism was nicely summarized in *America* in 1985. The role of Paul Kurtz, a philosophy teacher at “the Buffalo campus of the State University of New York” was described. Kurtz’s letter to “Dear Colleague” pushed the publishing house for secular humanism, Prometheus Books, in 1997. Among their offerings is Allen’s *African-American Humanism*. The *Humanist* was described as “the major journal of the organized secular humanist movement in the U.S.”, when it attempted to debunk “the notion of natural rights.”

In 1987, the secular humanist group Free Inquiry held its sixth annual conference by debating Roman Catholics. *America* published its ad, featuring Paul Kurtz.

After Sept. 11, 2001, Thomas W. Flynn, editor of *Free Inquiry* magazine, now the journal of the Council for Secular Humanism, was calling for the elimination of religious themes at gatherings in public places.

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77 Paul Kurtz, “Dear Colleague,” Prometheus Books catalogue, March, 1997: 59 John Glenn Drive, Amherst, NY 14228; (800) 853-7545; Email: PBooks6205@aol.com.
80 *America*, Aug. 8, 1987, p. 69, held at American University, Washington, DC, Sept. 11.
McCarthy roots our modern secular humanism in the Renaissance and Enlightenment.\(^8^2\) Franklin and Shaw reject secular humanism, but vindicate Christian humanism.\(^8^3\)

The way the new emerging world economic order influences all culture and religion was described by Harvey Cox trenchantly.\(^8^4\)

James Hitchcock distinguished between a true and false humanism.\(^8^5\)

The topic continually exercised the Council of Societies for the Study of Religion, culminating in a review symposium over Jensen and Rothstein’s *Secular Theories on Religion*.\(^8^6\)

The attempt by the Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate to confront secularity, through a summer 2002 symposium at St. Paul’s University, Ottawa, Canada was described by Rolheiser.\(^8^7\)

For the documentation on liberal media manipulating the news, especially the reporting of religious events, see CBS insider Bernard

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Goldberg.\textsuperscript{88} Reeves, as usual, furnishes a perspective which is not angry, more sad.\textsuperscript{89}

William Donohue’s list of the ten worst media attacks on the Catholic Church reinforced the view of liberal bias.\textsuperscript{90}

Rosemary Radford Ruether’s career was summarized in 2001 by the editors of \textit{US Catholic}.\textsuperscript{91} America’s publication of her 1986 article may have been one step in the firing of its editor, George Hunt, in 1998.\textsuperscript{92}

\textbf{We saw in ch. 3 how ecumenism meant the growing closer of Protestants, Catholics and Eastern Orthodox. Unfortunately, there was also a relativism and indifferentism. William G. Rusch, a Lutheran theologian, described it this way: “an all too common view that these ecumenists, whoever they are, are a bunch of polite, cooperative, if not compromising, folks, committed to some fuzzy happiness even at the cost of truth or hard thinking.”}\textsuperscript{93}

Hitchcock’s portrayal of ecumenism does seem to be one-sided, ignoring papal leadership for the unity of the Church.\textsuperscript{94}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{88} Bernard Goldberg, \textit{Bias} (Perennial, 2003); also available on 5 cassettes for Recorded Books, 1-800-638-1304, www.recordedbooks.com.
\textsuperscript{89} Reeves, \textit{The Empty Church}, especially pp. 5-6, 114-15, 188-90.
\textsuperscript{94} For example, James Hitchcock, \textit{The Decline and Fall}, pp. 18, 20-23, 176.
\end{flushright}
Pope John Paul II’s Personalism, Death Penalty

It is significant that the Catechism has incorporated the personal approach. And this prompted ethicist Edward Vacek to observe “Pope John Paul II allows contemporary experience to override Scripture and tradition on capital punishment.”

A good source for developments is Catholics Against Capital Punishment and their periodical newsletter. Rolheiser, Kavanaugh, and George are influential spokesmen.

Those who tend to reject capital punishment also tend towards pacifism. For a good introduction to John Paul’s nudging in this direction, see Father Drew Christiansen’s recent work.

Religious liberty, and the renunciation of proselytism, means that liberals have a fertile ground for support of all human rights.

From Feb. 23-24, 1995, Notre Dame University hosted an important conference “Religion and Contemporary Liberalism.” Its

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95 Catechism of the Catholic Church, #’s 1881, 1892, 1907, 1912, 1929-31.
97 Catholics Against Capital Punishment, News Notes, Aug. 2002 is vol. 11, #2, P.O. Box 5706, Bethesda, MD 20824; website www.cacp.org.
100 Francis George, O.M.I., CACP News Notes, Jan. 11, 2000, p. 7; he also has comments on Timothy McVeigh May 2001 execution.
published results show both the advancement and the complexity of
the dialogue.  

Another prominent university, the University of Virginia,
hosted from Sept. 26-28, 1996, the “Democracy on Trial
Conference,” as part of the ongoing Post-Modernity Project. Their
booklets included an analysis of the Christian Right, Gay Rights,
Cultural Beliefs from Very Liberal to Very Conservative (5 groups)
across six ideologies (from permissive to neo-traditional).  

John Gray introduced “Two Liberalisms of Fear” with this observation:

The root of liberal thinking is not found in the love of
freedom, nor in the hope of progress, but in fear. The
fear that animates the liberal project is the fear of other
human beings, of the injuries people inflict on each
other in war.

Liberal Worship

During the period between the World Wars, Presbyterian worship
leaders were very open to Catholic worship, at a time when it was in
Latin and puzzling even to some Catholics. Andrew Blackwood,
Willard Sperry, and Bernard Eugene Meland all demonstrated that

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107 Willard Sperry (Congregational) heavily influenced Blackwood: Reality in Worship (NY: Macmillan, 1939), pp. 164-68. It was the major book on worship between the World Wars; for Catholic values, see pp. 260, 263, 316-31.
liberals could be quite critical of themselves, and appreciative of elements across difficult boundaries.

The readiness of the Presbyterian Church, joined by many other Protestant Churches, to adopt and adapt the Vatican II Sunday Lectionary shows that ecumenism and liturgy have cross-fertilized each other. The neo-orthodox and reformed in Protestant and Catholic Churches no doubt influenced this, as we showed in ch. 3. But the liberal tradition also undoubtedly contributed to the development of a common lectionary.

Are Liberals Closed?

Arnold observed about one form of liberalism: “Indeed, radical feminism in many ways mirrors the other end of the ideological spectrum, fundamentalism, which denigrates women, devalues the feminine, and threatens Christian unity.”

Conclusion

In the four page flyer Commonweal distributed on its 77th anniversary (1924-2001), editor Margaret O’Brien Steinfels viewed the magazine as “Catholic, Liberal, Independent, Opinionated.” She

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also claimed it to be conservative, which would surprise many scholars.111

“Commonweal liberalism” advocated Roosevelt’s New Deal, and “espoused an enlightened liberality on matters relating to artistic expression.”112 Lay Catholic theologian Rodger Van Allen has situated it within American Catholicism.113

In the complimentary issue the National Catholic Reporter of Feb. 15, 2002, probably sent to all Catholic priests listed in the Kenedy national directory, a flyer claimed circulation “over 120,000 readers in 96 countries on 6 continents.”114 NCR refused to back off its controversial story attacking Fr. Marcial Maciel Degollado, the founder of the Legionaires of Christ (and thus the ultimate director of the National Catholic Register, now owned by the Legionaries).115 Richard John Neuhaus strenuously defended Degollado.116

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112 Gleason, Catholicism and Liberalism, p. 65.
116 Owen Kearns, L.C.
CONCLUSION AND BEGINNING

As we go to press, Cardinal William Keeler described an initiative of the vast majority of American Christians, whose leaders met in Jan. 2003 at “Fuller Theological Seminary . . . the flagship of evangelical institutions, to explore establishing a new forum.” Christian Churches Together in the U.S.A. believes “that the Holy Spirit is moving us toward a new expression of our relationships with one another and our witness to the world.”¹ Keeler’s article demonstrates the continued changes and convergence among the Christian Churches in the USA.

Another effort, developed at the Center for Catholic and Evangelical Theology, is called “The Princeton Proposal for Christian Unity.”² The 16 signers include two Roman Catholics, two Orthodox, two evangelical, and “the rest are from the Protestant old line, with almost half of them being Lutheran.”³ The signers believe that Christian unity is not optional, and are concerned about witness. There is a specific word to Roman Catholic, evangelical Protestants, and the Orthodox.

America magazine offered a very important eight week series on the way traditional devotions, such as holy water, First Fridays, the rosary, etc. have been revamped and reformed. Each week,

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² See Carl Braaten and Robert Jenson (eds.), In One Body Through the Cross (Eerdmans, 2003).
three different authors examined three different devotions.⁴ Kevin White on pilgrimages is very relevant to this image so popular with the neo-orthodox and Vatican II Catholics.⁵

The Buffalo, NY Alpha program described to me on June 20, 2002, was subsequently written up in the diocesan newspaper. The reporter noticed how both the Franciscan University at Steubenville (a charismatic center) and the National Catholic Charismatic Office material on evangelization are part of the program.⁶

**FOCUS continues to grow. Its fifth annual leadership conference, Jan. 15, 2003, at Benedictine College, Overland Park, KN drew 620 students from more than 50 colleges.⁷** An international group, started in 1985 by brothers Mario and Henry Cappello also impacts the USA: ICPE, (International Catholic Programme of Evangelisation). The Archdioceses of Portland, Oregon and Washington, DC have hosted the intensive courses of evangelization which this community promotes. The International Office is in Rome, Italy, with important communities in Germany,

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Malta, and New Zealand. At least one of its members has become part of the Alpha movement.

Franklin Graham continued and remade his father’s evangelism ministry, concentrating much more on social issues, which had not been his father’s emphasis.

Methodist evangelical Thomas Oden is now accused of fundamentalist tendencies and sympathies when he investigates a return to orthodoxy.

Liberal Catholicism expressed itself very forcefully during the 2002 controversy over witnessing to Jews. A Catholic nun, Mary C. Boys put her understanding of Scripture this way: If it offends modern sensibilities, it should be ignored. The growth of Messianic Judaism complicates the question, as Calvin Shenk has shown at Tantur.

Both neo-orthodox Rahner and catholic Balthasar continue to intrigue our thinkers. The Center for Religious Humanism’s Aug. 3-10, 2003 Glen Workshop drew more participants than ever; a new bi-weekly

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8 ICPE International Office, Via della Stazione Aurelia 95, 00165, Rome, Italy, e-mail: imc@icpe.org; website: http://www.icpe.org.
e-mail newsletter ImageUpdate was started.\textsuperscript{15} The interview with Bret Lott in 2002 showed an interesting place for the Bible.\textsuperscript{16}

Rather than dismiss the conservatism of many of today’s seminarians as shallow and nostalgic, observers began to see that it is a very normal search for stability, coherence and community.\textsuperscript{17}

The disagreement between Dulles and O’Malley (see Book One, pp. 171-72) continued with Francis Sullivan wanting clarification on the matter of “subsists in”.\textsuperscript{18}

\textsuperscript{15} Gregory Wolfe, mailing, Nov. 11, 2002. See Book One, p. 169.
\textsuperscript{18} Francis A. Sullivan, S.J., “Letters,” America, April 21, 2003, p. 28.
APPENDIX, THEOLOGY AS SCIENCE AND THEOLOGY AS DOXOLOGY

Note: The following was written by Dr. Nikos A. Nissiotis in French and was published in *Irenikon* 33 (1960): 291-310. Dr. Nissiotis is described above, pp. 8-9 and Book One p. 11.

When Dr. Nissiotis approved my translation, he did note “there are many theses [in it] which I would not support today in this same radical way” (Nissiotis to Winter, April 24, 1967, p. 1). If you are tempted to give up because of the density of thought and complexity of grammar, first read “‘Glory’ in the Life of the Theologian,” below, pp. 132-35.

The editor of *Irenikon* observed, pp. 289-290 just before Nissiotis’ article:

The article of N.A. Nissiotis which follows will reveal to the reader, at the same time an aspect of the reaction of a contemporary orthodox theologian faced with the evolution of dogmatic theology, and also the confirmation and support which the latter has been able to draw from an idea advanced many times, especially at the ecumenical meeting of Rhodes in 1959 by the Lutheran theologian Prof. Schlink of Heidelberg: “Theology as Doxology”.

Such an attitude in the face of scientific theology is not new. One finds it in the West at different times since the Middle Ages, in opposition to Aristotelianism, and it has antecedents in Patristic thought.

The author of this article published in Greek in 1956 an important thesis: Existentialism and the Christian Faith, in the perspective of which we must place ourselves to understand this present study. If theology is for him “the eternal movement of the spirit of God . . . which becomes, in its final phase, poetry, hymnology, iconography”, and cannot be dependent on human scientific research except in
its distant preamble, this theology finds none the less a support, a form, and a presentation in the existential method. Partly from this comes the constant groping in expression, which seems to look for itself, and of which the reader cannot see the contours except when he has finished. Yet all will not be in agreement to refuse, with the author, that modern philosophies have the possibility of reaching the existing God.

That there is in this study a strong nostalgia for the apophasism dear to the Greek theologians of the entire Patristic period, we are not surprised. That there is, consequently, a perpetual caution against all anthropomorphism in theology, we also understand. Yet it seems to us that a little nuancing is necessary when the author speaks of sacramental juridicism, which we believe never existed as such, the sacrament having always kept, in the depth of every theology, its character of mystery.

As such, this essay will not fail to interest us by its new preoccupations, and we thank the author, the co-director of the Ecumenical Institute of Bossey, for sending it to us. It will help us to better understand so many words of St. John and St. Paul who speak to us so abundantly of the glory of the Lord, for we are called to possess it: He has called you, through our preaching, to attain the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ. (II Thess. 2:13)

Claude Welch had an important criticism of this approach in “Reflections on the Problem of Speaking of God,” Secular City Debate, ed. Daniel Callahan (NY: Macmillan, 1966), p. 163.

Theology: Science and Its Instruments

The progress and development of science, the transformation of the university milieu by the introduction of new methods of research and new categories of thought—all this poses constantly again the question of the nature of theology, as science. This question has a particular importance for systematic theology, that is, for the principles, the methods and the goal of the exposition of theological truths according to a system of thought and a well defined terminology, having a scientific objective value.

At first glance, systematic theology, especially in modern times, has always developed in relation with the theories of philosophy and psychology on the one hand, and with historical or exegetical research of the biblical text, on the other hand. On
these foundations, it has often tended either to want to
demonstrate the Christian truth or to seek the point of contact to
prove apologetically, as science, the necessity of a systematic
theological thought.

Sentiment, morality, intuition, play an initial, but not a
principle role in the explanation to non-believers of the reason
which one has for believing, and offer to the scientific context a
point of contact between theory and reality. This meritorious
effort, accomplished by the theology of the Middle Ages and by
Thomism, by the German theology of the last two centuries, and
the liberal American theology considering the results of the
psychology of personality, has given to systematic theology a
special brilliance among the branches of theology. But it must be
acknowledged at the same time that this brilliance exerts a
dangerous influence, and runs the risk of derailing theology by
turning it from its principle goal and reducing it to nothing else
than a moral and psychological system, destined to justify the
scientific “essence” of the theological thought. Theology then risks
losing its patristic splendor, and at the same time the simplicity,
profundity, and beauty of a reflection reflecting faithfully and
strictly the light revealed by God in the glory of His Incarnation,
Sacrifice and Resurrection.

Systematic theology, the crown of theological thought, should
not distract itself if it is not considered as a science, for it does not
have for its goal to defend the prestige of human thought, of
science, and of gnoseological categories; it develops in the Holy
Spirit, in the holiness of life, and for the glory of God. This is why
we must admit in complete frankness that in its principle, final
and last phase, theology is not a science. It does not have as
function the demonstration of the solidity of its foundation, and
does not verify its propositions by objective reality. It does not
prove experimentally—in the psychological or rational sense—the
relation between the thinking subject and the object of his thought,
which is God Himself. For, as we are going to see, this subject
thinks, spurred on by presuppositions which have nothing to do
with scientific prepositions. The object, God, cannot become for
human thought a pure object, in the scientific sense.

From another angle, contemporary philosophical thought is
influenced from one side by the positivist spirit of our times, and
from the other side by the fascination of man for his discoveries; it
no longer offers the possibility of creating complete metaphysical
systems, at the end of which, by the revelation in Christ, one can
place the personal God. Neo-positivism, by liberating thought from
the problem of the Absolute Being and the thing in itself, and
existentialism, with its phenomenological foundation which
replaces the subject-object relation by the concept “du Neant” in
our troubled conscience beyond this relation, have sufficiently
demonstrated the necessity of strictly realistic limits for philosophical research.

God cannot be known by means of the objective reality or by means of metaphysical theories, because He does not hide Himself any more as the immediate foundation of all being, existing behind the things, the forms, and the laws of life, waiting to be revealed by human reason. There is no direct line or continuity between the experience of reality and the spiritual world. It is always necessary to make a leap to arrive at another kind of thought and attain metaphysical theology.

**Metaphysics and Theology**

There is certainly today, as always, a strong metaphysical tendency in every science, but this metaphysicalness is realistic that is to say it is a judgment about the relation between the thinking subject and the special object of the thought after the characterization, evaluation and exploitation of the second by the first, and this judgement has a practical value for daily life. God, luckily, is not the last chapter of the metaphysic.

We have the right, I think, to uphold the opinion that the classic Greek philosophy and especially Aristotelianism, does not attain any more than modern philosophy the possibility of teaching a metaphysical theology in the Christian sense. Furthermore, not even philosophy. To attempt such an effort is to add a heterogeneous end to Greek thought; this is what the Arab thinkers of the Middle Ages did. The Greek Fathers showed themselves very prudent on this point. They never identified themselves with Greek thought and they never created systematic metaphysics from a particular philosophical system. But they knew very well this philosophy. It served for them as a discipline of thought, a preparatory stage, a terminology to make precise their dogmatic thought, and above all an introduction to the Christian wisdom. Thus philosophy is for them both good and bad, inspired by God and full of lies and fantasy. It can teach methods of thought; it is an exercise of the spirit, especially Platonic dialectic. But it is dangerous, if, inasmuch as a system, it influences Christian thought.

It is very erroneous to qualify the theology of the Greek Fathers as Platonic because of a kind of typological eclecticism and formal admiration for this philosophy, which one finds among certain Greek Fathers. There are, among the Fathers, too many elements not only strange to this thought out frankly contrary, as we are going to see, from the fact of the doxological element. This element is based from one side on the relation with Christ through the Church, and from the other on the sanctity of the Christian
theologian, which reduces to nothing the possibility of a direct mixture with pagan thought.

The doxological element eliminates all continuity of this thought by avoiding the transformation of the system into a kind of Christian apologetics, as if one draped a Greek classical statue with Christian sacerdotal vestments. For the Greek Fathers, theology, even though it be thought in the most profound sense, presupposes a deep philosophical preparation (something profoundly necessary and inevitable for all human thought.) Yet theology is not a philosophical or scientific preoccupation, but a thought praying, an exposé about the reality, already lived in the Church, of the relation between God and man.

Theology deals with a doxological and Eucharistic thought of man who finds himself already entangled (engagé) by the force of the Holy Spirit on the road to sanctity. In accord with these first remarks, and faithful to this patristic tradition, we can say that theology has an inferior scientific and a superior doxological aspect. No one can deny that certain branches of theology demand research; they base themselves on texts which need a critical study concerning language and historical milieu. Theology must discover efficient methods to expose the central ideas of these texts and formulate systematically the fundamental principles, so as to be able to define with precision the limits of truth, against the false interpretation of this basis on (sur) the literary field.

**Doxological Theology**

But true theology, in the Greek patristic sense, shows us that its beginning is anterior to this “epistemonism,” even though the “epistemonism” is regarded as the necessary point of departure. True theology, in this domain of personal, experienced faith, has not, in the scientific sense, a valid objective criterion for everyone, and its theories cannot be proven after the event as conformed to the exigencies of human reason and perceptible, immediate reality. This theology lacks proposition, demonstration, beginning and end, because these belong exclusively to the personal relation of the theologian with God. Certainly, every creature shows forth the glory of God. But this glory is not the central theme of the patristic theology, because this glory is static and esthetic, while the human reason, inasmuch as it is transformed by thought and conceived in the image of the Divine Incarnate Word, is called by God to be the place par excellence of theology.

In this purely transcendental and contemplative theology, the critics have often made the mistake of discovering an idealistic mixture of ancient philosophy (especially Platonic) and patristic thought. But this superficial criticism reaches only the preparatory domain of this thought and seeks to prolong nonexistent
analogies to the superior level of Byzantine theology. It ignores completely the doxological element, which constitutes the major difference, even though I can't say the opposing difference. In effect, in its consequent theological agnosticism, Platonic thought seeks the truth which cannot be revealed, according to its name “a-letheia.”

The theology of the Fathers describes the revelation in Christ not only as the flowering of the Platonic expectation for a revelation of the final truth, by means of the substance and Platonic categories; it expresses rather in its last phase the continuation of this revelation in the existence of the theologian transformed by the glory of God. Philosophy, for Platonism, and especially for Neo-Platonism, is search considered as an expectation of the revelation of being inasmuch as being is the essence of everything, or the superior sphere of creation. Christian theology, for Greek Orthodoxy, does not reject this element of expectation from the human point of view, because it brings some positive qualities in that which concerns the preparation of the spirit for the reception of the logical necessity of a divine revelation. But this theology then becomes a profound reasoning about the glory of God, the Word of the “doxa tou theou,” because God reveals Himself as glory in the flesh and reveals Himself continually from then on in the Word of every flesh, which is thus in unity with the Spirit of God.

The glory of God is the basis, the criterion and the fundamental, final category of metaphysical theology. I do not wish to uphold the idea that the “doxa” is the immediate, almost identical expression of faith. This could lead us towards an irrational fideism, despising the value of human thought capable of reasoning ontologically about the act of God. But I would say that from the theological point of view, the glory of God is placed between faith and knowledge. It creates the distance in favor of the God reveled, who thus keeps His absolute Lordship over human thought, and at the same time it operates, it “activates” the relation between the two. Thus, faith and knowledge do not oppose each other; they rather mutually progress in a relation where the second always remains dependent on the first. One believes in Christ in order that one can, in the Holy Spirit (that is by the transfiguration of the existence of the thinking believer, and in the light of the revelation of God in His glory), one can be called to better know, that is to say to be born with the Lord to a thought illuminated by this glory. In this sense, one places oneself, inasmuch as we are concerned with a doxological theology, above an irrational fideism, above an agnostic philosophy, or a rationalistic theology constructing itself from purely intellectual categories.
Person of the Theologian

In consequence, the more the faith of the theologian expresses itself by personal transfiguration, the more the divine knowledge and theology become worthy of their name. If, therefore, one wants to approach the theme of glory as category of theological thought, one must begin with the person of the theologian. Instead of speaking of a first, direct relation between knowledge and theology, it would be preferable, as an indispensable introduction, to stop at the beginning, on the relation between theologian and theology. For all theology conceived on this meta-scientific basis, not claiming to have exigences of general acceptation by the human reason, is, without being individualistic, strictly personal. Theology in its last phase becomes the prerogative of a small number of persons who have succeeded to elevate themselves by revelation in the graces of the divine glory, and offer their thought as a reasonable glorification of God's work, as a hymn to the knowledge of God. Doxological theology is the summit of the human thought which wishes to follow the divine Word, which tries to identify itself with His glory revealed in Christ and manifest itself as real presence in the life of the theologian. Theology is a thought of life and a thinking life (La théologie est une pensée de vie et une vie pensante.) There is no longer abstract wisdom, but a word incarnated in the living form of the existential transformation of the theologian. Incarnation signifies revelation of the glorious co-existence of God and man; theology is the expression of the divine energy as glory, glorified in the person of Jesus, completed and accepted by faith, and interpreted by thought, on the ontological plane. In the theologian, it is the force of the transfiguration operating existentially. This double sense of glory is expressed by the Greek Fathers following the words of St. John, by the word to see, (theasthai) contemplate Christ in His essence as Son of God as glory (1:14). The Word has an active voice, and passive at the same time, showing the objective manifestation of glory, also seen and contemplated only by the pure eyes of those who have become, by Jesus Christ, the sons of God.

Theology As Mystery

It is evident that such a theology, besides being a thought penetrating to explore the darkness of the incomprehensibility of the essence of God, demands that this thought participates really in the energy of the Holy and Sacred. Because of this, one can never arrive to understand the Orthodox mystique, and consequently the doxological aspect of its theology, if one does not directly place in evidence the capital signification of the incomprehensibility of God, which is a common basis and respected by all, even though apparently negative, of the doxological theology. It is from this that the character of a new theological
knowledge arises in divine revelation. The doxological element in this theology is a double admiration: first, that of the human thought humbled before the hidden mystery, even after the revelation in Christ of the essence of the divine beings; then that of the possibility of its knowledge by communion with the holy gifts of God which result from a personal transfiguration in the image of the holiness revealed.

The theology of the Greek Fathers has always been, and has remained faithful to, the consequences of the incomprehensibility of God. I would say that it is the dogma most fundamental, and that it has not lead to agnosticism but to the action of the Holy Spirit, who vivifies in us the knowledge, by means of the participation of his gifts. God is true and active in history, in Jesus Christ by the Holy spirit inasmuch as He remains unknown in His essence. We need a great spiritual force, we need to be always engrossed in the sanctifying domain of the Spirit, to remain totally faithful to this dogma. The theology of definitions and categories of thought is always tempted to fall into Eunomism, which in its gnoseological optimism, denied the essence and the departure of true Christian theology (St. John Chrysostom: It is insolence (hybris), blind egoism, a blasphemy against God, to profess that one can know him. Where is the root of all evil? Here! To say that I know God. PG 95, 1081.) In doxological theology, the feeble thought of man, transfigured by the divine energy, can, thanks to this participation, become a force to think the mystery of God with a full consciousness of the communion with God by means of His Incarnation. God is incomprehensible, but it is only as much that He is communicable; He becomes then knowledgeable for man inasmuch as glory objectively real, and subjectively, as a force transforming existence and human thought (it is because of this that St. Augustine remarks: A God who can be known is no longer God. PG 11, 213).

For a true theology, it results that to know God, we must first be known by Him (Gal 4:9). Then in the measure of the free act of God, manifesting His Lordship and His objective glory, man must change his life and thought. God does not work according to our categories but according to His will, His grace, and His love, which permit man to glorify himself by knowing himself as existing in God. The Logos does not give Himself to be known to those who already know Him, either by wisdom or by divine law. It is an act (Eph Hapax), a unique, new revelation, which changes everything, and first of all transforms the man to whom it is offered. He came into the world among His own. One knew Him, but one did not receive Him. Everything depends on His reception by man, that is to say on the new birth of man as son of God. It is then He, the Logos, who fills by His life and His word, the “vacuum”, the emptiness, of the incomprehensibility. It is only in Him that there is life, but this life must then become the light of man (John 1:4). The Greek Fathers, following this exchange between the divine
Logos and the life of man, place in an inseparable and real relation, life in Christ, its progress, and thought truly theological. This unity, which reflects the perfect consequences of the union between God and man, throws a light in the divine darkness. By this light, the Fathers call our attention to theological thought inasmuch as doxological reply to the work of God, living and lived in themselves. This light shines only in those who receive it in repentance, in a life transformed, in those who have been purified from an egotistical desire of the knowledge of God which would hinder them from seeing his Incarnation in His Logos, which is everthing: final reality, presence, force transfigurating and accomplishing creation. It is He who becomes the only “paidagogos” of the human thought towards the unknown God.

**Uniqueness of Theological Thought**

It is then that knowledge as theological category becomes the absorption of the act of knowledge, that is to say of the act of the transformation of the Logos into life of the spirit. Theological knowledge is not a purely and uniquely cognitive operation of thought, similar to all other knowledge; it is also the result of the spiritual re-creation of human existence. The word gignosko presupposed the communion of God and man, and not a speculative relation of the reason; it is a somatic relation of flesh and blood, of love and life, for the birth of a new life; it is similar to the Incarnation of the Word, by the communion of God-man, which is a reciprocal knowledge. The evangelist Luke uses the word gignosko at the most important moment, in the face of the incomprehensible power of God. For, when the archangel Gabriel announces to the Virgin, that she is going to become with child and will bring forth a son, she expresses her astonishment. “How can this happen, since I know not this man?” (Luke 1:34). Here, gignosko is chosen in place of koinono (to be in communion) in the flesh and blood completely by the Spirit of God. The birth of the divine Logos is the result of the intimate union with the Holy Spirit. The result is and always will be the creation of the new theandric existence (Simon the New Theologian says: We conceive in the sense of giving birth to the Word of God, in ourselves, as the Virgin did. PG 120, 525). Theology, on this basis, expresses this continual fact by life in the Spirit and human thought. Knowledge in this sense is no longer the remembering of the Platonic methexis—simple participation by imitation of thought in the divine and unchangeable ideas—but the communion (metousia) by the powers in us of the Holy Spirit (St. Gregory of Nyssa says: Knowledge is the communion (metousia) of God. PG 46, 146).

Thus, theological thought is never autonomous; it is not submitted to rational categories, but to a category more fundamental and englobing the fullness of existence. It is the
knowledge which results from communion with the gifts of God. Faced with this knowledge, all other categories remain partial, limited in the perceptible by the immediate object. The Logos of God becomes a theology of man. A concept of God which does not imply immediately that one be known by him, surpresses His incomprehensible essence, makes God disappear as transforming force of man, and leads towards a dead knowledge, that is to say without the result: the birth of a new creature. God, as the object of knowledge, must remain always the subject knowing first man, and this is possible only in the mystical communion offered and realized by Him. Every thought outside of this Logos in communion with the flesh leads to a God defined as an object among other objects; object of human thought signifies human lordship; the object receives its value from the man. In the case of God—object, the Creator becomes the creature of His creation. Every gnoseological theology must presuppose as a lived and living experience the knowledge of man by God which signifies the spiritual re-creation of the theologian. Theology is the expression of this reality of the passing from death to life; in its true nature, it is therefore charismatic, eucharistic and ethical; it is the conception in the thought of the new hypostase which is produced by the mystical communion of the Holy Spirit. There is no category here to describe this “idea”—it is simply the life of the thought as a light which possesses us completely (St. Gregory of Nyssa says: To see God signified to be possessed and to possess at the same time. PG 44, 1265) To contemplate this light, we must be illuminated by it and grasp it as life, reality, incarnation of the word in the deeds of sanctity.

Let us stop here for an instant to clarify this mystical unity as presupposition of theological thought and above all in its relation with its doxological element. From the point of view of patristics in its ensemble, and according to most of the principle representatives, and utilizing a modern terminology always in relation with doxological theology (which will be developed later), I would say that this mystical union should not be identified with absolute mysticism, that is to say with the full union of God and an individual isolated from the community of the Church. We must distinguish between psychological mysticism, which is subjective, ecstatic, visionary, and the ontological mysticism, which has an objective foundation offered commonly to all, in the Church. The second, which is Greek mysticism, is neither that of an idealistic philosophy which would conceive it as an identity of the Absolute Spirit with the human spirit, nor psychological, rendering nonexistent the relation of the mystic with the world in the total passivity of the ecstasies and the visions which result. The mysticism of the Orthodox is sober and always finds itself faced with the real historical event of the saving work in Christ, continued and achieved in us by the gifts and fruits of the Holy Spirit. The replacement of the philosophical metaphysic with the
soteriological theology is done in the light of the perfect union between two natures, and this union is renewed in man by the participation in the gifts of the Holy Spirit, which cause this union.

“Glory” In the Life Of The Theologian

To better understand this mysticism, we must return to the doxological element in theology. The category of the “doxa”, such as it is found in the biblical texts and such as it is resumed by the Greek Fathers, will help us to better understand from one angle the reality of this ontological mystic, and from the other angle, the doxological theology which will be its authentic expression. From the moment that the glory of God is the point of contact, it is that of the divine essence which can be “seen”, in the sense of which we have spoken previously. It is therefore in the glory of God that this unity is manifested and it is from this glory that man reaches the mystic unity.

Modern theology in its totality has occupied itself very little with the theological sense of the “doxa”, which is one of the most fundamental biblical expressions, and in rapport with the divine revealed essence. Modern theology has treated much more, sometimes almost exclusively, the love of God. We must make here a very delicate distinction between the love of and the glory of God. This will help us to better understand the ontological mystic in relation to every other deviation. Love, in effect, is the essence of God par excellence; it is love which realized the plan of Creation of the world and the salvation of man. From the point of view of the divine substance, and in itself, it is incomprehensible: the essence of God is love, and should be conceived as another aspect of the incomprehensibility of God. It is, consequentially, very dangerous to treat theologically this love as the point of departure, taking as the point of contact, man’s love. Every analogy here would place theology in danger, and it has often been done. The result would be an absolute mysticism (or psychological), a romantic theology, a sentimental morality. For working with the love of God as with a category of theological thought, one is too pressed to make an identity between human essence and the divine essence. On the other hand, to avoid this reef, one modifies God’s love by interpreting it exclusively in relation with the divine justice or the wrath of God, manifested on the cross of Christ, from which comes a Kirkegaardien dialectic of the relation between God and man. In both instances, God is sized up according to the analogies of human love. One can thus arrive at a negation of the incomprehensibility of God which deprives Him of His Lordship; the worst would be that the two extremes—mysticism and dialectism—meet each other in an absolute subjectivism. Then the God-love can be determined by anthropological criteria, whether one considers Him as savior of man by necessity of love, or whether He
Appendix

offers the increase of grace, on the cross. But one forgets in all these cases that the love of God is not sentimental; it is a sovereign love; it is the love of the Lord. It is the greatest and most profound mystery of the unknown essence of God. This in comprehensible mystery is revealed by the glory and in the glory of God, trusted to reveal Himself by His unknown essence which is love. Divine glory is placed between divine love and man, creature and object of this love, in order to realize in the Son the union completed (plérosée) between the two, and to effect the gifts of this union in man by the Holy Spirit. In other words, we can say that the glory of God, being the final phase of this revelation, expresses itself in the contact of God with sinful man after the Fall, by means of the union in Christ through the Holy Spirit. This glory is the unknown love of God, His essence acting in revelation. It is His revelation. Glory is the manifestation of the incomprehensible essence of God which becomes accessible to man. It is the point of contact between the work of God and the possibility for man to participate in it.

Glory is not first the majesty of God inasmuch as Creator, and should not lead to an esthetic admiration of the divine creation, but it is the glory of the Son seated with the Father before the world began (Jo 8:18). Glory is the force of God which makes His love active and communicable in Christ; it is the manifestation of this same glory in the Son. The mystery of salvation is not only a revelation but a power of the glory of God (Jo 13:31), incarnate in Christ and completed (plérosée) in us by the Holy Spirit, being Trinitarian, as perfect communion of the three hypostases. But this never means that man remains a passive spectator of this glory. The true mystical theology begins from the moment when this glory of God through the Son becomes the glory of His disciples, and of every believer. St. Paul, speaking to the Thessalonians of the sanctification of the Spirit, add: This is what you have been called for by our Gospel: that you possess the glory of Our Lord Jesus Christ (II Thess, 2:14). The glory of God in Christ becomes the glory of man. To contemplate glory signifies to participate in it to be created anew. There is no spectator in the glory of God. No one can describe it without participating in it. When one contemplates this glory, one reflects on it under the action of the Holy Spirit. "It is given to us, all alike, to catch the glory of the Lord as in a mirror, with faces unveiled; and so we become transfigured into the same likeness, borrowing glory from that glory, as the spirit of the Lord enables us," (II Cor. 3:18). The Father glorifies Himself not only by the Son, but also by the works of His disciples (Jo. 15:8).

This glory by sanctification is the co-glorification of man in Christ, and becomes light of knowledge in communion with the mystery revealed. Thus the gnoseological basis of mystical theology finds its complete expression in the doxological element. The "doxa" of God is the only ontological category of all truly theological thought which can remain faithful to the principle of
the incomprehensibility of God. The theme of the mystical light
does not concern the knowledge of the essence of God by means of
a fusion with it, of human nature, but the knowledge of His glory
by participation through the fruits of the Holy Spirit.

Nothing expresses better the essence of God, than His glory.
And this glory is pre-creational, manifesting itself in creation, in
the Incarnation of the Logos, in the salvation of man, in the last
judgment, and in the eschatological pleroma. All the Bible
recounts the manifestation of the glory of God. Man is called to
glorification by the knowledge of glory as light in him, that is to
say by the fact that he abandons himself to it completely, which
transforms him.

In this situation of life in the salvation by God, human
thought does not have at her disposal rational categories. She
does not think in order to define the reasons of her structure, but
to penetrate the mystery which can be known from categories of life
which already operate in man. The abstraction concerning the
rapport between subject and object, and the categories of scientific
thought become thus superfluous, when faced with the relation
between life and act. It is a new relation, a revelation of superior
forces which makes of man's conscience the center of a new
knowledge having objective features, at the moment when it
becomes a subjective act. It has an objective reality, which does
not exist save at the moment when it begins to work in the being of
the subject by its dynamic qualities, remaining objectively
incomprehensible. For thought, the divine glory is this
transformation of the incomprehensible unknown, lived by man. It
is a glory, because it always surpasses our cognitive possibilities,
but it possesses features apt to make knows to the thinking subject
in itself, the living object, until now unknown. In this sense man
understands the act of God as glory and thinks by it, because the
 glory is, as "doxa", a view which comes from the power of a real
and objective fact, expressed by a thought which is animated and
completely possessed by the saving nature of the objective fact.
The incomprehensibility of God reveals itself in His glory, at the
moment when He knows man, lowering Himself as Lord and taking,
in His Logos, by unity with flesh, all the qualities of man known by
Him; and man, in knowing himself thanks to the unknown God,
thinks in the light of this knowledge. This thought will have,
therefore, as fundamental category, the fact of being known, and
the thought which results from this fact will be the reflection of
this unity realized by the knowing object. God as knowing cannot
become known except in His glory, manifested in His act of
knowing us, that is to say in our total transformation according to
His act which makes us commune with His glory, (from glory to
glory as the spirit of the Lord enables us, II Cor. 3:18).

Therefore, theological thought does not proceed according to
a fusion of essence with God; it is not the product of an experience;
it is not the result of a psychological shock felt by the human spirit in an extraordinary moment of negation of itself. Theology reflects the glory of God which realizes itself objectively and becomes comprehensible as wisdom, when it becomes life and force of transfiguration. But in thought, this act is the light of God in us. It is precisely the light of the divine glory which is the point of contact in our hearts. It is then that true theology begins. It is God who enflames in us, by our existential change towards the road of sanctity, the light of His glory to make us know His mystery which is infinite. (The same God who bade light shine out of darkness has kindled a light in our hearts, whose shining is to make known His glory as He has revealed it in the features of Christ Jesus. II Cor. 4:6) Doxological theology is the eternal movement of the Spirit of God who thus reveals to us the majesty, the lordship, and the love of the divine essence in our lives. This movement does not stop itself at psychological mysticism leading to ecstatic satisfaction. Nor does it stop itself at the dialectical passion which does not procure a moment of rest between the momentary “yes” of God and the permanent “no” of revolted man and does not permit us to express a stable and certain thought of this divine glory. The movement of doxology is a arduous effort of thought towards the summit. It does not permit us to fall back, for it is always attracted, not by our thought, but by the Spirit of the glory of God who is the only Lord, above all opposition of the world. The element of mystery in this theology is precisely that the goal of this doxological movement is produced by the fact that it is our thought which is finite, but called at the same time to maintain itself in the infinite glory of God. In effect, the thinking subject is no more the thinking sinner, but the object of this thought: God the Holy and the Savior. On the human level, there is a limit to the expression of the Logos of this “doxa”, because the means which man has at his disposition do not arrive to fully express the real mystery which depends on a life surpassing human possibilities, and finding itself always in the hands of God. Thus, doxological theology, in its final phase, becomes poetry, hymnology, iconography.

**Human Impediments To the Glory**

If there is no limit on the divine level, there are, on the other hand, blemishes and scars in us which hide light of the divine glory. Sin exposes the theologian to sudden eclipses of this light. But these are ups and downs; one falls to rise and purify himself by the fire of the Spirit. It is a death in view of life and continual renewal. Doxology is ascendant, despite the falls. This dialectic of life and death is the harsh battle of the theologian. It is his decisive part of the act of his re-creation by God, his only contribution, but it is indispensable. The ascent towards light is
accomplished therefore by repentance—which leads to a change of life—and by a new orientation towards divine contemplation.

This is why all true doxological theology necessarily treats of the misery of man, which is all the darker when it is illuminated by the glory of God. Every doxological hymn is interspersed with the “Kyrie eleison” of the glorified people. In the ikons, the spendor and purity of the eyes of the saints—who are clothed with the vestments of the heavenly worship—hide feeble and miserable bodies. But in active, existential repentance, all those miseries and all these falls are only interruptions; everything is possessed by the light which never is extinguished, in the living faith, that is, in the mystical unity with the Logos. All is attracted to the heights, where the divine glory, objectively real, is seated.

Even though personal sin works in us its vicious pattern, the doxological element gives to theology repose in the uncreated light. This light appears once and for all in history, by the Incarnation of the Logos, His crucifixion and, above all, His resurrection. The Lord and His Lordship thus manifested can not be diminished by man’s condition; otherwise we would lower God into our misery and do anthropology rather than theology.

By means of repentance, everything becomes positive and permits man to maintain himself in God’s glory. Repentance recalls to us our tragic situation; it is the sad experience of our weakness before God. Consequently, in a true theology preserving the Lordship of the Lord, repentance becomes for man the only possibility of continuing his journey towards the divine glory. The last and final stage of true meta-scientific theology is the thought based on repentance, but attracted, directed and accomplished by the final victory of the Lord in His glory.

**Juridical Theology**

In this sense, doxological theology is mysterious, for the beginning and the end of its categories find themselves hidden in the revealed light of the incomprehensibility of God. It is mysterious, but not sacramental. We must here make a subtle distinction allowing us to better understand Eastern theology. There is in theology another act which can diminish the domain of God. I wish to speak of a kind of theology which I will call “juridical theology”, which occupies itself principally with the quality and quantity of the salvation obtained by the sacrifice of the Cross of Christ.

It studies the when, where and how of man’s justification, following juridical human analogies, tending to evaluate and measure the glorious work of God. Juridicism thus supplants the mystery of God. It proclaims salvation in the name of God, making an effort to define glory by purely human concepts. It is a matter
of an anthropomorphic concept of the saving sacrifice, which has no relation with man’s repentance, nor with the pleroma of the resurrection. It is the proclamation of man innocent before God, without his participation in the mystery of salvation.

To respect the essence of divine glory, doxological theology has separated itself from all discussion about this mystery which finds itself absolutely in the hands of God and manifests itself simply as glory in the world. The Greek Fathers seem poor in this chapter, compared with Western theology. The reason of this poverty is found in their restraint faced with the legalistic epistemonism of human thought. The most superficial theological theory in the eyes of an Orthodox would be the system which wants to prove, and measure the overflow of grace. Doxology is a reasoning about the mystery of God. The “sacramentum”, in the juridical sense, is a defiguration of this glory, since mystery depends totally on the sanctifying act of God, which continues itself by our transfiguration in the Holy Spirit. A juridicism which justifies once and for all, gives security, legalizes that which surpasses human comprehension, remaining Christomonist. It runs the risk of inspiring man to a complete passivity. This sacramental juridicism is an erroneous halt, a half-way stop of salvation, creating a new law. Every non-doxological theology is menaced with the danger of imprisoning itself in categories of human thought. The doxological element opens the horizon towards God. The constitutes a thought always orientated towards the mysterious revelation of God, nourished by this revelation which finds its culminating point in the resurrection, the sublime victory of God in this world. On the other hand, the idea of mystery does not identify itself with the abstract sense of theology. Mystery does not mean to say infinite space in which the human reason can fly without foundation and without end. Mystery should always be understood from the real and objective fact of the revelation of God’s glory. Mystical theology is ontological inasmuch as it has for a basis of thought the realization of this union between the glory of God and the glory of man, between Spirit of God and flesh of man, between holy and sinner, between grace and repentance in the Church. This signifies that the mystery is revealed and given not to the individual, but to each one in the communion of all. Theological thought is therefore founded on a reality which is common to us and which is conceived as the Eucharistic offering of all. Theology in its highest realization can only be communitarian in the Church. Certainly this theology is the privilege of qualified souls who distinguish themselves in the Christian community by this special charisma, but it should not be a matter of subjectivism. This theology is both strictly personal and representative of the community. God’s glory does not reveal itself to the mystic in the psychological situation of ecstasy and solitude which annihilates all relation with other men, but it
reveals itself to all the children perfectly united among themselves by participation in this mystery.

**Ecclesial Aspect of Glory**

Doxological theology, inasmuch as eucharistic offering of the community of the Church, cannot be limited to a dialogue between God and the theologian in a relation of “I-Thou”. Even though it is the offering of a person, it is at the same time the reasonable cult of the entire Church, which acknowledges in this theology the supreme expression of the divine glory. The voice of personal theology becomes thus the eucharistic voice of the entire mystical Body. Here is the foundation for the dynamic tradition of the Orthodox. This tradition is not a law to which one must submit himself as an obligation. Its dogmas express the necessary definition to avoid heresy. The dogmas of a doxological theology are the expression of the glory of God manifested by the unity of the Church. There are today as they always were and as they always will be: our voice, our prayer, our faith, our life.

By means of this theology, all theologians are invited to think as members of the Church, representing the common glory accomplished by God in us. Theology as thinking prayer in the communion of Saints and as eucharistic, is the supreme crown of human thought. It saves us from the pettiness of search which has its end in itself, liberates us from separation and guides us to unity of life and thought in the Church. We must not beguile ourselves with illusions. It is not easy to write about a true theology as doxology of the Church. Only those who are transfigured by sanctification and continual repentance and who live in the communion of the glory of God can contemplate the mystery of God. It is the work of the highest science, of the sacred science, the work of thinkers at the same time both lowly and powerful, rooted in the communion of all the members of Christ and offering in their name, their theology as a service (diakonia) to the glory of God.