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From the Editor

This is a compact, but packed issue: it opens with a new dispatch by Associate Editor Stephen Angell on the ongoing saga of approaching division in Indiana Yearly Meeting. This is our third update on the situation, and there has been plenty of action and discussion since our previous effort. And while there is plenty of discussion of some of the issues on the Indiana Yearly Meeting Facebook discussion page, these accounts are the only detailed independent overviews of the situation that we are aware of.

Steve Angell's report is followed by a very different one from an Earlham colleague, Michael Birkel. Birkel has translated from the Latin a major essay from 1675 by Quaker theologian Robert Barclay, which preceded his major work, *The Apology*. Latin was the major European language for earned theological disputation in his time, and when Barclay set out to refute a major attack by a Dutch theologian on early Quakerism, Latin was his tongue of choice.

We'll call Barclay's essay "Observations" for short, because like many publications of that day, its actual title is quite long and verbose. In it he lays out in a briefer form the essence of *The Apology*, which was taking shape at the same time; and this "new" piece sheds light on his magnum opus.

Finally, the review section of this issue is entirely devoted to one work and its author. The reviewer believes he has found a unique and important new resource for naming and challenging the religious forces that are a central pillar of American militarism. And even more striking, it comes from a corner of the theological landscape completely foreign (and unknown) to the religious liberals who should have been all over this issue, but really haven't been. Check it out, It's not like anything you ever saw before on peace issues – unless you have seen it, which would put you way

ahead of your Editor, but which seems unlikely in this case.

One last point. With this issue, *Quaker Theology* is on the cusp of our thirteenth year of publication. As those feral theologians the Grateful Dead used to say, what a long strange trip it's been. If we'd managed to stay on schedule, this would be issue #25; but life in the 21st century has not been kind to such aspirations of regularity. For our print subscribers, your subscriptions run according to the number of issues rather than calendar years, so you'll get as many as you signed up for; it just may take a bit longer.

On the other hand, if you or your Meeting or library doesn't have a print subscription, I invite you to order one. Instructions are at the end of this issue. The Quaker scene is varied and lively, and *Quaker Theology* brings you reports and perspectives on that aren't found anywhere else.

– Chuck Fager, Editor

Editor's Introduction: Divorce in Indiana - Quaker Style

Divorce is not as traumatic an experience as it once was. In fact, today most spouses resolve to part peaceably. No-fault laws and mediators can smooth the way to property and custody agreements. The results are still wrenching, but civilized, and much better for the children. Not only couples, but countries have managed this: in 1993, Czechoslovakia split into two independent republics, dividing up even the national gold reserves, without violence.

Then there's the other kind. Among the famous, the headline buzzards circle most thickly around cases where he/she has been cheating, and often flaunting it. The outcomes are typically expensive and calamitous for some, but not always. Beyond the occasional homicide, they've also been known to launch bestsellers, reality shows and presidential runs.

The soap opera plotlines here are cheesy and hackneyed; but face it: Americans can't get enough of reading, watching, and gossiping about them. Did any of you drop everything to watch O.J. fleeing up that California freeway, with cops and choppers in live TV pursuit, as the bodies were cooling in Brentwood?

I did. Oh, hell yes.

Among lesser mortals, the path to divorce can still be the road to bankruptcy as well as abandonment and endless wrangling. But nobody beyond a secretly bored circle of friends seems to care much. It happens every day. Keeps the lawyers prosperous, and the therapists' calendars full.

The divorce story unreeling in Indiana Yearly Meeting is currently mixing the genres: to the basic trope of family breakdown has now been added some high-tension suspense: will it end peaceably, as many have been daring to hope? Or is it like one of those Army trucks lurching down a seemingly deserted road in Afghanistan, but headed straight for a big IED lurking under the rocky surface?

As reported here earlier, the saga began when one party, let's call them the Liberal As, came out of the closet, and told the world. The other party, let's name them the Orthodox Bs, was

jolted into action: the As were totally out of line, they said, and ultimatums were soon in the air: the As had to take it back and straighten up, or out they would go. The As were to be – this was the Bs’ favorite word, “subordinate.”

The Bs felt they had an ironclad case, undergirded by their favorite Bible verses, plus selected phrases from the yearly meeting’s mishmash book of Faith & Practice.

But then a call arose for mediation and a no-fault option: divide the family estate proportionally, maintain joint custody of the “Indiana Yearly Meeting” name, and let everybody start afresh. “Subordination” would be set aside, in favor of a new phrase, “collaborative reconfiguration.” From this came the language of Indiana Yearly Meetings, “A” and “B”, in an effort to avoid partisan labeling.

For a brief season late last year, “Reconfiguration” seemed to be gaining purchase. The Liberal As breathed sighs of relief.

But it didn’t last. By year’s end, one strongly Orthodox Quarterly Meeting had issued a minute blasting the plan. Instead, they said, the As simply had to go: the Bs were the true Quakers, and would keep the name, and everything that went with it. Others soon echoed the demand. A determined disregard for the studied sensitivity of classical Quaker process to the views of minorities was also evident; militant Bs felt they were in the majority. They had the votes, and that would be that.

This debate has continued almost continuously on Facebook, that key arena for all things social today. In the recent Facebook discussions, “Reconfiguration” has often been replaced by “Realignment” in the B postings. This is a clear echo of the similar struggle of twenty years ago, also described in our earlier reports. The 1991 “Realignment” advocates meant to divide the sheep from the goats in Indiana and elsewhere. Thwarted then, some had evidently been waiting two decades to try again, and felt this was their chance. Predictably, with this turn of sentiment, out came the favorite B scripture verses again.

The Bs’ selection of texts was almost guaranteed to torpedo a no-fault solution. Most were drawn either from Paul in his most controlling moods, or from other writers pushing the unruly Jesus movement away from its freewheeling origins into the basics of the Early Church.

The new routines and structures were copied largely from the surrounding imperial structures. Thus it’s no accident that their epistles bristle with the language of subordination and command:

women are ordered to be quiet; slaves, children and other inferiors to be obedient. Above all, dissent from the new alpha male leadership is to be firmly, not to say ruthlessly stamped out. If one didn't obey the new bishops, there were always the monsters of that new book of Revelation lying in wait just around the corner. Moreover, the emphasis on these evils as particularly female, as in the Babylon visions of Revelation, has a very contemporary ring.

Against this background, Indiana's Liberal As had committed a double offense, and it was unclear which was the worst. One, they had affirmed that "shameful vice" of Romans 1:27, of which "it is shameful even to speak" (Ephesians 5:12).

And two, they had done so in the most public way possible – on the World Wide Web. This exposed the yearly meeting's divided condition both to the sight of the pagans all around, and the astonished eyes of their fellow Bs in the larger non-Quaker evangelical circles in which they moved, or aspired to.

So this blight had to be eliminated. "If your eye offend thee," urged one of the more hyperbolic sayings in the Synoptic gospels, "tear it out." Between the versions in Mark and Matthew, the mutilationist fever climbed: chopping off errant feet and hands was added. Even more ominous were the strictures of 2 Corinthians 6: "Touch not any unclean thing!" For "What fellowship has Christ with Satan?" "Be not unequally yoked . . ." and so forth.

In short, the offenders were not simply to be expelled, but stigmatized, branded, and shamed in the process. Some Bs insist they have no such intention (remember the earlier talk by Yearly Meeting leadership that the Bs were really only "helping out" the As by preparing to expel them); but whatever their private feelings, the words of their perennial scriptures defy and subvert such protestations every time they are repeated.

The shame and shaming themes of their scriptures are clear: they are text, subtext, and context. Their weight on the process is almost irresistible, as two millennia of heresy hunts and inquisitions attest. A few voices have called for a refusal of this outcome in Indiana, seeking to stay in communion with each party. But if one were to break the Discipline and make a bet, the odds would favor the A's expulsion.

Nor would that be the end. Barely will the dust have settled when the victors will seek to sweep the whole incident under the body's venerable rug of denial and forgetting.

The importance of this conscious amnesia is confirmed by that other internet era fixture, Wikipedia. Its entry on Indiana

Yearly Meeting celebrates the body as being nearly untainted by open conflicts: “many Quaker yearly meetings have suffered serious divisions in their history,” it declares, but “Indiana Yearly Meeting has suffered no serious fractures and only three minor divisions . . . which gave the yearly meeting a reputation for being both moderate and evangelical.”

This self-generated “reputation” is a remarkably myopic assertion, for the list of events it elides is long and, to outside eyes, often other than “minor.” Lift a corner of the rug, and the detritus of a jumble of conflicts and scandals obtrudes. They are as old as the purging of abolitionists, including the legendary “President of the Underground Railroad,” Levi Coffin, from any office, which led to a schism in 1842. Then there are the repeated assaults on faculty and policies at Earlham College, over evolution and biblical criticism more than a century ago, to horror at its friendliness to the unnameable abomination only a few years hence, and much more in between. Nor can one pass by the as yet unwritten record of involvement by Indiana Quakers with the mass resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan there in the 1920s. Indeed, the notorious leader of the Hoosier women’s Klan, Daisy Douglas Barr, was an Indiana Friends pastor.

Nothing serious here? Numerous other episodes could be added, but would take us too far afield. Even this much will suggest how the public character of the As offense threatens this carefully-maintained facade, which makes their infraction the more intolerable.

Yet in fact the rug’s corners rarely get lifted. Should the militant Bs achieve their goal, they can probably count on short memories among most of their adherents—and among the Liberal As as well. Beyond a handful of well-worn anecdotes of often dubious provenance, Quaker history is not widely popular among Friends at large, excepting a scattering of mostly harmless scribes. In a few years only an aging handful would likely be able to explain why there was a rump association around Richmond and perhaps a few other places.

This tide of shaming could in theory be stemmed. The As have biblical texts of their own, to serve as a standard. A central one is from Galatians 6, the charge to “bear one another’s burdens, for in this you fulfill the law of Christ.” What more obvious burden is there among American Friends today than our entanglement in the divisive “social issues” of our time?

But such pushback would take backbone and even heroism

(plus, let's be candid, a lawyer of their own for backup); none of which seem to be much in evidence among the As. Conflict avoidance sometimes looks as if it may be Liberal Friends' central tenet, the core of a rigid, if unwritten creed. The main visible exception to this observation in Indiana is the witness of Doug Bennett, the recently retired president of Earlham College. With admirable clarity and dogged persistence, he has been deconstructing the arguments of the Bs point by point, particularly on the IYM Facebook discussion page. He has done this while declining to take the bait and meet invective with invective. But so far his is a lonely voice, and his tenacious reasonableness seems to be falling on deaf ears.

Thus the likely prospect in Indiana is for one more church divorce, certainly tacky, but with nothing like the morbid appeal of O.J., the lurid smarm of politicians dallying with aides while their wives lie ill with cancer, or the mesalliance of someone named Kardashian and an athlete—was he a football player?

Stephen Angell's detailed reports are thus far the main independent account of this process. If there's a chance for Friends to learn from history – an optimistic notion for which history offers scant and mixed support – these, we believe, will be a worthy and useful resource. Meantime, we will wait to see whether Indiana Yearly Meeting can hang onto to Galatians 6 and become the Quaker Czechoslovakia, or careen into a spectacle more suited for 2 Corinthians 6, and Jerry Springer.

– Chuck Fager

The Impending Split in Indiana Yearly Meeting
By Stephen W. Angell

As we reported in Issues #18 (Fall-Winter 2010-2011) and #19 (Spring-Summer 2011), Indiana Yearly Meeting, after anguished discussion in an all-day Representative Council Meeting on October 1, 2011, agreed on a year-long process of “Deliberative/Collaborative Reconfiguration.” The roots of this momentous decision lay in a minute, approved in June of 2008, in which West Richmond Friends Meeting found unity to “affirm and welcome all persons whatever their . . . sexual orientation.” (Sexual orientation was only one of eight categories of persons that they explicitly welcomed and affirmed, and it is the only one of those eight categories to prove controversial.) Our two previous issues traced the process by which Indiana Yearly Meeting’s Ministry and Oversight Committee sought unsuccessfully to convince West Richmond Friends to change their minute, and the coalescence of a view among many evangelical Friends in Indiana Yearly Meeting that this was not an issue where they could, in good conscience, simply agree to disagree, but that a line needed to be drawn.

Of the two issues identified in the previous paragraph (welcoming and affirming gays and lesbians, and the exercise of yearly meeting authority), the Task Force that shepherded the discussion of this issue at the yearly meeting level identified yearly meeting authority as the key one. Accordingly, the minute approved by Rep Council asked “Friends to discern whether they want to be part of a yearly meeting that, as our current *Faith and Practice* provides, has the power to set bounds and exercise authority over subordinate monthly meetings; or whether they wish to be part of a yearly meeting that is a collaborative association, with monthly meetings maintaining considerable autonomy and allowing great freedom in matters of doctrine.” They anticipated that a “year-long process” should be sufficient to handle all the details that would be involved with this separation of Indiana Yearly Meeting into two yearly meetings.

There was another significant facet of the Reconfiguration Minute, but that one was quickly laid aside. Neighboring Friends United Meeting yearly meetings Wilmington (in Ohio, to the east of Indiana Yearly Meeting) and Western (to the west of Indiana Yearly Meeting) were invited to join this reconfiguration process. Both Wilmington and Western quickly decided not to join, and notified Indiana Yearly Meeting Friends to that effect. Western Yearly Meeting was in the midst of a leadership transition. Steve and Marlene Pedigo, as we previously reported, had relinquished their co-superintendent posts in Western Yearly Meeting in 2011. In the fall, Wanda Coffin Baker was hired as Western's Interim Superintendent. In any case, Indiana Yearly Meeting was left to negotiate this reconfiguration process on its own.

With the approval of the Reconfiguration Minute in October, the IYM Task Force that had shaped the minute was laid down, but it was immediately evident that a new Task Force would be needed to shepherd the complicated process that would result in the separation of Indiana Yearly Meeting. The seven members of the previous task force were asked to serve again, and all agreed. At the Representative Council meeting on November 11, however, it was soon evident that the Task Force membership would need to be expanded. Of the existing membership, five favored the yearly meeting that exercised authority and only two would favor a more collaborative yearly meeting.

Many Rep Council attenders, especially from meetings that had an interest in a more collaborative approach to yearly meeting, felt that two Friends representing the latter approach would be insufficient. Some Friends raised concerns as to whether employees of the yearly meeting, such as the superintendent, should serve on the task force, but in the end the meeting decided to allow yearly meeting employees to serve on the Task Force. Clerk Greg Hinshaw proposed a minute to expand the Task Force membership from seven to ten members, with the additional three members to be drawn either from monthly meetings that sought a collaborative yearly meetings or from those monthly meetings that had hitherto refused to take sides in the yearly meeting discussions on the authority issue, and on the welcoming and affirming of gays and lesbians issue. After considerable discussion, the clerk's proposal was approved by the Rep Council.

The new Task Force now consisted of the following members: Primarily interested in the collaborative yearly meeting approach were Stephanie Crumley-Effinger of West Richmond;

Ray Ontko of Richmond First Friends; Tom Hamm and Fred Daniel of New Castle; and Cathy Harris of Spiceland. Primarily interested in a yearly meeting with a strong authority were: Greg Hinshaw, clerk and member of Bear Creek; Doug Shoemaker, superintendent and member of Portland; Dave Phillips of Wabash; Rod Dennis of Bethel; and Peggy Caldwell of Little Blue River. Provision was made for IYM Nominating Committee to nominate replacements as needed. After months of vigorous engagement with the Task Force, Crumley-Effinger has had to resign from the Task Force, as of March, 2012, on account of illness. David Brindle of Friends Memorial in Muncie will replace her on the Task Force.

Doug Shoemaker, who provided helpful insights for our articles in Quaker Theology issues #18 and #19, declined to be interviewed for this article, citing as his reason the ongoing reconfiguration process. Greg Hinshaw did offer a helpful comment on the issue of subordination of monthly meetings to the yearly meeting, and that comment shall be considered below.

Draft Descriptions of Two New Yearly Meetings

One deeply emotional issue that the Task Force had to confront at the outset is, which of the new yearly meetings would get the privilege of naming itself “Indiana Yearly Meeting.” The Task Force’s answer was that both of the new yearly meetings could call themselves that name, and that they would do so with a suffix that, on either side, has yet to be determined. Joshua Brown, pastor of West Richmond Meeting, reports his own feeling that “any suffix would lead to further and continued ill-feeling. As one commentator on my blog said, ‘no matter what we do, the names will be interpreted as Indiana Yearly Meeting (Right) and Indiana Yearly Meeting (Wrong).’” (Brown, 7 Mar. 2012)

After several weeks of intensive work, the Task Force issued draft descriptions for two new bodies and invited comment on their work. We will include these draft descriptions in their entirety in an appendix to this article, so what follows here is only a brief summary. The collaborative yearly meeting was called “Yearly Meeting A:” “We are a Christian association of monthly meetings that are distinctly Quaker, who unite together to work and witness in the name of Christ. . . . We embrace the Bible as inspired recording of God’s interaction with people who seek to know their Creator, and of God’s increasingly detailed revelation through time of God’s identity, character, and intentions for humanity.” Practical

considerations, such as the need for strong ties between local meetings and for “exciting programs for youth and young adults,” found a prominent place in their self-description. They accept “that of God in every person,” and also “the importance of asking questions and wrestling with differing interpretations of scripture and of Faith and Practice.” “Christ’s presence and lordship in individuals and faith communities is expressed and noted in a consistent witness of lived integrity, simplicity, equality of persons, nonviolence and active pursuit of peace, and ‘watching over one another for good.’” A key statement was their desire for “avoidance of creeds, particularly when used as purity tests, and to use instead penetrating spiritual questions to challenge all to greater devotion to Christ.” They close with a statement of those wider Friends bodies with whom they wish to stay in relationship – the first mentioned is Friends United Meeting.

The other yearly meeting, Indiana Yearly Meeting B, “will be a group of Christ-centered Friends who value the authority of Scripture and mutual accountability, embracing the current Faith & Practice and organizational structure of IYM.” They embrace certain historical documents including extracts from George Fox’s 1671 Letter to the Governor of Barbados, and the 1887 Richmond Declaration of Faith, as “accurate reflections of our doctrines as Christians and as Friends.” “We believe in the concept of subordination . . . of monthly and quarterly meetings to the yearly meeting.” Claiming that this subordination is prescribed in IYM’s current Faith and Practice, they state that this “is not a hierarchy but a means of common protection. This common protection ensures that no individual, small group or local meeting takes positions or makes statements that are contrary to or offensive to the collective discernment and leading of the yearly meeting at-large. This common protection also ensures that those in unity with us are protected from unfriendly influences that might seek to disrupt the unity and fellowship of their local meetings.” This is a key issue for Yearly Meeting B and shall be considered in more detail below.

A list of IYM “core values” as approved by a 1997 committee are attached to their statement. One of the core values, #6, asserts that “there are absolutes in family and sexual behavior,” including “abstinence outside of marriage,” which is to be “understood as a monogamous relationship between one man and one woman.” The core values list was part of a 1997 report from a Committee appointed by Western Yearly Meeting and Indiana Yearly Meeting Friends that met with Earlham College. According

to Tom Hamm, the yearly meetings and Earlham prepared core values lists to help both sides better understand each other. In its 1997 sessions, IYM approved this “core values” statement, but only as a basis for discussions with Earlham College, not to supersede existing “Faith and Practice.” The Yearly Meeting’s published minutes do not include this level of detail, however, stating only that the report of the Joint Committee “was approved by yearly meeting.” (Hamm, 8 March 2012; IYM 1997, 20-21) This “core values” list largely lay dormant for more than a decade before some again brought it into the discussion while the yearly meeting’s response to West Richmond’s minute was being considered.

Both yearly meetings outline their methods of evangelism. Indiana Yearly Meeting A defines evangelism as “directing people into listening and obedient friendship with Christ, based on Jesus’ simple method ‘follow me.’” It is not, however, to be understood as “getting people to agree with doctrinal statements and to undergo induction ceremonies.” Indiana Yearly Meeting B states that “as Christians, we recognize our duty to carry the Gospel message into the whole world,” affirming “a duty to cooperate with other evangelical organizations.”

Some aspects of one draft’s contents have no counterpart in the other draft. For example, there is nothing in the IYM B draft to match the proposed organization affiliations and spiritual queries in the IYM A draft.

Both IYM A and IYM B appeal to the third chapter of Robert Barclay’s 1678 *Apology for a Christian Divinity* to support their proposed methods of Scriptural interpretation. IYM A “acknowledges the analogy of Robert Barclay, that Scripture itself is not the Living Water, but rather the fountain which delivers the Living Water.” This is actually not an accurate statement of Barclay’s view, which is that the Scriptures “are only a declaration of the fountain, and not the fountain itself, therefore they are not to be esteemed the principal ground of all truth and knowledge, nor yet the adequate primary rule of faith and manners.” He does affirm Scriptures as “a secondary rule, subordinate to the Spirit.”

Barclay 2002, 62) IYM B quotes the following passage from the same chapter of the *Apology*: “Whatever doctrine is contrary to their [the Scripture’s] testimony may be properly rejected as false. We are very willing for all of our own doctrines and practices to be tried by them. We have never refused to honor them as the judge and test for any disputes we have had on matters of doctrine. We are even willing to allow this to be stated as a

positive maxim: Anything which anyone may do while claiming to be led by the Spirit, which is contrary to the Scriptures, may be considered a delusion of the devil.” This, too, differs in a few details from Barclay’s original text. The most significant emendation is that Barclay does not actually say that Scriptures are “judge and test for any disputes we have had on matters of doctrine;” rather, Barclay asserted them to be judge and test “in all controversies with our adversaries.” (Barclay 2002, 77-78) So, do Friends today have any adversaries?

However, despite these discrepancies from the original Barclay, there is a more interesting and broader point to be made that both Yearly Meeting A and Yearly Meeting B find inspiration from *parts* of the same chapter of Barclay’s *Apology*, but neither attempts to wrestle seriously with the chapter as a whole. Some of the difficulties of contemporary Friends issue from this lamentable tendency to pick and choose among the writings of early Friends, rather than to wrestle in intellectual and theological seriousness, say, with a whole chapter of Barclay. (His *Apology* is available for free from Earlham School of Religion’s Digital Quaker Collection, and the third chapter is really not all that long. Go and read!)

Monthly Meeting Subordination to the Yearly Meeting

On the key issue of monthly meeting subordination to the yearly meeting, Clerk Greg Hinshaw offers the following insights: “I think one of the critical elements in this discussion is in the difference in how Liberal-Progressive Friends and Orthodox-Evangelical Friends view their yearly meetings and the ‘authority’ of those yearly meetings. I didn’t do an exhaustive study, but I found the term ‘subordination’ in reference to the relationship between local meetings and the yearly meeting in the 1806 Baltimore discipline. You are probably aware that there is Indiana case law that upholds this concept among Indiana Quakers. As such, there are many Friends who believe that the yearly meeting should be a ‘bonding agent’ over its local meetings. This is, I think, a very foreign concept to many Liberal-Progressive Friends. As such, yearly meeting leadership has been faced with being admonished by some conservatives for failing to take enough action in the West Richmond situation and admonished and maligned by others for being too authoritarian!” (Hinshaw, 9 March 2012)

Subordination is a complex issue, and one that I have

examined previously in these pages. To recapitulate briefly my conclusions after consulting the extant IYM disciplines from 1839 to the present, the nineteenth-century disciplines had a strong statement of subordination, whereby monthly meetings are accountable to quarterly meetings, and then to yearly meetings, and “if the yearly meeting be at any time dissatisfied with the proceedings of any inferior meeting . . . such meeting or meetings ought, with readiness and meekness . . . correct or expunge any of their minutes according to the direction of the superior meeting.”

Strong statements of subordination could be found in nineteenth-century Hicksite meetings as well. This language was revised twice, in 1900 and in 1986. When a discipline revision committee of the 1980s sought to clarify unclear language in the discipline by stating explicitly that monthly meetings were subordinate bodies to the yearly meeting, they encountered sustained criticism, led by Friends from Spiceland Monthly Meeting who argued that monthly meetings should be seen as coordinate or equal bodies to the yearly meeting. Others, including yearly meeting lawyers, argued that the word “subordinate” should stay in the book of discipline. The result, I argue, “was an obvious compromise, a hybrid of synodal and congregationalist approaches, of a kind common in books of discipline across the Quaker spectrum by the late twentieth century.” (Angell 2010-2011, 8-11)

This is how subordination has been described in IYM Books of Discipline since 1986: “Subordination as used in this FAITH AND PRACTICE does not describe a hierarchy but rather a means, under divine leadership, of common protection between Indiana Yearly Meeting and its Quarterly Meetings and Monthly Meetings. It is a relationship among Friends ‘submitting themselves to one another in the fear of God.’ (Ephesians 5:21). In the spirit of Christ who ‘humbled himself and became obedient unto death’ each member, each Monthly Meeting, each Quarterly Meeting, and the Yearly Meeting submits to each other in the love of Christ. Subordination is the assurance that no Monthly Meeting is alone autonomous or independent. Thus Monthly Meetings recognize the legitimate role of the Yearly Meeting in speaking and acting for the combined membership Likewise the Yearly Meeting recognizes the freedom of Monthly Meetings and the validity of their prophetic voices. Each needs the other in order to be strong and vital, and both need the mediation of Christ and the guidance of the Holy Spirit.” (Indiana Yearly Meeting 2002, 98-99)

Yearly Meeting B thus emphasizes the description of

subordination as “a means . . . of common protection.” Yearly Meeting A prefers “to be mutually accountable to one another rather than expect subordination to organizational authority.” This image of mutual accountability is strongly rooted in the concept of mutual submission that runs through much of the above exposition. West Richmond Meeting appreciated the affirmation of the “validity of . . . prophetic voices” of monthly meetings that is also included. In short, this section of the Discipline is quite complicated, and one effect of separation would be to allow each new yearly meeting to emphasize the part of this section that it likes.

The complications of this section may suggest more than one possible interpretation, even when attempting to grapple with this section of the discipline as a whole. Many Friends in IYM, including Hinshaw, see the most important lesson to be drawn from this section is its strong continuity with Orthodox views of subordination as passed down from such nineteenth-century Friends’ disciplines as the 1834 IYM discipline and the 1806 Baltimore Yearly Meeting discipline. Tom Hamm reminds us that “Wilmington, Western and Indiana yearly meetings are in the Orthodox tradition, which sees the yearly meeting as ultimate authority, with responsibility to maintain certain standards and safeguard Friends against dangerous ideas.” (Hamm, Dec. 2011) In this view, any action performed by an IYM monthly meeting that is of great concern to many other yearly meeting Friends calls essential Quaker principles into question, and when a responsible body of the yearly meeting asks the erring monthly meeting to correct its mistake, it should promptly do so.

However, there is another way to interpret the complicated section from the discipline quoted above. To some IYM Friends, it seems clear, both from the IYM minutes at the time of the approval of this language and from the book of Discipline itself, that the intention of this complicated language was to perpetuate the concept of submission of the monthly meeting to the yearly meeting, but in a carefully circumscribed form. IYM’s 1985 minutes provided that the yearly meeting may intervene in a monthly meeting’s affairs to uphold essential principles, such as the Quaker testimony of inward sacraments, but not in the case of purely social concerns, such as a Friends meeting not sufficiently attending to the peace testimony. (Angell 2010-2011, 11) So, is West Richmond’s welcoming and affirming minute really a violation of essential Quaker principles, or might it be merely an

example of a purely social concern? Under this set of principles, if it is the former, West Richmond should subordinate itself and change the minute; if it is the latter, however, the minute does not fall under the type of monthly meeting affairs that require subordination. Undoubtedly, IYM Friends would differ as to how this principle would apply to West Richmond's minute.

In the Book of Discipline itself, there are four examples given as to when the yearly meeting may intervene in the monthly meeting's affairs: a clear and substantial violation of "Faith and Practice;" a serious division in the monthly meeting; inappropriate transfer of Friends' property; or an indication that a monthly meeting may withdraw from the yearly meeting. (Indiana Yearly Meeting 2002, 99) None of these examples would be clearly applicable to West Richmond.

Hinshaw did not elaborate how Indiana case law applies to the yearly meeting concept of subordination, but Tom Hamm thinks that he may be referring to a 1982 case that involved Hinkle Creek Meeting, then a part of Western Yearly Meeting. According to Hamm's summary, "Hinkle Creek hired a Baptist pastor who packed key committees with supporters and then tried to take the congregation out of Western Yearly Meeting. The yearly meeting intervened, at the request of part of the membership, and took the case all the way to the Indiana Supreme Court. The court ruled, among other things, that Western's Faith and Practice gave the yearly meeting the right to intervene thus." (Hamm, 9 March 2012) The effort of the pastor, H. Clyde Thralls, to institute outward sacraments was a part of this controversy. (Hamm, 9 Mar. 2012; see also Fager 1982) This event clearly would fall under the existing strictures of subordination, as laid forth in IYM's "Faith and Practice." For many IYM Friends, however, since West Richmond was not seeking to leave the yearly meeting, the application of this case law to West Richmond's action in approving a welcoming and affirming minute is not entirely clear.

Reactions to the Process

It is fair to say that the drafters of the descriptions of two new yearly meetings will garner quite a large amount of commentary from the members and monthly meetings in the current Indiana Yearly Meeting. The present author has been sampling opinion rather unscientifically, and I find a great deal of disquiet about both of these draft descriptions, among all manner

of monthly meetings. The significant overlap in membership between the Task Force that proposed the Reconfiguration minute and that charged with implementing it has aroused distrust among some in the yearly meeting, due to anger directed at the original Task Force members who proposed a solution to the yearly meeting's problems that many IYM Friends still do not accept.

An intense reaction among some has been aroused by the doctrine-and-authority-heavy draft description of Indiana Yearly Meeting B. Tom Hamm states that the reaction that the Task Force has received to the Indiana Yearly Meeting B draft has been largely approving, although one exception is a provocative query by Wayne Cox, which he also posted on the IYM Facebook page, asking what the Yearly Meeting would do if the First Day School teacher taught that women cannot be ministers because Scripture (i.e., I Cor. 14:34-35) states that women should keep silence in churches. Cox's query on the Facebook page precipitated a lengthy comment thread. (IYM Facebook page, Feb. 15 at 7:31 AM; March 3 at 12:42 PM.)

Among the unofficial opinion that I've been sampling on IYM B, however, the degree to which authority is emphasized over and over again leads even some meetings that have not had consideration of any formal affirmation of gays and lesbians to wonder if yearly meeting B would be poking around in their affairs. To monthly meetings throughout our history, such a prospect has always seemed quite alarming and frightening. Historically, one of the reasons that so many Friends ended up in the Philadelphia Hicksite Yearly Meeting (about two-thirds) rather than the Philadelphia Orthodox Yearly Meeting (about one-thirds), was the tendency of the latter toward inquisitorial process. A prominent feature of the 1827 yearly meeting session, at which the separation occurred, was an initiative by the Orthodox to set up a visiting committee to visit all monthly meetings in order to initiate a "purge" and root out all "unsoundness." (Ingle 1998, 185) Monthly meetings thus affiliated with Hicksites in order to preserve their freedom from inquisition, and not so much for deep theological reasons. Could history be repeating itself here?

But the draft description for yearly meeting A also comes in for some harsh criticism. Tom Hamm says that the responses that the Task Force has received on the Indiana Yearly Meeting A draft is "all over the map," with some surprises. Its description of itself as avoiding creeds has drawn interest, but not all Indiana Yearly Meeting Friends feel that it follows through consistently on that

intention. In the yearly meeting A's descriptions of normative views on God, Christ, Scripture, and other matters, it seems to some that an implicit creed is being shaped. What is most attractive about yearly meeting A is the perception of it as a bottom-up organization. Is there a way for articulation of theological views belonging to the body to emerge in a more organic way? One proposal is that Yearly Meeting A's proposal be changed so that it has scripture notations just as Yearly Meeting B's proposal does, and there have been subsequent efforts at a new Yearly Meeting A draft that would meet these concerns.

Thus, some monthly meetings find themselves in the uncomfortable position of not being able to affirm, or discern a future, in either of the yearly meetings that has been outlined thus far. One to make a public expression is Raysville Friends Church. Its pastor, Michael Sherman, issued the following statement on behalf of his meeting: "Upon examining the two articulated future yearly meeting options for monthly meeting consideration, Raysville Friends Church cannot align itself with either stated future yearly meeting. Neither option articulates a future which stands upon its own two feet. Both are reliant upon the other to provide standing and stability. Each identifies itself as 'not the other' thus allowing their anger and frustration with the realities of this particular argument to shape and direct its future. While this particular argument is the precipit[ant] for division, it cannot be allowed to be the story or lens from which our call and future relationship with God through Christ Jesus is seen. Security must be an outpouring of communal relationship with God and not develop as a consequence of not being another group. The consequence of a future written together out of the co-dependence of the other will result in two crippled bodies. We hope to see futures based upon hope and a vision for growth and vitality, options giving life. We don't want to have to make the choice of the lesser of two anticipated evils." (Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends Discussion Page, Facebook, Feb. 27 at 9 AM)

The kinds of observations as made by Sherman are typical of the middle group that was in evidence in the 2011 Yearly Meeting sessions. This middle group did not agree with West Richmond's welcoming and affirming minute, but it also did not want to let disagreement over that minute disrupt the IYM fellowship. As Brown states, "These folks don't see themselves as either evangelical/holiness Quakers or as liberal unprogrammed Friends. They are used to seeing themselves as being *firmly in the*

middle – as Christian Quakers in the pastoral tradition, but open to a good deal of friendly discussion from many points of view and deeply committed to Jesus’ great commandment to love God and serve their neighbors throughout the world.” (Brown, Dec. 2011; see also Angell 2011, 6; Sitler, Oct. 2011) Many in this middle group can be taken to constitute a “silent majority” within IYM. (Brown, 7 Mar. 2012)

Hinshaw’s distinction between IYM’s “Progressive-Liberal” Friends, on the one hand, and “Orthodox-Evangelical” Friends, on the other hand, may not fully capture this reality. Hinshaw does imply that the “yearly meeting leadership” itself is a group caught in the middle, “admonished by some conservatives for failing to take enough action in the West Richmond situation and admonished and maligned by others for being too authoritarian!” (Hinshaw, 9 Mar. 2012)

Implicit in the Raysville Friends’ statement is a lack of conviction that division of the current Indiana Yearly Meeting is really the best way forward for the yearly meeting. There are Friends throughout the yearly meeting who feel that a yearly meeting that remains a big tent is the best for everyone. Admittedly, given the advanced state of the discernment of this question, reversing the huge momentum on behalf of separation will be very difficult to reverse, but still of course the final arrangements for that have not been made, so some may discern a slight possibility there. Pam Ferguson, co-pastor at Winchester Meeting, another meeting undergoing great struggles over how to move forward in the prospect of an impending separation, posted on the Facebook Page some 1948 advice from Ermin Perisho: “Observation teaches us that our deepest wounds come from those who are the nearest to us.” Friends must be able “to bury the sting of sharply pointed differences” so that the end result can be one “that all can follow.” Of Friends’ voteless decision-making, Perisho observed that “finding God’s will together is of much greater importance than speed.” (Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends Discussion Page, Facebook, Mar. 7 at 7:50 AM)

Some are proposing a different approach toward reconfiguration, one that has been labeled informally as “Yearly Meeting C.” The most detailed development of such a proposal has been conceived of by Jay Janney, a member of Richmond First Friends Meeting (but who speaks only for himself, not for his meeting). Jay Janney is a professor of management at the University of Dayton, and thus has considerable expertise in a field

relevant to setting up new organizations, religious ones in this instance. Janney finds the Task Force's first draft to be "an expected mess . . . the result of a perfect storm: a team hastily assembled to solve a problem characterized by a lack of unity as to what the problem is and given an artificial time frame to solve some problem." If two new yearly meetings are to be set up, Janney proposes that they should be "voluntary associations." In other words, membership in both should be for a specified time period, after which monthly meetings be permitted to shift affiliation (Janney suggests a five year term). All points on the outline for each new yearly meeting should have a clear counterpart on the proposal for the other yearly meeting. For Yearly Meeting A, if it is really to be creedless, individual monthly meetings should be able to adopt any mission statement they wish to, but not be able to ask other monthly meetings to change theirs, nor ask any monthly meeting to leave. Janney attempts to put flesh on what a "bottom-up" yearly meeting would really look like. (Janney 2012)

Along similar lines, Brown has heard some Friends suggest that all meetings be allowed to "sit on the sidelines" for several years, without being forced to choose an affiliation and without penalty for not making a choice, while the more highly-motivated meetings "duke it out over plans A and B."

Among the conservative evangelical Indiana Friends that have been the most vocal advocates of a reconfiguration of the yearly meeting, it is fair to say that there is a good deal of impatience with the messiness of the process that is unfolding, and a desire that the troublesome meetings of the liberal persuasion leave promptly with the minimum of disruption from what they view as the real Indiana Yearly Meeting. The most concrete expression of their impatience came in a December 4, 2011, minute from the Tri-County Quarterly Meeting of IYM. The minute contains some misperceptions of the process that we shall shortly identify, but it reads as follows:

"The assembled members of Tri-County Quarterly Meeting understand the multiple forms of dissent that have impacted Indiana Yearly Meeting over the last few years. We understand that the level of dissent is so great that a number of monthly meetings feel as though they cannot remain a part of Indiana Yearly Meeting and must separate. We do not wish to leverage any monthly meeting to remain that wishes to depart and wish departing meetings well as they seek the will of God in their work.

"We also feel, however, that the framing of the

reconfiguration of Indiana Yearly Meeting is improperly handled when it lays down the yearly meeting in truth or in image. We wish success to monthly meetings that wish to depart Indiana Yearly Meeting. However, we similarly believe as though further action to diminish Indiana Yearly Meeting penalizes monthly meetings who have not fallen out of order with Faith and Practice.

“Both current and past generations of all monthly meetings dedicated their efforts to Indiana Yearly Meeting, not to the divergent perspectives of today. Laying down and divesting Indiana Yearly Meeting to accomplish the release of dissenting monthly meetings does a disservice to our Quaker ancestors. It ignores the intent of the labors, donations, and bequeathments of those ancestors for the sake of present-day ecclesiastical politics.

“Faith and Practice is not only intended to grant authority to Indiana Yearly Meeting as a way to hold member meetings accountable, but also to form a covenant where the duty of the protection and care of member meetings is placed in a central body. Even in times of separation such as this, it is inappropriate to compel Indiana Yearly Meeting to use its authority against all member meetings indiscriminately through dissolution. Doing so violates the covenant of protection and care, does a disservice to our past, and reduces the desire to work with any yearly meeting body in the future.

“Therefore, the assembled members of Tri-County Quarterly Meeting wish to assert that, while we assent to the departure of our fellow monthly meetings, we stand behind our Indiana Yearly Meeting. We hope that our brothers and sisters in Christ will join us in that same spirit.

“In Christ, Paul Hubbard, Quarterly Meeting Clerk: Jacob Isaacs, Hinkle Creek Friends”

Some IYM Friends have noted a large amount of misinformation in this letter. It is not true that the reconfiguration process was started because some meetings want to leave IYM. Instead, it was the conscience of Friends who could not agree to disagree with West Richmond’s Welcoming and Affirming Minute that were the driving force behind the whole separation process. Other IYM Friends favoring a strong yearly meeting authority reframe this issue slightly, to state that liberal Friends are being asked to leave and form their own group, and that they are being asked to leave, because most IYM churches want them to go. That also does not accord with the spirit of the minutes that the yearly meeting has approved; these minutes have formally stated that any

monthly meeting will have the opportunity to affiliate with either of the new yearly meetings, and that no one will be forced out. But now some liberal IYM Friends are feeling that there are many who would like to force them out anyway, despite the more spiritually open minutes that IYM has approved.

Nor, of course, is there any clarity about which group among IYM's meetings truly inherits IYM's faith and tradition. It would probably be most accurate to say that all parties in this dispute have a valid claim to some part of IYM's faith and tradition, and none can validly claim all of it. Furthermore, it is ironic that a Friend from Hinkle Creek Meeting should be a signer of this letter, inasmuch as Hinkle Creek withdrew from Western Yearly Meeting and was only accepted as an IYM meeting at the 2011 sessions, so its claim to the storied traditions of IYM is tenuous at best. And, as Hamm observes about the 1982 court case involving Hinkle Creek, "some found it ironic that [Western Yearly Meeting] spent \$50,000 [in legal fees] to keep Hinkle Creek in the yearly meeting, only to have it depart." (Hamm, 9 March 2012)

Finally, the reconfiguration task force is in no position to ignore its charge to bring about a genuine reconfiguration of IYM meetings. Thus, it cannot simply set off meetings that it deems to have less of a claim to the IYM inheritance. That said, this letter still stands as an emphatic witness to the desire of some Friends in IYM to have this reconfiguration completed in the least possible time with the minimum disruption, at least to their own meetings.

Where do Indiana Friends go from here?

If all goes as currently planned, monthly meetings will have to make a choice sometime in the fall, as to whether to affiliate with Yearly Meeting A, Yearly Meeting B, or seek some other alternative outside either projected Indiana Yearly Meeting. Many knowledgeable observers are predicting that this will be a very difficult process for many of IYM's 64 monthly meetings. Brown notes that "many monthly meetings in IYM have a long history of not being involved with ANY yearly meeting activities – they don't send reps to YM sessions, they don't send in their assessment, their pastors don't show up at short course, they are pretty much out of the game." He guesses that 15 to 25 meetings "are effectively uninvolved in the yearly meeting as it stands," and these meetings have not yet "weighed in."

There is necessarily an unfinished nature to an essay such

as this, because it describes a process that is still ongoing. As soon as the Task Force released its draft descriptions of the two yearly meetings, it began to examine the legal ramifications of a separation in IYM, which will include such issues as how to handle the affiliate institutions such as Friends' Fellowship Community, and the matter that is not small at all as to what will happen with the IYM endowment, which is currently in the neighborhood of five million dollars. It is possible that some of this endowment may be eaten up in legal fees related to the reconfiguration process. Tom Hamm notes that most of the endowment funds are designated to such purposes as graveyard care and missions. Accordingly, whichever yearly meeting becomes the recipient of them presumably would act only as a trustee for them.

Brown notes that "there have been several calls to have the yearly meeting itself legally laid down, with the financial assets assigned to a trust or devolved to organizations like FUM and ACFIA, while the monthly meetings decide how they want to organize or affiliate. Behind all of this, in my view, is a deep-fought battle over who the 'real' descendants of Indiana Yearly Meeting will be. It's very similar to a nasty court fight over a will."

Robust discussions of a wide variety of issues related to the impending separation continue to be discussed on the "Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends Discussion" Facebook page. If you would like to see the variety of discussions ongoing, and you are a Facebook member, you would be welcome to sample some of the contributions on that page. One of the most vigorous contributors to that page is Doug Bennett, member of Richmond First Friends and recently retired President of Earlham. Bennett has contributed numerous long, learned posts on such topics as the plight of LGBT teens; the nature of sin; and the nature of schism. He sometimes draws unusual connections, and thus, for example, he had a long post of how midrashic and Biblical views of redheads (of which he is one) are and are not similar to such views of persons involved in same-sex relationships. It is one of Bennett's particular concerns that the reality that provoked the latest phase of conflict within IYM, i.e., the affirming and welcoming of gays and lesbians to Friends' meetings, not be lost within the considerable and important discussion of organizational relationships and yearly meeting authority that now has to take place. Not all IYM Friends are happy with, or even comfortable with, the range of sharing that continues for now on the IYM Facebook page, but that Facebook page is continuing, at least for the present. (As of March 7, a

Bulletin Board Facebook Page for IYM Friends who wish not to be subjected to controversial discussions will allow them to view event announcements without having to be subjected to that which they object.)

Unless the discomfiture of some Friends with the fast pace of the current reconfiguration process succeeds in slowing it down, a prospect that looks unlikely at present, there will be important, even decisive, events taking place soon. At the April 14th Rep Council, revised drafts of the proposals for yearly meetings A and B will be brought forward. At the Yearly Meeting sessions in July, there will be time provided for the Task Force to answer any questions. By the beginning of September, monthly meetings will face a deadline as to declare whether they will join yearly meeting A or yearly meeting B. Task Force member Ray Ontko reports that no determination has been made yet, by the Task Force or others, as to what will happen with those monthly meetings which are unable to make a decision. Ontko states, "At this point, we're exploring different ways to handle these cases." (Ontko, 14 March 2012) Task force members will be available to visit with those unable or unwilling to make a decision to help bring them to clarity and consensus.

Pam Ferguson has recently posted a moving online essay on "The Problem of Community," in which she reflects on the difficulty of the current situation within IYM. She writes, "My faith community is . . . in the midst of a great loss, a loss that has turned life upside down for many of us. My faith community decided that we have a problem and the only solution is to quit being a community, to quit working together, to quit worshipping together, and to end a 191 year relationship as a Yearly Meeting and fellowship of Friends. . . This problem changes my faith community for everyone. People who have never or rarely been to a Yearly Meeting session, who've never served on a Yearly Meeting committee, or who don't know Friends down the road, are now spending incredible amounts of time and energy talking about which side is right and which new yearly meeting we should choose. . . . The split really suggests that we don't love enough, that we don't forgive enough, that we aren't willing to go to the hard and difficult work to be in community, to work through the chaos, to find a place of purpose and peace and unity." (Ferguson 2 March 2012) Her essay is well worth reading in its entirety.

Many well-placed Friends, including IYM clerk Greg Hinshaw and superintendent Doug Shoemaker, have expressed

fervent hopes for an amicable parting of the ways, preserving strong ties of fellowship between members of the two yearly meetings, as IYM Friends pursue their differing visions. While an amicable parting of the ways is still possible, others have growing doubts as to whether that will be the case, given, among other things, a strong possibility that some meetings may be stalemated between members of Yearly Meeting A and Yearly Meeting B and find it difficult or impossible to come to a sense of the meeting by the fall deadline. As always, *Quaker Theology* will continue its coverage of these important events.

Update – March 14, 2012

At its March 10 meeting, the IYM Task Force gave serious consideration to the option of creating two new yearly meetings by preserving the current Indiana Yearly Meeting and “setting off” a new yearly meeting. In part, this was a response to the feedback solicited to the IYM A & B proposals.

Ray Ontko, Task Force member, says that no final decision on maintaining the existing Indiana Yearly Meeting and setting off a new yearly meeting has been made by the Task Force, but this likely will be an option discussed at the April 14 Representative Council Meeting.

Ontko, a member of Richmond First Friends, had authored a proposed minute for his meeting (with the assistance of Doug Bennett, another member of First Friends) that had proposed a different approach to the task of setting up two yearly meetings. The minute proposed by Ontko and Bennett, and approved by First Friends, called for abolishing the existing yearly meeting altogether, and creating two entirely new yearly meetings.

The reason for the First Friends’ minute was the issue of fairness. If one of the two yearly meetings, Yearly Meeting A or Yearly Meeting B, was to inherit the existing yearly meeting, it might be tempted to claim that it was the true yearly meeting, and that the other yearly meeting was a lesser departure from the true way. By abolishing the old yearly meeting and creating two new ones, each yearly meeting would be placed on an equal footing and neither could claim a superiority over the other.

However, the feedback received by the Task Force was largely negative on the process proposed by First Friends. “Much feedback has been received from individuals and monthly meetings clearly indicating there is a strong leading to not dismantle IYM,

and many affirm its denominational authority.” (Indiana Yearly Meeting Facebook Page, 14 March 2012)

What Ontko and his companions on the Task Force realized was that there was another standard in play, which he calls the standard of efficiency. Simply put, it takes more expense and time of all concerned to abolish one yearly meeting, and to start two new ones, than to simply preserve the existing yearly meeting and to start just one yearly meeting. In addition, the existing Indiana Yearly Meeting has some value to someone, and it would be a shame just to discard something that has value. There may also be something like a time factor. If the Task Force adheres to the one-year timeline set forth for its activities in the reconfiguration meeting, only having to set up one yearly meeting (and not to abolish any) will save the Task Force members some time. So, while Ontko came to this discussion from a differing perspective, he is listening carefully to his fellow Task Force members and others in IYM, to see where the Spirit might lead.

When shown this paragraph (which was based on our previous conversation), Ontko wanted to strengthen and extend the thought: “It’s not just an efficiency argument, and not just for the Task Force members. Dismantling the existing yearly meeting would take considerable effort by all the committees of the yearly meeting, and would require significant legal expense. There is a question of whether doing so is good stewardship of time and resources of the meeting.

“There is also the question of value. In my opinion, the yearly meeting is ‘worth’ more as a whole than it is as two parts. The whole is greater than the sum of its parts. It would be better to preserve this value in one yearly meeting and recognize this as a new yearly meeting is set off.

“Beyond the question of efficiency and value is whether dismantling the yearly meeting honors the nearly 200 years that Friends have devoted to building Indiana Yearly Meeting. What has been built by many over many years in the name of Christ should perhaps not be divided.”

Frankly, when the prior chief advocate of abolishing the yearly meeting on grounds of fairness issues this strong an endorsement on behalf of preserving the old yearly meeting and setting off a new one, the latter course sounds like a done deal, not just a strong possibility.

Tom Hamm sees setting off a new yearly meeting as “not . . . inconsistent with the process agreed on earlier. I have always

thought that maintaining IYM and setting off a new yearly meeting or association was a possibility.”

Ontko emphasizes that it has not been decided which yearly meeting would keep the existing IYM structure – it could be either Yearly Meeting A or Yearly Meeting B.

However, since Yearly Meeting B seems to constitute the majority of IYM members, at least at the present, many observers, including the author of this present piece, would expect that it would inherit the current yearly meeting machinery, should the “setting off” option be pursued. Joshua Brown said that, while he didn’t know anything about the current Task Force deliberations, he is “not surprised” by the news that they would be seriously considering the “setting off” option. According to Brown, “it’s really going back to the old idea that the ‘real’ IYM are the conservative/evangelical/holiness Friends, and that the liberals are being shown the door” -- in other words, the sentiment implicit in Tri-County Quarterly Meeting’s December minute, from which we quoted earlier.

In addition, Task Force work on other reconfiguration fronts continued unabated: “Sub-committees were appointed to refine the descriptions of two resulting groups (IYM “A” and IYM “B”) that will result from reconfiguration. Future refining of these descriptions will be done by the meetings that eventually will make up these bodies. It is hoped that in early April these refined descriptions will be distributed along with guidelines for a process to assist monthly meetings in discerning the kind of yearly meeting with which they desire to be affiliated.

“Plans are being made to include a presentation from the task force at yearly meeting in July with break-out sessions providing Friends the opportunity for collaboration and clarification.

“The task force is keenly aware that reconfiguration has far-reaching ramifications, including future relationships with affiliate bodies and our own Ministerial Excellence Initiative. These concerns are clearly on the radar of the task force, and will be given appropriate attention as the probable shape of the reconfiguration outcome continues to emerge.” (Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends Discussion Facebook Page, 14 March 2012).

Stay tuned for further IYM developments.

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Dear Friends of Indiana Yearly Meeting,

As the Reconfiguration Task Force of Indiana Yearly Meeting, we are writing to invite your input to the early part of the reconfiguration process. As you may recall, at the called meeting of the Representative Council on October 1, 2011, Friends approved “Model 5 -- Deliberative/Collaborative Reconfiguration”. This is a process to be undertaken over the year, “of seeking a future that honors each other’s consciences and understandings of scriptural guidance, and that is life-giving for all of our monthly meetings.” Noting the presence of deep disagreements in the yearly meeting, it was approved to divide into two bodies, “a yearly meeting that is a collaborative association, with monthly meetings maintaining considerable autonomy and allowing great freedom in matters of doctrine” (herein referred to as “Yearly Meeting A”) and “a yearly meeting that, as our current Faith and Practice provides, has the power to set bounds and exercise authority over subordinate monthly meetings” (herein referred to as “Yearly Meeting B”.)

The enclosures sent with this cover letter are draft descriptions of these two bodies, for which we are inviting input by interested Friends (individuals and/or Meetings). Giving this feedback is optional, and it need not be a formal letter or a minute from a Monthly Meeting.

We have included with each draft several questions intended to help people in their consideration of it. Giving input on a draft does not commit an individual or a Meeting to membership in the yearly meeting it describes; Meetings’ affiliation decisions will be a later part of the process. . . .

Please feel welcome to be in touch with any of us if you have questions.

Your Friends in Christ,

Stephanie Crumley-
Effinger
Greg Hinshaw
Doug Shoemaker
Tom Hamm
Ray Ontko
Dave Phillips

Rod Dennis
Fred Daniel
Cathy Harris
Peggy Caldwell

Indiana Yearly Meeting A

A Beginning Working Document for Consultation and Input

Overview

We are a Christian association of monthly meetings that are distinctly Quaker, who unite together to work and witness in the name of Christ. In relating to one another as monthly meetings and a yearly meeting, we seek to be mutually accountable to one another rather than expect subordination to organizational authority.

We share the core conviction that Christ is present by his Spirit to teach his people himself, and we draw our inspiration, vision, and life from the words and actions of Jesus. We are deeply committed to Jesus' great commandment to love God and serve our neighbors throughout the world. We also seek to draw strength from the experience, spirituality, worship, and practice of Friends.

We embrace the Bible as inspired recording of God's interaction with people who seek to know their Creator, and of God's increasingly detailed revelation through time of God's identity, character, and intentions for humanity. We acknowledge the analogy of Robert Barclay, that Scripture itself is not the Living Water, but rather the fountain which delivers the Living Water.

As a yearly meeting, we:

- Work to build strong ties between local meetings
- Offer exciting programs for youth and young adults
- Identify gifted Friends and release them for ministry
- Help us cooperate in different kinds of service and mission
- Aim to be a place of hospitality, friendliness, peace, and Christian fellowship
- Value a diversity of understandings and believe that greater wisdom comes from engagement with one another around our differing understandings as we listen to one another and seek God's guidance.

We emphasize:

- Acceptance of “that of God in every person”- the conviction that God is present and at work (in whatever capacity is allowed) in or upon every person made in God’s image; thus, we acknowledge the sacredness of all human life, and God’s desire to be reconciled with all persons, and encourage personal acceptance of God’s invitation to all persons into friendship
- The importance of asking questions and wrestling with differing interpretations of scripture and of Faith and Practice, rather than trying to enforce a majority view or to quiet dissenting voices. We value deep listening to one another and seeking together the guidance of Jesus Christ
- The ministry of all Believers – the expectation that every sincere follower of Christ is gifted for and engaged in service to God’s Kingdom, and the faith community’s goal is to release those ministries into the Church and world as fully as possible
- Evangelism - defined as directing people into listening and obedient friendship with Christ, based on Jesus’ simple method “follow Me”. Evangelism is not defined as getting people to agree with doctrinal statements and to undergo induction ceremonies
- Christ’s presence and lordship in individuals and faith communities is expressed and noted in a consistent witness of lived integrity, simplicity, equality of persons, nonviolence and active pursuit of peace, and “watching over one another for good,” the mutual submission of Body life
- Committed to individual and corporate decision-making by spiritual clearness, tested against scripture, Jesus’ example and teaching, personal leading in listening prayer, and the spiritual leading of other sincere seekers of Truth
- Avoidance of creeds, particularly when used as purity tests, and to use instead penetrating spiritual questions to challenge all to greater devotion to Christ. For example:
 - o As followers of Jesus Christ do you love and respect one another?
 - o Do you thoughtfully consider the differing viewpoints of others as an opportunity for deeper understanding within the Christian fellowship?
 - o When conflicts arise, are you prompt to make a sincere effort to resolve them in a spirit of understanding and love that avoids divisiveness

in the Yearly Meeting?

- o How are you careful to maintain the good reputation of others?
- o As Christians, do you consistently practice principles of love and good will toward all God's people, toward the earth and all creation?
- o Do you work actively for peace and justice by living in such a way that harmony results?
- o How do you observe the testimony of Friends that leads toward creative, life-affirming ways of resolving conflict and away from violence and destruction? Does your attitude toward people of other races and gender indicate your belief in their right to equal opportunity?
- o How do you fulfill your responsibility as a Christian to help in the elimination of racial, sexual, ethnic, religious and other forms of discrimination and prejudice?

· We cherish our relationships to the Church beyond our yearly meeting, and particularly to our sisters and brothers within the Religious Society of Friends. We will continue to take part in Friends United Meeting, the Ministerial Excellence Initiative, United Society of Friends Women/Quaker Men, Quaker Haven Camp, Friends Fellowship Community, White's, Earlham College/Earlham School of Religion, Friends Committee on National Legislation, Friends World Committee for Consultation, and other such organizations to whom the current Indiana Yearly Meeting sends representatives and/or with whom it has a covenant relationship.

Questions to aid in consideration of the drafts:

Which sentences or paragraphs speak most powerfully to you?

Which ones make you uncomfortable?

What were you relieved to see in the document?

What were you hoping for but is somehow missing from the document?

Is there anything that others in your meeting might find uncomfortable in the document?

What kind of larger relationships and involvements with other Meetings would support the mission and ministries to which your local Meeting is called?

Does the document speak to your deepest hopes for how you would like your meeting to be in relationship with other meetings?

How important is it to you to be a part of a yearly meeting called Indiana Yearly Meeting? How would you feel if your yearly meeting had a different name?

Indiana Yearly Meeting B

A Beginning Working Document for Consultation and Input

Overview

“Indiana Yearly Meeting B” will be a group of Christ-centered Friends meetings who value the authority of scripture and mutual accountability, embracing the current Faith & Practice and organizational structure of IYM.

Our View of Jesus Christ and the Church

We are Christians, and as Friends, we believe that ours is “the religion of Jesus Christ without addition, without diminution, and without compromise” as described by Joseph John Gurney. We unite with the apostolic grounds of Quakerism, believing with George Fox that “There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition.” We believe that the recognized excerpts from George Fox’s Letter to the Governor of Barbados (1671), the Declaration of Faith issued by the Conference of Friends at Richmond (1887), and the Essential Truths (1902) are accurate reflections of our doctrines as Christians and as Friends.

Our View of Scripture and Spiritual Leading

We believe that the Holy Spirit speaks to believers today but we are in agreement with Barclay and Gurney that the Spirit will not speak in a way that is contrary to the Scripture. Barclay says in the Apology, “Whatever doctrine is contrary to their [the Scripture’s] testimony may properly be rejected as false. We are very willing for all of our own doctrines and practices to be tried by them. We have never refused to honor them as the judge and test for any disputes we have had on matters of doctrine. We are even willing to allow this to be stated as a positive maxim: Anything which anyone may do while claiming to be led by the Spirit, which is contrary to the Scriptures may be considered a delusion of the devil.”

Our View of Subordination

We believe in the concept of subordination, as described in the current Faith and Practice of Indiana Yearly Meeting. This concept comes from the scriptural admonition to “Submit to one another out of reverence for Christ” (Ephesians 5:21 NIV). At the organization of Indiana Yearly Meeting in 1821, our predecessors adopted a discipline providing for subordination of preparative, monthly, and quarterly meetings to the yearly meeting. This subordination, as our current Faith and Practice describes, is not a hierarchy but a means of common protection. This common protection ensures that no individual, small group or local meeting takes positions or makes statements that are contrary to or offensive to the collective discernment and leading of the yearly meeting at-large. This common protection also ensures that those in unity with us are protected from unfriendly influences that might seek to disrupt the unity and fellowship of their local meetings.

Our View of the World and Other Christians

As Christians, we recognize our duty to carry the Gospel message into the whole world. We, like Gurney, believe that we have a right and a duty to cooperate with other evangelical denominations, and we support the ability of our local meetings to cooperate with their neighbors of other evangelical traditions in winning the world for Jesus Christ.

Summary

Indiana Yearly Meeting B will be a Christian Orthodox Friends organization with a commitment to mutual accountability. It will be clearly built around the Great Commandment (Matthew 22:36-40) and Great Commission (Matthew 28:18-20). The Bible will not be worshipped, but loved, cherished and studied with solid principles of interpretation and application. It will reflect the best of our Quaker heritage. We will not only follow Jesus as teacher, but also as Savior and Lord.

Supporting Documentation: Core Values of IYM
approved by the "Joint Committee" 6/17/97

1. God is the foundation around which Friends organize their lives. A personal commitment to Jesus Christ, the Son of God, our Savior, Lord and Teacher, is essential to daily living. The Indwelling of God's Holy Spirit strengthens, convicts, saves, guides, and comforts believers.

2. The Scriptures are inspired by God, a valid source of truth, and a guide for daily living. Other valid sources of truth (e.g. scientific inquiry, personal experiences) are checked against Scripture for discernment. Since all truth is God's truth, truth from different sources will not be in conflict but can be integrated.

3. Corporate, prayer- based discernment is an essential aspect for decision making and seeking God's will.

4. There is an urgency and priority in sharing the Gospel of Jesus to non-believers both near and far.

5. It is vital to meet regularly together for worship, fellowship, and instruction. God calls all believers to be minister of Christ, supporting each other in living out their ministries. The role of gifted pastoral leadership is recognized.

6. There are absolutes in family and sexual behavior. These absolutes include abstinence outside of marriage. Marriage is understood as a monogamous relationship between one man and one woman.

7. Life is sacred. Among the implications are that Friends corporately do not approve of abortion, violence, or war.

8. Faith manifests itself through compassionate works and actions. Each individual is of supreme worth; therefore, Friends seek equal justice for all.

9. Friends value integrity in speech and action.

[The Task force included an identical set of questions to aid in consideration of the draft of the outline for Indiana Yearly Meeting B, as appears above following the outline for Indiana Yearly Meeting A.]

(Indiana Yearly Meeting of Friends Discussion,
Facebook, post by Stephanie Crumley-Effinger, Feb. 8, 9:41 AM

Robert Barclay's *Observations*

By Michael Birkel

[Editor's Note: We plan to post the full text of Michael Birkel's translation of the original essay when it becomes available.]

In an essay published in 1944 entitled "Latin Works of Friends," Anna Cox Brinton concluded

The stream of Latin composition rushed like a freshet for the early "Publishers of Truth." In the eighteenth century it quieted down. In the nineteenth only shallow pools appeared, and by the twentieth it had dried up altogether. But the old-time Latin books and pamphlets still lie in our repositories. An occasional reader turns their pages surprised to find there an authentic call to search the soul's depths or a vivid and compelling thought recorded in a language once world-wide and enriched by centuries of Christian use. (Brinton 1944, 187)

In her discussion of Quaker Latinity, she puts Robert Barclay's *Apology* in a class by itself for its excellence and its vividness of style. She notes the lively debate that the Latin edition of the *Apology* provoked, including works of attack and counter-attack, also in Latin.

This lively style and theological provocation antedate the *Apology*. Before the *Apology* was fully written, Barclay had published his *Theological Theses*. This brief work came to form the framework of the various divisions, or as he called them, propositions, of the *Apology*, which was first published in 1676 in Latin, with an English translation two years later. Barclay's *Theses* also generated polemical response, before the appearance of the full *Apology*.

In 1675 Barclay published a relatively short (46 pages) treatise in Latin modestly entitled *Christianae Quaedam Animadversiones in Nicolai Arnoldi, (qui S. S. Theol. Doct. & Profess. se*

praedicat) Exercitationem Theologicam de Quakerismo, ejusque-brevis Refutatio—in English: *Some Christian Observations on the Theological Disputation of Nicolaus Arnoldus, who proclaims himself a Doctor and Professor of Most Sacred Theology, Concerning Quakerism, and a Brief Refutation of It*, hereafter referred to as *Observations*. This work was a rebuttal to Nikolaus Arnold, a conservative Calvinist theologian at the University of Franeken in the Netherlands. Arnold had composed a critique of Barclay's *Theological Theses*. Although the *Observations* was known and mentioned by Friends over the years (Barclay 1831, 46-47; Smith 1:1867, 166-167; Rhodes 1886, 112; Trueblood 1968, 53), the work has not been published in English. This briefer work offers a snapshot of Barclay's thinking as he was at work on the *Apology* and so may be of interest to readers of Barclay who do not have facility in Latin. In this essay I'll outline it and attempt to put it in context.

Nikolaus Arnold

Nikolaus Arnold (1618-1680) was Polish by birth and had come to study in Franeker, where, after further studies, travels, and ministerial appointments, he became a professor of theology in 1651. (Jackson and Lefferts 1949, 1:303). Aside from editing the works of his teacher at Franeken, Johannes Maccovius (or Jan Makowski), a fellow Polish Reformed, that is, Calvinist, theologian, Arnold's works seem chiefly to have been polemical or controversial in nature. He wrote against Socinianism, an early form of Unitarianism that had flourished in his homeland and had promulgated there the *Racovian Catechism*, against which Arnold published a refutation. Other works attacked Roman Catholic and Lutheran doctrines. (Wilbur 1945, 203). Arnold seems also to have found Anabaptist teachings troubling, as evidenced by his references to Anabaptists that are echoed in Barclay's treatise. There were Anabaptist congregations of various sorts in the city of Franeken, including the Waterlanders, who were a sort of Anabaptist that some feel may have influenced early Friends. (Global Anabaptist Mennonite Encyclopedia Online 2012; Punshon 1986, 21)

Arnold's own theology is of the sort championed by the Calvinist Synod of Dort in 1618. The canons of Dort (which gave rise to the famous acronym TULIP) proclaimed the Reformed doctrines of Total human depravity, Unconditional election by God

for salvation (apart from any human merit), Limited atonement (the efficacy of the atoning work of Christ was only applicable to the elect, not the rest of the unregenerate), Irresistibility of grace (one cannot refuse election), and the Perseverance of the saints (the elect cannot fall from grace). Given these theological convictions and an inclination toward debate and refutation, it is not hard to imagine why Arnold wrote against Barclay's *Theological Theses*.

The text of Arnold's that provoked Robert Barclay's response seems not to have survived. Yet the organization of that text can be reconstructed from Barclay's *Theses*, to which it was a polemical response.

Arnold in *The Apology*

Barclay refers to Arnold eight times in the *Apology*. Half are in the tenth proposition, on ministry, and then two each in propositions 11 and 12, which treat worship and baptism, respectively. Yet, to judge from quantity, Barclay spends most of his time in the *Observations* on the topics of immediate revelation and of universal redemption and the Light. This might suggest that Arnold's work did not come into Barclay's hands until he was working on the tenth proposition of the *Apology*. It is worth noting that Barclay composed the *Observations* in a very short period of time. According to the preface of that tractate, Barclay received Arnold's work on the fourteenth of May. The preface itself is dated the sixteenth of May. Such haste may account in part for the very condensed quality of Barclay's writing in this work.

The Organization of the *Observations*

After some preliminary remarks, Barclay responds to Arnold's work point by point. Since Arnold was replying to the *Theological Theses*, it may be useful to note their titles here, as an aid to following Barclay's argument in his *Observations*.

1. Concerning the True Foundation of Knowledge
2. Concerning Immediate Revelation
3. Concerning the Scriptures
4. Concerning the Human Condition in the Fall
- 5 & 6. Concerning the Universal Redemption by Christ, and also the Saving and Spiritual Light, with Which Everyone Is Enlightened

7. Concerning Justification
8. Concerning Perfection
9. Concerning Perseverance, and the Possibility of Falling from Grace
10. Concerning the Ministry
11. Concerning Worship
12. Concerning Baptism
13. Concerning the Communion or Participation of the Body and Blood of Christ
14. Concerning the Power of the Civil Magistrate, in Matters Purely Religious, and Pertaining to the Conscience
15. Concerning Salutations and Recreations, etc.

Barclay refers to nearly all these theses in the *Observations*. Only the final thesis is not named. This seems to have been unnecessary: Barclay begins with some general remarks in response to Arnold's name calling, and Arnold had accused Quakers of lack of civility and good manners. This covers the issue of salutations. As for recreations, Friends tended to agree with English Puritans on this matter, who drew from Calvinist teachings. So there may have been little to argue about on this topic.

Theological Polemics in the Seventeenth Century

As noted, theological controversialists were not above name calling. Theological debate at the time was all but a contact sport. In fact, early Friends found that, when done in person, it could be life-threatening. George Fox describes his encounters with the university students at Cambridge as "exceeding rude" (Fox 1952, 218). Joseph Besse recounts the sufferings of Elizabeth Leavens and Elizabeth Fletcher at the hands of young scholars, who tortured them in a manner that is strikingly redolent of contemporary practices of water-boarding:

In the Month called June, Elizabeth Leavens and Elizabeth Fletcher, two North-Country Women, came under a religious Concern to exhort the Inhabitants of that Place, and the Scholars in their Colleges, to Repentance and Amendment of Life. Their Labour of Love was rejected by the Scholars, and their Christian Advice met with inhuman Returns of Despight, and Cruelty. The Students, hating Reproof, sell to abusing the innocent Women, and drove them by Force to the Pump in John' s College, where they

pump'd Water upon their Necks, and into their Mouths, till they were almost dead: After which they tied them Arm to Arm, and inhumanly dragged them up and down the College, and through a Pool of Water, and threw Elizabeth Fletcher, a young Woman, over a Grave-stone into a Grave, whereby she received a Contusion on her Side, from which she never recovered, but died not long after. (Besse 1753, 1:562)

The printed word was hardly friendlier; taunting and ridicule were commonplace. It is therefore no surprise that Barclay's rejoinder to Arnold begins with what may sound to contemporary ears a rather petty complaint. Arnold had claimed that tacking Barclay's *Theological Theses* to the doors of the Franeker academy was a desecration of those sacred doors. Barclay replies with the suggestion that calling mere doors holy befits a Catholic better than a Protestant, who should know better than to regard material objects as sacred. Accusing a devoted Protestant of being a "Papist" was the height of insult in that era. But in all this, Barclay was only responding in kind: Arnold had engaged in similar name calling in his work. On both sides, the intent of such accusations is that the other's work can be easily dismissed as unworthy.

Some of these names may be obscure, so some explanation is in order. As noted, Socinians were an early form of Unitarianism, named after Fausto Sozzini (in Latin, Faustus Socinus), whose ideas were adopted and developed among the Polish Brethren and the Transylvanian Unitarians in the 16th century. Together, the teachings of these groups challenged numerous traditional Christian doctrines, such as infant baptism, the divinity of Christ, the understanding of the Trinity, and the concept of the death of Jesus as atoning for the sins of humankind. They called for separation of church and state and the end of capital punishment. Later Socinians were known for their rationalism and their denial of the virgin birth and other miracles. As might be imagined, the term "Socinian" became a general catch-all for any number of heresies.

The simoniac heresy takes its name from Simon Magus in Acts 8:9-24, where he offers the apostle Peter silver in order to obtain the power to receive the Holy Spirit as the disciples had. Simony came to mean buying and selling spiritual goods. In Barclay's critique of Arnold's defense of a paid, professional ministry, he declares, "A sentiment worthy of a mercenary and a simoniac!"

Pelagianism was much maligned and inadequately

understood, but as used throughout much of Christian history, the term denoted the conviction that human beings are in some way capable of saving themselves, or at least playing a significant role in their own salvation. Lutheran and Calvinist churches taught that salvation is by divine initiative alone, apart from all human effort. Non-Quaker controversialists saw the notion of the Light as something merely human. Since Quakers considered the Light to be redemptive, they were therefore Pelagians, in the eyes of many other Protestants.

Cerinthus was remembered as an early Gnostic and an opponent of the apostolic church. It is difficult to reconstitute someone's teachings from the writings of theological adversaries, so perhaps it is enough to say that to compare Barclay with Cerinthus is to smear the former with a fairly large brush.

Montanus is known largely from the writings of Tertullian, an ancient Christian writer who rivaled Arnold for his vituperation. Montanus is said to have practiced prophetic ecstasy and even to have claimed to be the Paraclete. He held that the second coming was on its way. He is associated with two women prophets, Priscilla and Maximilla. Because early Friends believed in the immediate inspiration of the Holy Spirit, held to an inward apocalyptic understanding, and promoted the equality of women as ministers of the gospel, they were accused of Montanism.

The early Anabaptists were theologically diverse, though all of them were persecuted by state churches, whether Lutheran, Calvinist, or Catholic. Most Anabaptists were committed to nonviolence, but in the city of Münster in 1534, a group of radically apocalyptic Anabaptists took over the city through armed rebellion, sought to establish the New Jerusalem there, and instituted community of goods (collective property) and polygamy. A brutal reaction ended this holy experiment, but the memory of the event tarnished the image of Anabaptism for centuries. As with James Nayler's scandalous ride into Bristol and its catastrophic results for Quakers, the Anabaptists of Münster became synonymous with anarchy, antinomianism, disgrace, and the dangers of claiming personal divine inspiration.

Not satisfied with accusations of heresy, Arnold also charges Quakers with arrogant and haughty manners. Certainly to the eyes of their contemporaries, early Friends won no prizes for politeness.

Other Historical References

Barclay's *Observations* makes other historical references that may need explanation. He makes a brief reference to the "*History of Hornius*." George Hornius (d. 1670) was professor at the University of Leyden and wrote an *Ecclesiastical History*. He also mentions "the lies" of Cochlaeus and Florimundus Raimundus. Johann Cochlaeus (1479-1552) wrote works attacking the theology of Martin Luther, while Raimundus was a late sixteenth-century thinker of the Catholic Reformation who wrote works against Protestantism.

When discussing predestination, Barclay mentions Durandus and Adola, who subscribed to the concept of divine foreordaining of all things. Durandus of Saint-Pourçain (1275-1334) was a Dominican theologian, philosopher, and bishop. I could locate only one reference to Adola, by Gilbert Burnet some 25 years after Barclay's *Observation*. In his *Exposition on the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England*, Burnet notes that Durandus denied the freedom of the will and "in this he has not had many followers, except Adola, and some few more." (Burnet 1700, 150)

In response to Arnold's argument that the Protestant state should assist in the persecution of dangerous heretics, Barclay makes a comparison to historic Catholic calls to rid the land of Protestants: "Now what could be more similar to the clamors of the monks against the Dutch in the past to Phillip II, and the complaints of Popes Leo, Adrian, Clement, and Paul to Charles the Emperor and to Francis I and to Henry II, the kings of France?" This is part of Barclay's case against state interference in matters of religious conscience.

Barclay asks Arnold: "Has the memory of Philip of Spain and of the Duke of Alva faded away?" Since it has for most modern readers, it may be helpful to mention that the Spanish Netherlands were once part of the Hapsburg Empire of Spain. When the Dutch resisted Spanish rule in the sixteenth century, Phillip II sent Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, the Duke of Alva, to crush the rebellion, which he did with severity and cruelty. Thousands died, others were subject to ruinous taxes, and many refugees fled the country for safety elsewhere. It might be noted that Barclay's national pride on religious toleration is hardly called for. In the seventeenth century, numerous English Protestants, including the eventual Pilgrims of New England, sought safe haven in Holland,

which was a beacon of religious toleration at that time.

This was not the only error of Barclay's in this piece. His Hebrew was somewhat limited. He correctly notes that the prepositional prefix "בִּ-" (בִּ- means "in," but it can at times mean "against," (Koehler 1994, 1:104). Therefore, instead of "prophecy within you," the text cited much more likely means, "prophecy against you."

Benjamin Furly's Postscript

The *Observations* contain a postscript by Benjamin Furly, a Quaker merchant who resided in Rotterdam, the city of publication for the *Observations*. William Hull described Furly as Barclay's "press agent in Holland." (Hull 1941, 33) Furly, whose linguistic skills were of great use to early Friends such as George Fox, William Penn, Robert Barclay, and George Keith as they traveled the continent, was a student of some of the more obscure spiritual writers of his day and served as a connection between Friends and the followers of German mystic Jakob Boehme. His gifts as an intermediary also brought other Quakers together with other spiritual adventurers such as Anne Conway and Francis Mercury van Helmont. Furly is credited with much of the linguistic labor behind his collaboration with George Fox and John Stubbs on *A Battle-Door for Teachers & Professors to Learn Singular & Plural You to Many, and Thou to One, Singular One, Thou, Plural Many, You*, which surveys over thirty languages to defend Quaker practice of "thou" and "thee" to every single person, including those who would regard themselves as socially superior and therefore worthy of being addressed as "you."

Benjamin Furly's postscript offers support for a Quaker understanding of a spiritually inspired, unpaid ministry. It draws on the *Shepherd of Hermas*, an ancient Christian document, which Furly introduces by noting that it was held in great esteem, even as inspired scripture, by other ancient Christian writers such as Origen, Clement of Alexandria, Athanasius, and Jerome. He also notes approbation from more recent writers such as Catholic Reformer Robert Bellarmine (1542-1621) and Protestant theologian David Chytraeus (1531-1600). The *Shepherd* is divided into

visions, mandates, and parables, and Furly quotes a passage from Mandate 12 that speaks of the qualities of a prophet genuinely led by the Spirit of God.

Style and Translation

Barclay's style in the *Observations* is a mix of academic argument and theological polemic. Like a scholarly debater, Barclay will dismiss an argument on the basis of insufficient evidence, though without Arnold's text readers are left without means to make up their own minds. Perhaps this is a reflection of the haste with which this tractate was written. Barclay at times appeals to the logic of argumentation taught in schools in that era, such as when he speaks of begging the question. In current informal usage, "to beg the question" has simply become synonymous with "to raise the question," but in logic it is a technical term for a fallacy in which a statement is assumed to be true without offering evidence. The so-called proof, therefore, is simply a reassertion of the unproven premise. An example may help. Barclay criticizes Arnold's claim that "internal revelations are not the formal object of faith for all, because not all people have these revelations." This begs the question because it assumes that not all people have such revelations. From a Quaker point of view, all people in fact do experience such immediate revelation "about the things necessary to know."

At times Barclay's language is succinct, effective, and without defensive tone, such as his statement about the relationship between inward revelation and Scripture:

Saving knowledge is produced within persons through the Spirit, without the absolute necessity of the letter, yet not in opposition to the letter.

Such economy of expression shows Barclay at his best, and such gems rise up from time to time in the *Observations*.

This translation aspires to the principle of translation of the New Revised Standard Version of the Bible: "As literal as possible, as free as necessary." At times I have repeated a word or phrase for clarity's sake. Often Barclay's Latin is the most dense when he is quoting or paraphrasing his opponent. Here is an example: *Vitio mihi vertit, me summum bonum collocare in medio, cum statui debeat in finis possessione*. Literally, "He alleges to me a fault: that

I locate the highest good in the middle, when it ought to be established in possession of the end.” Here it helps to know that Arnold is attacking Barclay’s first thesis, which states that the highest good of a person is placed in the true knowledge of God. Here we see a solid distinction between Calvinist and Quaker. For a Calvinist, the highest good is found only in heaven, possessed only at the end of life; for a Quaker, one need not wait so long because the eschatology is internalized. Therefore a translation that is slightly less literal but necessarily a bit free might go: “He alleges to me a fault: that I locate the highest good in the midst of this life, when it ought to be established in possession of the end of life.”

I have left Greek and Hebrew in their alphabets, to maintain the way that their use stood out in the original, but I have transliterated and translated all such passages.

Since early Friends took a bold, revolutionary stance for women’s equality with regard to ministry, I have tried to honor that equality with an effort at inclusive language in this translation.

Finally, I have added subject headings to make it easier for the modern reader to follow Barclay’s organization.

Theological Matters

Robert Barclay rejects most of the distinctive dogma of Dortian Calvinism. As for total depravity he notes, as he also maintains in the *Apology*, that “a corrupt seed has been transmitted from Adam and that it is in all people. However, it is imputed to no one before a person joins oneself to it by actually sinning.” Against the notion of a limited atonement, he counters Arnold’s doctrine of limited grace with the Quaker concept of the universality of the Light.

I admit what Arnoldus says, that Christ tasted death for all the believing elect, for his sheep, for his people, and so on; but not only for them, such that others are thereby excluded from becoming capable of salvation.

Perhaps to Barclay, it seemed that Arnold was too worried about God wasting any divine effort. This may be related to Arnold’s concern lest God inefficiently multiply things (*entia*, literally, beings) beyond necessity, which comes up twice in the *Observations*. Contrary to the Calvinist teaching of the

irresistibility of grace, Barclay states that it is possible to say “No” to the grace that comes during one’s Day of Visitation. Finally, the saints can fall from grace, counter to the Calvinist notion of their persistence: “Both Christ and his apostles expressly taught that some would believe and afterwards fall from their faith.” Other points of difference include Quaker rejection of the practice of external baptism and communion, and the Quaker insistence on respect for religious conscience. Barclay develops all these matters more fully in his *Apology* and does not offer much that is distinctive on these issues in the *Observations*.

Perhaps a more fruitful inquiry might be to imagine what in Barclay’s *Theological Theses* seemed most surprising, or even disquieting, to Arnold.

For a committed and pious Christian in the Reformed tradition, it seems likely that the most idiosyncratic, even scandalous dimension of Quakerism was the extreme inwardness of Quaker experience and therefore theology. This expressed itself in several ways: Quaker emphasis on direct, unmediated revelation from the Holy Spirit, salvation through the inward formation of Christ in the soul, subordination of the outward “history” of the scriptural message to the inward “mystery” of divine illumination, and the internalization of eschatology, the Christian hope for the end of human history.

As noted above, Barclay held that “internal revelations” are “the formal object of faith for all.” This language requires some theological unraveling.

Scholastic theology of the seventeenth century was influenced by Aristotelian concept of causality, mediated through the developments of late medieval thinkers. Aristotle and his followers distinguished four categories of causality. The material cause is that out of which something is made, such as the wood of a bookshelf. The formal cause is the shape or arrangement of the material. The efficient cause is an external entity that is the source of the change that the material undergoes—in the case of this analogy, the carpenter. The final cause is the purpose for which the material undergoes change. In this example, the end is to contain books.

These categories were applied to the specifics of Christian theology. Historian of Protestant scholastic theology Richard Muller notes that the object of faith is

distinguished by the scholastics into two categories: the *obiectum formalis fidei*, or formal object of faith, which is Scripture, and the *obiectum materialis fidei*, or material object of faith, which is Christ, of more precisely, the whole revelation of God as it is fulfilled and given in Christ. Scripture, as the formal object of faith, is also the formal object of theology (*obiectum formalis theologiae*) and the foundation of theological knowing. (Muller 1985, 206)

Robert Barclay, however, makes a distinction regarding the object of faith:

The object of faith is twofold, namely the “object which” and the “object by which.” Scriptures are, for those who come to the knowledge of them, the “object which.” The “object by which” is the internal testimony of the Spirit, just as all the earliest Protestants affirm, such as Calvin.

This internal testimony is the principal moving force on the part of the object:

I most freely admit that God uses the Scriptures as a certain means to implant in us a historical knowledge of the things narrated in them. They are not, however, the sole means for producing this historical knowledge. For even though Scripture sets forth those historical truths to our minds, still the principal motive, on the part of the object, the reason why we believe these truths is the inward motion, inspiration, and operation of the Spirit in us and this motion, inspiration, and operation are produced in us immediately by the Spirit; and we indeed know by the Spirit, even without the letter of Scripture, that God is the author of these inward motions and inspirations through which we are drawn toward and inclined to assent to the Scriptures.

The phrase “on the part of the object” (*ex parte objecti*) is a technical term. Calvinists could agree that there are revelations on

the part of the subject, that is, there may be truths that the eye cannot see because the eye is veiled. Revelation is the uncovering of the eye to perceive the truth manifest in the formal object of faith, the Scriptures. A revelation on the part of the object, however, suggests that it is the object that is being unveiled, not the eye of the beholder. (Eliot 1833, 6) This challenged orthodox notions of truth.

For many of Barclay's non-Quaker contemporaries, it was an extraordinary claim to propose that salvific knowledge is possible without acquaintance with the Bible. For them, as noted, Scripture is the formal object of faith, the arrangement, in an Aristotelian sense, of faith. Yet Barclay asserts that one can know the mystery—the direct experience of the illuminating Spirit of God—without knowing the history, or narrative, of Scripture.

Robert Barclay calls this formative experience the formation of Christ within, apparently drawing on Galatians 4:19, which speaks of Christ being formed in the believer: "Justification occurs through Jesus Christ formed within." For Barclay, this is the fundamental salvation experience. Christ redeems from within; nothing less will do.

Justification occurs through Jesus Christ formed within, producing in the saints the capacity both to will and to do things that are good. Arnold and his brothers assert that some people are justified through Christ, not however through being formed in them, and dwelling in them through his Spirit, and producing his works in them, but only through acting and suffering outside them, through the word of scripture apprehended by faith, in no way taking account of the internal justice of Christ accomplished in the hearts of the saints as necessary for their justification.

In the *Apology* (Proposition 7, Section 3) Barclay uses the term "remote procuring cause" to describe the external events of the cross. This may have sounded demeaning to much Christian piety and belief, but Barclay did not mean to diminish the outward sufferings of Jesus but instead to insist that it is not enough if the inward formation of Christ in the soul is lacking. In language that could have sounded unnerving to his opponent, Barclay did not hesitate to speak of an inward resurrection:

I admit what is said of the certainty of resurrection in 1 Corinthians 15:22, yet I deny that it is concerned only with the resurrection of the body. There is external and internal death through the first Adam, and through Christ resurrection both of the soul and of the body.

Those who receive Christ through faith and obedience, bear the image of the divine. And this refers no less, if not more, to the resurrection of the soul than of the body. An enlivening occurs when Jesus Christ through his divine illumination touches the hearts of all who are dead in sin, and by this touch makes them aware, first of their sins, then of judgment and divine mercy.

He draws on this idea to explain why Quakers refrain from the external rituals of communion. In 1 Corinthians 11:23-26, Paul states that Jesus said, "Do this in memory of me," and Paul reflects, "For as often as you eat this bread and drink this cup, you proclaim his death, until he comes." Barclay asks: why must this be understood as an external return?

Paul recites the words of the Lord which he spoke to his disciples on that night in which he was betrayed. And by these words he sufficiently suggests that that institution of Christ was not to last except until when he would come again. But it is disputed by many as to whether that advent of the Lord of which Paul himself here speaks is an external event at the end of the world or an internal one before the end.

For Christ himself has risen spiritually in his people and he lives and dwells in their memory, intellect, will, and all the faculties of the souls of the faithful and of his saints, so that this is better remembered in this manner than by external and perishable signs of bread and wine.

The memory, intellect, and will were, since the time of Augustine (354-431), understood among Western Christians as the faculties of the soul. This interior resurrection, in other words, revitalizes all inward capacities. It is worthy of note that Barclay adheres to traditional theology in some ways even as he departs from it in others.

This inward work of the Spirit was so intense an experience for early Friends that they were confident that it came

from God (and was therefore not a mere “natural light” as their opponents contended), that it was sufficiently powerful to save, and that it was the same Spirit that was at work among the biblical prophets and apostles. Barclay reflects this exuberance:

Rather, we contend on behalf of the same divine Spirit with which the prophets and apostles were imbued, and who dwells truly in all true Christians and truly works in them according to some degree and measure of divine grace. We feel and experience, with the greatest certainty, that this same Spirit is in us and works in us, just as in all true Christians.

This explains, to Barclay’s satisfaction, why this direct, inward motion from God, arising from the inward formation of Christ, is a necessity for the ministry. In response to Arnold’s charge that Quakers oppose all public worship, Barclay replies

The eleventh thesis does not proscribe all public worship of God. I argue for the public worship of God with preachings and prayers performed publicly, with God illuminating, inspiring, and moving. Quakers are not opposed to set times and places for worship. However, the matter on which there is controversy is this: whether it would be permitted when we have been gathered for someone to open his or her mouth for the purpose of preaching or praying or giving thanks, without the motion and inspiration of God. To this we say “No.”

To Arnold, this must have sounded anarchic and smacked of riotous enthusiasm. Barclay’s theology seemed to him a rejection of Scripture, the formal object of Christian faith, for him. Barclay responds that Scriptures are a useful external means, as long as the Spirit is active.

The Scriptures are exceptionally useful for all people whom they reach, provided that they use them properly... God uses the Scriptures as a certain means to implant in us a historical knowledge of the things narrated in them. They are not, however, the sole means for producing this historical knowledge. For even though Scripture sets forth those historical truths to our minds, still the principal motive, on the part of the object, the reason why we believe these truths is the inward motion, inspiration, and operation of the Spirit in us and this motion, inspiration, and operation are

produced in us immediately by the Spirit; and we indeed know by the Spirit, even without the letter of Scripture, that God is the author of these inward motions and inspirations through which we are drawn toward and inclined to assent to the Scriptures.

In sum, the inwardness of Quaker experience and therefore of Quaker theology is uppermost. For Robert Barclay, this was an intensification of Christian tradition, not the abandonment of it. He held together the universal dimension of the saving Light and the particularity of the Christian message. Sadly, in Nikolaus Arnold's case, it did not look that way for those who stood outside that experience.

In a journal like *Quaker Theology* it is appropriate to ask the question of the usefulness of early Quaker theology in the current situation. The contemporary conflicts within Quakerism suggest that we have met the heirs of Socinus and of Arnold, among others, and all of them are in our yearly meetings. Barclay was faithful to his experience and held to the radical notion of a distinctively Christian universalism, thereby serving as an inspiration to those in this time who feel led to do likewise.

This survey of some of the main features of Barclay's *Observations* confirms the words of Anna Brinton that within the corpus of Quaker Latin text, the reader can at times discover "an authentic call to search the soul's depths" and "a vivid and compelling thought." This translation is offered so that others can make their own discoveries of the same.

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: *Also, in This Book Is Set Forth Examples of the Singular and Plural About Thou, and You, in Several Languages, Divided into Distinct Battle-Doors, or Formes, or Examples ; English, Latine, Italian, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriack, Arabick ... and How Emperors and Others Have Used the Singular Word to One, and How the Word You Came First from the Pope, Likewise Some Examples, in the Polonian, Lithuanian, Irish and East-Indian, Together with ... Swedish, Turkish ... Tongues : in the Latter Part of This Book Are Contained Severall Bad Unsavory Words, Gathered Forth of Certain School-Books, Which Have Been Taught Boyes in England.* London: Printed for Robert Wilson, and are to be sold at his shop, 1660.

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*Christianity and War,
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Reviewed by Chuck Fager

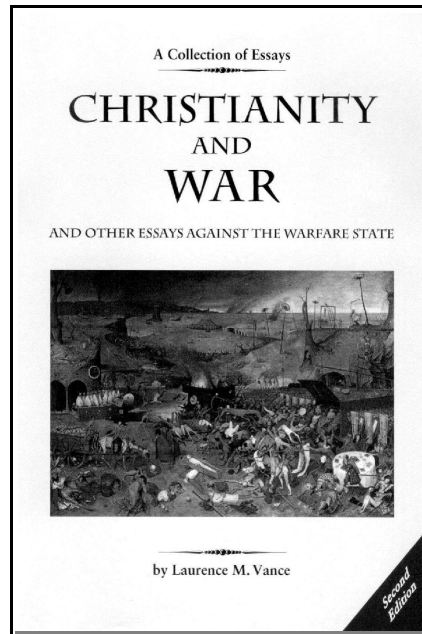
In the spring of 2011, a young soldier came to see me, at the Quaker peace project where I work. He wanted to talk about filing a Conscientious Objector (CO) claim.

Once a very enthusiastic recruit, he had been in the elite Special Forces training program. But the realities of military life had quickly disillusioned him. Raised a conservative Baptist in Texas, he said his worldview had changed so radically that – here he paused to take a deep breath: “I’m not even a Republican anymore.”

Not that he was now a Democrat. Instead, when I explained that he would have to describe his current views in his CO claim letter, and show how he had arrived at them, he handed me a book he’d brought with him.

The book was *Christianity and War*, by Laurence Vance.

I don’t know how the GI’s CO claim turned



out; like many who call or visit, he hasn't followed up. But for me, *Christianity and War* was a godsend, and a revelation.

Why? For several years I've been increasingly convinced that something which can be called "American War Christianity" (or AWC) is a key pillar of U.S. militarism. A crusading variety of fundamentalism has become pervasive in the armed forces, including the top levels, and its impact is frightening, its potential even more so.

There are books and articles that document this phenomenon: one, *With God On Our Side*, by Michael L. "Mikey" Weinstein, was a trailblazer when it appeared in 2006. Another is a paper by Air Force Col. William Millonig, "the Impact of Religious and Political Affiliation on Strategic Military Decisions and Policy Recommendations," which despite the lengthy title is concise and straightforward. These and others have been valuable to me. (Millonig's paper is online at: <http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA449308>)

But ever since I came to an awareness of AWC, I figured that besides journalistic or sociological reports, there must also surely be some theological challengers to it. I began looking for them, to guide me in raising a specifically religious challenge to this dangerous phenomenon. Any day I expected to encounter a cadre of liberal religious thinkers who were all over it.

Not so. Yes, I have run across a number of theologians who are writing from an "anti-imperial" perspective, but the empire in question usually turns out to be the Roman (or Babylonian, if they're Old Testament types). When it comes to our current plight, their writing typically recycles cliches from such sources as National Public Radio.

Interesting, but hardly adequate. Besides which, much such "postcolonial" writing is encased in such impenetrable academic jargon that even the Air Force's bunker-busters couldn't penetrate it.

The closest thing I found to an actual theological challenge to AWC as a force today was *Wayward Christian Soldiers*, by Charles Marsh. But while Marsh effectively called out the war-mongering rhetoric of a handful of evangelical leaders on the eve of the Iraq invasion in 2003, he denied being a liberal, instead swearing fealty to Karl Barth's "neo-orthodoxy." Besides, his small book didn't go beyond the handful of targeted statements to examine the broader theological phenomenon involved.

Marsh was a bright brief candle on a dark horizon.

Elsewhere among evangelicals, the voices were either uneasily equivocal, or more often entirely on board with the AWC outlook.

So when the young soldier handed me Vance's book last spring, I was still in search of an informed, vocal liberal theological opponent of AWC.

I'm still searching – for a liberal or conventionally evangelical challenger to AWC, that is. But not for an effective one; not anymore. *Christianity and War* wields a theological bat like Babe Ruth on a tear, knocking pro-war piety right out of the park. A representative affirmation:

“The love affair that many conservative, evangelical and fundamentalist Christians have with the military is an illicit affair. It is contrary to the tenor of the New Testament. It is an affront to the Savior. It is a cancer on Christianity.”(254)

And again, in 2006: “it is a blight on Christianity that many of those who continue to support [former President George W.] Bush and his [Iraq] war are evangelical Christians who will support Bush until the bitter end – no matter how many more U.S. soldiers are killed, no matter how long the war continues, no matter how many more billions of dollars are wasted, and no matter what outrages the president commits against the Constitution, the rule of law, and Christianity itself.” (327)

But the author, Laurence Vance, is no liberal. As he modestly puts it, “I am willing to match my Christian, Protestant, conservative, evangelical, fundamentalist, Baptist credentials up against anyone.” The difference is that Vance is all these things, and a staunch Libertarian. A Ron Paul supporter (tho the book doesn't deal with presidential politics), he names names, calls a spade a spade, and cites scripture, the Church Fathers, the Founding Fathers, Erasmus, Charles Spurgeon, and even the occasional Quaker to back up his strongly held views.

Wait – Spurgeon was a peacenik? Spurgeon, the legendary 19th century British Baptist preacher, who built the prototype of a “megachurch” that regularly gathered crowds of 5000, and who delivered at least 3561 sermons, which are still in print– he was antiwar?

Yes. Hear him, in 1857:

The church, we affirm, can neither be preserved nor can its interests be promoted by human armies. We have all thought otherwise in our time, and have foolishly said when a fresh territory was annexed to our empire, “Ah!

what a providence that England has annexed Oude,”—or taken to itself some other territory—“Now a door is opened for the Gospel.

A Christian power will necessarily encourage Christianity, and seeing that a Christian power is at the head of the Government, it will be likely that the natives will be induced to search into the authenticity of our revelation, and so great results will follow.

Who can tell but that, at the point of the British bayonet, the Gospel will be carried, and that, by the edge of the true sword of valiant men, Christ’s Gospel will be proclaimed?”

I have said so myself; and now I know I am a fool for my pains, and that Christ’s church hath been also miserably befooled; for this I will assert, and prove too, that the progress of the arms of a Christian nation is not the progress of Christianity, and that the spread of our empire, so far from being advantageous to the Gospel, I will hold, and this day proclaim, hath been hostile to it.

Vance cites other theologians and preachers from many centuries, and not a liberal in the lot. He’s been making his fundamentalist antiwar case across the internet for several years, based at <http://www.lewrockwell.com>, a major libertarian website. Indeed, *Christianity and War* is less a treatise than a compilation of blog posts. If that fact makes its text often repetitive, it doesn’t diminish the force of Vance’s arguments, or the pungency with which he makes them.

There’s plenty in his fiery sermonettes likely to offend the large mass of church folks of various denominations who value politeness over any point of doctrine or ethics, especially when it concerns those in their own circles. But Vance doesn’t care about that. He cares about truth and the Gospel. His model is the Gallilean who ignored all advice to go easy on calling his Pharasaic opponents “hypocrites,” amid much more incendiary terms. No, his vehemence will not commend this book to such “nice” folks; but Vance says he has heard from many disenchanting soldiers, who once accepted the USA=God’s-licensed-killers, but have been cast into a wilderness of confusion by the lies and hypocrisies of imperial war. Many found Vance speaking truths in a way they could understand. And it was one of them, a soldier rather than a genteel church elder or distracted seminary professor, who brought

his book to me.

Why I hadn't heard about Vance before mid-2011 probably bespeaks my share of this provincialism; and none of my liberal friends had heard of him either. Too bad for us.

But that doesn't mean Vance hasn't been heard. Oh, indeed, he has. And he has answered: Three times he repeats a list of epithets often flung at him: "Yes, I know, I am a liberal, a communist, a Quaker, a pacifist, a peacenik, a traitor, a coward, an appeaser, an America-hater, and an anti-war weenie." (p. 189; also 102, & 122)

Well, I'm here to say that Vance is NOT a Quaker; not that there's anything wrong with that. He is no pacifist either. He makes plain that he would fully support a defensive war, if the U.S. were ever invaded. Just sayin'.

Further, his book is not just a compendium of invective. Vance's biography states that he holds degrees in history and theology, as well as economics and accounting. Besides knowing the literature of orthodox and evangelical writers against war and militarism, he is also steeped in Biblical languages. (Among his other books is one about Greek verbs in the New Testament; another deals with its prepositions. One wonders if they are as controversial in their more esoteric fields.)

It turns out, as he shows in detail, that there is actually a sizeable body of anti-military work by very orthodox, even fundamentalist authors, most of it unmentioned by the tradition's modern spokesmen, and ignored by liberals too, for other reasons. But Vance has reprinted many of these volumes, including one, *The Morality of War*, published in 1829 by a Quaker, Jonathan Dymond, which was widely circulated in its day. (Dymond's essay is now online as a free Google book.)

Christianity and War deploys the author's linguistic skills in a detailed linguistic-theological analysis of the sixth commandment, "Thou shall not kill," from Exodus 20:13 (pp. 84ff). Many recent Bible translations have rendered the text as "Thou shalt not commit murder," on the basis that some kinds of killing were not only sanctioned in the Bible but commanded by various texts.

Vance is not having it. He points out that the Hebrew term translated "kill," in the commandment is not used anywhere in the Old Testament to refer to killing in battles.(86) And he goes on to say,

Exodus 20:13: “Thou shalt not kill.” God only knows how many people around the world have been killed as a direct result of U.S. foreign policy. No, I am not equating the United States with Nazi Germany, Soviet Russia, or Red China. . . [But] From the beginning of the Iraq War, I have maintained that participants in this evil war violate the express teaching of the biblical commandment against killing. Christian apologists for war say that either the commandments don’t apply to the state, and therefore killing done in service for the state is permissible, or else that the sixth commandment is limited to murder, and therefore killing done in wartime is permissible. Therefore, just as Calvary covers it all, my past with its sin and shame, so the wearing of a uniform covers it all, my military service with its death and destruction. Thus, killing someone you don’t know, and have never seen, in his own territory, who was no threat to anyone until the United States invaded his country, is not murder if the U.S. government says that he should be killed. No soldier is responsible for the death and destruction he inflicts in a foreign country as long as it is state-sanctioned death and destruction. I reject this ghastly statolatry. (106f)

He also takes on those “Bible believers” who defend American wars because the Bible says, “the Lord is a man of war” (Exodus 15:3):

That this is a true statement there is no question, but how this phrase justifies the United States becoming a country of war shows how warped the Christianity of some people is. (261f)

Further, as a biblical literalist, Vance acknowledges that indeed, “God commanded the nation of Israel in the Old Testament to fight against heathen nations (Judges 6:16). . .”

Then he goes right for the jugular:

but George Bush is not God, and America is not the nation of Israel God sponsored these wars, and used his chosen nation (Deuteronomy 7:11-12) to conduct them, [but] it does not follow that God sponsors American

wars, or that America is God's chosen nation. It does not follow unless, of course, one is a Christian apologist for the U.S. government and its wars."(p. 126, 129)

But that is precisely what American War Christianity comes down to: the shockingly idolatrous identification of U.S. interests as being dictated by God, and treating its leaders (especially conservative presidents), as the equivalent of God. (And no, Vance does not regard Romans 13 as a "get-out-of-hell-free" card.)

Such nationalist idolatry is hardly new, nor is it an American invention. But in U.S. history its tracks go back more than two centuries, and its advocates have included many religious leaders considered "progressive" in their day. But in our time this sanctified militarism has become an evangelical-fundamentalist phenomenon, and the paper by Air Force Colonel Millonig shows how groups associated with it have intentionally and diligently colonized much of the armed forces since the Vietnam War:

The rise of evangelicalism in today's Armed Forces can trace its roots to the Viet Nam War. Public support for the war declined steadily as the years wore on, but evangelical Christians remained generally supportive of the war throughout. Over the course of the war, they found themselves progressively more aligned with the military – a military which increasingly found itself isolated from the general population. . . .

By the early 1970's, prayer groups, breakfasts, and luncheons became commonplace in the Pentagon. Some activities were sponsored by International Christian Leadership and others by the Christian Men of the Pentagon. An informal outreach group called Teams of Two began to increase its evangelical efforts. . . . Many General Officers actively supported the groups and even held leadership positions as these conservative Christian groups continued to grow in size. By the 1980's, nearly 20 evangelical groups held regular meetings.

Under this supportive leadership umbrella, participation in conservative Christian groups also increased at the service academies. . . . Throughout the 1990's, a conservative Protestant shift in the chaplain corps mirrored the regular force. Since 1994, the number of Roman Catholic priests

in the Air Force alone has dropped 44 percent and similar decreases exist in mainstream Protestant chaplains as well. (Millonig, 4f)

Millonig's critique of this colonization is carefully nuanced, and secular: his point is that, especially at the top, when an organization's leadership all(or mostly) share the same worldview, the resulting groupthink atmosphere leads to bad decisions. For instance, Millonig says,

When the [G.W. Bush] Administration issued its policy of pre-emptive war in the National Security Strategy, many "mainstream" religions and nearly all Democrats rejected it, insisting pre-emptive war rejects the United Nations charter of war as a last resort and takes a unilateralist, militant approach to national security.

Many conservative Christians however, applauded the declaration. In a letter to President Bush, several prominent conservatives strongly endorsed the policy of pre-emptive war against Iraq as "prudent and fall(s) well within the time honored criteria of just war theory."

By now, spring of 2012, we've seen where that kind of foolishness led us; and it was from this pre-emptive cheerleaders' sector that the religious influence on military leadership has come for nearly forty years. I've called this outlook "American War Christianity"; and though I've seldom been accused of speaking too cautiously, Vance makes this phrase look mild. These people and their followers, he insists, make up the "Christian Axis of Evil." (99), adding:

In the Church's conservative, evangelical, and fundamentalist circles — and I identify loosely with all three — much of what is being said is not just wrong, it is evil, immoral, hypocritical, shameful, and more importantly, unscriptural. But the Church is also not saying enough. It is not saying enough about the defective Christianity of the president. It is not saying enough about the evils of war. It is not saying enough about our overgrown military establishment. It is not saying enough about our interventionist foreign policy. It is not saying enough about the warfare state.

President Bush has mastered the art of using religious rhetoric to capture the support of gullible Christians for his aggressive, militaristic, interventionist foreign policy he terms “this great mission.” (98)

He pounds this theme repeatedly. One of his most striking posts is called, “Are You A Christian Warmonger?”(27-27). With his permission, we have included this piece elsewhere in this issue. It presents the reader a quiz, or “self-assessment tool”: a list of twenty pro-war cliches, (29) For those who agreed with many of these statements, Vance’s “eldering” is sternly forthright.

Vance takes on just about all the biblical rationalizations one could imagine for endorsing wars and their killing, as long as they’re being fought by the U.S. We already heard his take on the assertion that “Thou shalt not kill” does not apply; but what about Jesus being a bloodthirsty warrior, especially during his Second Coming battle with the Anti-Christ (Revelation 19). Vance’s reply (he says he does believe in the Second Coming, but):

The problem here is a simple one: American military officers are not surrogates for Jesus Christ. Whatever Jesus Christ did or will do has absolutely no relevance to what the U. S. military does in Iraq or anywhere else, except, of course, in the depraved mind of a Christian warmonger. The Bible says that “in righteousness” Jesus Christ “doth judge and make war.” There is nothing righteous about the actions of U.S. battlefield commanders.(132)

What? The U.S. military is not a surrogate for Jesus? Iraq isn’t Armageddon? Why didn’t I think of that?

“Pray for our troops,” says a militant petition he saw. Vance replies to it this way:

Yes, we should pray for the troops. We should pray that the troops come home. We should pray that the troops come home now. We should pray that the blood of not one more American soldier is shed on foreign soil. We should pray for the healing of the thousands of U.S. soldiers who have been injured in the senseless Iraq war. We should pray for an end to this unconstitutional, immoral, and unjust war. We should pray that Congress ends funding for this war. We should pray that Bush leaves office a

disgraced commander in chief. We should pray that young, impressionable students are not ensnared by military recruiters. We should pray that pastors stop recommending military service to their young men (and women). We should pray that families stop supplying cannon fodder to the military. We should pray that the troops actually start defending this country instead of every other country. We should pray for a change in U.S. foreign policy that can make this all possible.

Not only that: “. . . This ideological desire to legitimize killing in war is an unholy one, and every Christian who attempts to do so should be ashamed of himself and repent “in sackcloth and ashes” (Matthew 11:21).” (86)

The upshot is that *Christianity and War* offers the most trenchant and articulate critique of American War Christianity I have seen. In ten-plus years of struggling with the impact of this phenomenon, his work stands alone.

While he’s not at all a pacifist, Vance draws on Quaker sources perhaps more than he realizes. He quotes Friend Jonathan Dymond as “one young in years but old in wisdom,” who was exposing the pernicious work of war propaganda in 1827::

Another cause of our complacency with war, and therefore another cause of war itself, consists in that callousness to human misery which the custom induces. They who are shocked at a single murder on the highway, hear with indifference of the slaughter of a thousand on the field. . . .The inconsistency and disproportionateness which has been occasioned in our sentiments of benevolence, offers a curious moral phenomenon. . . .

But perhaps the most operative cause of the popularity of war, and of the facility with which we engage in it, consists in this; that an idea of glory is attached to military exploits, and of honor to the military profession. The glories of battle, and of those who perish in it, or who return in triumph to their country, are favorite topics of declamation with the historian, the biographers, and the poet. They have told us a thousands times of *dying heroes*, who “resign their lives amidst the joys of conquest, and, filled with their country’s glory, smile in death;” and thus every excitement that eloquence and genius can command, is

employed to arouse that ambition of fame which can be gratified only at the expense of blood.(166f)

Vance also applauds “Thomas Jefferson’s ‘Quaker’ foreign policy”; as the third president put it:

Peace has been our principle, peace is our interest, and peace has saved to the world this only plant of free and rational government now existing in it. However, therefore, we may have been reproached for pursuing our Quaker system, time will affix the stamp of wisdom on it, and the happiness and prosperity of our citizens will attest its merit. And this, I believe, is the only legitimate object of government, and the first duty of governors, and not the slaughter of men and devastation of the countries placed under their care, in pursuit of a fantastic honor, unallied to virtue or happiness (192f)

And – okay, this is a bit from left field – Vance makes much of the late-life witness of Marine General (and two-time Medal of Honor winner) Smedley D. Butler. Butler became a militant isolationist and anti-militarist activist in the 1930s. He proposed a constitutional “Amendment for Peace,” which would have prohibited the American military from fighting or being based beyond a defensive zone around our coasts.

Butler believed that his amendment “would be [an] absolute guarantee to the women of America that their loved ones never would be sent overseas to be needlessly shot down in European or Asiatic or African wars that are no concern of our people.”

He also reasoned that because of “our geographical position, it is all but impossible for any foreign power to muster, transport and land sufficient troops on our shores for a successful invasion.” In this Butler was echoing Jefferson, who recognized that geography was one of the great advantages of the United States(404)

Why are we talking about a Marine general? Because Smedley Darlington Butler was the product of several Quaker families with deep Pennsylvania roots. He attended a Quaker school before enlisting in the Marines to join the Spanish-American

War. And despite his valor under fire, Butler's military career persuaded him that, as he later wrote in the title of a famous booklet, "War is a Racket." (Online for free here: <http://www.archive.org/details/WarIsARacket>) In hailing him, Vance is again bringing forward a strongly Quaker-influenced figure.

So like it or not, Quaker peace witness has left its fingerprints on Laurence Vance's perspective. But most important is his fundamentalist Christian libertarian outlook. While he repeatedly blasts George W. Bush in these pages, he is no more fond of the many ways Barack Obama has continued most of his predecessor's pro-imperial policies. Though *Christianity and War* was published in 2005 (updated in 2008), before Obama's elevation to the White House; Vance's recent blog posts do not give Bush's successor a pass.

Yet overall Vance minimizes talk of politics outside the recent wars; his book is not a campaign screed. A look at his extensive blog posts makes clear, however, that he's a passionate partisan of the longtime libertarian standard-bearer, Rep. Ron Paul. Vance is also a southerner, and has affinities with the neo-Confederates who despise Abe Lincoln, prefer to call the Civil War by other, rebel-friendly names, wish the Confederate states had been allowed to secede, and then abolished slavery in their own good time.

These views, and many others of the libertarian platform, are deeply problematic to me, and doubtless to many others, who may be drawn to its anti-imperial and anti-militarist features. Nevertheless, Vance prudently keeps these other matters out of his 400-plus pages in *Christianity and War*, and except for taking note of them here, I'll stick to the book's themes. Those are arguments for another day, and another book.

This judgment also takes into account this reviewer's experience of watching numerous Republican presidential debates in late 2011 and early 2012. In these fora, I have heard Vance's hero, Rep. Ron Paul, repeatedly make forthright and eloquent challenges to U.S. militarist and imperial pretensions, oppose current and threatened wars, and call out presidents of both parties for perpetuating a giant military-industrial complex – and do all this in the face of boos and openly hostile crowds.

Besides offering an impressive show of personal courage and integrity, Paul's statements were the most extensive challenges to American war-mongering at the presidential campaign level in

forty years – forty long years since the valiant but doomed campaign of Senator George McGovern in 1972.

I don't say Paul has converted me to libertarianism beyond its anti-militarist stance; but dammit, when he's right, he's right. And he has certainly won my respect, even admiration, for these anti-militarist convictions. And likewise, Laurence Vance hasn't turned me into a pre-millennial, dispensationalist Baptist, or made me any more sympathetic to a neo-confederate outlook. But his assault on the theological and sectarian underpinnings of American War Christianity is right on target, and an achievement that is serious and credible on many fronts. It deserves wide attention as such. It is intellectually, historically, theologically and biblically informed, and as a polemicist, his aim is true.

The book (and the blog) takes on the "Christian warmongers" on their own turf, naming names, citing sources, and demolishing every major pillar of their defense of war. After a decade of seeing this war machine close up, I remain convinced that such a deconstruction is one of the most important tasks of peace work.

Yet I know of no liberal Christian writer who has come anywhere close to a similar effort

Shame on them; shame on us. A bow to Laurence Vance, and *Christianity and War*, for going where we have feared to tread.

An Excerpt from *Christianity and War*:

Are You a Christian Warmonger?
Originally posted April 7, 2005

by Laurence M. Vance
Reprinted by permission

It is appalling that many defenders of the war in Iraq are Christians; it is even worse when they appeal to Scripture to excuse or justify a senseless war that has now resulted in the deaths of over 1,500 Americans and the wounding of countless thousands more.

When the president of the Ayn Rand Institute, Yaron Brook, appeared last December on The O'Reilly Factor and called for "harsher military measures in Iraq," it was disheartening to hear him advocate that the U.S. military should "be a lot more brutal," "bring this war to the civilians," and "turn Fallujah into dust." As reprehensible as these statements are, they come as no surprise since Brook is guided by Objectivism and not Christianity.

But the sad fact is that some Christian warmongers are just as militant. They consider this war to be a Christian crusade against Islam and view the thousands of dead Iraqi civilians as collateral damage. Congressman Sam Johnson (R-TX), when speaking on February 19 at Suncreek United Methodist Church in Allen, Texas, related to the congregation how he told President Bush: "Syria is the problem. Syria is where those weapons of mass destruction are, in my view. You know, I can fly an F-15, put two nukes on 'em and I'll make one pass. We won't have to worry about Syria anymore." Although Johnson later claimed to be joking, it is strange that "the crowd roared with applause" instead of with laughter.

Other Christians are passive Christian warmongers. Although they don't actively participate in the war in Iraq, cherish the thought of dead Iraqis, or "joke" about nuking Muslims, they excuse, dismiss, make apologies for, and defend the war (and sometimes even the torture of prisoners and the killing of civilians)

with such profound scriptural and logical assertions as “we should always obey the government,” “Bush is a Christian so we should follow his leadership,” or “doesn’t the Bible say there is ‘a time of war.’”

The following test is designed for Christians of any stripe to determine to what degree, if any, that they are a Christian warmonger. These statements are based on things I have read or been told by Christians seeking to excuse or justify the war in Iraq in order to defend President Bush. The statements are not in any particular order. Each statement is designed to be answered with either “true” or “false.” A “true” answer receives 1 point and a “false” answer receives no points. Add up your points and consult the scale at the bottom to obtain the results.

1. The commandment “Thou shalt not kill” (Exodus 20:13) never applies to killing in war.
2. We should follow President Bush’s leadership because he is a Christian.
3. Torturing Iraqi prisoners to obtain information is okay if it saves the life of one American.
4. The command to “submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord’s sake” (1 Peter 2:13) means that we should kill foreigners in their country if the government says to do so.
5. U.S. intervention in the Middle East is necessary to protect Israel from the Arabs.
6. Muslim civilians killed by the U.S. military in Iraq and Afghanistan are just collateral damage.
7. A preemptive war against Iraq is nothing to be concerned about because the Bible says there is “a time of war” (Ecclesiastes 3:8).
8. It is okay to kill Muslims in Iraq because the terrorists who kill Jews are Muslims.
9. Since the Bible says that “the powers that be are ordained of God” (Romans 13:1), we should always obey the government when it comes to war.

10. U.S. wars and interventions abroad are ultimately a good thing because they pave the way for the spread of the gospel.
11. The command to “obey magistrates” (Titus 3:1) means that it is not immoral to drop bombs on foreign countries if the government says it should be done.
12. The U.S. should take vengeance on Muslims because of the September 11th attacks.
13. A perpetual war against the Muslim world in order to fight terrorism is just because “The LORD is a man of war” (Exodus 15:3).
14. Christians can wholeheartedly participate in their government’s wars since God commanded the Jews in the Old Testament to go to war.
15. Christians can proudly serve in the military in any capacity.
16. Christians can proudly serve in the CIA in any capacity.
17. The command to “obey God rather than men” (Acts 5:29) does not apply to refusing to kill for the state in a war.
18. God approves of the war in Iraq because Islam is a false religion.
19. Muslims in the Middle East hate Americans because of their Christianity, their freedoms, and their democratic values.
20. Christians in Iraq are better off now than they were under Saddam Hussein.

1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____ 6 _____ 7 _____
 8 _____ 9 _____ 10 _____ 11 _____ 12 _____ 13 _____ 14 _____
 15 _____ 16 _____ 17 _____ 18 _____ 19 _____ 20 _____
 Total _____

If you scored:

0 You are truly a man of peace.

1—4 You are not a Christian warmonger, but you may want to reevaluate some of your beliefs.

5—8 You are on your way to becoming a Christian warmonger, but there is still hope for you; repent.

9—12 You are a Christian warmonger; turn from the error of your ways.

13—16 You are a militant Christian warmonger; get right with God.

17—20 You may be a Christian but you are a crazed warmonger whose idea of Christianity is seriously defective.

First posted at

<http://www.lewrockwell.com/vance/vance40.html>

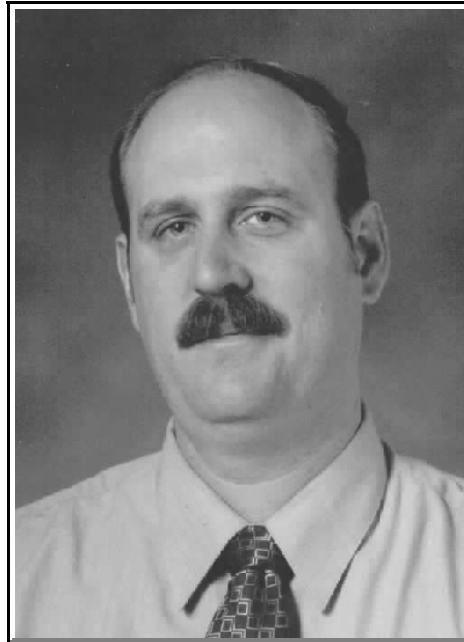
An Interview With Laurence Vance
Author of *Christianity and War*

QT. *Please tell us something about your own background: where you were born, brought up, etc. And where you were educated; your brief bio speaks of degrees in history and theology – where did you study, and what fields did you concentrate in?*

LV. I am a semi-native Floridian. I was brought up on the east coast of central Florida, lived in the navy town of Pensacola for twenty-four years, and now reside in central Florida. My theological degrees are from small Independent Baptist schools that would now probably prefer that I didn't name them. I also have degrees in history, economics, and accounting from the University of West Florida, including a master's degree in accounting. However, most of my education stems from years of reading, writing, and studying.

QT. *Are you still teaching, or is your writing and publishing a full time occupation now?*

LV. I no longer teach and only wish that my writing and publishing were now a full-time occupation. I write



Laurence M. Vance

about 100 articles a year now. I could conceivably double my output if I didn't have to work to supplement my writing and publishing.

QT. *Have you always been identified with the conservative Baptist tradition, or was there an evolution/conversion somewhere along the way?*

LV. I was raised a Roman Catholic. After a brief period as an evangelical and then a Southern Baptist, I became an Independent Baptist and have been so for my entire adult life.

QT. *Ditto for your involvement with libertarian thought and support for Ron Paul. Were you ever a Republican? (Or Democrat?)*

LV. I thank God I was never a Democrat. I am ashamed to say that I was once a Republican, albeit a libertarian-leaning one. It was sometime in 1993 or 1994 that I made the acquaintance of Lew Rockwell, the founder and then president and now chairman of the Ludwig von Mises Institute, after stumbling across a Mises Institute publication called *The Free Market*. It was through articles in *The Free Market* that I was introduced to Murray Rothbard. This led me to the *Rothbard-Rockwell Report* and the realization that I was more of a libertarian than a conservative. I have been a diehard libertarian ever since. It was probably about ten years ago that I met Ron Paul, although I had been familiar with his great work on behalf of liberty for several years before then. Dr. Paul is one of the few members of Congress that I have ever had any respect for.

QT. *Your positions on dismantling the empire and war machine are pretty clear. But what kinds of reforms/repentance would you recommend to Christian churches to free themselves of this "Christian warmongering" spirit? "Sackcloth and ashes" would be appropriate, but are there other changes called for as well?*

LV. Christians need to need to demilitarize their church. To help them do so, I wrote "How to Demilitarize Your Church." Here is the condensed version.

First, they need to recognize the need to demilitarize their church by educating themselves as to the problems with the military—its unnecessary size, its bloated budget, its inefficiency,

its merchants-of-death contractors, its murderous mercenaries, its weapons of mass destruction, its unconstitutional mission, its inability to protect its own headquarters, its foreign interventions, its foreign occupations, its overseas bases and troop deployments—and just how much the military has pervaded all of society.

Second, stop the practices of military appreciation days, recognizing current members of the military or veterans, making unspecific and unspecified prayers for “the troops in harms way,” putting “God Bless Our Troops” or “Pray for Our Troops” or “Thank a Veteran” slogans on church signs, bulletins, and websites, calling soldiers returning from overseas heroes, and the blasphemous nonsense about the troops dying for our freedoms like Christ died for our sins.

Third, Christians need to immunize their churches from the military by warning young people about the evils of “serving” in the military, never ceasing to point out although God in the Old Testament commanded the nation of Israel to fight against heathen nations, the president of the United States is not God, America is not the nation of Israel, the U.S. military is not the Lord’s army, the Christian’s sword is the word of God, and the only warfare the New Testament encourages the Christian to wage is against the world, the flesh, and the devil.

QT. *One of your pieces, “What Happened to the Southern Baptists?” points to the radical shift in their denominational statements and behavior. But it doesn’t tell us much about how and why that drastic change came about. Can you outline your own sense of what made that shift possible? And have you seen any softening of that warmongering spirit since the departure of Bush & Cheney?*

LV. I believe it all has to do with the newfound admiration of Americans for the military that began after the debacle in Vietnam. On this I would highly recommend two books: Anne Loveland *American Evangelicals and the U.S. Military 1942-1993* (LSU Press, 1996) and Andrew Bacevich, *The New American Militarism: How Americans Are Seduced by War* (Oxford, 2005). As Bacevich says: “In the aftermath of Vietnam, evangelicals came to see the military as an enclave of virtue, a place of refuge where the sacred remnant of patriotic Americans gathered and preserved American principles from extinction.”

I have not seen any softening of the warmongering spirit in

evangelical churches. Although some Christians may now openly criticize the Iraq War and even call for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Afghanistan, it is all too little, too late. Adoration of the military has never abated and actually seems to have increased no matter what details come to light about atrocities committed by U.S. troops in Iraq and Afghanistan. But of course, both wars were entirely criminal from the beginning.

QT. In your view, have the deaths of Jerry Falwell, D. James Kennedy, and Bill Bright, plus the retirement of James Dobson had any measurable effect toward softening the “Christian warmonger” bloc, or are there new leaders, and others less visible to outsiders, who have taken their places?

LV. Not at all. There are always new warmongers to take their place. I think the influence of these Christians “leaders” is overstated. I’m sorry to say that many evangelicals are just incorrigible warmongers and military idolaters. Just look at how Christians in the Bible Belt are voting for Newt Gingrich (Catholic), Mitt Romney (Mormon), and Rick Santorum (Catholic) instead of Ron Paul (Protestant). The main problems they have with Paul are his views on war and foreign policy.

QT. How important do you consider the “Christian Zionist” movement spearheaded by such as John Hagee to the “Christian Warmonger” ideology and influence? And do you see its impact waxing or waning? Are there specific ways you can suggest to challenge this “crusade”?

LV. As a dispensationalist and a premillennialist, I have certain sympathies with the “Christian Zionist” movement. However, I think the warmonger spin and the constant defense of the government of Israel are completely off base. I think the movement is often blamed for having too much influence. I believe that Christian devotion to the military and American exceptionalism are a greater influence. Challenges to this “crusade” must be rooted in biblical arguments.

QT. You call out many prominent conservative evangelical figures in your book, from Charles Colson to Bill Bright and, of course, Jerry Falwell. Did any of these members of the “Christian Axis of Evil” ever respond to your critiques, either directly or indirectly?

LV. Not at all. Neither directly nor indirectly. And when their followers did respond to my critiques, it was usually just name calling (communist, liberal, pacifist, traitor), accusations (“you hate America” or “you want our troops to die”), or profanity.

QT. There are many calls today for a pre-emptive U.S. attack on Iran. If such an attack occurs, how important a role do you think the “Christian warmongers” will play in instigating and defending it? Do you have any thoughts about how these voices can be countered in advance, beyond your blog?

LV. Because all the talk about Iran usually includes Israel, Christian warmongers who think that God needs America’s assistance to protect Israel would love to see a preemptive strike on Iran by the United States, Israel, or both in unison. They don’t have enough influence to instigate it, but would be the biggest defenders of such a thing. These voices can be countered with the truth of what an immoral and disastrous thing a preemptive strike would be as presented at least every week at websites like Antiwar.com and LewRockwell.com and in the sane writings of conservatives like Paul Craig Roberts and Pat Buchanan.

QT. I read in the book your comment that, in addition to many replies to your blog posts calling you all kinds of terrible names such as “traitor” and, of all things, “Quaker,” you had also heard from many soldiers. Overall, are the active duty GIs who have written to you more sympathetic to your views than the civilians or veterans you have hear from -- or less so? (Certainly, the soldier who gave me your book liked what he had read.) If more so, on what points are they most in agreement?

LV. Most of the active duty military who have written me are sympathetic to my views. Many of them say they are getting out of the military as soon as they are able. A few have told me that they were seeking to become a conscientious objector. Soldiers seem to be most in agreement that they are not defending our freedoms and have no business fighting foreign wars.

The veterans who write me are generally very sympathetic, and especially Vietnam Vets. The few veterans who write in disagreement normally just blast me with profanity and threats. But the worst abuse I get is from civilians. I know they are civilians because the military people, whether friend or foe, always identify

themselves. Thankfully, the abuse has let up considerably since the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq have turned out to be such debacles.

QT. Among your sources, you cite favorably Jonathan Dymond and General Smedley Butler. Dymond was a Quaker, and Butler came from a long line of Pennsylvania Quakers on both sides; his post-military activism shows (to me, at least) a resurgence of his heritage in large measure. Are there any other Quaker sources you have drawn on? Or conversely, are there any other Quaker writers/figures who you have discovered pushing the "Christian warmonger" line? (One might point to Richard Nixon for the latter; yet his "Quakerism" was the next thing to a military secret, and it's hard to find any signs of its influence. But are there others?)

LV. Aside from Dymond and Butler I don't recall any other Quaker sources that I have drawn on. I have always drawn on a wide variety of sources, including Catholic, Orthodox, Church of Christ, Mennonite, Presbyterian, and Baptist. Nixon was a disgrace to all Quakers for his continued fighting of the Vietnam War that he inherited from Johnson, and especially his horrendous bombing campaigns. Like the Iraq and Afghan Wars, Vietnam was criminal from the beginning. I have been called a Quaker in derision because of my anti-war views. I feel, though, that I am in good company. Thomas Jefferson, who espoused a foreign policy of peace and nonintervention, referred to his principles as "our Quaker system."

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