MS-603: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum Collection, 1945-1992.

Series C: Interreligious Activities. 1952-1992

Box 30, Folder 1, Jewish-Baptist Scholars Conference, 1969.

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August 22, 1969

Mr. Bertram H. Gold
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

Dear Bert Gold:

I have just this morning returned from the Jewish-Baptist Scholars Conference in Louisville.

The Conference was a major human relations break through as well as a significant event of scholarship.

The labors and presence of Marc Tanenbaum, Strober, Peter Shaw, Wittenstein, Samuel Rabinov, Rabbi Rudin and Miss Flatow brought form, dignity and warmth to scholarship, religious fellowship and inter-group friendships. Marc was brilliant and gentle --- his scholarship as sound as his insights.

Most of the papers were of a high order and the ecumenical vitality of scholarship-shared was never more in evidence.

This was true human relations and scholarly relations and spiritual relations, and not just word-depth public relations.

Christians and Jews alike became comrades in the shared community of Israel and Christendom, in the shared Divinity related in Hebrew Scripture and in the shared humanity of the Jesus who is their Christ.

I do believe the Baptists had fewer false stereotypes about us than we had about them.

I was always aware that they were hosting this Conference for us, to be <u>with</u> us and without missionary intent. Never did one feel that this was a Jewish intrustion into a Christian exclusion. It was what human relations is supposed to be all about.

Exciting too, was the fact that the Southern Baptists have not been in the forefront of the ecumenical movement in Christianity, and so they did not bring tired formulas to solve new problems. There was a freshness and a depth suggesting much promise. An unspoken motto was "We need each other for our separate tasks as well as our shared commitments."

If there was, and I suspect there was, some condescension in my going to the Conference — I forgot it until this reflecting upon all the learning I received, and all the enriched feeling I will continue to have.

These were not double monologues on the "Death of God" and Man, but single dialogues on the God of Life and Man.

Thank you, thank you, thank you, for the opportunity of learning and teaching and friending and befriending.

As a member of the American Jewish Committee I am very proud of the experience which at the Jewish-Baptist Scholars Conference was mine — an experience I am proud to relate made me a little more humble in the presence of such delight-filled diversity.

With warmest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Will Kramer

Dr. Will Kramer
Associate Professor in Religious Studies at San Fernando Valley State College; Adjunct Associate Professor in Jewish Cultural History at the HUC-JIR California School

3111 Kelton Avenue
Los Angeles, California 90034

Sentinel 8/28/69 SENTINEL

AT INTER-FAITH DIALOGUE

Baptist Theologian Says Christian Anti-Semitism 'Contrary To Gospel'

LOUISVILLE, Ky., (JTA) — A Baptist theologian said here this week that "Christian responsibility for anti-Semitism and the participation by Christians in the persecution of Jews" were contrary "to the love of Christ and the gospel of a loving God."

Dr. A. Jase Jones, area missionary director for the Southern Baptist Home Mission Board in Kansas City, Mo., spoke in an interfaith dialogue at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. The gathering was sponsored jointly by the Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention and the Interreligious Affairs department of the American Jewish Committee.

Dr. Jones acknowledged that some Baptist writers make statements that are examples of those attitudes and expressions "which can be considered anti-Semitic or as contributing to the creation and continuation of anti-Semitic attitudes and emotions."

He stressed, however, that in recent years Baptist articles and books have sought to counter the thust of anti-Semitism "by creating a correct understanding of the Jew and an appreciation of him." Quoting from E. Luther Copeland's "Christianity and World Religions," Dr. Jones stated. "The Christian's primary responsibility is to love the Jew." In quotations from other works, the Baptist leader noted that "Jews are no more guilty of Jesus' death than non-Jews" and added, "the so-called Christians who have participated in the persecution of Jews did not represent the spirit of Jesus or his teachings."

'Religious Anti-Semitism'

Dr. Eric C. Rust, professor of Christian Apologetics at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, told the conference that religious motivation was at the root of most contemporary anti-Semitism as it had been throughout history. He said "anti-Semitism as practiced by so-called Christian civilizations is a manifestation of the pagan depths in the human soul, even when it has been superficially Christianized." He said the pogroms of Czarist Russia and the Nazi Holocaust "sprang from a seed which the Church itself sowed in the early days of its history." He said the Roman Church, in acknowledging its guilt, "challenges all Christian men to stand by its side."

The Jewish and Baptist theologians and scholars confronted a basic issue that has always been a sore point in interfaith dialogues between Christians and Jews—the mission of the former to convert and the latter to resist conversion. Dr. Lionel Rubunof, professor of social science and philosophy at York University, Toronto, opened the discussion by declaring, "I find myself, as a Jew committed to a covenant which excludes the possibility of my being converted. But when I confront you, I confront someone who has a commitment to my conversion."

He said that although missionary endeavors to convert would necessarily end in failure in his case, they were bound to create frustration for those who wished to convert him. "I think that in my effort to resist your invitation to conversion and in the anguish I feel when you open your arms in love and friendship and I must refuse, we both learn something about our identities and we leave each other better off than when we first came together."

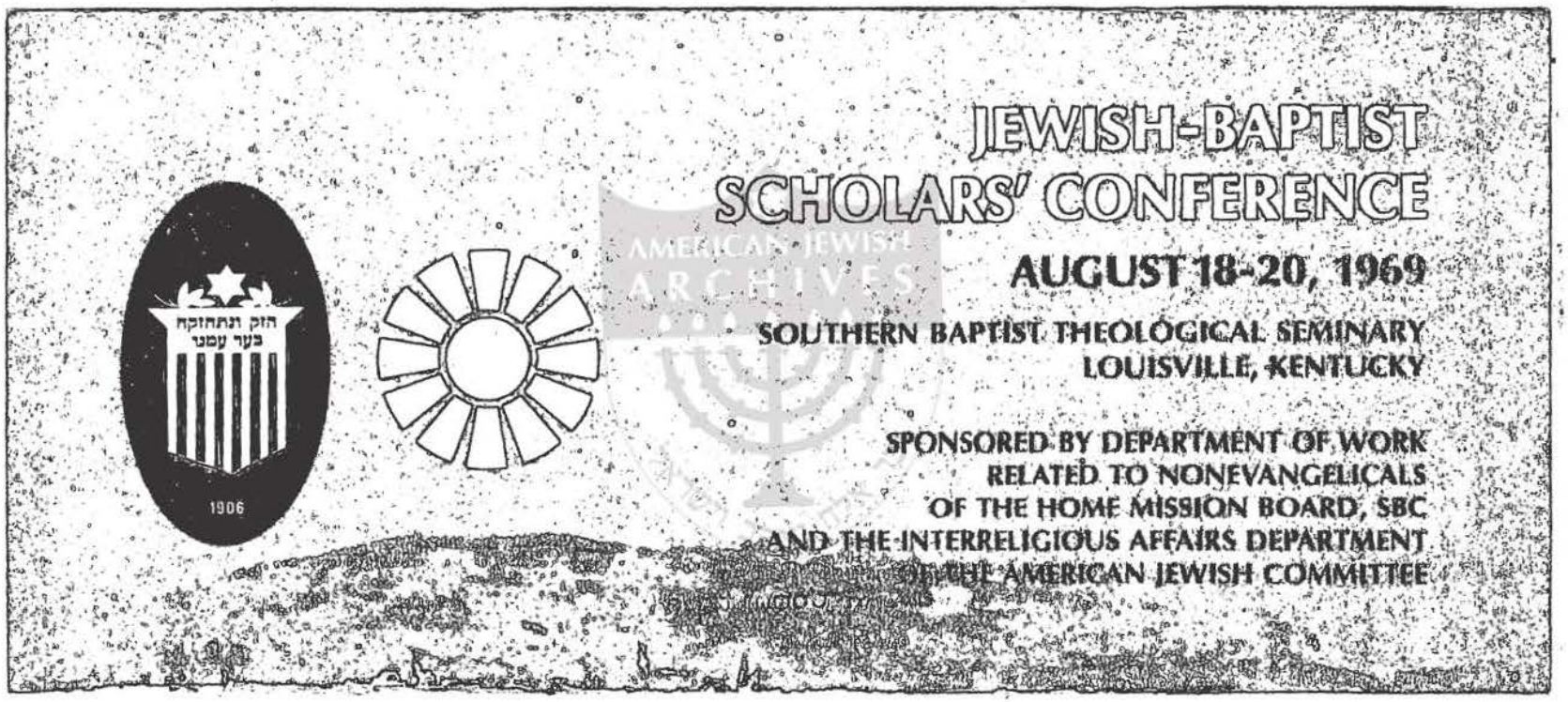
Dr. Luther E. Copeland, professor of missions of the Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Wake Forest, N.C. acknowledged that Baptists are interested in converting Jews. "If we can't admit this, we are not ready to face each other in dialogue," he said. But, he added, "if it is a burden for you to feel yourself as the object of Christian desires to convert you, then understand that it is an excruciating burden to be the agent of such desires or such attempts at conversion. You don't cease being a Christian because you meet frustration or carry an excruciating burden."

Rabbi Marc H. Tannenbaum, director of the AJCommittee's interreligious affairs department told the interfaith group that the Nazi Holocaust and the meaning of the State of Israel to the Jewish people and to Judaism were the "two decisive events of contemporary Jewish experience" that "must be taken into account in any effort to understand the interior life of the Jew today."

Rabbi Tannenbaum maintained that it was impossible to understand Jews or Judaism today without understanding "the impact of American Jews on the Arab-Israeli war of June, 1967." He said Arab threats to destroy Israel and annihilate its population drew "a response of Jewish unity, of Jewish solidarity, and of a new consciousness of interdependence in fate and destiny that is literally unprecedented in the last 2000 years of Jewish history."

He said that response stemmed in part "from a still deep psychic reaction to the Nazi Holocaust of the 1930s," from a "preoccupation with Christian silence in face of Nazi barbarism" and from feelings of guilt over the silence and inadequacy of the Jewish response.

Rabbi Tannenbaum said the fact that Israel became a haven for the Jewish survivors of the holocaust was one reason for its importance to Jews today.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1906
JEWISH-BAPTIST
SCHOLARS' CONFERENCE
AUGUST 18-20, 1969
SOUTHERN BAPTIST THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY
SPONSORED BY DEPARTMENT OF WORK
RELATED TO NONEVANGELICALS
OF THE HOME MISSION BOARD, SBC
AND THE INTERRELIGIOUS AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT
OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

INTRODUCTION

"All real living is meeting." With these words the late Martin Buber succinctly stated the central purpose of the contemporary dialogue. In our age of "the global village," bound together by instant planetary communications and transportation systems, the building of a human community based on unity amidst diversity has become one of the most urgent necessities. Baptists and Jews, who share uniquely a common reverence for the Bible and its majestic teachings, as well as an historic experience of suffering to preserve freedom of conscience, have a vital contribution to make in redemptive service to the shaping of authentic community, a true "people of God" worthy to help usher in the kingdom of justice and righteousness.

Before Baptists and Jews can serve others, however, they need first to know each other. The stereotypes and mythologies that have prevailed between both communities need to be confronted and challenged by realities and truths. The similarities in shared religious and moral beliefs should be clarified and examined. The vital differences on which Baptists and Jews stake their lives should be understood, in order that differences can be made a source of irenic enrichment rather than of polemic estrangement.

To the realization of these purposes this consultation is hopefully dedicated. The Southern Baptist Convention and the American Jewish Committee join in prayer that God will bless "the work of the hands" of the participants in this pioneer national undertaking who make Baptist-Jewish living history by their very first meeting together.

Monday, August 18

2:00-5:00 P.M. . . . . Registration

5:30 . . . . . Fellowship Supper

THEME I: The Historical and Cultural Setting
Joseph R. Estes, *presiding*

7:00 . . . . . Welcome Address — Duke K. McCall

Tuesday, August 19

THEME II: The Meaning of Israel
Marc Tanenbaum, *presiding*

9:00 A.M. ..... *The Meaning of Israel: A Jewish View*
Abraham J. Heschel

Response George Harrison

Coffee Break

10:15 ..... *The Meaning of Israel: A Baptist View*
Eric C. Rust

Response Rabbi David Polish

General Discussion Period

2:00 P.M. ..... Group Discussions

THEME III: The Meaning of 'Conversion/Turning'
William E. Hull, *presiding*

4:00 ..... *The Meaning of 'Turning'* (TeShuvah) *in Judaism*
Edward Gershfield

Response Robert G. Torbet

7:00 ..... *The Meaning of 'Conversion' in the Christian Faith*
Frank Stagg

Wednesday, August 20

THEME IV: The Meaning of Messiah
A. James Rudin, *presiding*

9:00 A.M. ..... *The Meaning of Messiah in Jewish Thought*
Ellis Rivkin

Response Clayton Harrop

Coffee Break

10:15 ..... *The Understanding of the Messiah from a Christian Perspective*
William Hendricks

Response Theodore Friedman

General Discussion Period

2:00 P.M. ..... Group Discussions

THEME V: Religion and Social Responsibility
Foy Valentine, *presiding*

4:00 ..... *Religion and the State: A Jewish View*
Samuel Rabinove

4:45 ..... *Church-State Relations in Baptist Thought*
William M. Pinson, Jr.

7:00 ..... *Prejudice and Social Justice*
Arthur Gilbert

JEWISH PARTICIPANTS

Adler, Selig, Professor of History, State University of New York, Buffalo, New York
Devine, Leonard, Rabbi, B'rith Sholom, Louisville, Kentucky
Diamond, Chester, Rabbi, Congregation Adath Israel, Louisville, Kentucky
Dinnerstein, Leonard, Professor of History, Fairleigh Dickinson University, Teaneck, New Jersey and Columbia University, New York, New York
Falk, Randall, Rabbi, The Temple, Nashville, Tennessee
Friedman, Theodore, Rabbi, Congregation Beth El, South Orange, New Jersey
Gaynor, Nathan, Director, B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
Gershfield, Edward, Rabbi, Professor of Talmud, Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York, New York
Gilbert, Arthur, Rabbi, Assistant to the President, Jewish Reconstructionist Foundation, New York, New York
Gittelman, Joseph, Rabbi, Congregation Adath Jeshurun, Louisville, Kentucky
Heschel, Abraham Joshua, Rabbi, Professor of Jewish Ethics and Mysticism, Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York, New York
Kling, Simcha, Rabbi, Congregation Adas-Jeshurun, Louisville, Kentucky
Kramer, William, Professor of Jewish Cultural History, Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati, Ohio
Neiman, David, Professor of Theology, Boston College, Chestnut Hills, Massachusetts
Polish, David, Rabbi, Congregation Beth Emet, Evanston, Illinois
Rabinove, Samuel, Director, Legal Division, American Jewish Committee, New York, New York
Rivkin, Ellis, Adolph S. Ochs Professor of Jewish History, Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati, Ohio

Roodman, Solomon, Rabbi, Congregation Anshei Sford, Louisville, Kentucky
Rubinoff, Lionel, Professor of Social Science and Philosophy, York University, Toronto, Canada
Rudin, A. James, Rabbi, Assistant Director, Interreligious Affairs Department, American Jewish Committee, New York, N. Y.
Samuelson, Norbert, Rabbi, Director, B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey
Schachtel, Hyman Judah, Rabbi, Temple Beth Israel, Houston, Texas
Shaw, Peter, Associate Editor, *Commentary Magazine*
Silberman, Lou H., Hillel Professor of Jewish Literature and Thought, Vanderbilt Divinity School, Nashville, Tennessee
Tanenbaum, Marc, Rabbi, Director Interreligious Affairs Department, American Jewish Committee, New York, New York
Walker, Herbert, Rabbi, Adath Israel, Louisville, Kentucky

Estep, William, Professor of Church History, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas
Estes, Joseph R., Secretary, Department of Work Related to Nonevangelicals, Home Mission Board, SBC, Atlanta, Georgia
Fisher, Ben C., Executive Secretary, Council on Christian Higher Education, Baptist State Convention of North Carolina, Raleigh, North Carolina
Harrison, George, Associate Professor of Old Testament, New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, New Orleans, Louisiana
Harrop, Clayton, Associate Professor of New Testament, Golden Gate Baptist Theological Seminary, San Francisco, California
Hendricks, William, Associate Professor of Theology, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas
Hill, Leonard, Managing Editor, *The Baptist Program,* Nashville, Tennessee
Hollon, Ellis W., Jr., Associate Professor of Philosophy of Religion, Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Wake Forest, North Carolina
Hooper, Frank, III, Missionary in Israel, Foreign Mission Board, SBC, (Greer, South Carolina)
Hull, William E., Professor of New Testament and Dean of the School of Theology, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky
Igleheart, Glenn A., Area Missionary Director, Department of Work Related to Nonevangelicals, Home Mission Board, SBC, (Atlanta, Georgia), Cedar Grove, New Jersey
Jones, A. Jase, Area Missionary Director, Department of Work Related to Nonevangelicals, Home Mission Board, SBC, (Atlanta, Georgia), Kansas City, Missouri
Lamberth, Roy C., Pastor, Fern Creek Baptist Church, Fern Creek, Kentucky
Lewis, James B., Pastor, Westport Road Baptist Church, Louisville, Kentucky
McCall, Duke K., President of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky
McLin, William R., Area Missionary Director, Department of Work Related to Nonevangelicals, Home Mission Board, SBC (Atlanta, Georgia), Los Angeles, California
Menkus, Belden, Writer-Lecturer, Bergenfield, New Jersey
Mitchell, William B., Assistant Secretary, Department of Work Related to Nonevangelicals, Home Mission Board, SBC, Atlanta, Georgia

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Newport, John P., Professor of Philosophy of Religion, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas
Pinson, William M., Jr., Associate Professor of Christian Ethics, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas
Rogers, William H., Pastor, Melbourne Heights Baptist Church, Louisville, Kentucky
Rust, Eric C., Professor of Christian Apologetics, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky
Sharp, Carmen, Pastor, Deer Park Baptist Church, Louisville, Kentucky
Silver, Stewart H., Pastor, First Baptist Church, Seymour, Indiana
Sizemore, B. A., Jr., Associate Professor of Old Testament, Midwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Kansas City, Missouri.
Smith, Ralph Lee, Professor of Old Testament, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas
Stagg, Frank, Professor of New Testament and Greek, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky
Starkes, M. Thomas, Assistant Secretary, Department of Work Related to Nonevangelicals, Home Mission Board, SBC, Atlanta, Georgia

NEWS FROM THE COMMITTEE

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, PLaza 1-4000

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people.

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

LOUISVILLE, Ky., August 19....."Two decisive events of contemporary Jewish experience must be taken into account in any effort to understand the interior life of the Jew today: the first is the Nazi holocaust; the other is the meaning of the State of Israel to the Jewish people and to Judaism," Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, Director of the Interreligious Affairs Department of the American Jewish Committee, declared today.

Rabbi Tanenbaum made his statement at a meeting of more than 70 leading Southern Baptist and Jewish scholars at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary here. The three-day conference, which began last night, aims to develop mutual understanding and cooperation between the two groups. It is the first inter-faith dialogue ever held between Southern Baptists and Jews on a national level.

No one can truly understand Jews or Judaism today unless he understands the impact on American Jews of the Arab-Israeli War of June, 1967, Rabbi Tanenbaum stated.

"The threat of Arab leaders to annihilate the two-and-a-half million Jews of Israel resulted in a response of Jewish unity, of Jewish solidarity, and of a new consciousness of interdependence in fate and destiny that is literally unprecedented in the last 2,000 years of Jewish history, he declared.

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The concern of American Jews for Israel today, stems in part from a still deep psychic reaction to the Nazi holocaust of the 1930's, to a preoccupation with "Christian silence in the face of Nazi barbarism," and to the "gnawing realization of Jewish silence and/inadequacy of Jewish response to their brthers on the Continent as they were being prepared like sheep unto the slaughter," the Rabbi maintained.

"The transformed consciousness of the Jewish people and their bonds of solidarity between the Diaspora and Israel is a refusal to give Hitler and the Nazi murderers a final victory over both Jews and civilized humanity," he said.

But the fact that Israel became a haven for those Jews who survived the holocaust is only one reason for its importance to Jews today, Rabbi Tanenbaum continued. An equally important fact is that Israel is the only place in the world where Jews have created, out of the distinctive Jewish ethos and their own intellectual, spiritual and moral resources, their own economic, military, political and social institutions.

"It is in Israel that the Jewish religious and moral systems are being put to the crucial test," Rabbi Tanenbaum declared. "Jews cannot tolerate the prospect of the undermining of the State of Israel, or the weakening of the unique experiment and mission of the Jewish people and society in Israel, for in their survival and destiny there is at stake the success or failure of the nearly 4,000-year old mission of the people, the faith, and the land of Israel."

In a companion address in this morning's session, Dr. Eric C. Rust, Professor of Christian Apologetics at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville, spoke on the Jew in Christian thought and practice.

Tracing the persecution of Jews from Biblical times to the present, Dr. Rust stated that "anti-Semitism as practiced by so-called Christian civilizations is a manifestation of the pagan depths in the human soul, even when it has been superficially Christianized.

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Dr. Rust emphasized the fact that religious motivation is at the root of most anti-Semitism today, as it has been throughout history.

Referring specifically to the charge of deicide, he declared, "To hold all Jews responsible for the part played by a few Jews two thousand years ago is the same thing as holding all Italians responsible for the crucifixion because Jesus died on a Roman cross and was put there by Roman soldiers."

In an analysis of twentieth century anti-Semitism, the professor stated that the pogrom of Czarist Russia and the Nazi holocaust "sprang from a seed which the Church itself sowed in the early days of its history."

"We can be grateful that at last the Roman Church has acknowledged its guilt for fostering anti-Semitism over religious reasons," Dr. Rust declared. "In so doing, it challenges all Christian men to stand by its side."

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FROM THE

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, PLaza 1-4000

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people.

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR RELEASE SATURDAY, July 12, 1969

NEW YORK...A three-day Baptist-Jewish scholars' conference sponsored jointly by the Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention and the Interreligious Affairs Department of the American Jewish Committee will be held August 18-20, 1969, at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville, Kentucky, it was announced today by the conference co-chairmen, Dr. Joseph R. Estes, Secretary of the Department of Work Related to Nonevangelicals, Home Mission Board, Southern Baptist Convention, Atlanta, and Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, National Director of the Interreligious Affairs Department of the American Jewish Committee, New York.

The conference, which will involve representatives of the Southern Baptist Convention and all branches of American Judaism and Jewry, will involve a select group of approximately 50 of the foremost Baptist and Jewish theologians and scholars in the United States. The Southern Baptist Convention, with more than 11,000,000 members, is America's largest non-Catholic denomination. The American Jewish Committee has been a pioneer in advancing interreligious communication, with special reference to the role of religious education and its influence on prejudice.

The program coordinators for the conference are Dr. Glenn Ingleheart, Northeastern area Director for the Baptist Home Mission Board's Department of Work Related to Nonevangelicals; Rabbi A. James Rudin, AJC Assistant Director of Interreligious Affairs; and Dr. Gerald Strober, AJC Program Consultant on Religious Education Curriculum Studies.

The program will seek to uncover new ground by focusing on some specific historic, theological and sociological aspects of relationships between Baptists and Jews. After introductory addresses that will describe the context of discussion, the conference will concentrate on four themes as seen from Baptist and Jewish perspectives: the meaning of Israel; the meaning of Conversion/Turning; the meaning of Messiah; and Religion and Social Responsibility.

The opening session will hear a paper on "Jewish History in the Southern United States," by Dr. Leonard Dinnerstein, Professor of History, Fairleigh Dickinson University; followed by "Images of the Jew in Southern Baptist Literature," by Dr. A. Jase Jones, of the Southern Baptist Home Mission Board, Kansas City, Missouri.

A second session will hear a paper on "The Meaning of Israel: a Jewish View," by Dr. Abraham Joshua Heschel, Professor of Jewish Ethics and Mysticism, Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, and "The Meaning of Israel: A P[illegible] Ver[illegible]," by C. Rist, Professor of Christian Apologetics, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville.

A third session will be devoted to an examination of "The Meaning of Conversion/Turning: in Judaism," by Dr. Edward Gershfield, Professor of Talmud, Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York; and "The Meaning of Conversion in the Christian Faith," by Dr. Frank Stagg, Professor of New Testament and Greek, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville.

A fourth session will focus on "The Meaning of the Messiah, in Jewish Thought," by Dr. Ellis Rivkin, Professor of Jewish History, Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati, and "The Understanding of the Messiah from Christian Perspective," by Dr. William Hendricks, Associate Professor of Theology, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas.

A sixth session will explore the theme "Religion and Social Responsibility" with a paper on "Religion and the State: Jewish View," by Samuel Rabinove, Director of the Legal Division

of the American Jewish Committee; and "Church-State Relations in Baptist Thought," by Dr. William N. Pinson, Jr., Associate Professor of Christian Ethics, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Fort Worth, Texas.

A paper on "Prejudice and Social Justice" will be presented by Rabbi Arthur Gilbert, Assistant to the President of the Jewish Reconstructionist Foundation, New York. A parallel paper on "Christians, Racism and Anti-Semitism," by Dr. Bob E. Adams of the Foreign Mission Board, Southern Baptist Convention, Richmond, Virginia, will be presented at the final session.

The closing discussion will concentrate on the issue of "Working Together for Social Justice" with final statements on "Prospectus for the Future," by Dr. Estes and Rabbi Tanenbaum.

A welcoming address by Dr. Duke K. McCall, President of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, will be presented on Monday evening.

The program committee that planned the conference consists of:

Dr. Joseph R. Estes, Secretary, Department of Work related to Nonevangelicals, Home Mission Board, Southern Baptist Convention, Atlanta, Ga.

Dr. William Hull, Professor of New Testament and Dean of the School of Theology, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky.

Dr. Glenn Igleheart, Director for Northeastern States, Department of Work Related to Nonevangelicals, Home Mission Board, Southern Baptist Convention, Cedar Grove, N.J.

Dr. Albert McClellan, Program Planning Secretary, Southern Baptist Convention, Nashville, Tenn.

Rev. William B. Mitchell, Field Ministries, Department of Work Related to Nonevangelicals, Home Mission Board, Southern Baptist Convention, Atlanta, Ga.

Dr. Foy Valentine, Executive Secretary, Christian Life Commission, Southern Baptist Convention, Nashville, Tenn.

Dr. Elmer S. West, Associate Secretary, Christian Life Commission, Southern Baptist Convention, Nashville, Tenn.

Mrs. Judith H. Banki, Assistant Director, Interreligious Affairs Department, American Jewish Committee, New York.

Dr. Ben Zion Bokser, Professor of Homiletics, Jewish Theological Seminary of America, New York, and Rabbi, Forest Hills Jewish Center, New York.

Rabbi A. James Rudin, Assistant Director, Interreligious Affairs Department, American Jewish Committee, New York.

Dr. Gerald S. Strober, Consultant on Religious Curricula, American Jewish Committee, New York

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, National Director, Interreligious Affairs Department, American Jewish Committee, New York

Dr. Michael Wyschogrod, Professor of Philosophy, City College of New York, New York

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FROM THE [redacted]

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, PLaza 1-4000

FOR RELEASE [illegible] 19

Louisville, Ky., August 18..."Christian responsibility for anti-Semitism and the participation by Christians in the persecution of the Jews has consequences for Christians and Christian testimony," declared Dr. A. Jase Jones, Area Missionary Director for the Southern Baptist Home Mission Board in Kansas City, Mo., at the opening session tonight (Monday) of an interfaith conference of Southern Baptist and Jewish scholars at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary in Louisville, Ky.

Quoting Joseph R. Estes, a prominent Baptist scholar, Dr. Jones stated that "any prejudice, any acts of discrimination, and certainly any acts of violence or persecution directed against Jews are contrary to the love of Christ and the gospel of a loving God."

Dr. Jones' address followed an earlier presentation by Dr. Leonard Dinnerstein, Professor of History at Fairleigh Dickinson and Columbia Universities, who stated that "Jews in the South have been adversely affected by Southern religious teachings."

The unprecedented Baptist-Jewish meeting, which brings together more than 70 Jewish and Baptist theologians for a sharing of views on theology and social responsibility, is sponsored jointly by the interreligious affairs department of the American Jewish Committee and the Department of Work Related to Non-evangelicals of the Southern Baptist Convention's Home Mission Board.

Discussing "Jewish History in the Southern United States" in the scene-setting opening session, Dr. Dinnerstein declared that, although Jews have been a very small minority in the South and today constitute only one percent of the entire Southern population, they have always been objects of religious prejudice there.

"In times of crises, Jews frequently became the butt of prejudices and scorn, but as the emergencies passed, public antagonism subsided," he added.

In light of a background of more than two centuries of relatively constant subjection to prejudice from the majority group, Dr. Dinnerstein declared that Southern Jews today live in fear of anti-Semitism.

"Economically, Jews have always prospered in the region; socially, however, they have never been fully accepted," he stated. "Save for religious differences, though, Jews have made every effort to remain as inconspicuous as possible and to adopt -- at least in public -- all of the standard Southern attitudes. Hence, they have been grudgingly tolerated."

But the awareness that they are being merely tolerated, he added, makes them increasingly cautious in their public activities.

"They are continually looking over their shoulders to see what their Gentile neighbors are doing, and are constantly anxious lest some Jew might offend members of the dominant group," Dr. Dinnerstein said.

"Whether past experiences will continue to set the tone for the future is difficult to say," Dr. Dinnerstein concluded. "At present, Jews are a dying breed in the South. Outside of Florida, not only has the ratio of Jews to the rest of the population been declining in every Southern state since 1937, but in six of them -- Alabama, Arkansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi and Tennessee -- the total number of Jews is lower than it had been in 1927."

In the second major address of the evening, Dr. Jones, speaking on "Images of the Jew in Southern Baptist Literature," acknowledged the fact that some Baptist writers "make statements that are examples of those attitudes and expressions which can be considered anti-Semitic or as contributing to the creation and continuation of anti-Semitic attitudes and emotions."

He stressed the fact, however, that in recent years Baptist articles and books have sought to counter the thrust of anti-Semitism "by creating a correct understanding of the Jew and an appreciation of him."

Quoting from E. Luther Copeland's "Christianity and World Religions," Dr. Jones stated:

"The Christian's primary responsibility is to love the Jew. Although he has a responsibility to love all people, the Christian is to love the Jew in a special sense because Jews are non-Christians with whom Christians are in immediate contact, because the Christian shares with them the common heritage of old Testament religion, because our Lord was a Jew, and most of all because of the centuries of persecution which Jews have suffered at the hands of Christians."

In quotations from C.E. Autrey and Nathan Cohn Brooks, Jr., Dr. Jones cited "the fact that Jews are no more guilty of Jesus' death than non-Jews," and the comment that "the so-called Christians who have participated in the persecution of Jews did not represent the spirit of Jesus or his teachings."

Dr. Jones reported that, in the past several years, Southern Baptist publications have featured articles about other faiths and their adherence. Describing the articles that have dealt with Jews, he stated:

"In these articles, we first see the Jew in the United States as a refugee from religious oppression, fleeing in 1654 to the new country with the same desire which motivated the Pilgrim Fathers, that is, to find a place where he could worship God in peace and live in freedom. We see him continuing to suffer oppression for religious reasons but persevering courageously to establish a right for himself and others to worship God in freedom...not among the wealthy landed class in the beginning, and often denied entry to certain occupations, he works industriously and intelligently and eventually establishes some of the country's largest commercial enterprises and contributes to the economic and social development of the country...from a small, weak, almost defenseless band of immigrants, he forges a strong American Jewish community and center of Jewish spiritual life."

Listing the way the articles picture the Jew religiously, Dr. Jones declared:

"He differs with the Christian in his view of immortality, the Messiah, on salvation, on whether the Kingdom of God is or is not to be of this world, and that faith in Jesus removes the requirement to observe Jewish law. His differences with Christians stem not only from opposing theological positions, but from the fact that Christians have killed and persecuted Jews throughout history."

These differences between Baptist and Jewish belief, as well as the attitudes that exist between members of the two groups, will be the subject of scholarly discussion in Louisville for the next few days.

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8/18/69

FROM THE

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, PLaza 1-4000

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people.

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

LOUISVILLE, Ky., August 20.....The underlying problem in any theological discussion between Baptist and Jew is the fact that the Jew is always aware of the Baptist's basic sense of evangelical mission, declared Dr. Lionel Rubinoff, Professor of Social Science and Philosophy at York University, Toronto, Canada, in a panel discussion last night at the unprecedented Jewish-Baptist Scholars' Conference, now meeting at the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary here.

The conference is sponsored jointly by the Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention and the American Jewish Committee. The co-chairmen of the conference are Dr. Joseph R. Estes for the SBC and Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum for the AJC.

In a frank discussion among 70 Baptist and Jewish scholars and theologians, Dr. Rubinoff stated:

"I find myself, a committed Jew, committed to a covenant which excludes the possibility of my being converted. But when I confront you, I confront someone who has a committment to my conversion."

Dr. Rubinoff stated that, although the missionary endeavors of Baptists would necessarily end in failure in his case, and was bound to create frustration for those who wished to convert him, there was nevertheless a great value in the confrontation.

"I think that in my effort to resist your invitation to conversion," he said, "and in the anguish I feel when you open your arms in love and friendship and I must refuse, we both learn something about our identities and we leave each other better off than when we first came together."

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The kind of interfaith meeting now taking place in Louisville, and the prospect of similar meetings between Baptists and Jews in the future "promises a very exciting period in the renewal of theology and in the exploration and celebration of the religious experience," Dr. Rubinoff declared.

In an extended discussion of the Baptist-Jewish relationship, Dr. E. Luther Copeland, Professor of Missions of the Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, Wake Forest, N.C. acknowledged that Baptists are indeed interested in converting Jews and stated, "if we can't admit this, we are not ready to face each other in dialogue."

But he added, "if it is a burden for you to feel yourself as the object of Christian desires to convert you, then understand that it is an excruciating burden to be the agent of such desires or such attempts at conversion."

Describing his sense of evangelical responsibility, Dr. Copeland continued:

"Suppose we cease this and enter in empathy and love into the Jewish community--loving you, listening to you, learning from you--and still cannot give up a missionary conviction that relates to the Jew as it does to other people. You don't cease being a Christian because you meet frustration or carry an excruciating burden."

Discussing actual practices of missionaries, Dr. Copeland stated, "any aggressive, coercive evangelism--psychological aggression or any other kind-- is wrong from the Christian standpoint."

In a discussion from the floor, Rabbi Arthur Gilbert, Assistant to the President of the Jewish Reconstructionist Foundation, New York, addressing himself to Dr. Copeland, said:

"What you really mean to do is not conversion work but witnessing. You don't do this by ringing doorbells and handing out tracts. You do it by letting God into your own life, by creating a community of such selfhood, such humanity, that it is a profound witness in its own right."

"Believe me," he added, "I'd like to compete with you for such witness."

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Papers

Jewish-Baptist Scholars' Conference
Louisville, Kentucky
August 20, 1969

"The Understanding of the Messiah from a Christian Perspective"

A CHRISTIAN VIEW OF MESSIAH

The Three Faces of Christ

William L. Hendricks

The original invitation for this paper was accompanied with the suggested title " A Baptist View of the Messiah." The title was rejected out of hand as being too limiting. The title selected was the present one, "A Christian View of Messiah."

In retrospect the limiting view was the easier. An author writing under the title of a Baptist view of messiah could have garnered christological expressions from Baptist confessions of faith, have quoted some "name brands" and have concluded with personal scholarly, sermonic, or emotional affirmations. He then could have safely appealed to our well-known principle of autonomy wherein one Baptist can never speak for all Baptists. Now one is saddled with the task of speaking not specifically for the Baptists but genetically for all Christians. The assignment is Herculean and the result plebian. Only well worn truisms make the assignment possible and the presentation feasible. Such truisms are (1) There is no one Christian view of messiah. (2) Christianity and Judaism differ as to the identification of the messiah. Or to phrase it with Sandmel, there is a difference between the question of who Jesus was and what he was.[1] (3) No one individual from a large historical religious community can speak definitively for all members of that community about any specific thing. It is important at the outset to acknowledge these truisms or more politely, presuppositions. The concepts of development, divergency, and difficulty in assessing a norm are hereby honestly acknowledged. This paper is one way of describing what Christians think about the messiah.

The author's thesis is that in grasping and conceptualizing any phenomenon it may (must) be done at diverse levels or ways. This thesis gives rise to the subtitle of the paper, The Three Faces of Christ, and provides the outline for the material. The examples of each stream are discussed methodologically rather than descriptively. Space forbids saying what all these examples say even by digest of their thought. What is attempted is a description of three various approaches to messiah.

My thesis is that for an adequate understanding of a Christian view of messiah one must have awareness of three levels or streams of expression about the messiah.

i) There is the exegetical stream which utilizes the full resources of scholarship to ascertain the historical context of Jewish and early Christian expressions of messiah and messianic expectation. This is the descriptive level where, theoretically at least, personal religious orientation is transcended and the linguistic, textual, historical faculties are utilized to provide the bruta facta however small the body of conclusions which accrue.

This level is admittedly an esoteric one, and to date has been the most extensive way in which Jews and Christians have discussed the concept "Messiah." Even at this level of discussion wide divergencies have appeared and interests other than "historical objectivity" have prevailed.

The positive gains of the descriptive approach are self apparent. Among these gains are: (a) a broader awareness of the era in which rabbinic Judaism flourished and the Christian church was begun; (b) a somewhat dispassionate context in which

Jews and Christians of goodwill and scholarly competence may share dialogue. A decided weakness of the exegetical or descriptive approach is the fact that such scholarly discussions seldom relate to the broader phenomena of Judaism and Christianity. That is, such discussions are largely for the academy but have small intrinsic value for the life of the synagogue and the church. What one understands from these discussions is a messianic idea. The exegetical and descriptive concepts of messiah are a starting point for discussion. This should not, however, comprise the only or perhaps even the basic approach in Jewish-Christian dialogue.

2) The second stream of Christian concepts about the messiah is the historico-philosophical stream. These views consider the broader implications of what messiah implies. These implications are placed in apologetic, missionary, philosophical, and psychological molds. One asks in these categories such questions as how can Jesus be the Christ? How can we express what it means to say a particular man embodies a general religious category? How shall we describe a man who is other than man? How does the concept of divine messiah fit into a philosophical world view and into the broader phenomena of history of religions? How can one rationally explain his confession of faith? How can he explain his faith to another?

The positive gains of the historico-theological stream are: (1) the observer of such gains will have dialogue with the "better minds" and more lasting forms of expressions as to what the concept messiah means to the structure of Christianity; (2) the observer will discover organic and rational explanations as to why Christianity has felt obliged to retain the Old Testament and to explain its existence and peculiarities especially to Jews. A weakness of the historico-theological stream is the awareness that these formal and creedal statements have shaped the policy and provided the scaffolding of Christianity; but they, like the exegetical approach, have not accounted for the dynamic nor displayed the motivational force of Christianity.

3) The third stream of Christian concepts about messiah is the cultic or devotional perspectives. This stream has been less affected by the other streams than those involved in the technical studies of messianism would care to acknowledge. This stream is represented by popular religion, by worship and liturgy, and most especially by prayer and hymns. This stream of messianic ideas is more amorphous and diffuse than the more articulated stream of historico-theological insights and the more scholarly and judicious expressions of the exegetical stream.

The one strong advantage of exploring the devotional concepts of messiah in Christianity is that one comes conceptually to that which motivates, is grasped, assimilated and acted upon. Indeed, a phenomenological study of contemporary Christianity could scarcely explain the life and faith of Christianity without recourse to the devotional and cultic insights. Weaknesses of the devotional insights are apparent when those who propose these views use the inherent missionary and apologetic perspectives of the devotional stream to violate the autonomy of the inquirer or go beyond the bounds of good taste. Often the scholarly or historical inquirer is reluctant to and wary of impinging upon the emotional or volitional element of a religion not his own-- or, in many instances, of any religion.

FACE ONE. THE DESCRIPTIVE

The descriptive or exegetical approach to the concept of messiah can and has been shared by Jewish and Christian scholars alike for different reasons but with overlapping conclusions. Examples of this approach are Joseph Klausner's The Messianic Idea in Israel and S. Mowinckel's He That Cometh.[2] The Jewish scholar Klausner uses chronological literary divisions to present his material. The Christian Mowinckel uses chronological-thematic divisions. There are, to be sure, distinctions and differences in the works of these two. However, their similarities

are more telling. Understandably Klausner does not discuss the New Testament ideas of messiah specifically, and he has an apologetic summary section on the difference between the Jewish and Christian messiah. Mowinckel pushes his kingship motif, quotes Klausner, and shows a keen awareness of rabbinic materials. Yet within both may be discerned a recognizable messianic expectation which is given clear summary by yet a third scholar, the Jewish Samuel Sandmel.[3] He says that the messianic idea intensified in turbulent times and involved a kingly agent of God who would redress the wrongs of Israel and crush the oppressor. The messiah would vindicate Israel and restore the Davidic dynasty.

To this exegetical description of messiahship found in Judaism is added the distinctively Christian discussion of O. Cullman and R. Bultmann. What is significant is that Cullman and Bultmann differ more radically than Klausner and Mowinckel. Cullman frames his discussion of messiah within the context of Heilsgeschichte and presents the specific title of Messiah in the future, or eschatological works, of Christ. Cullman accepts the idea of Jesus' messianic consciousness but stresses that Jesus avoided the political overtones of the Jewish idea. Bultmann exhibits his religionsgechichte Schule training in stressing the growth or evolution of the title Messiah. He denies a specific messianic awareness of Jesus, and he widens the cleavage between Jesus and the early church, faith and history, the proclaimer and the proclaimed.

The purpose of these examples of the exegetical approach is to illustrate that there is no distinctively Christian view of messiah when the concept of messiahship is approached descriptively. Pure objectivity is a chimera of the nineteenth century. To be sure Klausner is Jewish, our other examples are Christian. Nevertheless and despite their differences there is a residue of agreement. They use one another and other Jewish and Christian scholars freely. It is the presuppositions and conclusions wherein they differ most primarily in the descriptive task.

Christian and Jewish scholars must continue in this type of fruitful interchange. It must however be acknowledged that this is a highly specialized type of conversation. It is a word game not everyone can play. One may come at a concept of messiah via the descriptive and exegetical route. This route may or may not be distinctively Christian depending on the faith of the author and inquirer. The descriptive question is a first level kind of question which asks what a concept means, whence it came, and how it was used in given literary documents. There is no bypassing this first level. There is also no stopping there if full inventory is required.

FACE TWO. THE DOCTRINAL

It is of second level interest to discuss what representative Christian thinkers have understood by the concept messiah. At precisely this point there is an essential difference between Judiasm and Christianity. Christians identify Jesus of Nazareth as the messiah sent by God. Jews do not. This difference cannot be glossed over. Because of the painful and often cruel relationships between the Church and the synagogue in western civilization modern man is loath to discuss the second level of messiah in an assembly of Christians and Jews. I agree with Sandmel there is no desire to relive this tragic past. But any assessment of a Christian view of messiah must consider the doctrinal perspective.

The presentation of Jesus the messiah in a doctrinal way has varied even more than the exegetical level.

Christian doctrine has been molded by at least four concerns: (1) apologetic; (2) philosophical; (3) experiential; and (4) ecclesiastical. Correspondingly we use four examples of how different Christian thinkers in different centuries have utilized

the idea of messiah. These examples are: Justin Martyr (apologetic), Acquinas (philosophical), Schleiermacher (experiential), and Barth (ecclesiastical).

Apologetic. The Dialogue of Justin with Trypho established for centuries Christian apologetic expressions about messiah.[4]

For all the prolix expressions about philosophy, the bulk of Justin's arguments are based on revelational proofs.[5] The Old Testament is ransacked, bent, and dehistoricized to prove that Jesus is God's messiah according to the scriptures, i.e., the Old Testament. The titles of Christ signify his double nature, that is human and divine; and it is proved, to Justin's satisfaction, that He is very God and appeared to the Patriarchs. (cxxvi)

The apologetic approach is rational, revelational and based on an unequivocal idea of truth which can and must be articulated and bolstered with overwhelming proof. In an apologetic approach to messiahship, a Christian feels obliged to prove that Jesus is God's Christ and is thereby God's sole and supreme instrument of salvation. The revelational, apologetic approach to messiah is one of the oldest and most persistent ways in which Christians declare their belief in Jesus as the Christ. Given many refinements and hermeneutical improvements this way continues to be the basic approach of conservative Christianity to the question of Jesus as Messiah. This approach is also the basic way in which most evangelical Christian groups seek to relate to the Jewish community. The conclusion of the Dialogue with Trypho says two important things. Justin and Trypho remain friends. Justin remains Christian and Trypho remains Jewish.

Philosophical. The philosophical approach to doctrinal expressions about messiah is epitomized in Thomas Acquinas who is reputed to have Christianized Aristotle and Aristotleanized Christianity. Aquinas' perspective of messiah is found in the third part of his Summa.[6]

In all philosophical theologies the concept of messiah is subservient to that of God and often that of man (cf. Temple, Tillich, Chardin). Acquinas places his view of messiah in the third part of his system after (1) God and (2) the rational creature's advance toward God. The messianic section of the Summa is entitled "Christ who as man is our way to God." Acquinas is a scholastic and fits the mold of both Catholic and protestant scholastic presentations of Jesus Christ as Messiah. The two natures of Chalcedon; the preoccupation of how the incarnation transpired, the division of christology and soteriology are all features of scholastic views of the messiah.

It is of interest to note that of the four approaches to a doctrinal view of messiah the philosophical approach might logically be most compatible for dialogue between Jews and Christians. Tillich and Chardin are not unattractive to contemporary Jews. It should be remembered however that it is the breadth and wider concerns, especially the anthropological, which are appealing in these philosophical systems mentioned. Their appeal does not lie in their messianic insights. As indicated above, the philosophical approach to Christian doctrine puts only secondary stress on the concept of messiah.

Experiential. In choosing Schleiermacher as a representative of an experience-oriented doctrinal approach to messiah one must be careful to define experience. Schleiermacher was influenced by pietism, but the directiveness and simplicity of individual experience is not what Schleiermacher represents. Schleiermacher's well-known dictum is: "The piety which forms the basis of all ecclesiastical communions is, considered purely in itself, neither a Knowing nor a Doing, but a modification of Feeling, or of immediate self-consciousness."[7] Schleiermacher is revolutionary

in Christian doctrine because he changes the focus of theology from God to man's awareness of experience with God. In concepts of messiah Schleiermacher stressed the humanity of Christ; emphasized Christ's example in enabling man to be aware of God; disavowed the Chalcedonian two natures in one person formula; and felt that messiah is the best but not exclusive object of theological knowledge--that is, the view of messiah was one of several plural centers around which Schleiermacher's system revolved.[8]

While Schleiermacher himself did not have a central place for the Old Testament, there is much in his thinking to serve as an interchange of Jewish and Christian expressions about Christ. Judaism can appreciate Schleiermacher's insistence of Jesus' humanity and the moral example which Jesus provides for man. What Barth later calls the anthropocentric position of Schleiermacher provides one of the basic positions whereby Jews and Christians may discuss the idea of Messiah. Certainly protestant Christian liberalism, the legacy of Schleiermacher, and Reformed Judaism are the two groups of Christians and Jews who feel the closest affinity.

Ecclesiastical. The fourth way Christians have discussed messiah from a doctrinal viewpoint is ecclesiastically or from a positivist presupposition about Jesus Christ as the Messiah. This view is best presented in our time by Karl Barth in his systematic theology, intentionally named, Church Dogmatics. Barth is christocentric de rigeur. He holds, in a binding way, the affirmation that Jesus of Nazareth is God's sole and supreme agent of reconciliation. In a way unique to Christian theology he weaves traditional categories into a new expression of the messiah. Christ as the servant-priest overcomes man's pride. He is the Kingly-Lord who overcomes man's sloth; and he is the Prophet-witness who overcomes man's lie. In all of this there is the dual movement of humiliation and exaltation and an awareness that Christ is both of God and of man. Barth is intransigent. While quite aware of cultural and history of religion difficulties he does not feel his, or rather what he considers the Christian Church's, one basic affirmation--Jesus Christ is Lord--can be compromised for apologetic purposes. Christ only is God's elect one and in this election Israel also is included. The synagogue is the left hand of the church and reminds the ecclesia of the faithfulness of God to his covenant mercy.

Obviously Barth has outraged many Jewish critics who have taken time to explore his weighty tomes. Barthians are even more exasperating for they lack the good humor, breadth, and complete candor which characterized their mentor. It is doubtful that the ecclesiastical or positivist approach of Barth will provide a great platform for dialogue between Christians and Jews. Yet one must ask if he has not, for all the verbiage, set the issue squarely. He does not evade the actual crucial difference which prevails between a Christian and a Jewish view of Messiah.

FACE THREE. THE DEVOTIONAL

The descriptive level of what messiah means is the first level for consideration. It is philological and phenomenological and available to all who exercise the care of historical scholarship or read those who do. The second level of investigation into a Christian view of messiah is the doctrinal. The doctrinal level of messiah is convictional and intentional. Reason, careful wording, and ecclesiastical concensus are hallmarks of the doctrinal approach of a Christian view of messiah. The third, and in many ways most difficult, level of discussion of a Christian view of messiah is the devotional level. This level is difficult because it cannot be grasped with as much objectivity. Empathy is required. Emotional prejudices inevitably attend. However, it is integral to the thesis of this paper that the devotional level of understanding a Christian view of messiah also be explored. Determining which particular stream of devotional insight is the dilemma. While sometimes hard to pinpoint, exegesis and historical backgrounds have some consensus. Even noting what classical theological approaches have prevailed and selecting a worthy

representative for each is difficult. But to say how Christians regard Christ at the devotional level opens protean possibilities. We are now talking about folk religion, about cultus and worship and liturgy. The examples are numberless and their diversity is nearly as great as their individuality. I am deliberately choosing to use contemporary religious slogans and gospel songs used by evangelical Christianity, including Baptists, as my example.

Popular American evangelical Christianity shares the common Christian identification of the messiah. He is Jesus of Nazareth. This Jesus is described, foretold, graphically and historically presented in the Holy Bible. The broad stream of popular piety is unaffected by the exegetical-historical considerations of the descriptive approach or the philosophical-theological expressions of the doctrinal view of messiah. Biblical hermeneutics, for the devotional view, is simple and direct rather than complex and sophisticated. The gospels are taken at face value. The Old Testament is most important for its devotional literature and its preliminary expressions about the messiah.

Jesus Christ is the saviour of the world or more often Jesus Saves. These are slogans frequently in use and blazed in neon lights or scrawled on roadside signs nailed to fenceposts or trees. This expression is a simple way of asserting man's first religious premise and his oldest religious aspiration. The premise is the need for stability and assistance beyond the frailty of his existence and the transcience of all things around him--his need for a god. The hope is that the god will be kindly disposed to the suppliant and render specific and practical aid. In the two words Jesus Saves the Christian of naive expression is asserting that in Jesus Christ God has done that for man which man could not do for himself.

The vicarious acts of God on behalf of man are accomplished in Jesus Christ. The New Testament made large use (many Jewish scholars would insist misuse) of Old Testament concepts of sacrifice to interpret the death of Jesus God's messiah. The hymns of evangelical Christianity focusing on Christ's death and a vicarious sacrificial interpretation of it are legion: "Alas and Did My Saviour Bleed and Did My Sovereign Die"; "Are You Washed in the Blood of the Lamb"; "There is Power in the Blood"; "The Way of the Cross Leads Home."[9] In these emotional expressions of worship one finds great religious insights albeit in simple garb and with less than classic musical accompaniment. It is true that as the adherents of the congregations change in social, economic, and educational values certain of these expressions are modified toward more sophisticated and classical terms. However one facet of the devotional view of the Christian messiah is an expression of vicarious suffering.

Another mark of the devotional expressions of messiah is the worship and praise given to Jesus Christ as God's Messiah. It is this mark which starkly differentiates the Christian and the Jew and the latter, despite earnest attempts at understanding cannot help but raise questions of monotheism and charges of blasphemy. The worship given to Christ is found in such songs as :"All Hail the Power of Jesus' Name"; "Jesus the Very Thought of Thee with Sweetness Fills My Breast";"There is a Name I Love to Hear"(Jesus); "Take the Name of Jesus with You"; "Blessed Be the Name of the Lord "(Jesus). For popular piety the trinity is an accepted but ill-articulated doctrine. God the Father is sometimes stern and unrelenting (e.g., "Jehovah Before Whose Awful Throne We Stand") but Jesus Christ the incarnation of God is near, real, one of mankind's own. He blesses, hears, understands and consoles. By attaching worship to Jesus Christ popular piety feels that God is tangible and real. The old theological bifurcation of immanence vis a vis transcendence is bridged by worshiping a saviour who is "tempted in all points" like mankind and is "yet without sin."

Another stress of the devotional expression of Christian messiah in popular piety is that the Messiah provides for his own both here and in the world to come. Examples of this insight are found in such songs as: "Just When I Need Him Jesus is Near,""Just When I Falter, Just When I Fear" ; "Standing on the Promises of Christ my

King"; "What a Friend We Have in Jesus"; "I Know That My Redeemer Liveth"; "He Is Coming". Religious vitality is preserved only when the deity is construed as active and his actions are forcible, benevolent, and available to man. Popular piety does not reflect on the dilemma of the pre-scientific cosmology of the biblical scholar nor the mystery of a providence which must transcend secondary causality, as in theology. The friendship of Jesus is a close and vital dimension of which folk religion never ceases to give expression and thanksgiving.

Lest one suppose that Freud was reading the Baptist Hymnal when he wrote about religion as Wunsch Wesen it is important to acknowledge that the devotional element and popular piety of all religious groups are fraught with subjective desires. But the demands and ethical life encouraged by a devotional view of messiah are also real. In many Christian homes one sees a motto entitled "The Unseen Guest" which enjoins those present to act worthy of the presence of Christ. Gospel songs reflect on the messiah as an example of conduct: "More Like Jesus Would I Be";"More Like the Master"; "Let Others See Jesus in You." The Messiah is a warrior figure who leads in the struggle of good vs. evil: "Onward, Christian Soldiers"; "Stand Up, Stand Up for Jesus"! "The Son of God Goes Forth to War". One must sacrifice for messiah and obey his will: "Jeuss I My Cross Have Taken"; "I Surrender All"; "Living for Jesus"; "Trust and Obey".

To summarize the devotional focus of messiah as viewed in expressions of popular piety among evangelical Christians includes: the awareness of need for messiah; the affirmation that Jesus Christ is God's messiah who redeems man by vicarious suffering; praise to the messiah for his deeds; confidence that messiah gives aid and comfort in this life and beyond it; and the awareness that the demands of messiah are exceedingly great and he himself provides example for Christian ethic and service.

We have now entered the inner sanctum of our devotional Christian insight about the messiah. It is this level wherein popular Judaism sees much popular Christianity. It gives a feeling of ambivalence, to use a mild term, to a Christian scholar to deal with the three diverse streams of Christian views concerning the messiah. I am sure it must seem utterly confusing to those ab extra. At this level Jewish-Christian discussions are not so much dialogue as comparisons. A rabbi will say: "Yes, we have our popular expressions of piety also."

The three faces have been sketched. The shape of our discussion must depend on our interests, purposes, and inclinations.

CONCLUSION

However, the author feels that dialogue at all three levels may be significant and helpful. The purpose of any confrontation of Jewish-Christian concepts of messiah should be clearly articulated. For example one who asks what a Christian believes about the messiah from an exegetical focus should be referred to lexicons, Bible dictionaries, and New Testament theology texts. One who wants to know what Christianity has thought about Jesus as Messiah should be referred to Schaff's Creeds of Christendom and standard histories of doctrine. One who wants to know what it means to a Christian to worship Jesus as messiah should have recourse to prayer books and hymnals.

A Christian view of Messiah may imply many things. A full and phenomenological discussion of what Jesus as Messiah means to the fabric of Christ faith must, in my opinion, include the descriptive, doctrinal, and devotional elements. It must firmly be asserted that these same streams of any Jewish concept would have to be explored by Christians as a basis for dialogue in its most satisfying implications.

FOOTNOTES

[1]We Jews and Jesus (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), p.30.

[2]Joseph Klausner. The Messianic Idea in Israel, Trans. by W.F. Stinespring (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1955); amd S. Mowinckel. He That Cometh. Trans. by G.W. Anderson (New York: Abingdon Press, 1954).

[3]Sandmel, pp.31ff.

[4]The Ante-Nicene Fathers, Vol. I. Ed. by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., n.d.).

[5]Cf. Bevgt Hagglund. History of Theology. Trans. by G.J. Lund (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1966), p.26.

[6]Cf. George Q. Friel. St. Thomas Aquinas An Outline of the Summa Theologica (Providence, R.I.: Providence College Press, 1950); amd Reginald Garrigou-Lagrange. Christ the Savior A Commentary on the Third Part of St. Thomas' Theological Summa. Trans. by Dom Bede Rose (London: B. Herder Book Co., 1950).

[7]Friedrich Schleiermacher. The Christian Faith. Trans. by H.R. Mackintosh and J.S. Stewart (New York: Harper & Row, Torchbook Series, 1963), I, 5.

[8]For an extended treatment see R.R. Niebuhr. Schleiermacher on Christ and Religion (New York: Charles Scribner & Sons, 1964).

[9]All of the selections listed occur in Baptist Hymnal (Nashville: Convention Press). This hymnal is that most frequently used in churches of the Southern Baptist Convention.

"JEWS IN THE SOUTH"

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Paper delivered at
Southern Baptist-Jewish Scholars Conference
Sponsored by
The Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention
and the Department of Interreligious Affairs of
The American Jewish Committee

August 18-20, 1969
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky

A history of the Jews in the South has yet to be written. This, despite the fact that from the settlement of Georgia in 1732 there has always been at least one Jewish community below the Mason-Dixon line. Moreover, through the various immigration waves to the United States increasing numbers of Jews have made their homes in the South. Economically Jews have always prospered in the region; socially, however, they have never been fully accepted. Save for religious differences, though, Jews have made every effort to remain as inconspicuous as possible and to adopt--at least in public--all of the standard Southern attitudes. Hence they have been grudgingly tolerated. In times of crises Jews frequently became the butt of prejudices and scorn but as the emergencies passed, public antagonism has subsided. Anxious to minimize the causes of strife, Jews have rarely sought retribution for any ills--real or fancied--that they may have suffered from these outbursts. To be Jewish in the South has meant to keep one's place! For those unwilling to accept the reality of this dogma there have been two escape hatches: conversion to Christianity or migration to another region in the United States.

No study of ethnic groups in the South can be approached without a word about the region's general provincialism, its fear of change, its hostility to foreigners, its struggle to maintain "racial purity," and its staunchly conservative religious beliefs. All people have a commitment to tradition and a wariness of strangers, but in the American South the white population is relatively homogeneous, the problems of two races living together have been aggravated by misconceptions and political opportunism, mild criticisms of existing mores are considered major attacks, romantic fantasies of a long dead antebellum era are encouraged by the ruling powers,

and the cultural milieu demands a rigid conformity to established policies. These circumstances intensify the tendency to exclude alien groups.

The origins of some of these traits can be dated from the introduction of slavery in the seventeenth century. The slave-based economy seemed less attractive to foreign immigrants than the one based on free labor in the North. Hence after the eighteenth century fewer newcomers chose to settle below the Mason-Dixon line and the white population became relatively inbred. The Scotch-Irish, Germans, Huguenots, and English of colonial times intermarried among themselves and after a few generations there were no longer any ethnic distinctions. The lack of significant numbers of new groups mingling with the old tended to stifle diversity of thought and opinions and helped to solidify established customs.

Pride in "racial purity" and devotion to a slave society were salient values in the antebellum South. Almost as important in forming Southern attitudes was an overwhelming adherence to a Fundamentalist Protestantism, which the South's two major sects--the Baptists and Methodists--carefully nurtured. The typical white Southerners had little opportunity for schooling or education--benefits traditionally reserved for the scions of the aristocracy--but they had plenty of time for religious meetings. Many of the spiritual leaders had relatively little education and relied on crude and simplistic emotional communication which had great appeal for their untutored parishioners. "Religion in the South on the eve of the Civil War," Clement Eaton has written, "was still deeply rooted in mediaeval traditions. The conception of a mediaeval Devil being loose in the world constantly tempting men on all occasions was strongly intrenched in the minds of most Southerners." They also accepted supernaturalism, believed in miracles and looked "with profound suspicion" upon any person who did not attend church.

The Northern attack on slavery further stimulated a "rigid conformity of thought" as the region closed ranks behind its cherished institution. The increasing sectional antagonism reinforced support for Southern institutions and beliefs and engendered intolerance towards any questioning of existing mores.

The Civil War aggravated the prevalent prejudices and the North's victory added one more component to the Southern credo: a bitter longing for the days of yore. The salient characteristics of antebellum days became more intrenched in Southern minds afterwards and the continual changes in society exacerbated frustrations and strengthened the conservative commitment. Hence the influx of new immigrants at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries

stimulated the outpouring of venomous thoughts regarding the intrusion of "human sewerage" in the South. The formation of the Ku Klux Klan in 1915--and its subsequent growth in the 1920s--reemphasized the opposition of large numbers of Southerners--and in the case of the Klan other Americans also--to immigrants, factories, cities, and all other aspects of modern times.

Religious thought in the South had undergone little change since the days of frontier revivalism. As one Southerner put it, "In the South heresy is still heresy with the vast majority of people." Southern churches had become centers of conservatism in the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth century they continued to resist, strongly and eloquently, the intrusion of alien peoples, ideas, and institutions. Card playing, theatre going, dancing, immigration, and industrialism frequently drew ministerial censure. Any deviation from rural, pastoral virtues seemed to threaten the entire Christian structure of society. The influence of these ministers cannot be exaggerated. "Neither learning nor literature of the secular sort," C. Vann Woodward has written, "could compete with religion in power and influence over the mind and spirit of the South."

Jews in the South have been adversely affected by Southern religious teachings. The Baptist and Methodist ministers frequently accused Jews of killing the Savior, and Christian orthodoxy presented Jews as rebels against God's purpose. Two Southerners, describing their boyhood religious experiences, recalled that "the veriest infant was made acquainted with the lapses of the ancient Jews, and all God's wrath at their behavior was thundered in his ears". In 1914 a Shreveport rabbi, in response to anti-Semitic utterances by two Protestant ministers in the city wrote:

> "I wish to make this point emphatic--the genesis of all anti-Jewish feeling and evidence amongst us is strictly religious. And what the facts warrant us to conclude as to Shreveport similar investigation will demonstrate as being true everywhere. Anti-Jewish sentiment is strictly a religious manufacture."

Southern hostility to Jews has been repeated and underscored by some of the region's most prominent scholars. Benjamin Kendrick wrote in 1925 that the small farmers in the South hated Jews "as alien and outside their kin" despite "revering and worshiping the Jew God." W. J. Cash, perhaps the most perceptive commentator on regional characteristics, added in 1941: "All the protests of scholars have been quite unavailing to erase from the popular mind, in the South as elsewhere, the notions that it was the Jew who crucified Jesus." In 1965 two regional commentators noted that the

social changes of this century have had relatively little impact on old time religious views. It is against this cultural heritage that the history of the Jews in the South must be examined.

Jews arrived in the American colonies as early as 1654 when a group landed in the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam. By the time of the American Revolution, Jewish settlements existed in New York, Philadelphia, Savannah, Charleston, and Newport, Rhode Island. For the most part colonial reactions to them did not vary from one region to another. Although slavery fostered the development of a somewhat different culture in the South, sectional differences had not yet been honed. It would be inaccurate, therefore, to suggest that Jewish experiences in the South differed significantly from the North before the nineteenth century. Neither region welcomed non-Protestant newcomers enthusiastically and although the American ideology allowed greater self-expression and more expansive opportunities, it did not mean that the colonists had discarded European prejudices toward the Jew. Anti-Semitic attitudes subsided on this side of the Atlantic but they did not disappear. A good many colonists resented Jews who refused to accept Christianity as the only true faith; one minister accused Jewish merchants of exploiting Christian craftsmen.

The first group of Jews to arrive in the Southern colonies--about forty people, mostly of Spanish and Portuguese descent (Sephardim),-- but also a few Germans landed in Georgia in 1732. They met immediate opposition. Although Oglethorpe permitted them to remain, the trustees of the colony, residing in London, feared that the Jews would damage the colony's reputation, and ordered the proprietor to get rid of them as soon as possible. Oglethorpe refused to obey instructions and took responsibility for allowing the new settlers to stay. At first they participated in community activities without serious discrimination, but as the colony matured and became more secure, Jews encountered political barriers. By the 1740s many Jews and Gentiles became disillusioned with the severe restrictions placed upon them by the trustees--prohibition of slavery being the most important--and they sought greater economic freedom in South Carolina. Some Jews settled in Charleston; in 1750 they erected the city's first synagogue--Beth Elohim. Aside from Savannah and Charleston, there were no other Jewish settlements in the colonial South. Individual Jews lived in other parts of the region but no other towns had as many as ten Jewish families. In fact, it is unlikely that the entire Jewish population in the South numbered even 500 people by the time of the Revolution.

Despite the limited number of Jews, all of the colonial legislatures--North and South--circumscribed their liberties to some extent. Denial of the Trinity subjected Jews to imprisonment in Virginia and death in Maryland. A Virginia statute of 1705 prohibited them from obtaining full citizenship and barred their appearance as

court witnesses. In 1723, the Maryland law code read: "If any person shall hereafter within this province deny our Savior, Jesus Christ, to be the true Son of God, or shall deny the Holy Trinity, he should for the first offense be fined and have his tongue bored, and . . . for the third offense be put to death." In 1703, 150 inhabitants of Colleton County, South Carolina, protested an election in which "Jews, Strangers, Sailors, Servants, Negroes, and almost every French Man in Craven and Berkley County" participated in the voting. The ruling powers subsequently curtailed the franchise: after 1716 only Christians could vote in South Carolina. Maryland and North Carolina barred Jews from the legal profession and that disability continued "long after the Revolutionary period." These examples seem to prove what other scholars have already stated with certainty: at no time in the colonial period did Jews--North or South--enjoy equal status with Gentiles.

With the achievement of Independence, humane and rational impulses captured the American imagination. National progress was defined according to the principles of the Age of Reason. Penal reform, educational instruction, and arguments against slavery manifested the spread of Enlightenment ideas in the years immediately following the Revolution. Inspired by these values, Virginia in 1787, South Carolina in 1790, and Georgia in 1798 granted voting rights to Jews.

But post-Revolutionary humanitarianism did not completely eliminate entrenched prejudice. In Maryland and North Carolina political disabilities continued into the nineteenth century. The North Carolina Constitution of 1776 prohibited non-Protestants from voting, but this did not prevent a Jew, Jacob Henry, from winning a seat in the state legislature in 1809. Henry's election caused enormous dismay among some of his colleagues--one even challenged his right to remain. But Henry's eloquent defense convinced the legislators that he should retain his place. In 1835, however, a new constitution in the Tarheel State banned Jews from voting or holding office. Innumerable petitions to remove the discriminatory feature failed; even in 1861 when the state seceded and the constitution was revamped, "that stubborn, prejudicial clause remained unaltered." Maryland had denied Jews freedom of residence in colonial times and the state constitution of 1776 specifically prevented Jews from voting or holding office. As early as 1797 Jews petitioned the Maryland General Assembly for rights equal to "other good citizens" but members from rural districts "strongly opposed" any change in established policy. In 1818 one legislator suggested that a committee be appointed "to consider the justice and expediience of extending to persons professing the Jewish religion, the same privileges . . . enjoyed by Christians," but his colleagues vetoed the idea. Granting the franchise to Jews continued as a bone of contention in the state until 1826 when the issue was settled by the abolition of the abhorrent religious qualification.

Thomas Jefferson, aware of the paradox of a nation claiming that all men are created equal yet denying certain rights to some, acknowledged in 1818 "the prejudice still scowling" upon Jews in this country. Eight years later he wrote:

> "I have thought it a cruel addition to the wrongs which that injured sect (the Jews) have suffered, that their youth should be excluded from the instructions in science afforded to all others in our public seminaries (in Virginia), by imposing upon them a course of Theological Reading which their consciences do not permit them to pursue. . ."

Voting limitations and theological impositions notwithstanding, Jews found that life in the South afforded many pleasures and fewer restrictions than existing statutes and prevalent attitudes might suggest. The reasons for this are manifold. Although religious prejudice existed, countervailing American ideas stressed the essential equality of all white men and the abundance of opportunities for those who worked hard. In addition, as John Higham has pointed out, "behavior and belief do not necessarily coincide in any area of life." Gentiles who resented Jews and desired to restrict their political influence accepted the presence of Jewish merchants and artisans. Moreover, as enslavement of Negroes became the chief distinguishing characteristic of the South, the test of the true Southerner was his acceptance of the institution. Southern Jews had no ambivalence on this score and their support diminished potential anti-Semitic feeling in the South. As the conflict with the North over the morality and extension of slavery came to dominate Southern consciousness, other concerns were given relatively minor consideration. Finally, the number of Jews in the South at any time before the Civil War remained too small to threaten the existing society. The 700 Jews of Charleston comprised 5 percent of the city's white population in 1820, while the 200 Jews in Richmond and the 100 in Savannah equalled 3 percent of the white population, respectively. Aside from these areas, Jews did not equal 1 percent of the white population in any other Southern town. Careful estimates indicate that there were perhaps ten or eleven Jewish families in Louisiana, three households in North Carolina, and perhaps 100 Jews in Baltimore in 1820. Although numerous German Jews immigrated after 1836, by the time of the Civil War there were still fewer than 15,000 Jews in the South and the total Jewish population in the region was well under 1 percent of the population.

The Jews who did live in the South found abundant economic opportunities. A good many of the immigrants began as peddlers and then moved up to purchase small shops; a few eventually acquired large emporiums. Morris Rich, who had performed numerous

odd jobs before embarking upon a career as traveling salesman, opened a small retail dry goods business in Atlanta in 1867. One hundred years later this store, controlled by Rich's descendants, is one of the largest merchandising establishments in the South. Jews also participated in other economic endeavors with notable success. They were doctors and lawyers, auctioneers, and slave-traders. A few owned plantations and many prospered sufficiently to possess slaves.

Jews who sought political opportunities generally found it desirable to accept the dominant religious customs. Four Southern Jews--David Emanuel of Georgia, David Yulee of Florida, Franklin Moses of South Carolina, and Judah P. Benjamin of Louisiana--reached high political office. Each one relinguished his faith, married a Gentile, and raised his children as Christians. Obviously governmental offices were not denied to Jews, but the frequent conversions to Christianity suggest that the faith of their fathers may have proved at best a nuisance or at worst a troublesome burden to carry through life. Emanuel, who served as Georgia's sixth Governor, was the first Jew to achieve such a high political position in this country. As President of the State Senate he succeeded to gubernatorial office when a vacancy occurred in 1801. Yulee's wife, the former Nancy Wickliffe, daughter of a Kentucky Governor, allegedly demanded, as part of the conditions of marriage, that he change his surname from Levy to Yulee and that he convert to Christianity. He acceded to both requests. Despite some anti-Semitic attacks Yulee won election as Territorial Delegate from Florida in 1841 and U.S. Senator in 1845. Little is known about Franklin Moses except that he served as Chief Justice in antebellum South Carolina. Judah P. Benjamin, perhaps the most prominent Southern politician of Jewish birth before the Civil War, was sent to the Senate by Louisiana, offered an appointment to the United States Supreme Court by President Franklin Pierce, and eventually became Secretary of State in the Confederacy.

The availability of these opportunities for persons of Jewish birth demonstrates that some degree of tolerance did exist. Nevertheless, snide remarks, suggesting latent hostilities, were frequently made. A South Carolinian confided to his diary that the dry goods merchants in his community were knaves: "They are all Jews and worse than Jews--Yankees, for a Yankee can Jew a Jew directly." A Mississippi newspaper reported a fight between "A Jew and . . . a 'native American'", while a Memphis rabbi accused the city's newspapers of anti-Semitism in 1861 and upbraided a reporter for writing: "The Jew received the Gentiles, as all Jews do, rather coldly."

In times of crisis, such as the Civil War, latent and mildly held prejudices intensified. The war aroused strong feelings of in-group solidarity, exacerbated demands for unity, and heightened Southern nationalism. As the war progressed badly for the South, the need for scapegoating increased, and aliens, or more specifically those whom Southerners considered alien, became subject to vilification. Jews were accused of being "merciless speculators, army slackers, and blockade-runners across the land frontiers to the North." South Carolina's Governor Orr believed that the Jews in the Confederacy were loyal to the Union and "generally averse to rendering military service . . . or upholding the rebel cause . . . ." Judah P. Benjamin, the Secretary of State, aroused the ire of numerous Southerners. One observer believed it "blasphemous" for a Jew to hold such an important position while another was certain that the "prayers of the Confederacy would have more effect if Benjamin were dismissed." Denunciation of Jewish merchants was a common practice in many towns of Georgia, and the Southern Illustrated News observed, "all that the Jew possesses is a plentiful lot of money, together with the scorn of the world."

In some quarters of the postbellum South, chiefly among those who wished for commerical growth and those desirous of imitating Northern industrial accomplishments, Jews were considered worthy members of society. One newspaper editor hailed their presence "as an auspicious sign." "Where there are no Jews," the newspaperman observed, "there is no money to be made." Another journal noted that a "sober, steadier, and more industrious and law abiding class of population . . . (does) not exist." In 1900, a leading Atlanta merchant was upheld as "a typical exponent of the characteristics of his race (who) has happily exemplified that spirit and progressive enterprise for which his people are noted all over the world."

Jews occupied a unique social status in the South. One peddler recalled that many Christians held him in special regard. Frequently asked about the Bible, he was often required to settle religious disputes "because I was a Jew and they all looked upon me as an authority." He also noted that some rural Southerners were so backward that they considered him as some sort of Christian. "I remember well," he reminisced, "being asked time and again 'Are you a Baptist Jew or a Methodist Jew?'" Harry Golden, who has insisted that the South has a tradition of philo-Semitism, wrote that in the rural South people held the Jewish population almost as a private possession: "He is 'our Jew' to small-town Southerners, and they often take care of him with a zeal and devotion otherwise bestowed only on the Confederate monument in the square."

But the distinctive features of Jews, which allegedly attracted Southerners, also made them vulnerable to aggression, especially in

times of strife. The psychological impact of Reconstruction, the frustrating conditions imposed by the fledgling industrialists of the New South, and the economic plight of the majority of Southern citizens brought to the surface the hostility embedded in the cultural milieu. Numerous incidents support the view that the derisive image of the Jew was used to salve wounds derived from less accessible targets. An Alabama minister railed in 1875 that no matter where Jews locate, "they are a curse to the country." The following year ruffians desecrated a Jewish cemetery in Pine Bluff, Arkansas. In the next decade residents of Avoyelles Parish, Louisiana, publicly proclaimed their desire to oust all Jews from the community. John T. Morgan, U.S. Senator from Alabama, referred to one opponent in a political campaign as a "Jew dog," and a judge in Rome, Georgia, disallowed a Jew's testimony because he refused to acknowledge the divinity of Jesus Christ.

These incidents were not isolated instances signifying individual bigotry. Two of the South's most prominent citizens, W.W. Thornton, President of the University of Virginia, and Zebulon Vance, U.S. Senator from North Carolina, acknowledged the widespread antagonism to Jews that existed in the South in 1890. Although each gave different explanations, their comments reveal the deep-seatedness of Southern prejudice. The President of the University attributed anti-Jewish feeling to racial and religious differences. "The mere fact of difference," he emphasized, "is a persistent cause." In elaborating upon the reasons for the dislike, President Thornton noted that "Jews certainly care less for what is embraced in the term culture than Christians who are equally well off." "Never," in his career, the university President added, had he ever seen "a really scholarly" Jewish student. Thornton thought that the prejudices might subside if Jews married Christians and accepted the true faith. "All intelligent Christians," he concluded in his answer to questions asked by the editors of The American Hebrew, "deplore the fact that the historical evidences for Christianity have so little weight with your people."

Senator Vance, an outspoken critic of anti-Semitism, had attested to the significant presence of anti-Semitism by delivering a plea for tolerance of Jews--in a speech, "The Scattered Nation"--in over fifty towns and cities of the country between 1874 and 1890. In responding to the queries put to him by The American Hebrew, Vance wrote that although the various Southern churches may not have preached anti-Semitism:

> "Sufficient care is not taken to point out, with reference to the crucifixion, the injustice of holding responsible a whole people, generation after generation, for the acts of a few. No doubt this unconsciously lays a foundation of prejudice, which is

> largely added to by the jealousy of Gentile rivals in business. Nothing is so satisfactory to a man as to be able to excuse an unworthy motive by referring it to a love of God and his religion. This prejudice is also increased by the unreasonable propensity to consider the Jew under all circumstances as a foreigner, in which case we veneer our motive with a love of country."

The 1890s witnessed a marked increase in virulent remarks about Jews. The Populist crusade aroused Southern and midwestern farmers to the outrageous behavior and colossal indifference of the nation's industrialists. Once again trying circumstances led to a reemergence of prejudicial outbursts. Throughout the nation the specter of the Jewish Shylock haunted those who felt oppressed by the maintenance of the gold standard and the ogreish "Wall Street Bankers." Jews, Jewish Shylocks, Jewish money and Jewish mortgage holders were blamed for all the troubles besetting the nation. And in North Carolina, the state Governor proclaimed: "Our Negro brethren, too, are being held in bondage by Rothschild."

The prevalent fear of "racial pollution" added to the woes created by the economic crises. The idea of Anglo-Saxon superiority pervaded the United States at this time and prominent individuals warned of mongrelization of the race. In the South, where many people had nothing more to be proud of than the color of their skin and their Protestant, Anglo-Saxon heritage, the fear of being subdued by an allegedly inferior breed--like the Jews, who by the 1890s were considered racially as well as religiously different--added to the burdens of an already depressed people.

Knowledgeable Southern Jews were fully aware of the existence of anti-Semitism. The editors of the Jewish Sentiment (Atlanta), which styled itself as "The Only Jewish Paper South of Richmond and East of (the) Mississippi River," declared that "the feeling against the Jews exists to as great extent in America as anywhere on earth." A few months later Herbert T. Ezekiel, editor of The Jewish South (Richmond), anxious to change the unfavorable impression, urged the formation of a company of Jewish volunteers to participate in the Spanish-American War. "Such an opportunity to silence the anti-Semite," he wrote, "and perform an act that will redound to the credit of and benefit our entire race has not presented itself for years."

Prejudicial attitudes toward Jews carried into the twentieth century. The new technology had quickened the pace of life: families moved from their farms and villages to urban areas; Italian and Jewish immigrants led a parade of Southern and Eastern Europeans

into the United States; and the frustrated and frightened lower classes found it more difficult to cope with the tribulations of a changing society. Under these circumstances long held suspicions largely restricted to verbal attacks now became activated through violence. The first decade of the new century marked an increased number of lynchings in the South as well as the notorious Atlanta race riot of 1906. The riot ostensibly began as a result of newspaper headlines reporting alleged Negro assaults upon white women. The underlying reasons, however, were more basic: a discontented urban working class forced to endure meager wages, crowded and uncomfortable tenements, and little hope for eventual improvement.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Horace Kallen, the Jewish philosopher, should write, also in 1906, "there is already a very pretty Jewish problem in our South." The same conditions which heightened antagonisms toward Negroes worsened relations between Jews and Gentiles. Jews, the eternal strangers and killers of the Savior, had been the traditional scapegoat for many Christians and could always be used as a whipping boy to help alleviate the frustrations and pressures of deprived and confused lives. In times of economic crises, or when the poor felt particularly victimized, the predatory Jew reappeared in public discussions. A year after the Atlanta race riot, Georgia's patrician historian, Lucian Lamar Knight, wrote: "It is quite the fashion to characterize the Jew as exacting his interest down to the last drachma."

There were numerous instances of anti-Jewish feeling in the South during the early decades of the twentieth century. The author of a history praising the Jews of Richmond rationalized his book on the grounds that "others have so often failed to . . . do common justice to the Jew"; a candidate for mayor in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, unsuccessfully attempted to defeat his Jewish opponent by warning the electorate that "the Jews have ruined every Christian nation where they held office"; a rabbi in Shreveport, Louisiana, protested against the "outspoken" anti-Semitic utterances of two Protestant ministers in the city.

But the major example of Southern resentment of Jews before the First World War occurred in Atlanta between 1913 and 1915. Until that time the animosity in the city had manifested itself primarily in social restrictions. Then in April, 1913, Leo Frank, a Jewish industrialist, was accused of murdering one of his employees--a thirteen-year-old girl. After that episode overt hostility towards Jews became apparent. A correspondent of The Atlanta Georgian pointed out that it was the first time that a Jew had ever been in serious trouble in the city and complained because she saw "how ready is every one to believe the worst of him." Anti-Semitic epithets punctuated many a conversation, not only in Atlanta and environs, but in states like North Carolina. One Jew traveling through Waynes-

ville, North Carolina, during the Frank trial was approached by a stranger in the post office and asked:

> "Are you from Georgia?"
>
> "No, sir, I am from Alabama."
>
> "Are you acquainted with the (Frank) case?"
>
> "I read something about it."
>
> "They are going to hang that damn Jew."
>
> "I think they'll find out first whether the man is guilty or not."
>
> "Well, if they ever let him go, they'll mob the damn Jew."

Just before the Frank trial opened, The Atlanta Journal attempted to stem the vicious attacks and published an article entitled, "The Jews--Our Benefactors." The author praised the Jews as "great people" and condemned "the irrational feeling of opposition so many ignorant people cherish against (them)." But the bigoted did not yield their prejudices. The South's largest circulating periodical at that time, the Southern Ruralist, pinpointed the problem:

> The incontestable fact is that Jew and Gentile, white man and black man, Caucasian and Mongolian, live here side by side in perfect harmony, under normal conditions, the same as in most American communities. Let these relations be subjected to some sudden strain and the dormant prejudice flares up with explosive force. Such a strain has produced race riots in Atlanta. Such a strain resulted in the kindling of smoldering prejudice against the Jew who was accused of murdering a child of the dominant race.
>
> Let anyone who doubts the significance of this fact--or that prejudice has played an important part in this case--board an Atlanta street car filled with home-going working people, of the class to which the murdered girl belonged. Not a week ago we personally heard this remark under such circumstances: "If the Court don't hang that damned Jew, we will.

Eventually the Frank case emerged as a national cause celebre and Tom Watson, the champion of Georgia's anti-Semites, began attacking the Jew. His columns won superlative praise from followers,

one of whom supplicated, "May God give you the power to keep the good work going on, until all the Protestants of this Nation can and will see what is coming upon us."

The Frank case proved one of the stimulants for the revived Ku Klux Klan, an organization which made no pretense about its rejection of aliens. By the 1920s there was a full-fledged development of racist feelings in this country--South as well as North. Since then there have been a number of studies detailing the insecurity of Jews in this country. Names of both Jews and their places of residence have frequently been disguised to avoid embarrassment or harassment. The main points that emerge from these studies, especially in the South, are that Jews are in a marginal and ambivalent position. There are numerous reminders that they are "being merely tolerated," and this awareness makes them increasingly cautious in their public activities. They are continually looking over their shoulders to see what their Gentile neighbors are doing and are continually anxious that some Jew might offend members of the dominant group. As Harry Golden noted:

> The mildest New Deal expression in a "letter to the editor" signed with a Jewish name sends a shiver through the entire Jewish community--("now we've got someone else to worry about.") But the greatest fear of all is that the next Jewish newcomer to town may be an "agitator," a "pink," an organizer for the CIO, or even a worker for some Negro cause.

In city after city Jews have refused to endorse publicly the Supreme Court ruling calling for school integration. As one Mississippian put it,

> We have to work quietly, secretly. We have to play ball. Anti-Semitism is always right around the corner. . . . . We don't want to have our Temple bombed. If we said out loud in Temple what most of us really think and believe, there just wouldn't be a Temple here anymore. They (the Gentile neighbors) let it alone because it seems to them like just another Mississippi church. And if it ever stops seeming like that, we won't have a Temple. We have to at least pretend to go along with things as they are.

Since 1945 studies have been made of Jews in Richmond, Atlanta, New Orleans, Nashville, Charleston, and a few other Southern areas. In none of these places have Jews been part of the status elite and in all they have been excluded from the prestige social organizations. Nevertheless, there are significant differences between and among Jewish communities in the South and any generalizations about the above would be foolhardy. Conditions in each of these towns are

quite special and vary considerably from locale to locale. Yet there is one common thread that ties almost all Southern Jews together: they are quite concerned about their image in the Christian community. In city after city there are indications that Jews are especially interested in presenting themselves in the proper light. Many a Southern rabbi is judged by the esteem that he possesses in the Gentile community. Perhaps the best example of this is Richmond's Dr. Edward N. Calisch, the most prominent Jew in Richmond during the first half of the twentieth century. Two observers noted in 1949 that Dr. Calisch had devoted his life to creating an image of the assimilated Richmond Jew. He served on both community and Jewish councils and frequently exchanged pulpits with Protestant ministers. "In his relations with Christian neighbors," these reporters have written, "the rabbi created in himself the most ingratiating of Jewish stereotypes--the man completely unaware of any personal problem as a Jew, at ease and unselfconscious, articulate but not argumentative, intelligent but not arrogant, worldly but not cynical." (It is also worthy of note that Dr. Calisch was one of the founders of the American Society for Judaism after the Second World War. It is the most anti-Zionist Jewish organization in the United States.)

In other Southern communities Jews employ different ways of ingratiating themselves with their Christian neighbors. In an essay on pseudonymous "Southern City," Joshua Fishbein pointed out that the leading Jews in the community never refuse an invitation from a Gentile. "When the Diehls get an invitation from a Christian friend," he wrote, "they make sure to go whether or not they have a headache or a previous engagement." In another deep south community the President of a Reform Congregation told a reporter who had questioned the fact that the Jewish spiritual leader was being muzzled by his congregation: "I don't know where you get the idea our rabbi doesn't have freedom of the pulpit. We give him freedom of the pulpit--we just don't let him exercise it."

The fear of anti-Semitism is pervasive among Jews in the twentieth-century South. This alone differentiates Southern from Northern Jews and sets the tone for almost all Jewish behavior in the region. Jews are very anxious not to stand out from everyone else. As Alfred Hero, author of The Southerner and World Affairs, has written,

> it was one thing for Judge X, descendant of several esteemed families of the region, leader in the Episcopal Church, and relative of the socially prominent in the Deep South, to write critical letters to the arch-conservative papers in the state, chair the discussion groups in the library on public issues, and inform all and sundry of his views on world affairs--people merely

> said he was getting old and was just another genteel eccentric. A Jew who did likewise needed considerably more courage or less sensitivity to probable public reactions. The whole Jewish community might become a target for antagonism--other Jews would fear that one was risking the status of the entire ethnic group, and many local Jews felt that no one had any right to upset the delicate balance whereby Jews had been treated well and accepted generally as fellow Southerners.

In the North most Jews are much less self-conscious. While many are concerned about Jewish-Gentile relations, it is not the core of their existence.

Jewish tradition dictates that Jews should speak up on issues about which they feel strongly. In the North this continues to be the case and many Jews have been outspoken advocates of controversial programs like integration, civil rights legislation, and rigid adherence to constitutionally guaranteed civil liberties. In the South it is rare for a Jew to support publicly controversial issues. The best example of this is the position taken by most Southern Jews on civil rights and integration. While many privately believe the Negro should have equal rights, few come out and say so.

Desegregation has stirred many latent antagonisms in the South and since 1954 Jewish temples have been bombed in Nashville, Atlanta, Birmingham, Miami, Jacksonville, and Jackson. In January, 1967, Jewish gravestones in New Orleans were desecrated and marked "They Shall Die" and "Six Million--Was It Enough?" In October, 1968, an orthodox rabbi in New York came out and said that the civil rights issue "may well threaten the survival of the Jewish community in America":

> The reality is that Jews simply cannot speak their minds, openly and honestly, on such burning issues without jeopardizing Jewish lives. Every statement by the northern liberal Jew for the civil rights of the Negro causes some Jew to suffer at the hands of White racists in the South.

The fears about being different extend to other areas besides civil rights. Alfred Hero discusses the reluctance of Jews to speak openly on issues which divide the community. He found strong pressures for conformity affecting almost every area of thought and behavior. Southern Jews, on the whole, although better versed on international affairs than their Gentile neighbors, were less well read, less intellectually alert, less cosmopolitan and more conservative than Jews of the same socio-economic position in the North. He attributed this to the Jewish acceptance of regional mores and

fears of social and economic repercussions which Jews felt would be visited upon them if they challenged the leaders in their communities.

Jewish suspicions of anti-Semitic attitudes in the South have been confirmed by a number of surveys. In a Gallup Poll, released in June, 1967, respondents were asked whether they would vote for a Jewish person for President if he were a member of their political party and was in all other ways qualified. In the Midwest, West, and North the respondents answered favorably over 87 percent of the time; in the South one out of three persons said "no." That same year a survey of 2,000 people in North Carolina led a research team to conclude that somewhere between 25 and 50 percent of the respondents "held hostile religious images of modern Jews, regarding them as Christ-killers, beyond salvation, and in need of conversion to Christianity." In a 1963 analysis of discrimination against Jews at resorts, the nation-wide figures averaged 9.8 percent, while in North Carolina and Virginia the figure was 20 percent. At that time the only state that had a higher rate of discrimination was Arizona.

Whether past experiences will continue to set the tone for the future is difficult to say. At present, though, Jews are a dying breed in the South. They constitute less than 1 percent of the entire Southern population. Outside of Florida, not only has the ratio of Jews to the rest of the population been declining in every Southern state since 1937, but in six of them--Alabama, Arkansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi and Tennessee--the total number of Jews is lower than it had been in 1927. All told, there are 378,000 Jews in the states between Texas and Virginia. (This figure is just slightly higher than the 362,955 who are in New Jersey.) Of these, 302,360 are concentrated in Florida, Georgia, Texas and Virginia. Many of these people--it is impossible to give any figures because none are available--are migrants from the North who have been attracted to the sunny climes of Florida, the regional centers of Dallas, Houston and Atlanta, and in the case of federal government employees, the suburbs of Washington, D.C. in northern Virginia. How long they will remain in the area is also impossible to say. How many will remain Jewish is still more difficult to speculate upon.

Historically, intermarriage between Jews and Gentiles has not been uncommon. Rates of intermarriage have varied according to time and place, but have averaged somewhere between 10 and 40 percent. Children of these unions are usually raised as Christians. With a high rate of intermarriage, a lower than average birth rate, and an older and more mobile population, the number of Southern Jews is likely to continue declining in the future. Only some major wave of anti-Semitism or other spectacular occurrence can possibly prevent the dwindling of the Southern Jewish population. At this moment, such contingencies do not appear imminent.

"THE MEANING OF "CONVERSION/TURNING" IN JUDAISM

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Paper delivered at
Southern Baptist-Jewish Scholars Conference
Sponsored by
The Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention
and the Department of Interreligious Affairs of
The American Jewish Committee

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August 18-20, 1969
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky

Kaufmann Kohler, in his work "Jewish Theology", writes: "The brightest gem among the teachings of Judaism is its doctrine of repentence or, in its own characteristic term, the return of the wayward sinner to God." Indeed, the concept of the "return" of the sinner in Jewish tradition is at the same time one of the most fundamental, and one of the most characteristic of Judaism. It is an idea which has undergone a long history and yet has remained remarkably intact, retaining its basic configuration for Jewish thinkers very disparate in time, space and cultural milieu.

In Hebrew the concept is aptly expressed in one word, "Teshuvah", which means "return". Basically, as used both in the Old Testament and in the Rabbinic literature, it refers to the return of the sinner from his evil ways. In the Old Testament it is met with frequently: 'O Israel, return unto the Lord thy God;...take with you words and turn unto the Lord (Hos.14:2)"; "Turn Thou us unto Thee, O Lord, and we shall be turned; renew our days as of old (Lam. 5:21)." The Prophets often speak of the "return" of the evil man from his ways, which will elicit God's forgiveness. The evil ways generally referred to (though not exclusively) are acts of moral turpitude, oppression of the weak, and the like, or waywardness in loyalty to the Lord. Thus, the two broad categories of sin, which were more specifically defined by Rabbinic Judaism, those between man and God and those between man and man, were adumbrated in the biblical writings, and for both the way to atonement lay in "return".

There is to be found in the Old Testament also a cultic way of achieving atonement for sin, through sacrifice, fasting and prayer. This is no doubt the most primitive understanding of the way to repair the breach that has been caused in man's relationship to God by man's waywardness; on the other hand, the Prophets boldly denounced those who would think that by mere ritual one could achieve atonement for sin. It is often overlooked by modern critics of ancient Judaism that the Rabbis not only recognized but also preserved that prophetic stance. One of the most striking features of the ritual for the synagogue for the Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur), the most solemn day on the Jewish Calendar, is the fact that after the prescribed reading from the Pentateuch concerning the order of sacrifices which were brought in the Temple on that day, and the injunction to fast and to afflict the soul, the Prophetic reading is taken from the book of Isaiah; the people have asked, "Wherefore have we fasted and Thou seest not? Wherefore have we afflicted our souls, and Thou takest no note thereof?" and the Prophet replies:

> "Behold, in the day of your fast ye pursue your business,
> And exact all your labors.
> Behold, ye fast for strife and contention,
> And to smite with the fist of wickedness;
> Ye fast not this day
> So as to make your voice be heard on high.
> Is such the fast that I have chosen?
> The day for a man to afflict his soul?
> Is it to bow down his head as a bulrush,
> And to spread sackcloth and ashes under him?
> Wilt thou call this a fast,
> And an acceptable day to the Lord?
> Is not this the fast that I have chosen?
> To loose the fetters of wickedness,
> To undo the bands of the yoke,
> And to let the oppressed go free,
> And that ye break every yoke?
> Is it not to deal thy bread to the hungry,
> And that thou bring the poor that are cast out to thy house?
> When thou seest the naked that thou cover him,
> And that thou hide not thyself from thine own flesh?
> (Is.58:3-7)

There is throughout the biblical and rabbinic literature the theme of "cleansing" oneself of sin in the physical sense of bathing or baptism; but for the rabbis this act alone could never suffice for the cleansing of sin. The Talmud teaches (Taanith, 16a): "If a man is guilty of a

transgression and makes confession of it but does not amend his behaviour, to what may he be likened? To a man who holds a defiling reptile in his hand; even if he immerse his body in all the waters of the world, his immersion is of no avail to him. Let him however, cast the reptile aside, and should he immerse in forty seah of water, it immediately avails him, as it is said, 'Whoso confesseth /his sins/ and forsaketh them shall obtain mercy (Prov. 28:13).'

Teshuvah, "return", is thus essentially an act of human will. In the rabbinic view, it cannot be accomplished by an act of grace on the part of God; it cannot be obtained by prayer, by sacrifice or baptism alone; it can only be sought by active purgation from one's life of the offensive behavior and a transformation of one's way of life. Accordingly, it cannot be seen as "repentance" in the sense of mere regret of one's deeds. Nor can it be associated with penance or penitence, which imply a self-inflicted punishment or penalty for the expiation of one's evil. Indeed, death itself is no guarantee of atonement, as the Talmud teaches: "Death and the Day of Atonement expiate together with Teshuvah (Mishnah Yoma 8:8)."

Rabbinic Judaism, as mentioned above, clearly delineated between sins which are by their nature committed against God, and those which are comitted against one's fellow man. From the point of view of teshovah, those committed against one's fellow man were considered the more grave, since "For transgressions that are between man and God, the Day of Atonement effects atonement, but for transgressions that are between a man and his fellow the Day of Atonement effects atonement only if he has appeased his fellow (Mishnah Yoma 8:9)." It is a characteristic of rabbinic doctrine that "return" is available to everyone, Jew and Gentile. For the Gentile to "return" does not imply his conversion to Judaism or to any form of it, but to "return" to the standards of conduct laid down by his own society. This is exemplified in the biblical book of Jonah, in which a Jewish prophet is commanded by God to prophesy to a Gentile people, the city of Nineveh, and ultimately is successful: "And God saw their works that they turned from their evil way; and God repented of the evil that he had said that he would do unto them; and he did it not. (Jonah 3:10)"

For the Jew, "return" is always available, no matter how deep he may have sunk into sin. There are, however, some to whom the way to teshuvah contains some self-imposed difficulties. Those who contemplate sinning and then "returning" will find true "return" so much the harder (Mishnah Yoma 8:9); obviously, they have created for themselves the illusion that there is some sort of mechanical "return" possible, on performance of some prescribed ritual, and this will blind them to the actual requirements of teshuvah. Those who cause others to sin

are faced with especially difficult teshuvah (Mishnah Aboth 5:18), for they bear not only their own guilt, but partake in that of their victims. On the other hand, God desires the "return" of the sinner rather than his punishment. (Ezek. 33:11).

The specific understanding of the nature of the act of teshuvah has, of course, varied through the course of time. However, the fundamental nature of the concept and its significance in Jewish religious thought has remained remarkably intact. In the modern era, there seems to have been in general an aversion or reluctance on the part of Jewish theologians to dwell on the themes of sin and sinfulness. They have tended more to focus their attention on metaphysical questions, on the nature of religious existence, the ontology of God and revelation, the philosophical basis of the Jewish law and ritual observance, and the religious significance of Jewish peoplehood. Nevertheless, when the question of sin and sinfulness and the act of repentance comes up, there does not appear to be too much deviation from traditional patterns.

An example of this tendency may be seen in the work of a quite untraditional Jewish theologian, Mordecai M. Kaplan. In his book, "The Meaning of God in Modern Jewish Religion" (1937), Kaplan characterizes the meaning of teshuvah, which he translates as 'repentance', as follows: "Repentance stands for nothing less than the continual remaking of human nature." (p. 178) In a way which is characteristic of his entire religious thinking, Kaplan relies very heavily on the behavioral sciences to understand the ways in which "human nature" are formed and how it can be changed. Mere introspection is for him insufficient; in fact, it can lead one into the dangerous path of religious asceticism: "Self-hate does not lead to love of our fellows, but to contempt and envy of them." On the other hand, a psychological analysis is equally insufficient, for it is descriptive rather than normative. The indispensable ingredient is the act of will to leave what the traditional texts call the 'evil way'. Thus, repentance is "not merely a sentiment to be experienced when the awareness of sin rouses us to remorse. Repentance is part of the normal functioning of our personality in its effort at progressive self-realization."

Kaplan distinuishes three types of human failure which the act of repentance should seek to correct: 1) the failure to integrate both individual impulses and habits and communal activities and institutions into the "ethical ideals that make God manifest in the world"; 2) the failure to grow in character and maturity; and 3) the failure to realize our fullest potentialities for doing the good. Yet through the twentieth-century terminaology can be seen the traditional substance: "The sacramental efficacy of the ritual of atonement is nil,

and its symbolic power of no value, unless the sense of sin leads us to seek the reconstruction of our personalities in accordance with the highest ethical possibilities of human nature; only then can we experience teshuvah, the sense of returning to God." (ibid., p. 187)

For the man who has achieved "return", rabbinic tradition accords the highest regard, for "the place occupied by those who have achieved teshuvah cannot be occupied by even those who are perfectly righteous (Berachot 34b)." Judaism postulates a scheme of divine commandments, but within that scheme the act of "return" stands so high that it occupies a class in itself; for while it was taught that "one hour of bliss in the World to Come is better than all the life of this world," on the other hand, "one hour of teshuvah and good deeds in this world is better than all the life of the World to Come (Aboth 4:17)."

It is worthy to note that Rabbinic Judaism in no way subscribes to a doctrine of Original Sin. In rabbinic tradition the story of the Fall and the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise is interpreted to mean that from that moment man was "on his own"; every succeeding generation and every individual man would have to make his own way in life, whether for good or for evil. Thus, theoretically no man is doomed to sin. Yet the Rabbis felt that it was nevertheless inconceivable that there would be men on earth who would be entirely without sin; a modern man would say that although they considered perfect sinlessness to be possible, they calculated that the statistical probability of this happening was miniscule. Hence, they declared that God had created "teshuvah" even before creating the world, for God in his wisdom could foresee that without the healing possibility of "return" the world could not endure (Genesis Rabbah 1:4; Pesachim 54a).

A contemporary Jewish theologian, Abraham Joshua Heschel, has given a modern version of the traditional concept: "In stressing the fundamental importance of the mitsvah /divine commandment/, Judaism assumes that man is endowed with the ability to fulfill what God demands, at least to some degree. This may indeed, be an article of prophetic faith: the belief in our ability to do His will....The idea with which Judaism starts is not the realness of evil or the sinfulness of man but rather the wonder of creation and ability of man to do the will of God...That is why despair is alien to the Jewish faith.

It is true that the commandment to be holy is exhorbitant, and that our constant failures and transgressions fill us with contrition and grief. Yet we are never lost....His compassion is greater than His justice. He will accept us in all our frailty and weakness...The world is in need of redemption, but the redemption must not be expected to happen as an act of sheer grace. Man's task is to make the world worthy of redemption, His faith and his works are preparations for ultimate redemption." ("God in Search of man - A Philosophy of Judaism", 1956, pp. 378-380.

PREJUDICE AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

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Paper delivered at
Southern Baptist-Jewish Scholars Conference
Sponsored by
The Home Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention
and the Department of Interreligious Affairs of
The American Jewish Committee

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August 18-20, 1969
Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky

Without doubt anti-Semitism has significantly shaped Jewish history and influenced the attitude of Jews towards themselves and the world. But uniquely the potentially violent psychic consequence of prejudice has been blunted, frequently transformed by Jewish spiritual ideals. Thus while anti-Semitism has taken its toll in the usual manifestations of self-hate, paranoia and withdrawl, or arrogant self righteousness and, certainly, in the inordinate attention that Jews have given to this problem, the predominate effect of Jew-hatred is that this violence has strengthened Jewish conviction to repair the world. Instead of bitterness, or an increase of reactive-hate Jews have identified with the weak and the oppressed. Paradoxically, the evidence of the unredeemed nature of the world has firmed our faith that God's world may yet be redeemed, were men to live their lives more faithfully, more righteously. Marked out by nations and religions as the object of discrimination, we in turn, have understood ourselves to be chosen by History's God as a people who might, thereby, play a crucial role in illuminating the darkness. There is, therefore, a dialogic relationship between prejudice as we have experienced it and our unshakable involvement in the work of social justice.

The Sources of Anti-Semitism

As we know, by now, prejudice has many sources: It is a method for coping with individual psychic aberration, it is the consequence of historic inter-group rivalry and conflict, it is a power program by in-groups to preserve the bias of the economic, political and social structures of their society. It is man's denial of the divine within himself through blindness to the human in the other.

Anti-Semitism is all of these, as is prejudice against Blackman, Mexican, Indian, Catholic, Puerto Rican or WASP in our American society.

But there are unique characterisitics to anti-Semitism. It has its own history. We need to respond specifically to that particular phenomenon if we are to deal with it. Generalized calls for tolerance and understanding, even for conversion and faith are inadequate. In their history, Jews have experienced the Inquisition and pogrom brought about through sainted leaders of Christianity.

We have already learned much that will help us understand how and in what circumstances, some Christians use their religion as a sanctifying justification for hatred, whereas others touched by a saving spirit reach out in love, even sacrifice themselves for their fellow man.

Anti-Semitism in western civilization has its primary source in certain Christian beliefs, it is the ugly weed of a centuries long Christian nurture of the black soil of contempt for Judaism and Jews.[1] Although a pagan rivalry with Judaism and a form of Jew-hatred was to be found among some Greek and Roman intellectuals, such hostility never became state policy, nor did it interfere with the excellent social intercourse between Jews in Europe and their pagan neighbors-until the predominance of Church over State in the fourth century onward.[2]

Church-influenced policies antagonistic toward Jews were first legislated as pastoral programs, in the battle for the soul of Europe, in order to provide the Church with a superiority over the Synagogue. Justification for discriminatory policies were provided by Church theologians and historians: Jews are accursed, they are deicides, they are prototypes of the anti-Christ, their religion is deficient, they are not to be trusted, they are doomed to suffer, their pain is sign of the truth of Christian belief, they will be forgiven when at last they recognize Jesus as the messiah.

Quickly enough, lord and peasant, prince and pauper found in anti-Semitism a political, economic and social policy ideally suited for their secular purposes. The history of Jewish wandering, the paradox of welcome into one land in one century and expulsion from it in another century, is more frequently to be explained as a phenomenon of economics than as a Christian zeal for a homogeneous culture. Particularly with the emergence of secular nationalisms, technoloigcal know-how and authoritarian systems, of economic and political organization, a Jewish population--that had become the classic "no-sayer" to all forms of coercion-suffered outrageously.

Through all our existence Jews have demanded of society that it allow for difference, that it be open to economic opportunity, that it safeguard human dignity, and that it seek political unity within pluralism by righteousness and justice. Both Church and State, when violating these social ideals, have found the Jew to be their enemy. The Lord of history has used this people as a witness to His truth, even when we were not always worthy of the task nor conscious of his purpose.

Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism

Our evidence indicates that even in this secularized society, certain Christian beliefs still remain a major source of prejudice against Jews; and that religious biotry reinforces antagonistic secular images of the Jew.[3] Charles Glock and Rodney Stark in their now historic study conclude that "One third of a national sampling" scored in the highest category on the Anti-Semitic Belief Index" (p.201), and "at least one-fourth of these have a religious basis for their prejudice" (p. 205). Years after Vatican Council II, 58% of Protestants and 61% of Catholics still believed Jews "most responsible for crucifying Christ." (p.54); 33% of Protestants and 14% of Catholics affirmed a conviction that "Jews never can be forgiven for what they did to Jews until they accept Him as the true Saviour" (p. 62); 13% of Protestants and 11% of Catholics explained Jewish troubles "because God is punishing them for rejecting Jesus." (p.64)

Christians who held such theological convictions were thought to be "high" in "Religious Bigotry." The research disclosed that 65% of those Protestants and 83% of thoseCatholics who scored high on religious bigotry also maintained malicious, secular, anti-Semitic stereotypes of the Jewish people exemplified by canards such as these: Jews are more likely to cheat in business; Jews are less likely to be loyal to America; Jews control international banking, etc. p. 146).

In this research which disclosed a wide response, depending upon denominational allegiance, Southern Baptists were particularly vulnerable. Thus while 11% of Unitarians and 35% of Methodists believed all of the stereotypic conceptions of the Jew set before them, said to say, 43% of Southern Baptists answered such questions affirmatively: and only 8% were completely free of any anti-Semitic taint. (p. 202)

Southern Baptists were harsh in their response to the religious questions. For example, 66% of Baptists as against 47% of Methodists believed Jews most responsible for crucifying Jesus; 80% of Baptists as against 12% of Methodists believed that Jews would not be forgiven until Jews accepted Jesus as Saviour; 35% of Baptists as against 4% of Methodists understood Jewish suffering to be punishment for the crucifixion.

Although we must not underestimate the provocative significance of this research-that there is a large quantity of latent anti-Semitism within Baptist ranks-in all fairness we must also acknowledge that with regard to the Southern Baptists, the conclusions of Glock and Stark are in some ways seriously flawed. Additional research must be undertaken-perhaps by the Baptists-that will take into account other variables.

I have in mind the following:

1) The figures themselves verify that 16% of those who scored high in the "Religious Bigotry" index, nevertheless still scored medium low or revealed no taint at all of anti-Semitism beliefs. (p.203) Reseach is necessary, perhaps along the lines first suggested by the late Gordon Allport to account for these exceptions.[4] Is it not possible that fundamentalist Christianity, when made an integral part of personality, affirmatively transforms character? Even though the content of teaching material may suggest hostility toward Jews, the salbic power of the Christian faith may overcome prejudice and create a loving personality. Rather than focus alone on the content of the faith, can we discover in the ways that people use their faith the secret to prejudice? In other words, can it not be that certain kinds of psychological and social aberrations will lead an individual to pervert religious material, or select from it, that which sanctifies the prejudice required to satisfy his non-religious aims?

2) In the social context of Baptist-Jewish relations there are also congruences not measured by Glock and Stark, which may mitigate against the acting out of anti-Semitism, despite the literalism of Baptist biblical interpretation. For example, because of their fundamentalism, Baptists also hold Jews quite precious, as the people precursos to Christianity, the source of Christian values and Testament.

So Billy Graham at the World Evangelical Congress in Berlin in 1967 cried out at the opening session "... of the Jewish people we ask forgiveness. We must remember that our Saviour was born of a Jewish mother and it to this people we owe our Bible."[5]

When one evangelist in Berlin at a formal session I attended, suggested that Jews were no different than the Gentiles, in that we were lost without Christ, I responsed in increasing anger that such remarks were "horrendous, blasphemous, and un-scriptual." Informed of this exchange, Billy Graham answered: "Rabbi Gilbert is correct. Jews, unlike Gentiles, are privileged to live by the light of the Old Testament."

Later, at Montreal, where I was Billy's guest for two days, he elaborated: "It is my conviction," he said, "that Christ is the way to God's forgiving love, but it ill behooves me to judge Jews as a people lost to salvation. God in His own time and way will judge all men by the light according to which they live. We must distinguish he who lives by no revelation from one who knows that God is revealed in nature, in the world, and in history. The believing Jew's whole approach to life is testimony to his faithfullness to the God of his fathers. Christians must respect such devotedness to God."

This kind of sympathetic attitude toward Jews of old has its affirmative consequences, too, so I have noted, in a favorable attitude among Baptists toward the Jewish resettlement of its historic birthplace. Baptists may be more supportive of Israel than other denominations. Again Billy Graham may be prototypic. When I met with him after the six-day war, Billy pointed out that he was in Canada during that period and in a one hour TV interview had articulated his "total and whole sympathy with Israel." Elaborating on his views, he told me:

"The Jews are God's chosen people. We cannot place ourselves in opposition to Israel without detriment to ourselves." While Billy is a great admirer of King Hussein and has many friends in Jordan, he is convinced that Jerusalem will be united again as a Jewish city, he supported Israel's right to seek direct negotiations with the Arabs, and he agreed that if he were an Israeli offical he would not yield to pressure that could jeapordize Israel's physical security. Billy concluded: "Israel has a meaning for Jews apart from any New Testament hopes. It is a promised condition of their existence, revealed by God in Scriptures, that Jews be connected to this land. It is there that Jews must struggle to live a national existence that will hopefully reflect the glory of God and serve as a sign to man that the God of Abraham is a God faithful to His promises."

3) There are additional factors too. Baptists and Jews are both vigourous supporters of Church-State separation. They hold precious the freedom of individual conscience. Baptists and Jews are among the historic leaders of Southern cities. In some places, they share in status and prominence. Baptists and Jews are white. And a considerable part of the Southern white man's need to hate, tragically is projected on to Blacks and white civil rights "agitators." Those who disturb the status quo arrangements of the society are the victims. Many a Baptist will distinguish between "his Jews" and the New York pinko."[6]

Secular Factors in Anti-Semitism

This last insight leads me to my next set of observations, that is the political, economic and social structures of the society may in greater measure determine the active nature of prejudice rather than the alleged faith ideals of believers within the society.

We are aware, for example, that in all periods of history attacks on Jews were influenced by the economic and political conditions. Anti-Semitic Christians beliefs, after all, have been prevalent for many centuries throughout all Europe. Yet during the Black Plague, the Crusades, the Inquisition and even during the last unmatched holocaust, Jews did not suffer uniformly everywhere. The Dutch, the Italians, the Scandinavians, during the Hitler period tried to save their Jews. The Poles, Slavs, Balkans, betrayed them. In the Middle Ages, Jews were welcome during periods of economic growth, and then when the economy required the cancellation of debts and the displacement of Jewish entrepreneurs they were robbed and expelled, only then to be welcomed by another country seeking the industry and imagination of Jews, their international contacts, their investment capital.

Truly, there is a close relationship between Christian myths about the Jews and secular canards: Jews are a treacherous people, they killed Christ; Jews are not to be trusted in business, they maintain an international conspiracy. As punishment for the crucifixion Jews are doomed to wander, a homeless people; they are unpatriotic-you cannot count on their loyalty. Jews are anti-Christ, they desecrate the host; by their influence over movies, the press, theatre, the arts, Jews are the corruptors of the morals of our society.

Undoubtedly, Christians must repudiate those religious beliefs that feed the fires of the ovens of hate. They must be certain that Christian beliefs are properly understood, Biblical texts interpreted with a more sophisticated sensitivity, and references to the Jews in sermons more carefully formulated. Yet as importantly the Church must encounter those structures within the society that make it tempting for Christians to misuse their Christianity in order to cloak their anti-Semitism with sanctimonious approval. They must see in secular anti-Semitism the bastard offspring of a former religious infidelity and protect a new generation from this awful sin.

In America, the anti-Semitism that hurts is secular not religious. It is maintained at the executive suite level, within the country club, the country club church and the upper strata of industry. The polite violence of social discrimination and enforced second class status by the elite allows for the swastika daubings, the Synagogue bombings and desecrations and the fantastic sale of hate literature to the primitive illiterate who are on the economic and social ladder.[7] It is hypocritical for the culture leaders of a city to decry a Synagogue desecration when they themselves bar Jews from their inner world. One act of violence, however sophisticated, stimulates the forces that destroy, even crudely.

Sixty seven percent of a sample of 1152 clubs, practice religious discrimination one survey recently revealed. In banking, insurance, the automotive and shipping industry, it was similarly disclosed that Jews have been granted but a miniscule part of the corporate power,[8] although we are 8% of the college graduates of America. Systematically Jews have been excluded from leadership in the basic industries of this economy. In response, Jews have tended to protect themselves within Jewish sponsored commercial enterprises and magnificent community centers and country clubs. Some Jews wonder why Jewish community relations agencies should care at all about social discrimination, so comfortable are they in their gilded ghettos. When crisis erupts, however, these same ghettoized Jews look about and realize that they are without friends or allies,and they are terrified.

During the period of synagogue bombings in the South, when the professional hate-mongers were able to wield undue influence over a fearful Southern population who suspected a Jewish plot behind the Supreme Court desegregation decisions, it was my task to tour the South as a trouble shooter. I was assigned to introduce Jewish Southerners, Rabbis and Synagogue leaders to their Christian counterparts, clergy, layleaders and Seminary officials. It was amazing how few Jewish leaders had maintained contact with Christian leaders and how rigidly the five o'clock business hour separated our peoples. When one or two Jews were found to serve on the Community Chest Board or Hospital Board, they had been so selected, I was informed by Christian contacts, because as wealthy Jews they had access to the money in the Jewish community. The individual Jews, on their part, however, felt that they had been signally honored as men, for their own worth. Frequently, therefore, they refused to use their influence

to reach out to other Southern leaders on behalf of the Jewish community on those controversial issues where Jews were at odds with the white Southern community - such as, prayer and religion in the public school, the expenditure of public funds in support of white citizens' councils or anti-Communist research (meaning anti-civil rights activities), the closing down of schools or the loss of federal support for them rather than their desegregation, union busting, the failure to appropriate adequate funds for social welfare measures, particularly when they aid the black poor, etc.

Jews caught in the interstices of the Southern economy have been intimidated into silence. Many Jews in the South are involved in commercial enterprises or hold professional positions in which they are dependent on the good will of the population. They are thus particularly vulnerable to conformist pressures. They are caught between the conflicting demands of Blacks and Whites. They are "legitimate" victims for both sides. Jews can act upon their social action principles, therefore, only with the greatest courage and frequently at great sacrifice. Southern Jewish leaders within national Jewish organizations are often at odds with their organizations -- not on matter of principle but rather on the prudence of Jewish outspokenness. In a period of crisis and tension, we fear.

As the social scientists have demonstrated, the lack of significant communication among groups contributes to stereotyping and to misunderstanding; whereas meaningful contact and dialogue under proper auspices can aid in producing intergroup harmony. Communication makes it possible to maintain pluralism in viewpoint without threat to individual integrity.[9]

Jews may be more economically advanced in America than we have ever been before. We may be more favored with opportunity in this land than elsewhere in the world. Yet we remain terribly unsure of ourselves and frightened. We are a small people, there is a long heritage of anti-Semitism, and in a period of economic depression or political authoritarianism, or police state repression, we just know in our bones that we shall suffer. And in the South there has not been enough dialogue. This conference is a necessary and good beginning.

Social Justice as a Response to Anxiety

As I have earlier indicated throughout all our history, Jews have tended to respond to prejudice and to their own anxiety by a more compulsive thrust toward social reform. By deeds of justice we hope to achieve a world where anti-Semitism might no longer claim the conscience of the Gentile. [10]

Of course, there are affirmative, universalistic, religious reasons one might give for the corporate Jewish community's and synagogues involvement in political issues, aside from this psychological explanation of self-interest. We can point easily to these facts: Jewish history begins with emancipation from slavery; God identifies Himself at Sinai as a God of History; Jewish law incorporates the social obligations to create a society where no man suffers want or deprivation, where all are equal before the law, where economic inequality is scandal. It is Jewish faith that all nations are called to the task of making peace and Israel, in particular, is reminded that ultimate security is to be found in God's righteousness and not in the power of arms.

The prophets were wrong in their simplistic conviction that Israel's inequity explained the destruction of Jerusalem and the Jewish dispersion. But in forcing the Jew to examine his own obligation to righteousness, the prophets intended to use the Jews as prototypes of all mankind. They affirmed this truth; only in a world where all men will be similarly concerned for the widow and the orphan, the poor and the homeless, the oppressed and the exiled, can there be peace. Only when men live their own lives by God's law can they experience their shared humanity. So the Jew learned to convert indignity into the conviction that man needs to repair his world.

The result of this historic psychological method for dealing with prejudice is that the Jew has assumed certain political postures that distinguish him in American political life. More than any other ethnic or religious group, a greater percentage of Jews are found to be among the supporters of international aid and assistance, governmental efforts to eradicate poverty, the enactment of legislation to eliminate discrimination, the fulfillment of justice for the Black. [11]

This classic claim of liberalism on the Jew--which now pits him against the predominant mood of the country and particularly that part of the South that has been numbered among the supporters of Goldwater, Wallace, and Nixon--this historic claim of liberalism now is also challenged by radical extremists within Jewish ranks and without and by Black power separatists. There is no time left in this paper to deal with all these issues. But the Black-Jewish encounter is an excellent case in point with which to conclude this paper and illustrate my theses.

Black-Jewish Relations

Every survey reveals that Jews have been the most sympathetic religious group supporting justice for Blacks. And Blacks on their part have, in the past, expressed more affirmative feelings towards Jewish merchants, landlords and neighbors than towards their white co-religionists.[12]

In recent years, this historic alliance has been severely strained. Blacks realized that Jewish efforts to win anti-discrimination laws and to abate prejudice seemed to work out well for Jews, but not necessarily for Blacks.

Civil Rights laws did not end the poverty, the gross inequality, the deep built-in racism of American society. It could not repair the damage already wreaked upon the black man's soul. So the black man produced a new strategy. For his psyche he asserted the beauty of blackness. To achieve social change he demanded political and economic power and control over his own resources and institutions. Looking about him in New York City, a center of Jewish and Black power, and in other major urban areas, the Black man reached out for control over those institutions that most apparently touched his life, social welfare, education and the ghetto business. There he found Jews in predominant numbers. A clash was inevitable. In the violence of the moment, Black anti-Semitism and Jewish racism were both nakedly revealed. There has been a whiplash reaction in the Jewish community, assuredly not as large as that effecting other ethnic groups lower on the ladder. Poles, Italians, Irish Catholics, lower middle class Norwegians and German Protestants each has, in the North, demonstrated a counter-hostility to black demands for housing and employment integration, no less shocking than that with which Southern whites greeted initial orders to integrate schools. The bitter truth is that

our American minorities are now pitted against each other and racism is only part of the explanation. Profounder is the fear of each of those groups that integration will displace their meager hold on economic, political, and social power.

From the Black man's point of view, the situation is unconscionable. Despite steady gains into middle classness the gap between black and white remains far too wide. The median family income of blacks has moved in the past decade only from 54% of that of white families to just 59%--not fast enough. Although their unemployment rate has fallen from 10% to 6.7% it is still twice that of whites. If the percentage of blacks who have finished high school has jumped from 39% to 58%, it still must be contrasted with the fact that 75% of all whites now have completed high school.

One and a half million non-white families or 30.7% of all such families still live in poverty; 4.4% million children, or 42.7% of the black children are now being raised in poverty--four times the percentage of white children in such circumstances.[13] The black man does not discriminate--he wants all whites whatever the religion or ethnic background to move over and make room for him. My Jewish heritage insists that this is my duty as a man to help the Negro take his place.

The Jewish community is now confronted with two choices--to spend its energies in defensive Jewish status and position, a policy which I believe ultimately will lead to our hurt; or to find the ways with all minorities, indeed with all Americans to expend the economic and social scene so that there will be enough security and opportunity for all.

In a word, I am suggesting that social justice is the only effective response to prejudice. The Black man in his effort to achieve control over schools or social welfare or ghetto businesses is misdirecting his fire. Ultimately, his fate will be determined by the massive flow of funds into the reconstruction of cities, a major capital investment in new schools, more adequate support of colleges, a gigantic program of employment rehabilitation, economic expansion and the sophisticated use of investment capital, some radical program of guaranteed minimum income, more equitable taxation programs to relieve the burden on the lower middle class, and the opening up of our tightly-controlled political party system.

This requires a reassessment of our priorities--Vietnam war or war against poverty; man to Mars or children in clean city streets. More schools means better education and more principals, including black and Jewish principals. Cooperative economic investments, small businesses loans, and an expanding economy means more successful businesses for both black entrepreneurs and small "mom and pop" ethnic store owners. Guaranteed income wipes out the consequences of poverty for four million black children in one stroke and ends the humiliation of social welfare confrontations. I suggest that the fate of America itself hangs in balance on this issue. It is either social justice or the wrath of God will visit us. Thus says the Lord:

For three transgression of America

and for four, I will not revoke the punishment.

Prejudice is a denial of the divine within ourselves through blindness to the human in the other. Social justice is that response to the other's humanity as enables us to experience the living presence of God.

FOOTNOTES

1. See, Jules Isaac, The Teaching of Contempt (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964).

   Edward Flannery, The Anguish of the Jews (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1965).

   James Parkes, The Conflict of Church and Synagogue (Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Co., 1961).

   Leon Poliakov, The History of Anti-Semitism (New York, Vanguard Press, 1965).

2. See, Solomon Grayzel, The Church and the Jews in the XIII th Century (Philadelphia, Dropsie College 1933).

   Jacob Marcus, The Jew in the Medieval World (Cincinnati: Sinai Press, 1938).

   Edward A. Synan, The Popes and the Jews in the Middle Ages (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965).

3. See, Charles Y. Glock and Rodney Stark, Christian Beliefs and Anti-Semitism, (New York and London: Harper and Row Publishers, 1966).

   Bernhard E. Olson, Faith and Prejudice (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961).

   Sister M. Rose Albert Thering, O.P., "The Potential in Religious Textbooks for Developing a Realistic Self Image," an unpublished dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of doctural degree requirements, Graduate School of Education, St. Louis University, 1961.

4. Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (New York: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1954, 1958). See particularly Chapter 28: "Those who were considered the most devout, more personally absorbed in their religion, were far less prejudiced then the others. The institutional type of attachment, external and political in nature, turns out to be associated with prejudice." (p.421).

   See also Gerhard Lenski, The Religious Factor (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1961). Lenski reports, "the more highly the individual is involved in his church, the more likely he is to favor integration. By contrast, the more involved he is in his subcommunity the more likely he is to favor segregation" (p. 173). We see here the positive influuence of the Christian teaching of love and brotherhood as against the property interests and the secular social values maintained by the sub community.

Lenski, also distinguishes a religious orientation that is "devotional," i.e. when the individual defines his faith in terms of his personal relations to God and prayer, faith and works, from that orientation that is "orthodox," i.e. when the individual measures his religiousity by loyalty to the norms and codes of his church. v He discloses that the "humanitarian strain" on social issues "seems to be linked with a high level of devotionalism but seems unrelated to doctrinal orthodoxy." Among both White Catholics and Protestants support for school integration was positively linked with devotionalism whereas there were no such links at all with regard to orthodoxy. So, for example 50% of southern born White Protestant and Catholic "devotionalists" favored school segregation as against 38% of the rest of the southern born population. Among Catholics the more devotional a Catholic the more likely he was to favor integration as against those who were orthodox in belief. (p. 183-184)

5. All of Billy Graham's quotations are taken from "Conversation with Billy Graham by Arthur Gilbert" A.D.L. Bulletin, New York, December 1967. Dr. Graham approved the text of this A.D.L. article.

6. For fuller dialogue on the Glock-Stark survey and Baptist reactioon, see "Baptists and Anti-Semitism" The Baptist Program, Nashville, March 1969; "Toward a Jewish-Southern Baptist Dialogue" an exchange between Rabbi Arthur Gilbert and Prof. John Killinger, at the annual meeting of the Asoociation of Baptist Professors of Religion, Nashville, Tenn., February 24, 1969. Available through A.D.L., New York.

7. For short summary of anti-Semitism in the United States, see Arthur Gilbert, A Jew in Christian America (New York, Sheed and Ward 1966).

G. Meyers, History of Bigotry in the United States (New York: Capricorn Books, 1960).

Carey McWilliams, A Mask for Privilege: Anti-Semitism in America (Boston: Little Brown 1958)

N. C. Belth, ed., Barriers, Patterns of Discrimination Against Jews (New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1958).

Benjamin Epstein and Arnold Forster, Some of My Best Friends (New York: Farrar, Straus 1962).

Charles Herbert Stember and others, Jews in the Mind of America (New York: Basic Books 1966).

Gertrude J. Selznick and Stephan Steinberg, The Tenacity of Prejudice (New York: Harper and Row).

A.D.L. research discloses that in 1960, following the desecration of a synagogue in Cologne, Germany, there were 890 similar anti-Semitic violations of Jewish property in America in that one year. Between 1962 and 1966 A.D.L. reports that there were 422 anti-Semitic incidents related to civil rights conflicts. These included cemetery desecrations, vandalism against synagogues, arson, swastika smearings and shootings.

See Arthur Gilbert, "The Contemporary Jew in America," Thought, Fordham University Quarterly, No. 169, Summer 1968, New York, p. 211-226.

The authors included in Stember's authoritative analysis of American public opinion on the Jews, op. cit., notice a "most amazing drop in anti-Semitic attitude. Whereas 63% of the Americans found 'objectional qualities' in Jews in 1940, only 22% did so in 1962." Nevertheless, several sociologists point still to the historic factor of Jewish-Christian conflict and caution Jews against optimism. "The Catholic sociologist Thomas O'Dea acknowledging the decrease in anti-Semitic attitudes refuses, nevertheless, to shout "Hurrah". "The subterranean psychological transfer of energy, the same coalescing of old and new imagery has so often occurred in the history of anti-Semitism that we dare not jump to over-optimistic conclusions." O'Dea points out that anti-Semitism in Western civilization is the consequence of "relationships of Christians and Jews throughout the long centuries of European history." It is a function of our religious relationship toward each other. "Out of this experience a rich and varied hostile imagery was precipitated in the minds of Christians. These images furnished the terms in which the Jews were usually perceived and defined. In addition, they were capable of arousing emotions serving as symbolic organizers of feeling and triggers of action. Jews for their part developed a complementary imagery of gentiles that was perhaps less rich but no less unfavorable."

O'Dea recognizes that America's frontiers were too open and the percentage of Jews in American society too few, prior to the Civil War, to make much difference. And when Jews started to come to America in larger numbers, as part of the East European immigration, America was in the throes of an anti-Catholic episode. O'Dea explains that "during the early 19th and 20th centuries anti-Catholicism came to fill the role in America which anti-Semitism played in Europe after 1870." But then, when the anti-Catholicism has spent itself, the nativists and extremists turned on the Jew as the more foreboding enemy; hence the increase of anti-Semitism particularly from the late 1800's into the mid-1940's. Now anti-Semitism appears on the decline. Does this reflect the openness of the new ecumenical era and the revival of religion?...Can it be that underneath the distinctiveness of the three religions of our democracy there lurks a consensus on secular values; and is it in this secularism that we find the answer to the decline in anti-Semitism? O'Dea, himself, concludes: "To the degree that adherence to a particular creed becomes less important than membership in any one of the three religious establishments, Judaism attains an equivalence with Christianity which it has not achieved elsewhere. The dichotomy between the two religions loses some of its salience and acceptance of Jews is facilitated."

"Less sanguine about the equalitarian relationship, the Jewish historian Ben Halpern adds: "In cold fact, the acceptance of Judaism as an American faith, when voiced by Christians, frequently implies a confidence that Judaism is progressing toward submergence." For Ben Halpern the development of a vital, contemporary, particularistic Judaism will inevitably trigger a renewed eruption of anti-Semitism.

"Certainly the rise and decline and the on-going prevalence of anti-Semitism is a primary factor in shaping Jewish attitudes and the basic condition that the Christian must examine if he is to understand the behavior of the contemporary Jew."

8. See, "Anti-Semitism in the Executive Suite," Report Bulletin 2 Personnel Management Policies and Practices (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, July 23, 1968). Distributed by American Jewish Committee, New York.

9. See Allport, op. cit., chapter 16

10. Ibid, Ch. 9. Alport demonstrates that while some Jews manifest some prejudice, particularly against the "majority or favored groups in our country" (p.419), "Jews, in fact, are on the average <u>less prejudiced</u> towards other minorities than are Protestants or Catholics" (p. 151).

Jews respond to "victimization" with far less counter hostility than do other minority groups, such as Blacks and Catholics. Allport also notes the psychological phenomenon among Jews of "enhanced striving". He says "to redouble one's efforts is a healthy response to an obstacle...This seems to be the style of life of many Jewish people...those who adopt this mode of adjustment often evoke grudging admiration. They may also evoke abuse for being too industrious and clever." (p. 153).

11. Lenski, op. cit, demonstrated in his Detroit Studies that although Jews "had an affinity for certain classical capitalistic patterns of thought and action" they overwhelmingly favored the welfare state. He explains, "under the capitalist system it has become evident to Jews that economic victories do not insure status victories...despite the remarkable success, even the wealthiest Jews frequently find themselves excluded from private clubs and organizations by their economic peers. Hence American Jews have... reacted against this elite, their political values, and the good institutions on which they depend..." (p. 141). Furthermore, he explains, "Democratic socialism, from its inception, has contained a strong utopian element which holds out the promise of social justice to all..." (p.142).

Jews were most likely to endorse the United Nations and the idea of world government (p. 143). Jews were least likely to advocate segregated schools (p. 148). Of the four kinds of issues Lenski measured: attitudes toward the welfare state, civil rights, school integration, the United Nations and foreign aid, "Only the Jewish group seems to be completely consistent with respect to the stands it takes in those four areas of political controversy. On all four issues, the group leans toward the liberal side when compared to the sample as a whole."

See also, Lawrence Fuchs, The Political Behaviour of American Jews (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press 1956)

See also: Wesley and Beverly Allinsmith, "Religious Affiliation and Politico-Economic Attitude," Public Opinion Quarterly, XII (1948),377-389; Michael Parenti, "Political Values and Religious Cultures: Jews, Catholics and Protestants, mimeographed, a paper presented at the Society for the Study of Religion, New York, October 1965. (Parenti is a member of the Department of Political Science, Sara Lawrence College.)

For the proposition that Protestant fundamentalism, in contrast, may lead to certain kinds of conservative political orientation see: Liston Pope, Millhands and Preachers (New Haven: Yale University Press 1942).

Charles C. Cole, Jr., The Social Ideas of the Northern Evangelists (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954).

Rene de Visme Williamson, "Conservatism and Liberalism in America Protestantism" The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science (November 1962), 76-84.

Daniel Bell, ed., The Radical Right (Garden City, New York: Doubleday 1964).

12. Gary Marx, Protest and Prejudice (New York: Harper and Row 1967)

13. "Income in 1967 of Families in the United States," Series [redacted] Bureau's Current Population Reports.

JEWISH-BAPTIST SCHOLARS' CONFERENCE
Louisville, Kentucky
August 19, 1969

THE JEW IN CHRISTIAN THOUGHT AND PRACTICE

by Eric C. Rust

The Jewish-Christian relationship has entered into a new phase in the last century as religious toleration has replaced centuries of religious intolerance. The new phase is of one piece with the new attitude towards the other religions of the world which has been developing in the Christian Church as missions have opened up a deeper and more appreciative approach to the religious consciousness of what once were called the heathen or the pagans. Until the opening up of India and the Orient, however, we were only familiar with Islam and Judaism. Unfortunately they were sadly misunderstood. In part this was because of their very close relationship to our Christian revelation, for both are prophetic religions, both are grounded in historical revelation, and both share with us a rootage in the revelation to Israel - Islam more remotely and in a very distant way, and Judaism directly and fanatically.

The fact that the crucifixion took place in Palestine and that certain Jews were prime actors in that event blinded the eyes of the church to the fact that the first disciples were also Jews, that the early Church in the first decades was predominantly Jewish and certainly Jewish in its leadership, and above all, that our Lord himself was a Jew. Christian blindness at this point led to growing misunderstanding in the centuries that followed. Men forgot that the early Christians shared with their Jewish brethren the possession of the Old Testament scriptures and that the latter were, for the first decades of Christian history, the only scriptures available. Indeed, the Old Testament canon, as we now possess it, is the work of the Church of old Israel. In the days of primitive Christianity, only the Law and the Prophets were available as canonical scriptures. The Canon was not rounded out until the second century of the Christian era, and then the Writings were added by the conciliar decision of the Jewish Rabbis, who were responsible for the exclusion of many books now in our Old Testament Apocrypha and for the inclusion of writings like the Song of Songs, Esther, and Ecclesiastes, which have usually been regarded as very much on the fringe of our Christian Scriptures. The Christian Church began its history, therefore, much indebted to the very Jews it soon began to regard with bitterness and even hatred.

I. THE ROOTS OF ANTI-SEMITISM

Much of the anti-Semitism of the past century has revolved around a racial premise. The Jewish 'race' has become a target for obloquy and persecution. Yet it is exceedingly difficult to define what a Jew really is. Originally the Jews were of Semitic stock and t us of the same race as the modern-day Arab. Ever since the Jewish Dispersion began with the Babylonian Exile of the sixth century B.C., however, the original Semitic stock has absorbed, by proselytism and intermarriage, material from many other racial groups. Thus, first of all, the word 'race' is the wrong nomenclature to apply to the Jews. Originally they were one with Arab nomads. In the true meaning of 'race' they are basically Semitic. Secondly, they have now such a mixed stock that the blood of many other, non-Semitic groups flows in their veins.

The truth is that any characteristics the Jews possess are the result of their history. One characteristic is a quality of persistence and pertenacity through all the centuries of their long history. This quality is manifest in the early days of Israel's historical experience. Little Palestine was the cockpit of the nations, open to invasion from the North and the South. Egypt maintained a steady menance from the South in the pre-exilic period, while the Assyrian and Babylonian Empires successively invaded from the North. In addition, neighboring states like Philistia, Moab, Edom and Syria, made their presence known until the larger political powers eliminated

them. Even the Exile in Babylon did not eliminate the Jewish people. Persians, Greeks and Romans successively took them over. The destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in the first two centuries of the Christian era and the consequent acceleration of the dispersion of the Jews among the nations seemed but to stiffen their will to persist. Persecution, herding in ghettos, the increasing limitations on freedom served paradoxically to call forth a stronger pertinacity. Assyria and Babylon, Egypt and Persia, Hellenistic Greece and Imperial Rome mouldered in the dust of history, but the Jew endured on with a dogged will to live.

This power of persistence is grounded in the second and more fundamental characteristic of Jewish history -- the abiding sense of mission. From the days of Abraham and Moses, whichever we regard as pivotal, the Jew has carried a deep consciousness of a religious task and goal. That vision has remained through all the vicissitudes of Jewish history. The promises through the prophets remained unfulfilled in their eyes, and yet they hung on to their hope. Messianic speculation and expectation has passed through many shades of interpretation but it has persisted in Judaism down to the present time. At certain moments of history, Messianic pretenders have lifted their heads, as, for example, Moses of Crete in the 5th century A.D., Abraham Abulafia of Sicily in the 13th Century A.D., and Solomon Molko of Portugal in the 16th Century. In the modern period, Polish Jews have had their fair share of Messianic aspirants, but the rise of Zionism and the enlightenment of Jewish thought with the emergence from the Ghetto have removed this kind of enthusiasm. Yet in orthodox Jewry, the eschatological hope, of which Messianism is only one aspect, remains. The feeling of privilege and responsibility arising out of the conviction of divine election have kept alive a national consciousness in a wandering people, when the nations with established homelands have lapsed into insignificance and vanished from history.

As we study the later vicissitudes of Jewish history, the roots of anti-Semitism will become apparent. In the beginning the vigorous monotheism of the Jews meant an utter inability to accomodate themselves to the pagan polytheism of the Graeco-Roman world with its gods and lords many. In the early days of Christian history, when the Jewish roots of its faith were very evident to the Church itself, Christians and Jews were lumped together in the Roman mind, and conflict between them was not at first manifest.

There were, however, two potent grounds for growing disagreement and ultimate open cleavage. The first was that our Lord, although a Jew and having many Jewish followers, was also crucified by Jews. The testimony of the Gospel of Matthew lingered long in the memory of the Christian Church. The cry at the crucifixion "His blood be on us and on our children!" (21:25) has been a potent influence in the religious manifestations of anti-Semitism. Hence, forgetting its Jewish roots, the Church often turned against those who were co-heirs with it of the heritage of Old Israel, of whom also was the Christ after the flesh.

It is a significant thing that the Cross is still a fearsome symbol to many Jews, and we Christians have to a large extent made it so. C.G. Jung once reported that in his analysis of Jewish cases of psychosis, he was constantly finding one element to be resistance to the Cross. Quite early in Christian history, as we shall see subsequently, the Jews came to be labelled as a "deicide race." One manifestly absurd presupposition of such a charge is that it was openly manifest to the whole Jewish populace who our Lord really was, and that the Jews irresponsibly spurned him, knowing the fulness of his divine nature. But this goes distinctly contrary to the evidence of the Synoptic Gospels where our Lord rarely confesses his Messiahship and equally rarely acknowledges his unique divine Sonship. Only the eye of faith could discern the hidden dimension of his being. Furthermore, the charge ignores the fact that ultimately it was the Roman authority that condemned Jesus to death, however much Jewish connivance was present.

This is not to say that the Jewish conscience is completely easy on the matter. Jewish thinkers sometimes uncomfortably recognize the illegality of the proceedings

against Jesus. Indeed, a few decades ago, a movement led by Solomon Schwaydert of Denver sought to have the action of the Sanhedrin that condemned Jesus reviewed by a new accredited Sanhedrin of Jewish leaders. Joseph Klausner, in Jesus of Nazareth, suggests that the proceedings of the Sanhedrin were merely preliminary examination and that "after having handed Jesus over to the Roman tyrant for fear of him, the Jews did not participate any further in the carrying out of the sentence. Everything was now in the hands of the blood-thirsty Pilate." Historically the condemnation of Jesus by the Jews has, however, never been disputed by the synagogue. It is in the present period, and largely as a reaction to unjust Christian charges, that the Jew has sought to deny responsibility for the condemnation of Jesus. Hence the suggestion of a revision of the trial or the attempt to suggest that the Gospel record is biased and that all the blame should rest on Pontius Pilate. There is, however, half truth in the statement of Moses Mendelssohn: "It does not concern me what just or unjust sentences my ancestors passed at Jerusalem 1700 years ago." For we were all there when they crucified the Lord, and the Jew in so far as he was a central participant represented us all. Karl Ludwig Schmidt reminds us that the sin of the crucifixion is not merely attached to Jews but rather it is a disclosure of the sin of all mankind. The Judaism of the time represented the entire world.

Indeed, anti-Semitism as practiced by so-called Christian civilizations is a manifestation of the pagan depths in the human soul,, even when it has been superficially Christianized. The pagan opposition to a monotheistic faith which gathered itself against the original faith of Israel still rises from the depths of Christianized humanity. Overthrown by Christian monotheism, it vents its spite and gains its victory by externalizing its object of hatred and turning on the Jew. Sigmund Freud has suggested that "the hatred of Judaism is at bottom hatred for Christianity" (Moses and Monotheism, p. 145). Will Herberg quotes H. Sachar as suggesting that anti-Semitism arises because men are 'bad Christians' and have never forgiven the Jew for giving them Christianity. They are in reality repossessed pagans (W. Herberg, Judaism and Modern Man, p. 284). Hence Ernst Simmel suggests that "the anti-Semite who tortures and kills the Jew actually reenacts the crucifixion of his Savior" (Anti-Semitism: A Social Disease, p. 61), while Franz Rosenzweig writes that "whenever the pagan within the Christian soul rises in revolt against the yoke of the Cross, he vents his wrath on the Jew" (quoted in W. Herberg," udaism and Christianity:Their Unity and Difference", Journal of Bible and Religion, XXI, 2, p.74). In its anti-Semitism the church acted contrary to its own Gospel of Love and showed that it itself was under judgment. In its history, as Canon Darby reminds us, "whenever the Church was faced by the Jewish race, she failed completely to show the faintest gleam of Christian feeling, and the least glow of the Spirit of Jesus. Where Jesus Himself, and St. Stephen , forgave, the church thought it right to avenge." To quote H.D. Leuner: "Instead of confronting the world with God's Christ as a Jew dying for the world's sin, the church presents the nations with a picture of the Jews betraying and killing the Christ Messiah" (The Impact of Nazism on European Jews, p. 23).

Down its history, this has been the church's sin, and it is incumbent on the church to confess it. We can be grateful that at last the Roman Church has acknowledged its guilt in this respect. In so doing, it challenges all Christian men to stand by its side. Here we all, Jew and Gentile, gather in our guilt around the Cross of the Savior -- What has happened in the pograms of Tsarist Russia and the enormities of the Nazi concentration camps has sprung from a seed which the Church itself sowed in the early days of its history.

Closely bound in with this first ground for anti-Semitic attitudes in the Church, there is a second. This goes deeper than the accusation of Jewish responsibility for the crucifixion. It is the Jewish rejection of Jesus as the Messiah of God. The first ground has now, thank God, been eradicated, but this big second issue is still a very potent one. Let us be grateful that it is no longer a ground for persecution, but that it has become a matter for Jewish-Christian dialogue.. Yet, down the

history of the Church, it was a prime cause for the unchristian treatment of the Jewish race. The Jews had not only crucified the Messiah, but they had failed to repent after his resurrection. Furthermore, they had persecuted the infant church in Jerusalem and pursued its early missionaries such as Paul with their hatred. We have already noted that all monotheistic faiths are intolerant. This not only brought a clash between Judaism and its pagan environment; it also set it at rivalry with a faith which sprang from the same roots as itself. Yet in the first three centuries of the Christian era, the Church does not seem to have manifested ill-feeling against the Jews. Dialogue with Trypho, the second century communication of Justin Martyr to the Jew Trypho, is irenic in spirit.

Exclusiveness was certainly not one-sided, namely on the side of the Church. The synagogue also became increasingly exclusive, the more so because of the presence of Jewish Christian communities. Justin Martyr tells us that the Jews "cursed the Christians three times daily," and recently discovered evidence would seem to support this. An ancient version of the daily prayer Shemesh Esreh discovered at the synagogue in Old Cairo, carries the invocation:

> For the baptized Jews let there be no hope.
> And the kingdom of arrogance do thou uproot speedily in our days
> And let the Nazarene (Christians) and the minim (renegades) perish
> as in a moment.
> Blot out their names out of the book of life...

The Rabbi Tarphon, at the beginning of the second century A.D., evidently regarded Christianity as more dangerous than paganism: "I will be deprived of my children if I should not burn the Gospels and the book of the minim when I get hold of them. If a Jew should be persecuted and threatened with death, he ought rather to take refuge in a pagan temple than in a house of Those, for the minim deny the truth about God and Israel, although they fullyknow it, whereas the pagans deny it because they know nothing of it." Evidently the situation cannot be simplified and the blame put solely on the side of the Church. Both Jew and Christian must see the past as it really was, if we are to enter into redemptive and reconciling dialogue. It will be noted how central here was the Messianic issue.

Yet, once the Christian church became an ascendant majority, vituperation and intolerance became increasingly evident. Alongside of Christian leaders and thinkers who sought to keep the way of intercourse open, there were those who were quick to attack the Jews and to use against them their rejection of Jesus as the true Messiah. Justin Martyr's Dialogue was conducted at a high "level of courteousness and fairness," as Lukyn Williams reminds us (Adversus Judaeus, p. 42). In the early days Books of Testimonies seem to have been gathered from the Old Testament as a ground for Christian-Jewish debate. Jerome sought the assistance of educated Jews in his preparation of a Latin translation of the Hebrew Bible. Augustine was aided by African Jews in his exegetical work and could write: "let us preach to the Jews, whenever we can, in a spirit of love whether they welcome our words or spurn them. It is not for us to boast over them as branches broken. Rather let us consider by whose grace, with what loving kindness, and into what kind of root it was that we were grafted" (quoted in ibid, p.317). Yet roughly at the same time (387 A.D.) Chrysostom was preaching his vituperative sermons against the Jews, frankly declaring that he hated the Jews. Hilary of Poitiers was so "orthodox" that he would not publicly acknowledge any Jewish salutation. For him, "The Jews were possessed of an unclean devil, which the Law for a time drove out, but which returned immediately after their rejection of Christ" (Commentary on Matthew, in Migne, P.L. IX, 993). By the fifth century A.D. the Christian burning of synagogues was widespread in the East.

In Medieval Europe, the situation grew rapidly worse. Until the twelfth century A.D., the personal relations of Christians and Jews were not bitter. Jews gave gifts

to Christians on Jewish festivals and even festivals of the Church, while Christians attended the synagogue for worship if the Rabbi preached a better sermon than their priest. The Crusades mark the turning point, and monastic orders became pivotal in creating animosity. By the Thirteenth Century A.D. auto da fe's and the Inquisition came to occupy the centre of the stage. The Church made "attempts" to "persuade" the Jews to embrace its faith. The setting was such as to make the Rabbis insignificant and humble over against ecclesiastical pomp and priestly garb, while the issues were already decided. In 1263 A.D. such a disputation was held at Barcelona with the dices loaded. The Jewish speaker was exiled because he was unable to answer three Christian questions satisfactorily: 1) Has the Messiah come or not? 2) Is the Messiah, promised by the prophets, a human or a divine being? 3) Whose faith is true, the faith of Jew or Christian? We note the Messianic emphasis. In such meetings the Christian speakers were usually Jewish converts, and this only served to fan Jewish hatred and contempt. The latter was manifested in this period by Jewish versions of the life of Jesus in which is presented a repulsive caricature of his personality. They were written in Aramaic, Hebrew, and Yiddish, and transmitted orally or in written form. Their evident intent was to neutralize any influence of the Christian Gospels.

With the Renaissance and Reformation new contacts of Jew and Christian were initiated. The awakened intellectual curiosity of the period led many Churchmen and thinkers to pursue the study of Hebrew with the assistance of Jewish scholars. The Protestant faith also brought a new evangelistic concern. In his early period, Luther expected the general conversion of Jews to the reformed church and counselled kindly dealing with them. He can speak of them as the children of the house, whereas Christians are but as guests, dogs that eat the crumbs from off the table. In his later period, a disappointed Luther turned to bitterness and coarseness, urging the burning of synagogues, the prohibition of Jewish worship, and the avoidance of any intercourse. He even advises his reader to strike the Jew on the jaw! The Nazis could thus quote Luther! Apart from Luther's vituperation the opinion of the Christians about the Jews did not change. They had condemned Christ, delivered him to Pilate for crucifixion, and ever since denied his Messiahship and divine Sonship.

New factors came into play with the medieval and modern period, however. These account for certain Jewish characteristics in which modern secular anti-Semitism is also rooted. Jewish monotheistic exclusiveness and Christian persecution combined with the fact of the dispersion among the nations resulted in the Jewish ghetto with its limitations and its frustrations. The Jew became an urban phenomenon. Divorced from nature, he dwelt in the cities, and there he dwelt in increasing segregation. In such a situation he was driven to develop the intellectual and spiritual aspects of his nature. In the Arab civilization of the Near East, opened up by Mohammed, he became a known and respected citizen, contributing to and sharing in the intellectual splendor of its culture. In this way he moved to Moorish Spain, and thence Jewish intellectual life spread to Europe and contributed to the medieval rebirth of learning, despite Jewish persecution. The Jews contributed much to the rediscovery of Aristotle by Christian thinkers and to the birth of modern science. Yet, generally, they still remained in their ghettos, unable to pursue the normal forms of civilized employment. The facts that the Church frowned on usury and that medieval monarchs were proverbially poor opened up the way to money lending and ultimately to banking. The Jew came to control the money bags of Europe largely because this was the only employment left to him. Once the medieval persecutions began to tail off and the modern period began , the Jew, no longer at the capricious whims of Christian sovereigns, became increasingly an economic factor in civilized life. With this there developed the economic aspect of anti-Semitism.

When the Jewish medieval period finally came to an end in the last century and toleration and freedom became the order of the day, the Jew emerged with two characteristics. The first was a devotion to learning and culture which has produced some of the leading intellects of the modern world. The second was a preoccupation with trading

and banking which has remained a lively and increasing root for anti-Semitism as Christian roots for it have ceased to flourish.

Now a political root has also arisen as Zionism has attempted to reestablish a national home for the "wandering Jew." It is an open question how far the Jew has lost his faith in finding his home land. Modern Zionists seem to be as secular as the rest of humanity, and the drive of the new state has little spiritual perspective. The symbol of hope is the garish modern architecture of Tel-Aviv or the orange groves of Galilee rather than the temple ruins. Zionism itself raises issues for Jews like the American Jew who are American citizens and yet expected to show enthusiasm and support for the Zionist movement. Can one be a citizen of any other country and yet virtually be treated as a citizen of Israel, with its political and military machinery.

A new day has dawned for the Jew in the past century but new problems have come with it. Yet despite the horrors of Nazism and anti-Jewish pograms in eastern Europe, a new approach of Jew and Christian has also become possible. Emancipation and toleration have brought new insights to the Jew. Centuries of preoccupation with his own faith drove him into exclusiveness and concern with minutiae. Now, in a time of freedom, his outlook is expanding and he is recognizing insights in the Christian religion which he could never have discovered in days of Christian opposition and persecution.

II. PAUL AND THE CHRISTIAN UNDERSTANDING OF THE JEW

We must now turn our attention to the Christian attitude to the Jew, and here we should first listen to Paul who could declare himself a Jew of the strictist sect, a Pharisee who was blameless concerning the observance of the Law. In the Epistle to the Romans, the Apostle declares his position quite clearly, and it is largely because of his influence that the Church never lost sight of the Jewish people, even in times when persecution of the Jews was rife.

Paul, and indeed all the New Testament writers, are quite clear that the Church has entered into the heritage of old Israel. It is the new people of God (I Peter 2:1-12), enjoying a new covenant relationship with the Father made possible through the sacrifice of Jesus Christ (Heb. 9:15ff; I Cor. 11:25; et al), and finding in the Exodus the foreshadowing of its own baptismal rites (I Cor. 10:1ff). It is familiar ground nowadays to suggest that the Gospel of St. Matthew is written around such a theme. All that was promised to Old Israel has been fulfilled in Christ and His Church.

Has the Jew any advantage then? Is not his day over and done with? But Paul is a Jew and he cannot believe this. God is still the God of the Jews. All have sinned and are under his judgment -- Jews and Greeks(Rom. 39ff). The Jews are not better off, but they have an advantage. Logically, Paul should have denied this, yet he is not letting his feelings as a Jew run away with him (Rom. 3:1ff). His thought continually comes upon an immovable obstacle -- the election of Israel by God. He has continually to face the issue of the status of Israel in the light of God's calling and of its own rejection of the Messiah.

Paul is convinced that God treats all men alike and that the Jew is no better off. But he is also convinced of God's faithfulness, and this means a stedfast adherence to his covenant. Hosea could wrestle with the divine tension between wrath and mercy and find grace coming out triumphant (Hos. 11:1-12). The passage in 2 Tim. 2:11-13, which is regarded as a fragment of an early Christian hymn, celebrates God's faithfulness and declares that he cannot deny himself. We may deny him but he will not deny us. His wrath is a reality and his judgment is sure, but he is also the 'hound of heaven' whose grace transcends all our failure. Paradoxical alike for Paul and for us is the affirmation that he will not ultimately cast off what he has chosen. The condemnation of the Jews is just (Rom. 3:8), and yet the gifts and the call of God irrevocable (Rom.11:29). God has consigned all men to disobedience that he may have mercy upon all

(Rom. 11:32), and ultimately all Israel shall be saved (Rom.11:26). God has not rejected his people. Israel remains his people in spite of its sin and apostasy.

Hence the apostle can declare that the Jews have an advantage. They possess the oracles of God (Rom. 3:2). To them belong the sonship, the glory, the giving of the law, the worship, the promises and the patriarchs. Above all, of their race, according to the flesh, is the Christ Himself (Rom. 9:ff). Their heritage is still unshakeably theirs. Stored up in their tradition and the spiritual values which they have inherited is the gracious activity of God towards his people. Behind their history and carried deep in their conscious memory is the electing mercy of God. With all their rich past there has come the awareness that they are God's special property.

It has often been pointed out that this peculiar consciousness of the Jew and his rich spiritual heritage have made him curiously a creature with a moral concern and a deep awareness of moral claim. It is still true that the Jew with his deep concern for the injunctions of the Torah has a more stable family life, a finer passion for social justice, a larger philanthropic interest in human welfare than any other group in modern society. The moral and social ills which beset modern community life have less harborage among the practising Jews, orthodox or reformed, than anywhere else in our common humanity. Jacob Jocz reminds us that "the Jewish community shows the smallest proportion of delinquents, alcoholics, and drug addicts" and that "there is probably no other community, except perhaps the Society of Friends, that is equally concerned for the welfare of humanity." (Essay on "The 'Advantage' of the Jew" in Jews and Christians, pp. 91f).

Grant that the Jews have this advantage, yet Paul is pained by the preponderance of the Gentiles who have entered the New Israel and the few Jews. The promises of God to Israel do not seem to be fulfilled. He is clear that the real Israel must include all men of faith, but the historical Israel does not show this faith and yet it was chosen by God. So he declares that God has temporarily hardened the Jewish hearts and permitted only a small number to attain salvation. But this hardening has a purpose behind it. As the multitude of Gentiles enter into Christ, emulation will be aroused in Israel who will then cast aside their blindness and be incorporated by faith in the New Israel, until at last God's redemptive purpose will be complete. Then the full number of the Gentiles and all Israel shall be saved. This argument is of one piece with a point of view elsewhere expressed in the New Testament, viz. that the Gospel must be preached to all nations before the end comes. Paul saw that God's purpose for the old Israel would be fulfilled only when the gospel had been fully taken to the Gentiles (vide my Salvation History, pp. 258-267).

Today with Paul we face the same mystery-- the persistence of Israel. As we have seen this people has no racial definition, has possessed no fixed habitat, has no characteristics that other peoples do not also possess. Its path down time from New Testament days has not been marked by military triumphs, imperial successes, political achievement. Indeed it has, in one sense, remained much as it was when Rome sacked Jerusalem and set it off on its wanderings. From the worldly point of view the Jews have had no history, and yet they have outlasted nations and empires with impressive national stories. They have retained their identity, while others have disintegrated into the dust of the past. They have produced no distinctive culture and yet they have often contributed to the cultures in which they have found a home. Insofar as they possess a history, that history is not a unity. It is broken up into a series of separate and disconnected stories--Spanish Jews, Portuguese Jews, Polish Jews, German Jews. Everywhere their stories have manifested the same marks of suffering and humiliation, and yet everywhere is to be found the awareness of a mission. Even where they have lost the sense of election, they still remain a group apart. What we cannot escape and what their long years of wandering testify to is the divine overruling of history, the divine covenant faithfulness, and the divine electing grace.

What Christians often do not acknowledge is that, from the logical point of view, the attitude of Judaism to the Old Testament Scriptures is as valid as that of the Christian Church. Those Scriptures are by no means clear as to the nature of the messiahship and of the accompanying eschatology. In the prophetic writings, a Davidic messiahship to be realized within the setting of history seems evident. Yet tangled with it we have Jeremiah's hope of a new covenant and Deutero-Isaiah's mysterious figure of the 'suffering servant.' Finally, with the rise of apocalypticism, we have the enigmatic picture of the heavenly man, the 'Son of Man,' who comes on the clouds of heaven. The Dead Sea Scrolls have made it evident that the apocalyptic hopes played an important role in last century B.C. and the first century A.D.

Orthodox Jewry generally did not interpret the 'servant' in messianic terms but identified him with Israel itself in some form. Judaism seized therefore upon the futuristic messianic hope enshrined in the prophetic consciousness and emphasized the legal structure of Israel's life as the way in which the people of God should live until the Messiah should come.

On the other hand, the Christian Church seized upon the prophetic oracles of the new covenant and the suffering servant and, following its Lord, identified them with the life, death and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth. It found support also on the apocalyptism which developed after the Exile. Thus from the beginning, the Christian approach to the Old Testament was selective. It modified the futuristic eschatology by declaring that the hope was in part realized. The future Kingdom had become a present reality in Jesus of Nazareth, his life, death and resurrection, although the church maintained a tension between the present actuality and the future consummation. The Church claimed that in Christ the new covenant had been established and that it was the covenanted new Israel, the new 'people of God.'

Thus we may see two groups, each basing its faith on Old Testament oracles, each claiming to be the covenanted people of God, each holding fast in its own specific way to the messianic promises, and each basically regarding this world as significant for the accomplishment of God's purpose. It is evident that, in the Old Testament period, the messianic consciousness flowered in many different ways, and thus we can understand why the Jew would understand the scriptures in one way and the early Christians in another. Two points need to be made. It would have been easier for the Christian Church could it have severed itself from the Old Testament and regarded the New Testament as its sole canonical scripture. But this, from the very beginning, it refused to do, for Jesus its Messiah was himself of Israel according to the flesh. Hence it steadfastly rejected the efforts of heretics like Marcian. But if we cling to the Old Testament scriptures, then we have to acknowledge that we interpret them in terms of the Christ. Further, we have to deal with the law for that, too, is in our heritage, and we have to acknowledge that we and our Jewish brethren are both within the divine covenant.

Secondly, if God allowed the messianic consciousness of old Israel to develop in divers ways, are we to hold the Jews blameworthy if they did not take the direction dictated by the disclosure in Jesus of Nazareth? Was God deceiving his people? But he was a covenant God who was steadfast and faithful in his 'covenant love' (chesed). Such a thought was therefore inconceivable to Paul as it is to us. Paul took refuge, therefore, in the thesis that God had blinded the eyes of the majority of the Jews in order that his grace might be universalized and reach to the Gentiles. He evidently felt that what had happened was in some sense within the divine purposes. His thought could be expressed less harshly if we suggest that it had never been God's intention that the majority of Jews should accept Jesus of Nazareth but that they should remain within his gracious covenant as the recipients of the Torah and the inheritors of the promise of a 'Coming One'. Only so could the Gospel reach out beyond one nation, and the hopes of a universal mission, expressed in the oracles of Deutero-Isaiah, be accomplished.

On this understanding, Jew and Christian are alike the people of the covenant and alike under God's grace. We cannot deny those oracles which have led Judaism to hope for the future Messiah, for they belong to us also. Hence, suggests Roy Eckardt, "we mayplead -- and it is a bold saying -- that it was not God's will or purpose that the great majority of original Israel should come to acclaim Jesus as the Christ" (A. Roy Eckardt, Elder and Younger Brothers, Nashville: The Abingdon Press, 1968, p. 136). Eckardt quotes the Jewish thinker Franz Werfel that "God's providence actually condemned Israel to reject God Himself for the salvation of the whole world" (Franz Werfel, Between Heaven and Earth, trans. M. Newmark, New York: 1944, pp. 195f., cited ibid., p. 137). Eckardt would correct the statement by suggesting that the divine providence enabled such rejection by Israel.

If we take this approach, then we see the divine covenant of grace as two-sided--it involves the pilgrimage of the old Israel and the pilgrimage of the new Israel, the Church. Between the two, Jesus of Nazareth is the bridge, through his death and resurrection. The first Christians were themselves Jews, to whom was granted the disclosure that Jesus was the promised Messiah. The resurrection declared him to be the Son of God with power (Rom. 1:1ff.), and so the good news of the covenant of grace reached out beyond the confines of old Israel. It is difficult to see how those first Christians would have come to their insight if Jesus had not come to them in his life, death and resurrection as the promised Messiah of the covenant. Yet the resurrection universalized the covenant and opened the door to the Gentiles. In Jesus of Nazareth history provided the bridge whereby a little group of Jews defied one line of their messianic consciousness, set themselves against the logic of their fellow Jews, and declared, through the Holy Spirit enlightening their minds, that 'Jesus is Lord' (1 Cor. 12:3). Through Jesus the Gentile Christians too claim to be within the Covenant.

Yet the two communities must remain apart until the final consummation. In Christ, the Christians are both united with the Church of Jewry and yet paradoxically separated from it. We who are in the Church remain outside the Synagogue, and those who are in the Synagogue remain outside the Church. The tension is there, and none can deny it. Furthermore, because of the very exclusiveness of our monotheistic faiths, missionary activity will have to continue, yet surely not aggressively. Rather in humility, we must seek to share our riches one with the other in the way of dialogue, seeking to understand our common heritage in the covenant of grace.

Within such a relationship, neither of us can accuse the other of that sin which also attaches to ourselves. The Jew stands as a symbol for what election means. Jewry's persistence is a constant reminder of its utter dependence on the divine election. It cannot be destroyed or exterminated, and yet it has no world power by which it can survive. It persists solely by God's grace, without benefit of homeland, of culture, of race, even of language, oftentimes without religion (hence the increasing atheism in Jewry). Everywhere it is a guest of strangers, and it has become in its strangeness a special object of obloquy and scorn. Is it because in the Jews we recognize ourselves? In hitting Israel, may it not be that we are unconsciously resisting what has come to us through Israel, the Christ? The cross of Jewry, although they do not know it, is a continuing aspect of Calvary. To be the elect of God we must either be Jews or humbly accept the Jew, Christ Jesus. Barth has a striking word, although we cannot accept much of what he says: "it is the one Jew Jesus Christ who is looking out upon us from the desolation and persistence of the existence of the Jews" (Karl Barth, Church Dogmatics, Vol. III, 3; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clarke, 1961, p.226).

Again, we accuse the Jew, with his confidence in the Law, of an arrogance from which we Christians are not free in our arrogant confidence in electing grace or in our church program or in our dogmatic formulae or in our many plans of salvation or in our own particular view of biblical authority. There are many Jews who humbly accept the gracious gift of the Torah as there are many Christians who with humility deal with Christ and his gift of salvation. In hitting at the Jew we are so often setting up a

prototype for ourselves. In him we see what every man is before God as the object of his mercy and his grace - a sinner and a creature.

So the two covenant groups persist until that consummation when God's covenant grace shall shine clear. The Jew looks for that day of Messianic unveiling. The Christian waits for the gracious coming of the Son of Man who is also the Son of God. Dare we say that the two are one--that the divine meaning disclosed to us in Jesus of Nazareth will be unveiled at the End as the meaning of all history? Is not that why Paul, Jew and yet also Christian, travailing with the tension in his soul, could not also affirm that all Israel shall then be saved, for God cannot cast off his people?

III. THE WAY OF DIALOGUE

Monotheism in all its forms is exclusive and missionary. Pantheism can absorb all forms of religion. Hinduism is basically pantheistic. To present the Gospel to Judaism and Islam faces the Church with its most challenging task, and most of all does this hold of Jewry, especially if, as we have suggested, Judaism and Christianity are two sides of the covenant.

Judaism shares with us the oracles and promises of old Israel. Even in its rejection of the Christ, it is not outside the experience of God's grace. It too has produced its saints. Few intelligent and discerning men would deny to men like Martin Buber the signs of a personal experience of God's mercy. Men like Claude Montefiore and Israel Abrahams are reminders of the heights of commitment and devotion to the living God that a Jew can attain. Often when we speak of the Law, the Torah, we think of rigid rules and instruction. Yet Torah is much more dynamic than the words Law and 'Nomos' might convey. It is not a legal code merely but the very expression of God's nature, a revelation, a coming of God to man. The Rabbis made it pre-exist the creation of the world and taught that God looked upon it when he created the world. It is indeed the embodiment of his wisdom and love, his goodness and power. Ben Sirach could even describe it as a kind of incarnation of the divine Wisdom (Ecclus 24:23). What Christ is to the Christian, the Law is to the Jew. Israel Abrahams could write: "Those who tell the Jew that he has nothing to love with the passion which a Christian feels for Jesus forget Israel's passion for the Law" (Some Permanent Values in Jerusalem, p. 73). Here the Jew may challenge us who claim the full light in Jesus the Christ.

It is imperative that Jew and Christian enter into vital dialogue, even though each, as montheist, may claim to be exclusive and missionary. Yet to do so we must recognize both what we have in common and where we differ. For one thing we both lay claim to the Hebrew scriptures, the Christian Old Testament, yet with a difference. As we have noted, Judaism still anticipates the Messiah and regards the 'law' as binding upon every aspect of its communal life. Thus it is very much concerned with this world, and it looks for a this worldly consummation when, at long last, the promised Messiah shall appear. Here it is in keeping with the prophetic hope of the Old Testament scriptures. Along with this and paradoxically, Judaism, as Buber points out, emphasizes the unredeemedness of the world. Buber writes: "Standing bound and shackled in the pillary of mankind, we demonstrate with the bloody body of our people the unredeemedness of the world" (Ereignisse und Begegnungen, Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1920, p. 20). The world lacks redemption. This idea arises because, as the Jew sees it, the presence of the Messiah must mean the immediate transformation of our communal and historical structures. God's rule of justice will be embodied in man's economic, social and political forms. Here Judaism witnesses to God's concern for this world as the scene for the fulfilment of his purpose. So in its own communal life it seeks to demonstrate, in the midst of the world, what that rule of justice is, while it waits for that day when such a rule shall be fully established.

Now the Christian attitude to the Old Testament, as we have seen, is more selective. It replaced the legal structure of the Torah by the new law of the Gospel, the

embodiment of all human behavior in the expression of Christian love. It set Calvary over against Sinai and preached a crucified Messiah, who through his suffering had redeemed the world. Hence it did not regard the world as presently unredeemable. Rather it declared the redeemedness of the world as guaranteed by the Resurrection. A new exodus had taken place in the Cross and a new people of God had been created. The MessianicKingdom was now a present reality, even though its final unveiling waited for the end-time. Increasingly, however, the major emphasis fell upon the heavenly and the eternal order, and man's eternal destiny often became more important than his historical and communal life. Getting men out of hell into heaven became more important than John's concern with eternal life here and now and Paul's concern with the present possession of the Holy Spirit and its ethical implications.

Thus we may see two groups differing in their interpretation of the prophetic promises, in their attitude toward the redeemedness of the world, and paradoxically in their concern with the communal and historical structures of this world. The Christians who paradoxically found their faith in the Incarnation and thus in the divine claim upon this world and its redemption as a present reality, yet so concentrated upon personal redemption from sin and hell that they forgot the social implications of their Gospel. While, equally paradoxically, the Jews who held the unredeemedness of the world, yet sought to actualize the divine law communally in the midst of that world and have, when the opportunity offered, showed a commitment to the service of humanity which often puts the Christians to shame.

This matter of the redeemedness and unredeemedness of the world needs a closer examination. Let us listen once more to Buber who states that the Jew, "as part of the world, experiences, perhaps more intensely than any other part, the world's lack of redemption. He feels the lack of redemption against his skin, he tastes it on the tongue, the burden of the unredeemed world lies on him. Because of this almost physical knowledge of his, he cannot concede that the redemption has taken place; he knows that it has not" (Israel and the World, New York, 1948, p. 35). Hence the Jew points to the Christian the question as how the latter can claim that Jesus is the Redeemer of Israel? Now let us note that the Jew does not have the radical view of sin that is held by the Christian community. He believes that man carries in himself the potentiality of redemption. Rylaarsdam has pointed out that, though the Jew sees the unredeemedness of the structures of our common life in all their dimensions, he yet holds that potentially, they also embody the actuality of redemption. Man is beset by limitations that he is helpless to remove, yet he "can always choose the good, with the lights of the Law and his conscience, and with the help from on high which leaves his freedom intact" (Dénann, The Jewish Faith, p. 75). Thus, in a sense, if man is not redeemed, he still does not greatly need redemption. Here we see the opposite to the Christian doctrine of original sin. Man is not substantially a sinner, even though he commits sins. Man is not in himself (his essential being) evil, but men are evil. Hence the Jew faces the unredeemed nature of the world, while believing that if men are faithful to the Torah they may truly be sons of God.

The lack of consistency here is very evident. Why does it arise? The answer lies in the centuries of persecution at the hands of Christian men. Here is the hard concrete fact which demonstrates the unredeemed state of the world, despite the Jewish belief that all men have the potentiality to be relatively good. Cut off from Torah, man cannot realize his potentiality. This lack of a deep understanding of anthropology and the nature of evil, set within the framework of persecution, obloquy and scorn, means that Jewish eschatology is somewhat vague. Its optimism about human nature is not matched by any concrete expression of an ultimate future in which men and nature shall participate, nor is the hope concretely expressed. The fact that, at the Passover, the cup of wine is placed for Elijah, ought to signify such a concrete expression. It is an open issue whether it really does.

On the other hand, the Christian because of his more searching understanding of anthropology and the nature of evil has a deeper sense of man's need of redemption. If the Jew says: "You Christians declare that you have been redeemed in Jesus of Nazareth, yet I see no evidence of this even in your treatment of me," the Christian needs to bow his head in shame. If as Christians we declare the redeemedness of the world in Jesus Christ, the Jew asks us to demonstrate the reality of such redemption. For him, redemption is something that must be immediately evident because the Messiah has come. For the Christian, with his more radical view of sin, redemption is a process in which men are being set free from the forces in their nature which inhibit them from being fully 'sons of God.' They are sons of God by adoption and grace even though sin shall inhabit their mortal frame and, by God s grace, they must continue to fight against evil within and without. For them, the concern is not with acts of sin, with sins, but with an inner corruption of man's nature, an infirmity of man's will which, apart from God's redeeming mercy in Christ, prevents his being truly free. Let us note immediately that the grace of the Lord Jesus is matched in Jewish thought by the gracious giving of the Torah. Yet the Jew believes that by devotion to the Torah man is free to become a Son of God. There is a different kind of humanism in Judaism from that which characterizes Christianity.

This brings us to another point where differences of emphasis are evident. James Parkes argues that whereas Judaism emphasizes the social aspect of man, Christianity places its stress on the personal aspect. He draws this out by pointing to the Jewish concern for righteousness and justice and to the Christian concern with love. Such a contrast should not be pressed too far. Yet even Buber's infuential insights into the personal emphasize the relationship of the I to the Thou, whereas so often the Christian has shown little concern with the natural human community but much more with man's eternal and personal destiny before God. Far too frequently, indeed, the Church as shaped itself into a self made ghetto, within which Christian love finds expression in koinonia, but has had little to say about the social life of man with its repeated denial of the structures of justice and equity. It has been preoccupied with getting people out of hell into heaven and with the standing of the person before God. And it has forgotten its Lord's function that the laws of justice and righteousness find their fulfilment in love and the injunction of John that a man cannot love God and hate his brother. Far too often the Kingdom of God has been made as future as the Jewish hope instead of it being regarded as a present reality to be expressed within the structures of this life.

Judiasm, in both the Palestinian and Babylonian forms of the Talmud, attempted to permeate the whole of life with the presence of God. Time and work as well as worship and prayer are thereby drawn within the divine orbit. The cultural pursuits of man in the arts and the sciences, his industrial activities and his agricultural tasks, his civil law and his social life are brought within the range of Israel's consciousness of election. In what is a great and creative literature Jewry has enshrined every aspect of its life. If it is to be God's people, then the whole of life must be hallowed. Legalistic the Talmud may be, but it breathes a spirit which challenges the Christian's freedom in Christ. Our emasculated Christianity has ceased to lay claim to areas where the Jew with his Torah would still affirm the divine sovereignty. A reformed Jew like Israel Abrahams puts the prophets above the Talmud and rejects a slavish acceptance of its authority, but he can describe it as "a moving sea on which sail the ships of living men" (Some Permanent Values in Jerusalem, p. 83).

Here we have Judaism's social concern, and its missionary task is the transformation of society. Parkes tells us that "the centre of Judaism is the natural community. Its whole emphasis is on man as a social being, related to men through righteousness and justice . It insists on human responsibility, on definable and achievable objectives" (The Bible, the Man and the Trinity, Barley, Royston, Herts; Parkes Library Pamphlets, 1964, p. 8). He acknowledges that Judaism regards man also as a person and that the relationship of persons is through love; indeed, who could read Buber let alone Deut. 6:4

and Lev. 19:18 without knowing this. Yet Parkes believes that the social is the primary and main concern. As he sees it, Christianity, on the other hand, subordinates the social aspect of man to his personal aspect, righteousness and justice to love. And just here it seems to fail, for instead of showing such love to the natural community and showing a deeper concern than righteousness and justice might demand, the Church has kept its love to its fellowship and often relegated its expression to the hereafter. Heresy hunts, dogmatic intolerance, racial prejudice have taken the place of concern for others as those for whom Christ died. And if the Church has been missionary and evangelistic, somehow it has often managed to isolate personal from social redemption and to be more concerned with the soul's eternal destiny than with life in this world structure.

What we see here has been well expressed by Roy Eckardt. He sees the distinction we have just made as paradoxically bound with our previous distinction between the 'redeemedness' and 'unredeemedness' of the world. The whole set of tensions is bound up partly with the history of Jewish/Christian relations and partly with basic theological attitudes. Eckardt writes: "The tension is occasioned by the fact that relative to Christianity, Jewish thought paradoxically qualifies the unredeemedness of the world by a testimony to the goodness of man and the creation, an emphasis conducive to a certain combination of social responsibility with social utopianism; while, relative to Judaism, Christian thought paradoxically counters the redeemedness of the world by a concentration upon human sin in a fallen creation, an emphasis conducive to a certain combination of social irresponsibility with social realism " (A. Roy Eckardt, Elder and Younger Brothers, p. 89).

In the present era, Christianity is realizing its heritage of social concern originating in the Old Testament prophets and in the realism of the Incarnation. A new emphasis on this world and a conversion to the world are being called for in many quarters. Books like van Leuuwen's Christianity in World History, Harvey Cox's Secular City, Gregor Smith's Secular Christianity, Schultz's Conversion to the World are pointing us towards the 'secular' and bidding us remember that if heaven be our goal, earth is the realm where God's will must be obeyed and the divine purpose accomplished. The influence of Dietrich Bonhoeffer has brought to a focus that social concern which, in the previous centuries of Christian history, many Christian groups have manifested, even if the Church has generally been preoccupied with man's personal standing as sinner before God and with his heavenly destination. Furthermore, the Jewish concern has found expression in the early Marx and in Jewish Communists like Ernst Bloch who are calling for a new communistic humanism. Christian dialogue with such thinkers as Bloch is opening up new perspectives for Christian mission. The Church cannot relinquish its radical view of sin and its emphasis on personal redemption. But it must concern itself increasingly with the social environment within which personal redemption is accomplished and realize that it has always possessed a larger eschatological hope than the purely individualistic eschatology which it has so often advocated. Paul saw the whole creation groaning and travailing together until now waiting for the unveiling of the sons of God, and the Seer of the Apocalypse looked, like the Old Testament prophets, for a new heaven and a new earth. Today Teilhard de Chardin and the theologians of hope like Moltmann, Pannenberg, and Schillerbeeck are bidding us entrance to such a cosmic and social eschatology in the centre of our thinking. Personal and social redemption must go hand in hand.

Here we can learn much from dialogue with our Jewish friends as they might learn from us a more radical view of sin and a less optimistic anthropology. Surely the latter seems a necessity in the light of their own historical experience.

There are, of course, basic theological differences besides those concerned with anthropology and the nature of sin. The most fundamental is the Christian affirmation of the Incarnation. Not only is Jesus the promised Messiah, the Redeemer of Israel, in Christian thought, but he is also the actual presence of the living God in the form of man. He is God with us.

It is significant that, in this past century of emancipation and liberation, the Jew has become increasingly interested in Jesus of Nazareth and come to acknowledge his prophetic stature. Einstein could say: "I am enthralled by the luminous figure of the Nazarene." Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver can affirm: "Quite apart from the question of the divinity of Jesus, it is an indisputable fact that the personality of Jesus has been a luminously radiant fact in the life of Christianity (Religion in a Changing World, p.110). Martin Buber can write: "We understand the Christology of Christianity throughout as an important event which has taken place between the world above and the world below. We see Christianity as something the mystery of whose coming into the world we are unable to penetrate" (Die Stande und die Erkenntnis, p. 153). Joseph Klausner, in his Jesus of Nazareth, paints a Jewish picture of Jesus which is curiously biased and yet pays tribute to his ethical teaching as unparalleled in its sublimity and originality by any other Jewish moral code.

Some dialogue on the Christian understanding of the Incarnation might be possible around the Jewish concept of the Shechinah. Among its many riches, Judaism has the concept of the indwelling or abiding of the divine presence within chosen parts of his creation -- the burning bush, the Tabernacle, to name two. The Shechinah is even personified -- the wings of the Shechinah typify God's protective immanence. Indeed the Shechinah feels in man's illness: with an ill man, the Shechinah can say: "I feel a weariness in my head, I feel a weariness in my arm" (T.B. Sanhedrin, 46a). Men may even see the Shechinah at the point of death. It is thus a special presence of God, his dwelling in the midst of his creatures, and it results from his free grace and condescension. The Shechinah has descended on Israel and dwells in its midst. In a Midrash on Numbers 5:2,3, we read "Beloved are the Israelites to God, for even when they are unclean the Shechinah dwells among them" (ed. C.G.Montefiore and H. Loewe, A Rabbinic Anthology, New York: Meridian Books, 1960, p. 64). What Christians mean by the 'indwelling Christ' or the 'indwelling Spirit' in the lives of the saints is not unknown to the Rabbis. Let us remember the saying of Rabbi Simeon ben Yohai: "Whithersoever the righteous go, the Shechinah goes with them" (A Rabbinic Anthology, p. 85). Indeed just as, often in Christian thought, it is difficult to differentiate between the 'indwelling Christ' and the 'indwelling Spirit,' so that to be 'in Christ' is synonymous with being 'in the Spirit,' so too, in Jewish thought, there is no clear line between the Holy Spirit (Ruach hakodesh) and the Shechinah. How near this is to what we mean by the Incarnation may well give us a bridge with Jewry. It is an open question how far the development of this concept was due to Christian influences or a reaction to them. But it may help us to make Christology meaningful to Judaism, provided we safeguard the humanity of our Lord and do not fall into the error of regarding Jesus as a pure appearance of God, devoid of real humanity. Docetism is an easy error here!

We have already noted the Jewish concept of the Torah and Jewish devotion to it. When God gave the Torah he was in a measure giving himself, for he cannot be completely severed from his Torah (cf. A Rabbinic Anthology, p. 271). Such Rabbinical thoughts are closely akin to passages about the Logos/Word such as John 1. Furthermore, the annunciation of the Torah at Sinai and the incarnation at Bethlehem are both presented as crucial cosmic happenings at which angels were in attendance. Again the New Testament affirmation that Christ is the wisdom of God is paralleled by the use of the Old Testament wisdom image of Proverbs 8 to describe the association of the Torah with the creative act. Closely bound in with this is the thought of the pre-existence of the Torah to the created order. "Yet," as Schneider notes, "we need to be cautious about making too much of such outward similarities which may only give a semblance of likeness rather than indicate a significant approximation in the two focal points of Judaism and Christianity. The rabbi's personification of the Torah and such related ideas never reach the point of dogma in Judaism" (P. Schneider, The Dialogue of Christians and Jews, New York: The Seabury Press, 1967, p. 148).

The way is evidently open for the way of dialogue and there are many who hold that this is the best way to approach the modern Jew. Reinhold Niebuhr, in Pious and

Secular America, points to the good things that the Christian shares with the Jew - - the God of the patriarchs and the mighty acts of God in history. Here the Church and Jewry stand together over against a secular world. Their unity is such that Niebuhr dismisses missionary activity and contends that the Jew can find God better within his own heritage than by the hazardous guilt feelings associated with conversion to what symbolizes an oppressive majority culture. He argues that "practically nothing can purify the symbol of Christ as the image of God in the imagination of the Jew from the taint with which ages of Christian oppression in the name of Christ tainted it."

Such a position by a Christian theologian is at least a warning that heavy handed dogmatism is no way to approach Jewry. The Jews also are the elect of God. We must concern ourselves with seeking to show those aspects of God's nature and purpose which the Christ has disclosed to us. We cannot relinquish our evangelistic mission, for our very monotheism with its Christological emphasis spells exclusiveness. Yet we must witness humbly, confessing our own guilt with theirs in the crucifixion of the Christ and the guilt of all men. Yes, and confessing too our guilt for blinding their eyes to the Christ by our so-called Christian persecution of them. Above all, we must enter into dialogue with them seeking to build bridges between their own Jewish theological thinking and our own Christian faith.

That such dialogues are now taking place is indicated in the debate between Karl Ludwig Schmidt, the Protestant theologian, and Martin Buber, the Jewish philosopher, and between Rosenstock-Hussy and Franz Rosenweig, the Jewish translator and Scriptural expert. Their dialogues indicate both how near the two groups are and yet how far apart. We have already quoted from Buber's participation in this dialogue. His acknowledgment of the value of Christ for the Christian way of life is marked by a firm rejection of Jesus as, in any way, a caesura, the mid-point of history. To such a claim of Schmidt, Buber replies that the Jew acknowledges no such mid-point, but only a goal towards which all history moves. He holds that the Jew cannot ascribe finality to any divine relation nor can he characterize any by the description of incarnation. He sets the limits of Judaism but, as Schoeps reminds us, he facilitates "greatly the dialogue with Christianity" (The Jewish Christian Argument, p. 152). Schoeps, himself a Jew, would go beyond Buber. He rightly says that, for the believer, the revelation of God "must be ultimate, incapable of being transcended" (ibid., p. 153). He suggests that progress in understanding could be effected, if it be recognized that "the Jewish revelation is ultimate and final only for its own followers, that is for the Jews." This is similar to the position which this paper is suggesting. In the light of his understanding of historical reality, the Jew can admit to other revelations which have no immediate meaning for Israel. Yet Schoeps allows that Christianity can never agree, for it is still a universal religion. Even if it admitted a specific and sufficient revelation for the Jews, it would still regard its Gospel as for all non-Jews. But to admit the former would also open the door to the divine origin of Islam!

Lev Gillet, a Christian of Eastern-Orthodox persuasion (Communion in the Messiah), believes that Jew and Christian may yet commune in their common Messianic consciousness reinforcing the position already adopted. In Appendix 6 of the Evanston Report of the World Council of Churches in 1952, we find this statement: "The New Testament . . . speaks also of the 'fulness' of Israel, when God will manifest his glory by bringing back his 'eldest Son' into the one fold of His grace (Rom. 11:12-36; Matt. 23:29). This belief is an indispensable element of our one united hope for Jew and Gentile in Jesus Christ . . . To expect Jesus Christ means to hope for the conversion of the Jewish people, and to love Him means to love the people of God's promise." To build bridges between the Christian Christology and hope and the Jewish Messianic consciousness will require a recasting of our doctrine in Hebraic forms, whereas we have long been dominated by Greek patterns of thought. Yet the way is opening for us in the renewed concern for Old Testament Theology and Hebrew ways of thinking in the past decades. Above all, at the practical level, as Gillet points out, we can join forces in a common social concern and vision of communal justice, so ingredient in any form of the Messianic hope.

Schoeps points out that, with the increasing secularism of our world, the Church may find itself in the same minority position as Israel. The contrast between Christian 'power' and Jewish 'impotence' may cease to hold, and the regnant 'remnant' conception of the Scriptures may have to be taken seriously. All participants in the Jewish-Christian dialogue emphasize the divine election manifested in the Church and Jewry. The age is no longer Judaeo-Christian. Jews and Christians occupy separate islands in a rising tide of secularism. Both need to rid themselves of any conceptions of grandeur and to learn to rely solely upon that divine grace and election-faithfulness without which neither would exist. There can be no illusions on the Church's part of Christianizing science and technology. Both Jew and Christian must rest more than ever in their eschatological hope and Messianic consciousness. "Today," writes Schoeps, "the church, too, is experiencing its Babylonian captivity -- quite differently, much more concretely, than the Reformers ever thought" (op. cit., 170). Yet the continuing dialogue may take both down to the indivisible depths of faith. "On the Christian side, the apocalyptic-eschatological theme seems today to be gaining the same actuality which biblical Messianism is receiving on the Jewish side" (ibid., p. 171). Above all, if it would speak to the Jew, the Church must return to its Lord and become distinguishable from its non-Christian and secular environment. It must, to use Bonhoeffer's famous distinction, take the way of 'costly grace.' In its own way it must echo the Kaddish prayer of Judaism: "May he bring his kingdom to dominion within your lifetime and within your days and within the lifetime of the whole house of Israel -- shortly, within a brief time" (quoted ibid., p. 172).

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I am greatly indebted to A. Roy Eckardt's Elder and Younger Brothers as will be quite evident in this paper.

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JEWISH- BAPTIST SCHOLARS CONFERENCE
Louisville, Kentucky
August 20, 1969

CHRISTIANS, RACISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM

Bob Adams

Racism and Anti-Semitism have two factors in common: They both involve prejudice and discrimination and they are not susceptible to a purely rational approach. By prejudice is meant an inflexible judgment that is based on a faulty generalization.[1] Discrimination is the acting out of prejudice, although it is possible that the one who discriminates is not necessarily himself prejudiced. Racism is a fairly recent phenomenon in the history of man's inhumanity to man, and it would be an unfortunate mistake to restrict a study of Anti-Semitism to those prejudices, arguments, and overt manifestations that have been based on racism.[2] Therefore the subject of racism as it relates to Anti-Semitism will be presented in this paper as part of the larger historical context of Anti-Semitism.

DEFINITION

"Prejudice is the result of a inflexible judgment based on a faulty generalization." Let us examine Anti-Semitism in the light of this larger working definition. Anti-Semitism has to do with Jews and non-Jews. Immediately a problem arises: How is the term Jew to be defined? More important, how are we to understand the person who is denominated Jew, or the group called Jews? Does Jew refer primarily to religion? To nation? To race? to Nationality? This problem of understanding and definition may bother us, but it will not bother an Anti-Semite. In whatever direction the definition leads, the Anti-Semite will soon have conjured up an image that will place Jew in a bad light. He will be an international socialist out to destroy the free world -- or a wily capitalist out to exploit the workingman. He will be a member of a super race which almost has mankind in its clutches--or a member of a degenerate race whose very blood would pollute the veins of the human race. He will be a Zionist who desires to build his ill-begotten territory at the cost of world peace--or a unscrupulous politician who from behind the doors of smoke-filled rooms seeks to dominate our country.

However, the Anti-Semite who calls himself Christian will likely see Jew as a member of the group that was once highly privileged but in a crucial moment proved so degenerate and blind as to contrive the murder of the God who appeared to them in human form, and thus called down the wrath of God upon them for all, or nearly all, their human existence.[3] This is part of the image that the Anti-Semite sees when the word Jew or the person Jew is brough to his attention.

RESULTS OF ANTI-SEMITISM

Although not in logical order, a look at some of the results of Anti-Semitism in its function in history will draw attention to its gravity. Some examples come to mind.

The official policy of Imperial Russia vis-avis the Jews, beginning in 1881, was that one-third would be driven out, one-third would disappear (become Christians), and one-third would die. From 1881 to World War I, some 110,000 Jews were slaughtered in Russian territory. After World War I, some 250,000 Jews were killed in the Ukraine.[4] It has been estimated that between World Wars I and II some 1,000,000 Jews were liquidated in Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia.[5] All this was a dress rehearsal for the Holocaust, in which some 6,000,000 Jews were systematically slaughtered under the direction of the Third Reich. One historian of the Holocaust believes it to be the logical conclusion of a process that began in the fourth century. It began when Jews were told, "You have no right to live among us as Jews." Then they were told, "You have no right to live among us." Finally, they were told, "You have no right to live."[6]

Looking at Medieval days, one would speak of the carnage of the Crusades, the ritual-murder accusation, the torturing-the-host accusation, the Black Death and well-poisoning accusations, accusations concerning usury, expulsion from country after country and re-admittance after payment and humiliation, ghettos, enforced distinctions in dress for purposes of identification and ostracism, a debased image in popular literature and entertainment -- all this befell the Jews in a Europe that called itself Christian.

Seemingly regardless of changed historical circumstances, the foregoing has been the way Jews have been treated for centuries in certain areas of the world. Such treatment has appropriately been termed "the hatred and denigration of the Jewish people."

ALLEGED CAUSES OF ANTI-SEMITISM

In the ancient world there existed at times a marked antipathy toward Jews. At least three of four distinguishing characteristics of the Hebrew religion were either the causes of or aggravated such antipathy. They were the Hebrew concepts of radical monotheism, the Chosen People, a distinct manner of life with a ritual that touched all of life, and a Messianic concept.[7] Given these concepts, it would not be surprising that non-Hebrews would see the Hebrew religion as scorning their gods, and as exalting the Hebrew ritual and people to a place above them.

Agus states that this kind of classical Anti-Semitism did not enter directly into the stream of Christian tradition and culture.[8]

Yet it was over interpretations of these four concepts that Christianity and Judaism originally struggled.[9] Whether or not Jesus was Messiah was the original controversy. The struggle was at first carried on within Judaism itself. It was, so to speak, a family quarrel. Therefore the struggle over the other three concepts was not deeply divisive for there was both an historical and a theological (conceptual) continuity between the two.

As Christianity moved out from Palestinian Judaism into Hellenistic Judaism and finally into the Hellenistic world, the Church, the emergent Christian community, maintained its struggle for the theological concepts that it shared with Judaism. It tried also to maintain the historical continuity. This was difficult to accomplish and admit at the same time any continuity or validity for continuing Judaism and its concepts. What had begun as a struggle within an historical, religious community, Judaism, became bitter war between two communities. The struggle ceased to be viewed by Christians as existential and descriptive. It was transformed into something ontological, metaphysical. Christian theology taught that in the man Jesus God had incarnated himself, that in this person God had, so to speak, historicized the absolute. Christian polemic went another, unnecessary, step and absolutized the historical -- the events surrounding and following the life and death of Jesus. If this history were absolute, it could also be normative. If normative, there could be something in the very nature of the Jewish community and Judaism that caused it not to become Christian.

Gradually an interpretation of Jews and Judaism grew up in the Christian community that explained forever the antagonism and hostility. Judaism was seen as having been degenerate and debased during the time of Jesus: the purity of the old Hebrew, prophetic religion had ceased to exist in Judaism. Jews alone were portrayed as guilty of plotting and executing the death of Jesus. Not only were Jews portrayed as having been responsible for Jesus' death, they were also portrayed as having known at the time who Jesus was, the Son of God. They were therefore seen as guilty of the crime of deicide. For this crime they were seen to be cursed and rejected of God, and bearing an eternal guilt. Before the time of Constantine, in the writings of the Anti-Nicene Fathers, this image of Jews and Judaism emerged.[10]

However, up to the time of Constantine the struggle was simply between two religious communities. When the Romas Empire was Christianized, the Christian community had at its disposal the political, social, and economic power of an Empire to aid it in its struggle. Christianity became Christendom, and the Roman Empire became the Holy Roman Empire. A geographical concept of Christianity arose: Christendom. This concept was not seriously challenged from within Christianity. until the sixteenth century.

During the twelve centuries from Constantine to Martin Luther, Jews in Europe formed the only community that consistently and rather successfully resisted being brought into Christianity. But Jews lived within Christendom. Some mode of living had to be worked out between the dominant Christianized society and the stubborn minority group that lived in its midst.

Four questins had to be resolved. How would the Christianized society view Judaism as a religion? In what ways would it allow Jews to adhere to Judaism--if indeed it would permit such? Would the Christianized society seek the conversion of Jews to Christianity, and if so, what means would be used? Finally, what should be the political, economic, and social position of Jews in this society whose self-image was Christian?

The answering of these four questions in concrete, historical situations is the history of the relationships between Jews and Christians, between Judaism and Christianity.[11] Christians who tended toward Anti-Semitism,in answering these questionswere inflexible in their judgments. The judgments were not based so much on contemporary reality as upon the generalizations described above. The generalizations were seen to be not only descriptive of ontological reality but also prescriptive in that they described the judgment of an Almighty God.

The theological image of Jews and Judaism as degenerate and debased, as Christ-killers, as guilty of deicide, and as forever punished guided the policy decisions affecting religious freedom for Judaism, conversion of Jews to Christianity, and the place of Jews in society.

Jews were not exterminated for two reasons, One had to do with the heritage of Roman law. The other had to do with the self-interest of the Church. There was a third reason that was operative at certain times among certain individuals and groups.

Roman law during the Constantinian era had guaranteed the Jews certain rights. When Gregory the Great as asked about the status of Jews in the Empire, he fell back on and reiterated the Roman Laws on the subject. This has served the Roman Catholic Church as a guide for hundreds of years in relationships between Jews and Christians.[12]

The continued existence of Jews was seen by the Church as a divinely given proof of the truth of Christianity. Therefore Jews must not be exterminated, for in such a case the church would be deprived of a great argument in her favor.[13]

And at times the belief was prominent and operative that in the end time, the entire Jewish nation would be converted to Christianity. To try to kill all Jews would be to attempt to thwart God's purpose and to deprive Him of his glory.[14]

The simultaneous holding of the theological image of Jews that was formulated during the first three centuries of the Common Era with the concept that Christianity could and should be geographical has been largely responsible for the kind of Anti-Semitism to which some Christians have subscribed.

Concomitant to this kind of Anti-Semitism there have been other forms. Jews in the Western World have been termed the "Eternal Minority."[15] When

religion was the chief differentiating factor among human groups, Jews were seen as different in their religion. When economic factors loomed large, Jews either filled a necessary but condemned need or were competitive but in a disadvantaged position. With the rise of nationalism, Jews were seen to be of a different nationality. When the myth of race began to promulgated, Jews were considered to belong to a different and dangerous race. In short, Jews were not judged on their own qualities, but on those factors which the judges had been conditioned to expect.[16]

In the groups that make up mankind, Jews have formed a smaller group within larger groups. The differences between the two have been in crucial areas which made Jews "unlike the majority." It has even been proposed that treatment meted out to Jews by the majority has in some cases been the domestic equivalent of war.[18]

REMEDIES

Not infrequently the suggestion has been made that the Jews themselves were the sole causes of Anti-Semitism. It is said that Anti-Semitism would disappear, IF! If Jews would become Christians, If Jews would become loyal citizens, if Jews would cease their clannishness, if Jews would stop their overweening ambitiousness. The following has in all seriousness been proposed as <u>the</u> solution:

1. The Jew must do the changing, since he is in the minority;
2. The Jew must completely assimilate;
3. The Jew must be completely absorbed ethnically;
4. The Jew must give up all pride in his group, his history, and denationalize himself as a Jew;
5. The Jew must take a back seat economically;
6. The Jew must <u>never</u> do anything to revive old feelings.

That solution is a composite of those that have been proposed during the last two or three centuries.[18] From three standpoints it must be rejected. First, it is morally indefensible and wrong. Second, it is wasteful of human talent, resources, and achievements. Third, if the social scientists are correct, it wouldn't work. Prejudice is not combated best by the objects of prejudice and discrimination trying to disappear in order to escape persecution.

It may be possible to take a cue from Simpson and Yinger. The first edition of <u>Racial and Cultural Minorities</u> was published on the eve of the historic 1954 Supreme Court decision. The third edition appeared eleven years later. The authors mention an idea in the first edition on which they elaborate in the third. Stated briefly, it is that behavioral change precedes attitudinal change. If the majority group must treat with justice and equality the minority group, eventually their attitude toward the minority group will also change.[19]

The hypothesis of Simpson and Yinger was actually proposed and established by Roger Williams in Rhode Island Colony. Williams stated that Jews would make good citizens if the majority had to treat them as equals in every respect.[20] This idea had been doubted from the times of Constantine and Ambrose down to Peter Stuyvesant and the Puritans. The result of Williams' experiment was an excellent relationship between Jews and Baptists in Rhode Island. When Rhode Island College was established, Jews as far away as Charleston helped financially because the school stood for liberty of conscience.[21] Traditional antipathy between Christian minister and Rabbi gave way: Ezra Stiles was in frequent social intercourse with many Rabbis, and the Rabbi in Newport was an accepted member of a "Philosophical Society" along with Quakers, Episcopalians, and Baptists.[22] Stiles noted, with no rancor, that there had been no Jewish conversions to Christianity but there had been Christian conversions to Judaism.[23] At the time of the Revolutionary War, over half of the Jewish population in the Colonies was to be found in Newport. Because people were compelled to act differently toward one another, they came to feel differently toward one another.

An effective procedure for combatting Anti-Semitism, particularly the kind that has infected Christians through the centuries, might be two-pronged. It would begin at both ends of the questions that the Christian majority has asked about the Jewish minority.

To recapitulate, the questions are as follows: How shall Judaism as a religion be viewed? What shall be the rights of Judaism to be adhered to and practiced? What shall be the attitude toward Jewish conversion to Christianity? What shall be the political, economic,and social position of Jews in society?

The answers proposed to these questions are presented from a Baptist viewpoint. The historic Baptist answer to questions two and four is written in large letters. Baptists have always stood unhesitatingly for the right of men to be free in the choice of, adherence to, and practice of the religion to which their consciences freely and voluntarily subscribe. They have stood in the forefront of the struggle for religious liberty. This means freedom in religion, freedom of religion, and freedom for religion.

And Baptists,in their ideals at least, have stood for the freedom of all men and groups to make their own place in society, politically, economically, and socially. Tragically, Baptists have been the victims of as well as the shapers of a culture that has fallen far short of the ideal in this area. But the ideal is there, and Baptists recognize it and must struggle for its realization.

There should be no misunderstanding on the third question, that of conversion of Jews to Christianity. An answer here must come in a larger context. First, Baptists believe that real faith and obedience can in no way be coerced, that response to what Baptists call the Gospel must be the free answer of the conscience and spirit. Baptists utterly repudiate any cheap tricks, any coercion, any use of force, be it moral, psychological or physical in the response of an individual to God. At the same time believing firmly that every man needs what the Gospel offers, Baptist believe the worst kind of discrimination would be the witholding the offer of that Gospel from any men.

To sum up thus far, Baptists stand firmly against the kind of Anti-Semitism that affects Jews and Judaism in their adherence to and practice of Judaism, that would make Jews the objects of discrimination and the victims of prejudice.

The question remains of what about the way, or ways, that Baptists view Judaism as a religion? Historically, Baptists have had only one prominent model that has been critical in the formation of an "image" of Judaism. That model has been the image of Judaism as degenerate and accursed, of Jews as the "Rejected People of God," guilty of deicide. This image is probably what the Glock and Stark study means by the shorthand term "orthodoxy." But, as has been indicated, this image has grown out of a very particular way of absolutizing history and not out of that history itself. Historically, it cannot be demonstrated that Judaism was degenerate at the time of Jesus, nor that "the Jews" alone were responsible for the death of Jesus, nor that "the Jews" believed they were killing the Messiah, much less Son of God, when Jesus was put to death. Quite the contrary is more consonant with the historical events as we can now ascertain them. Neither the absolutization of that history nor this particular interpretation of it are valid.

Theologically also the image is untenable. Christian theology has insisted that it was for the sins of mankind that Jesus died on the cross. The corollary is that there is, therefore, hope for all men and for every man.

It is probably and tragically only too true that many Southern Baptists are as Anti-Semitic as their portrayal in the Glock and Stark report. However there is no need (in the psychological sense of the term) for Baptist to be Anti-Semitic. There is no need historically, theologically, or sociologically.

Baptists are therefore free to stand with Roger Williams for religious liberty for Judaism, for equality for Jews in the political, social, and economic realm. They need to stand in all humility, recognizing their part, by omission if not commission, in the prejudice and discrimination of which Jews have been the objects.

Anti-Semitism is foreign to and repugnant to the Baptist genius. Gaines S. Dobbins, distinguished Baptist educator, recognized this over forty years ago.[24] It is foreign to Baptist understanding of scripture. It is foreign to Baptist understanding of history. It is foreign to Baptist understanding of man and his essential unity. It is foreign to Baptist understanding of how man responds to God. It is foreign to Baptist understanding of the Church and its function. It is foreign to Baptist understanding of the State and its function. It is foreign to Baptist understanding of the ideal relationship of Church and State. Most important of all, it is foreign to Baptist understanding of a just and merciful God.

[1]See Gordon W. Allport, The Nature of Prejudice (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, Inc., 1954), pp. 6-9.

[2]George Eaton Simpson and John Milton Yinger, Racial and Cultural Minorities An Analysis of Prejudice and Discrimination (3rd ed.; New York: Harper & Row, 1965), p. 207.

[3]Jules Isaac, Has Anti-Semitism Roots in Christianity? (trans. by Prof. and Mrs. James Parkes, with a preface by Dr. Lewis Webster and preliminary word by Richard Cardinal Cushing (New York: National Conference of Christians and Jews, 1961), pp. 58-60.

See also Pinchas Erwin Lapide, Three Popes and the Jews The Jewish Problem (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Limited, 1938), pp. 33, 203-04; Frederick C. Grant, Ancient Judaism and the New Testament (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1959), p. 18; Isacque Graeber and Steuart Henderson Britt, eds., Jews in a Gentile World (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1942), pp. 134-35.

[4]Edward H. Flannery, The Anguish of the Jews: Twentythree Centuries of Anti-Semitism (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965), pp. 189, 198, 200.

[5]Paul Masserman and Max Baker, The Jews Come to America (new York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1932), p. 359; Abraham Leon Sachar, A History of the Jews (3rd ed., rev. and enlarged; New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), p. 386.

[6]Raul Hilberg, The Destruction of the European Jews (with a new postscript by the author; Chicago: Quadrangle, 1961), pp. 3-17 passim.

[7]Graeber and Britt, pp. 316-17; Grant, p. x; Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of the Expansion of Christianity (7 Vols.; New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1937-45), I, 84.

[8]Jacob B. Agus, The Meaning of Jewish History (2 Vols.; London: Abelard-Schuman, 1963), I, 209.

[9]See above, n. 7.

[10]See the author's thesis, Jews and Southern Baptists,Analysis of a Relationship, pp. 2-11 passim.

[11]See Flannery; Malcolm Hay, The Foot of Pride: The Pressure of Christendom on the People of Israel for 1900 Years (Boston: Beacon Press, 1950); A. Roy Eckardt, Elder and Younger Brothers: The Encounter of Jews and Christians (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1967); Lee Joseph Levinger, Anti-Semitism Yesterday and Tomorrow (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936); James Parkes, Antisemitism (1st American ed.; Chicago: Quandrangle Books, 1964).

[12]Edward A. Synan, The Popes and the Jews in the Middle Ages, Quest Series (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1965), pp.35-39; Jacob R. Marcus, The Jew in the Medieval World: A Source Book, 315-1791 (Cincinnati: The Sinai Press, 1938), p. 113.

[13]See the texts of Innocent III and Innocent IV in Solomon Grayzel, The Church and the Jews in the Thirteenth Century: A Study of their Relations during the Years 1198-1254, Based on the Papal Letters and the Conciliar Decrees of the Period (Philadelphia: The Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, 1933), pp. 93, 261. See also Guido Kisch, "The Jews in Medieval Law," in Essays on Antisemitism, ed. by Koppel S. Pinson Jewish Social Studies Publication, No. 2 (2nd ed., rev. and enlarged; New York: Conference on Jewish Relations, 1946), pp. 103-11 passim.

[14]See Grayzel, Thirteenth Century, pp. 93, 97-99; Synan, pp. 148-54.

[15]See Levinger, p. 258.

[16]See Flannery, pp. 180, 268-70; Graeber and Britt, p. 97; Salo Wittmayer Baron, A Social and Religious History of the Jews (3 Vols.; New York: Columbia University Press, 1937), pp. 38f, 44f; Solomon Grayzel, A History of the Contemporary Jews from 1900 to the Prescent, Harper Torchbooks, The Temple Library (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1960), p. 53.

[17]Graeber and Britt, p. 249

[18]Ibid., pp. 98-99

[19]Roger Williams, "The Bloudy Tenent," The Complete Writing of Roger Williams (7 Vols.; limited ed.; New York: Russel & Russell, Inc., 1963), III, 3-4.

[20]Jacob Rader Marcus, American Jewry: Documents, Eighteenth Centruy, Primarily Hitherto Unpublished Manuscripts, No. III, Publications of the American Jewish Archives, Jacob R. Marcus, ed. (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1959), pp. 222-24.

[22]Morris A. Gutstein, To Bigotry No Sanction: A Jewish Shrine in America, 1658-1958 (New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1958), pp. 31-32.

[23]Ibid.

[24]Gaines S. Dobbins, "The Hope of Israel," Home and Foreign Fields, Vol. XL, Number 11 (November, 1927), p. 18.

JEWISH-BAPTIST SCHOLARS' CONFERENCE
Louisville, Kentucky
August 19, 1969

THE MEANING OF CONVERSION IN THE CHRISTIAN FAITH

Frank Stagg

Christian faith has recognized a disjunctive of some kind between a kind of existence which it rejects and a kind of existence to which it aspires. This does not exclude a certain continuity between the two kinds of existence. Only in paradox may it be stated, for it is "conversion" marked by both continuity and discontinuity.

Many terms and analogies are employed in the New Testament for this movement in continuity and discontinuity: conversion, repentance, birth from above, newness of life, death and resurrection, a new creation, regeneration, renewal, the old man and the new, in Adam and in Christ, lost and found, lost and saved. There is no stereotype in New Testament description of salvation. No term or analogy is absolutized. It is rather that this change from one kind of existence to another is characterized variously as to its causal factors, processes, and results.

THE TERM CONVERSION

The term conversion (epistrophē) occurs in the noun form only once in the New Testament (Acts 15:3), the verb and participial forms appearing several times (Matt. 13:15; 18:3; Mark 4:12; Luke 22:32; John 12:40; Acts 3:19; 28:27; Ja. 5:19-20). In each instance the idea is that of turning, as of the Gentiles to Christian discipleship (Acts 15:3), sinners to repentance (Matt. 13:15, Mark 4:12; John 12:40; Acts 28:27; Ja. 5:19-20), childish adults to childlikeness (Matt. 18:3), or from willful defection to faithful discipleship (Lk.22:32). This picture of conversion builds upon such scriptures as Psalms 19:7; 51:13 and Isaiah 6:10; 60:5. The word epistrophē (and its cognates) of itself conveys the simple idea of turning around, as when one turns around to see who addressed him (cf. John 20:14). Meaning beyond this derives from context.

It is generally recognized that metanoia in the New Testament is best understood as conversion, although the usual translation is repentance. The verb form probably parallels the Hebrew shubh, to turn. The most conclusive passage in support of this is Acts 3:19: "Repent (metanoēsate) therefore and be converted (epistrepsate)." In preaching attributed to John the Baptist (Matt. 3:2) and to Jesus (Mark 1:15), the call to "repentance" or "conversion" is made in view of the crisis (kairos) brought on by the imminence of the kingdom of God, i.e., the sovereign rule of God. A call to radical turning from sin and submissiveness to the rule of God belonged essentially to the gospel preached by John and Jesus. Neither knew a salvation which was gift alone. It was gift and demand inseparably wedded. Only under the sovereign rule or kingdom of God was salvation seen to be possible.

Conversion, then, is first of all a radical turn from sin or from one's own way to God. It is to find a new kind of existence under his sovereign rule. It is new direction and new life both demanded and made possible by the kingdom of God. So stated, the kingdom of God is not to be confused with the church, as is done by fundamentalists and old liberals alike, or with a society ruled by love, as with nineteenth century liberalism, or with anything other than the kingship of God. New Testament conversion is conversion from man's waywardness to God's rule. That the kingdom of God confronts man uniquely and ultimately in God's anointed one (Messiah or Christ) is, of course, basic to Christian faith.

That conversion is dynamic, expanding, and continuing rather than isolated and static is apparent from various contexts. When Jesus warned Peter that under stress he would deny that he even knew Jesus, he also spoke of his expected conversion:"And when

you are converted, strengthen your brothers" (Luke 22:32). That an initial conversion is meant is possible but not probable. Jesus already had received Peter as a true disciple. In some sense he already had been converted. But, Peter was to be tested in new ways, and he would yet require conversion. As one comes under new tests, as he is confronted by new issues or situations, or as further dimensions of his depravity are uncovered, he requires further conversion.

This is not to overlook an initial and basic conversion in one's life, i.e., one's acknowledgment of the one claim that must be ultimate. No person lives up to the claim of God, but to be in his saving care requires that one live under that claim. One need not first meet life in all its dimensions in order to yield to God's claim upon his life. But as life evolves, that basic claim is pressed upon area after area of life: sex, economics, family, relationships, race relations, other religions, etc. Conversion begins with a turning from self-rule to the rule of God. It continues as the rule of God makes such claims upon one as to turn him from fear, envy, jealousy, prejudice, hate, lust, or greed.

To see conversion as initial and recurring or as dynamic and continuing is to see salvation as marked by both continuity and discontinuity. It is to see man as both unitary or wholistic and also as aspective and complex. What is at stake in salvation is authentic selfhood, fulfillment or true humanism. Conversion in the sense of a turning to God in submission to his rule represents a radical discontinuity between rebellion or indifference to God as over against willing submission to him. But the paradox of rebellion within submission also is characteristic of the "converted" life. Paul gave poignant expression to this tension in life as he wrote of doing that which he would not and of not doing that which he would (Romans 7). This contradiction or surd in life is as real as it is inexplicable. One rebells by the very will which wills to obey. Thus there is continuity of the "old man" and the old life within the structure of the "new man" and the new life.

OTHER ANALOGIES

Various terms and analogies are employed in the New Testament to convey ideas parallel to conversion, some disjunctive or new beginning in a life. Creation, begetting, birth, and resurrection are among the more powerful of such analogies. That no one analogy was dominant is clear from the fact that an early writer like Paul could move easily from one to the others, employing all these basic analogies for what he saw to be a new kind of existence in Christ.

A new creation. Possibly Paul's most striking picture is one employing the analogy of creation: "So then, if anyone be in Christ, there is a new creation (ktisis); old things have passed away, behold new things have come to be!" (II Cor. 5:17). Two contrasts are intended here, for "in Christ" implies for Paul a prior state of being "in Adam" (Cf. I Cor. 15:22); and, of course, the "new creation" implies a former, contrasting one.

By "in Adam" Paul means one's identity or solidarity with the human family on a natural basis, apart from God's saving or redemptive work. He does not necessarily imply the later Augustinian doctrine that the human race inherited Adam's sin or that when Adam died all died. Careful reading of I Corinthians 14:22 excludes this: "For just as in Adam all die, thus also in Christ all shall be made alive." Paul's grief over what to him was the last condition of many Jews and Gentiles rules out any belief that all people are automatically made alive in Christ. He does not teach that everybody became saved when Christ came. His point is that one is made alive in Christ the way one dies in Adam. In each case it is through personal commitment to one or the other, to "Adam" or to Christ. Neither Adam's fate nor Christ's gift is imposed upon anyone.

For Paul there is further implication in the terms " in Adam" and " in Christ." Each implies solidarity with a community. To be "in Adam" is to be a part of a humanity alienated from God. To Paul no man lives or dies to himself (Rom. 14:7). To be "in Christ" is to be incorporated into the people of God, known variously as Israel, God's flock, the Church, the body of Christ, and otherwise. "Conversion" here is seen as transference from one family to another, from a community alienated from God to one being reconciled to him.

By "new creation" Paul thought of a new humanity, drawn from Jews and Gentiles. He came to believe that what was important was not that one was by natural birth a Jew or Gentile but that "the two should create in himself unto one new man (kainon anthropon) thus making peace" (Eph. 2:15). In this view, neither circumcision nor uncircumcision was significant, for what mattered was the "new creation" (Gal. 6:15). This new creation was not man's achievement but God's creative work brought about in those who had that openness to him which is faith.

The reality of the new creation does not mean complete separation from the old. The paradox remains, for the "converted" belong to both the old and the new. Paul can appeal to his readers to put aside the former manner of life of the "old man" and to be renewed in the putting on the new man (Eph. 4:22-23). His appeal for greater conformity to the new man and less to the old man follows from his recognition of God's work of creating his people in " righteousness, holiness, and truth" (Eph. 4:24). Paul rejected both the proud boast of legalism with its claim to merit and the moral and ethical irresponsibility of antinomian libertinism. Salvation was God's creative work, not man's; and it was good work, not mere indulgence.

Regeneration and renewal. The term "regeneration" (palingenesia) can designate the next world, for in Matthew 19:28 it parallels "The Coming Age" in Mark 10:30 and Luke 18:30. In Titus 3:5 it is paired with "renewal"(anakainōseōs), with clear reference to the Holy Spirit's work of remaking or renewing. The idea here is closely related to that of a new creation. Although the imagery differs from that of conversion, the ideas parallel at one significant point, that of a change in the kind of existence which God brings about in his saving work.

The picture of renewal appears in II Corinthians 4:16, where the gradual outer decay of man is contrasted with the day by day renewal (anakainontai) of the inner man. Alongside the discontinuity between the outer and inner man is also their relationship and the continuing renewal of the inner man. This creative work is dynamic, not isolated and static. It is existential and real, not forensic, transactional, or fictional. The same picture of both continuity and discontinuity with the old is seen in Romans 12:1-2. Paul's appeal is for non-conformity to "this age" and conformity to the good, the fitting, and the perfect will of God through the renewing (anakainōsei) of the mind.

In Colossians 3:9-11 appear a cluster of ideas. There is the contrast between the old man and the new. There is the concept of the new man yet being renewed (anakainoumenon). There is the further idea of the irrelevance of all the accidents of birth and culture: "Greek and Jew, circumcision and uncircumcision, barbarians, Scythian, slave, freeman." Discontinuous with all of this is the new man in Christ; yet the very necessity for an appeal that the old man be put aside recognizes that one paradoxically may belong to the old and the new or know both continuity and discontinuity with respect to that from which he is "converted."

Begotten from above. To the Johannine Christ, the analogy of the new birth or of being begotten from above is prominent (Jn 1:12-13; 3:3-6). Being a child of God belongs not to natural generation but to a divine begetting. By denying this childhood to "bloods" or "the will of flesh" or the "will of man"(1:13), John probably is rejecting the idea that salvation is traceable to man's initiative, works, or to the accidents of

natural birth (racial bloods?). It is God's creative work, arising out of his own initiative. This new relationship is not earned nor imposed. It belongs as God's gift to those who by faith receive "The Word" who was from the beginning and who was with God and who was God (1:1, 12).

The familiar "Ye must be born again" (KJV) does not necessarily capture the force of John 3:7. Probably the idea is that of being begotten from above, i.e., from God. It is not just a new or second birth which is required but a new kind of existence traceable to a new origin. No modern interpreter has said it better than Rudolph Bultmann, who observes that one must have a new Ursprung (fountain, spring, or source), a new whence (Woher) if he is to have a new whither (Wohin).[2] The verb gennao may describe the mother function of bearing a child (Cf. Luke 1:13, 57; 23:29; Matt. 2:1,4; 19:12; John 16:21), butnormally its describes the father's function of begetting. The eternal life sought by Nicodemus comes not from "flesh", probably referring here to man's whole religious striving, but rather to the creative work of God.[3]

Although not pursued, the understanding of salvation under the analogies of divine begetting (apekuēsen) and"a certain first fruit (aparchēn) of God's creatures" appears in James 1:18. As for John, this begetting is through God's word. The idea of begetting also appears in I Peter 1:3, and in 1:23 it isspecifically through "the living and abiding word of God." Under these analogies salvation is seen as a "conversion" , effected through the initiative and power of God and resulting in a new kind of existence.

Resurrection. No terms communicate more radically what contrasting existence can be than life and death. These terms are employed in the New Testament to contrast existence in alienation from God with that in communion with him.

The most profound teaching attributed to Jesus is the paradox that one may live only by dying and that to clutch life is to lose it. This principle was illustrated by analogy to a grain of wheat which may find fulfillment in fruit-bearing only if it falls into the ground and dies (John 12L24). To refuse to dies is to abide by itself alone, with its potential unfulfilled. The one loving his life or himself (tēn psychēn auton) destroys himself; the one "hating" his life safeguards it forever (12:25). The life turned in upon itself is false and futile. The life turned outward to God and others is true and lasting. Although the word "conversion" is not used in this analogy, the idea is there in the radical discontinuity between the egocentric life and the one which finds its center in God and other people. This is to pass from death to life. It is in loving one's brothers that we know that we have passed from death to life (I John 3:14).

Conversion as being lost and then found or being dead and then becoming alive is beautifully set forth in Jesus' parable of the father who had two sons, the younger son who turned from one kind of existence to another and an elder who remained lost in a slavery that rejected sonship (Luke 15). The miracle began to occur when one son yielded to a father's love.

Resurrection is a term applied to the new kind of existence possible now as well as to the raising up of the body after physical death. The Christian rite of initiation, i.e., baptism, portrays this radical disjunctive between the old and the new existence. Paul sees the Colossians as ones made alive in Christ, having been buried with him in baptism and raised together with him by the very energizing power of God which raised Christ from the dead (Col. 2:12f). The same picture of the "dead" being "raised up" is found in Ephesians 2:1,5,6. Jesus Christ himself is seen as the resurrection and the life (John 11:25), and participation in that life comes through being "baptized into his death" and thus into his life (Rom. 5:10; 6:3-11).

CONVERSION OF MAN, NOT GOD

Christian theology has tended to pervert biblical teaching as it has devised forms of"atonement" which seem to be concerned more with the conversion of God than of man. How such a travesty could be imposed upon biblical teaching is a marvel and a scandal.

The term atonement appears but once in the KJV of the New Testament, and there it translates katallagē, everywhere else rendered "reconciliation" (Rom. 5:11). In 1611 the word yet retained its etymological force of at-one-ment, so it properly translated katallage. It designated God's work of making man at one with himself. From the beautiful biblical picture of a loving God's costly seeking and saving a lost humanity has come the monstrous idea that Jesus Christ had to appease an angry Father, to buy him off, to satisfy his hunger for revenge. This is gross distortion of scripture and an affront to God. Such anti-biblical theology is possible only on the basis of a fragmented God, one divine person for and one against us, and the benighted idea that the justice of God could be satisfied only through the yet greater injustice of punishing an innocent son in order to free guilty men. With the many other distortions is the fallacy that God had to do something transactionally before he could save man. The epitome of theological bungling is reached when salvation is taught to depend upon creedal belief toward theological formulations about divine transactions which took place long ago in a fragmented godhead. All of this is foreign to and plainly contradicts scripture.

The New Testament reaffirms and builds upon the Hebrew scriptures, holding that God is one God (Deut. 6:4; Mark 12:29; Gal. 3:20; I Tim. 2:5). Jesus Christ is seen to be God himself uniquely present in a human life. The New Testament does not know three gods nor even one God divided into three persons. It knows one God above, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Its writers come to believe that in one who was truly human this only God spoke, acted, and was uniquely present. To New Testament faith, Jesus Christ is God creating, revealing, and redeeming. God is before and God is greater than God creating, revealing, and redeeming. Thus in the Gospel of John, Jesus Christ is seen as one with the Father (1:1, 14; 10:30; 14:10ff.); and yet the Father is seen as greater than the Son (14:28). The oneness of the Father and the Son excludes any necessity for or possibility of a loving son appeasing an angry father. Paul's statement clearly gathers up the whole New Testament claim: "In Christ, God was reconciling the world to himself" (II Cor 5:19). Only to an inexcusably corrupt theology may be traced the slander that God could not forgive man until he had satisfied himself by punishing his innocent son John 3:16 does not say that God was so angry that he punished his son but that he so loved that he gave his only Son.

The New Testament recognizes throughout that God has been in the saving business throughout human history. Abraham trusted God and God received him (Rom.4:1, 3,9,22). Jesus recognized God to be the God of Abraham, Isaac,and Jacob and that he is the God of the living, not the dead (Matt. 22:32). Thus Jesus saw these patriarchs to be alive and with God, already saved! He taught not that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob would be admitted as associate members in the church but that his disciples would be privileged to sit with them in God's kingdom (Matt. 8:11). Nothing is said about their salvation being provisional, probationary, or contingent upon some atonement subsequently to be effected.

Most instructive for the soteriology of Jesus is a passage like that about his encounter with Zacchaeus (Luke 19:1-10). At the risk of community rejection or even death, Jesus went home with Zacchaeus, setting aside all precautions for his own reputation or safety. In the presence of such concerned and sacrificial love, something happened to Zacchaeus. An egocentric who had built his life around the getting of money now began to be concerned for other people, A life that was turned inward upon itself began now to turn outward to others. In view of this "conversion", Jesus

declared, "This day salvation came to this house, for he himself is a son of Abraham" (19:9). The Son of Man had sought and saved one who had been lost (19:10). According to words attributed to Jesus, Abraham was already saved and so was Zacchaeus. But Jesus had not yet died on the Cross! Was this overlooked? Were Abraham and Zacchaeus saved on credit, on a promisory note to be redeemed at Golgotha? Of course, it is absurd to suggest this. Salvation already had come to each as each in the openness of faith had encountered God and been converted.

Although the Cross in a physical sense was yet ahead when Zacchaeus was saved, it already was present in essence. The "Cross" is eternal. God's way of self-denying, sacrificial love has ever been his way. God was not converted at Golgotha. What God was there, he has ever been. Jesus embodied the principle of the Cross when he entered the house of Zacchaeus, else he would not have done so. The Cross in a real sense entered into the heart of Zacchaeus as evidenced by the radical disjunctive or conversion reflected in his new stance or new disposition.

CONCLUSION

Conversion is the discontinuity which begins to occur within the continuity of life. "Lord, I believe, help thou mine unbelief" (Mark 9:24). It is the beginning of the death of self which is the coming alive to God, to others, and to one's own authentic self. It is to be begotten from above. It is to participate in a life which is God's and which has been revealed to us (I John 1:2). It is to be "crucified with Christ", so that one no longer lives of or to oneself but through and unto the one who loved us and gave himself up for us (Gal. 2:19-20).

The nature and the force behind the conversion that is salvation or newness of life is set forth in Paul's word to the Corinthians: "In behalf of all he died, in order that those living should live no longer unto themselves but unto him who for them both died and was raised." This is not mere substitution. It would be ridiculous to read it, "Christ died so that we would not have to die and he was raised so that we would not have to be raised." More than substitution is meant. Christ's victory of life over death, of self-giving over self-preservation, becomes our victory when the Cross becomes existential for us. It is only when we die with him that we live with him. Through the openness of faith he becomes in us a transforming presence. This is the conversion which is salvation. This is the salvation in which one begins to become what he was made to be, an authentic human being finding fulfilment in a creative relationship with God, with God's people, with the world about us, and with oneself.

That something like conversion, call it what one may, is necessary to every life is the contention of Christian faith. This is not dependent upon Augustine's misreading of Genesis. The story in Genesis is that of something in man as man, in man as created, which must be brought under control and directed properly toward God, toward one's b other, and toward self. God made man capable of good and thus capable of evil. He made man in his own likeness, necessarily free to choose his kind of existence. The story of Adam is the story of man. It is the story of man's disposition to affirm self and deny God. It portrays man's disposition to self-trust, self-love, and self-assertion. It describes man's self-destruction in the very act of trying to save himself. In Christ, as is particular in the Cross, is God's way of self-denying, self-sacrificing, self-giving love. Paradoxically, it is in this strange way of the Cross that man becomes authentic man and that he first begins to live.

Neither God nor man holds a little baby accountable, for a baby is incapable of accountability. But a little baby, as sweet as he is, has an approach to life which

is ultimately fatal. He is a thorough-going egocentric who demands that all the world revolve around him, come at his beckon, and serve his pleasure. Should he grow up unchanged from this, he probably will end up in the penitentiary or be killed. To continue unchanged in this disposition means inescapably his self-ruin. Call it what one may, he must be converted from his egocentricity if he is to become an authentic person knowing the fulfilment of personal existence.

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1. Cf. W. O. Carver, "When You are Converted", Review and Expositor.
2. R. Bultmann, Das Evangelium des Johannes (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1953, pp.97,98.
3. Frank Stagg, New Testament Theology (Nashville : Broadman Press, 1962)pp.115-117.

Baptist, Jewish Scholars Hold First Dialogue

By Bob Terry
Assistant Editor

"Brotherhood is not like a hot-house plant that has to be tended carefully day and night. Where Brotherhood is real it can grow up even between the cracks in a sidewalk."

With these words Duke McCall, president of Southern Seminary, opened the historic initial conversation between Baptist and Jewish scholars.

Two overriding concerns were felt throughout the three-day conference attended by 73 participants. They were the role of conversion in the dialogue and areas where the two groups could cooperate.

In the opening session one Jewish rabbi said, "If you are here to convert me I am very uncomfortable. But if you are here to better understand me then I welcome this opportunity for dialogue."

In an early paper Eric Rust, professor of Christian philosophy at the host Southern Seminary, pointed out that all monotheistic faiths are exclusive. Therefore, Christianity and Judaism are both missionary by definition he said.

During group discussions, Rabbi James Rudin, assistant director of Interreligious affairs for the American Jewish Committee, was asked how Southern Baptists could help the Jewish community.

"Leave us alone," he responded. "Quit trying to convert us."

Leonard Dinnerstein, professor of history at Columbia University in New York, said efforts to convert Jews to Christianity was one of the worst types of anti-Semitism. "It shows you have no respect for our Jewish heritage and our relationship to God," he declared.

Luther Copeland, professor of missions at Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, said he was not trying to convert Jews to Christ. "I'm bearing witness to a great truth which I have experienced," he told the audience. "If God uses that to convert someone that is up to him. My task is to bear witness."

Rabbi Arthur Gilbert of the Jewish Reconstructionist Foundation pointed out the evangelical work with Jews was a strike against anti-Semitism. He told the audience that a few years ago many Christians wanted to cross the Jews off as accursed and worthless. "Evangelicals would not let this happen," he emphasized. "They said the Jews had value and refused to give us up."

A Los Angeles Rabbi, William Kramer, professor of Jewish cultural history, Hebrew Union College, asked why the idea of conversion was a one way street. "I've got my eye on several of the Baptists here," he said. Last year 60 Christians were converted to Judaism under Kramer's influence.

The area of social concern and cooperation produced more overt emotional displays than any other issue during the colloquium.

Rabbi Gilbert ignited the social concern fuse when he stated that unless some concrete action were taken as a result of the conference, it would be another case of "empty words" from the church.

The conference adopted a resolution calling for an ad hoc committee composed of as many faiths as possible to consider national moral priorities.

Copeland pointed out that while no group or person can officially speak for Southren Baptists that an ad hoc committee might represent many Baptists very well.

Marc Tannenbaum, director of Interreligious affairs for the American Jewish Committee, and Joe Dick Estes, director of the Home Mission Board's department of work with nonevangelicals, were charged with implementing the resolution.

Other areas of concern were the role of the Messiah and the concept of mission.

Christian theologians outlined the concept of a personal messiah. Jewish scholars pointed out that nowhere in Jewish thought is this the role of the Messiah. The Messiah is to redeem corporate Israel they insisted.

Jewish scholars also say the mission of Judaism as making the world ready for the Messiah. Christian thinkers generally agreed that the Messiah would have to make the world a better place, although they did not de-emphasize the need for social action.

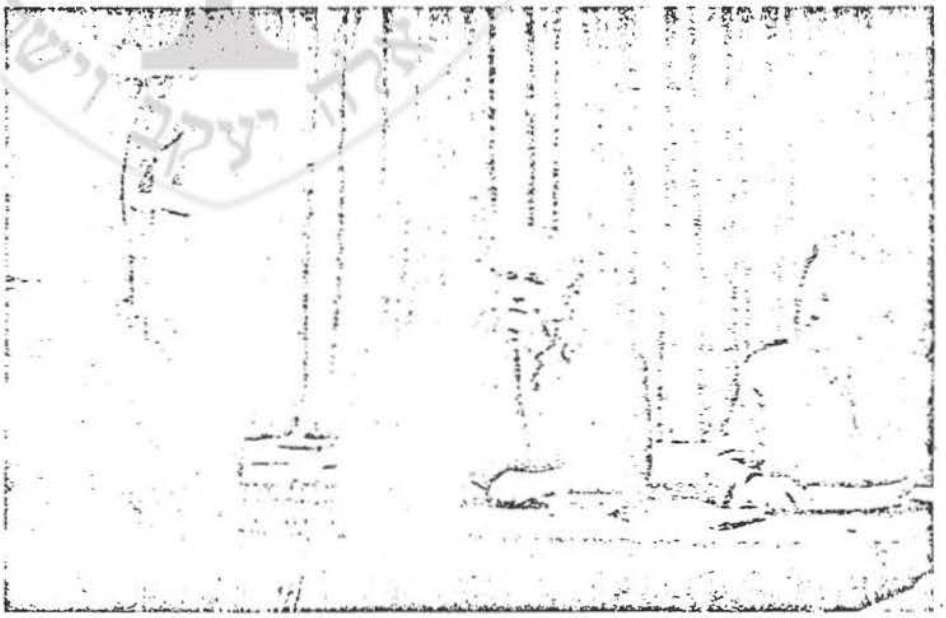
Joe Dick Estes, HMB director of the work with nonevangelicals, said he had no doubt but that God had been in the conference. "There is no danger of some type monolithic church structure developing between us, so there is no fear of cooperating.

"No one has a monopoly on the truth," Estes stated. "The truth of God exceeds all our understanding but each of us has a contribution to make. Our hope is that God will draw us out to the ultimate truth, Himself," he declared.

The last action of the conference was adopting a statement outlining eight areas for further Jewish-Baptist cooperation.

The areas stated are:

1. Publish the proceedings of the conference.
2. The need for follow-up conferences perhaps on a regional basis including more clergy and laymen.
3. A more systematic way of forming joint academic work groups. It was suggested that particular areas of concern, such as the definition of God or examination of the messianic concept, be subjects for group study.
4. Joint action on behalf of Baptists and Jews in Soviet Union and other countries where religious persecution is still prevalent.
5. An examination of curriculums to determine if prejudicial material is contained.
6. Determine ways in which Baptists and Jews can confront the increasing secularism and neo-nihilism.
7. Identify social and moral problems where Baptists and Jews can cooperate and implement programs to this end.
8. A more serious effort to deal with anti-Semitism and group prejudice.



Tannenbaum addresses the opening session of the Baptist-Jewish Conference.

DALEY OBSERVATIONS

Jews And Baptists Profit From Talk Together

The Jewish-Baptist Scholars' Conference, August 18-20, at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary was informative, stimulating and inspiring. This first formal conversation ever between Jews and Southern Baptists was the result of four years of planning by the Department of Work Related to Nonevangelicals of the Southern Baptist Home Mission Board and by the Interreligious Affairs Department of the American Jewish Committee.

Dr. Joe Dick Estes, who heads the Southern Baptist work with nonevangelicals, is to be credited with the Baptist part in bringing about this conference. Estes, a former Kentuckian who has served as a pastor, college professor, Christian education secretary and a foreign missionary, is one of the brightest minds among Southern Baptists today.

The dialogue was more than a friendly get-together. The participants dealt with such vital issues as the Jewish and Baptist understanding of the place of Israel, the concept of Messiah, the meaning of conversion and church-state relations. Jewish and Baptist scholars delivered papers on the theme of each session and other scholars responded to each paper. There were also small informal conferences as well as open discussion in plenary sessions.

The openness, frankness and candor of the participants were refreshing. Just to sit down together and talk about the issues that divide Baptists and Jews was an enlightening and profitable experience. To see how lovable Jewish rabbis and professors are is a blessing in itself.

The conference was not without its difficulties. Two hang ups were noticeable, especially in the early sessions. One of these was the concern of the Jews that they had been invited for the purpose of being converted by the Baptists. The Jews were very sensitive on this point and had to be assured more than once that this was not the purpose of the conference. The Baptists, however, left no doubt that they longed to see Jews accept Jesus Christ as God's Messiah.

The other difficulty was in the area of communication. The same words were often found to mean entirely two different things to the two groups. For example, conversion to the Jews means a turning back to a covenant relationship already experienced. To be born a Jew means one is automatically a member of the covenant. Baptists, on the other hand, believe conversion is a radical change in which a faith response brings one outside into the Kingdom relationship for the first time.

In spite of these difficulties the conference was far more than an exchange of pleasantries and an expression of mutual love. The very frank and uninhibited discussion probably revealed that our differences are even greater than we thought. The discussions also revealed, however, that Jews and Baptists have some meaningful common heritage and ideals and have often suffered similar mistreatment at the hands of their enemies. Jews and Baptists are closer in spirit than in thought.

The conference was a milestone in the history of Southern Baptists, some of whom have often exhibited Anti-Semitism. No Baptist experiencing this head to head and heart to heart encounter with these Jews could but love and respect them.

The conference was marked by moments of true inspiration. One of these was the last session when, in looking at the crumbling morals and suffering humanity of our nation and the world, the Baptists and Jews were ready to join in sounding a moral voice and in lending helping hands. There was a feeling of comradeship that defies description.

Some Baptists will tend to be critical of any such conversation and relations with Jews. This is sad in light of the realities of our day. A major portion of the world is already dominated by atheistic communism (Jews and Baptists are both persecuted in Russia today) and the rest of the world is being swallowed up rapidly by secularism. It is time for all who believe in God and the divinely revealed moral teachings to combine forces to prevent extinction of moral principles in this world. We don't have to give up our distinctives to work together for such ideals.