

Following Jesus

Introduction

A DISTINCT FEATURE OF the New Testament gospels is the calling, forming and commissioning of disciples by Jesus Christ. Like every other message, the Good News needs messengers. The historical context, in which followers of Christ live and work, shapes and affects the nature and demands of their discipleship. During times of crisis and hostility, the distinctive identity of a disciple becomes much more apparent than at times of ease, tolerance, general acceptance, or even positive aspiration.¹ Following the period of persecution of the early church, the rise of Christendom altered the nature of discipleship. What had been a costly and radical call became a respected and desirable aspiration. The needs and demands for an ordered human society became interwoven with Christian convictions. Thus, to be a good citizen was often equated with being a good Christian. More recently this union has been challenged by the rise of a secular worldview which has brought about the relegation of faith matters into a separate private sphere which remains unconnected to the public sphere of life. Our present post-Christendom world is undergoing prolonged divorce proceedings occasionally interrupted by mediation sessions. What does Jesus' command "come and follow me" mean today?

Throughout church history, various groups and monastic communities, often forced to exist on the margin of the church, sought to preserve significant features of what they perceived to be authentic Christian

1. Dulles, *Models*, 204: "The close connection between Church and discipleship remained as long as Christians were a persecuted minority in a predominantly pagan society. But a new crisis for the Church arose after the conversion of Constantine, when Christianity became the established religion of the empire."

discipleship. The effect of these prophetic communities has frequently revitalized the Church and challenged parts of Christendom to rediscover some of its distinct “following” identity.

Two Stories, Two Distinct Voices

This dissertation attempts to listen and learn from two distinct prophetic voices who sought to articulate the call of Christ to follow him, in the midst of the tumultuous period of Nazi Germany. They were German and contemporaries, but each faced a very different context. Dietrich Bonhoeffer was a Lutheran pastor and theologian who profited from a privileged and extensive education followed by numerous international encounters and experiences. Arnold Köster was a Baptist pastor in Vienna and deeply affected by a Bible-based, conservative pietism. He was nurtured and rooted in a tradition that had as its central concern radical following. Bonhoeffer was part of the numerically dominant church-of-the-people (*Volkskirche*). Köster was a member of what most German citizens perceived as a Christian fringe movement, the Baptist denomination (*Freiwilligkeitskirche*, Free Church).

At a time when church was generally viewed as a necessary and integral part of society, the respective members of *Volkskirche* and *Freiwilligkeitskirche* tended to define the nature of church quite differently. At its best, the central concern of the *Volkskirche* model of church is to be “salt.” Salt seasons and preserves food, thus the primary function of the church is to influence and shape the whole of society with gospel truths. It is the soluble nature of salt which allows it to penetrate and season the whole. This apparent strength makes it difficult to identify the individual kernel. Similarly membership to the *Volkskirche* can be simply assumed by virtue of cultural and traditional association. At its best, the *Freiwilligkeitskirche* model of church, emphasizing the gathered church, perceives its primary role to be “light.” Unlike salt, light does not mingle or mix with darkness. By its very nature, it constitutes the opposite. Thus the distinction between who is in or out is defined much more rigorously. The gathered nature of the community is based on the voluntary choice—usually expressed in believer’s baptism—of its members.

Intertwined with divergent theological emphases, are social and cultural factors which also influence every believing community as it seeks to express its identity or ecclesiology. Minority movements characteristically distinguish themselves more radically from the rest, simply because they are a minority. The following statement by the American theologian Robert Friedmann is an interesting example of this: “Ever since the days of the

apostolic church, Anabaptism is the only example in church history of an 'existential Christianity' where there existed no basic split between faith and life, even though the struggle for realization or actualization of this faith into practice remained a perennial task."²

For anyone outside the separatist tradition this is a bold and provocative claim. The "only example" effectively excludes other attempts of undivided following. Does history support such a claim? Friedmann provides a caveat by admitting that the Anabaptist experiment is locked into a "struggle for realization." Is this an admission of the fact that mere participation in a struggle does not in itself guarantee a positive outcome? After all, the outcome of every struggle can either be success or failure and, more frequently, is a confusing mixture of both.

The historical documents and the life stories of Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Arnold Köster bear witness to the fact that both sought to actualize their faith into practice. They were comrades in the same struggle, yet each remained within their own separate church tradition and each sought to embody following Jesus in their own unique personal contexts, opportunities, and challenges. There are no records of any personal encounters between them and it seems unlikely that either of them read or studied articles or publications by the other. Their spheres of influence were quite apart, yet each sought to be, and challenged others to become, faithful followers of Christ. This study attempts to listen to both of these voices and to glean from them some of the crucial and abiding issues every follower of Christ inevitably faces.

Why Listen to Them?

A critic may interject: "Why listen to them? How can the past help us understand what following Jesus means now? Surely, today's disciples are faced with a different world and new challenges." Clearly the struggles of the past don't always provide comprehensive up-to-date solutions. And yet, knowing that what worked yesterday does not necessarily work today does not negate the fact that a Christian community suffering from collective amnesia becomes rootless and confused.

More important than a courteous bow towards the past is to appreciate that the German experience of 1932–45 was a period of extreme crisis. The German people had been shaped for centuries by its Christendom heritage and culture. Yet, within a few years, government, laws, the arts, religion, morality, in short everything that had provided order and an inner cohesion

2. Friedmann, *Theology of Anabaptism*, 27.

to society fell apart. What does following Jesus mean in a world that is totally out of kilter? No longer protected by the safe confines of their churches, Christians were directly exposed to the pervasive influences of the world and a secular and twisted regime. Clear boundary lines between right and wrong, loyalty and betrayal, duty and decadence became blurred and often indistinguishable. Within that context, followers of Jesus were pushed to the edges of their faith as they sought to embody the truths of the gospel.

In his *Theologische Ethik*, the German theologian Helmut Thielicke frequently draws on the notion of borderline situations (*Grenzsituationen*).³ He argues that it is not sufficient to have an understanding of God's word and commandments that is only applicable within a normal and ordered situation.⁴ Ethical principles which work only in a Christendom paradigm but collapse under the strain of extreme borderline situations are of little or no value. The philosopher Karl Jaspers, who first conceived the term *Grenzsituation*, claimed that "to exist and experience the borderline situation is the same."⁵ For him, being was defined by the extreme experience of limits. The borderlines of pain, death, and guilt challenge and question the mundane. At these points, ultimate questions have to be faced, and it is the borderline perspective that leads to a deeper and more meaningful understanding of life. Thielicke, building on Jaspers' existential analysis argues that the borderline was also an important characteristic of the biblical worldview. The Scriptures' understanding of humanity and the world is profoundly influenced by a view from the extreme boundaries of beginning and end.

Jürgen Moltmann argued in his *Theology of Hope* that it is the end-view, the *eschaton*, that judges, interprets, and challenges the present. "Peace with God means conflict with the world, for the goad of the promised future stabs inexorably into the flesh of every unfulfilled present."⁶ In this meditation on hope, Moltmann links peace with God to resurrection hope. However, this peace also acts as a trigger for conflict ("un-peace," in the German original) with the world. This is because the world is now viewed from the extremes

3. Thielicke, *Ethik* 2/1, 214–30. See also Tillich, *On the Boundary*, 13: "The boundary is the best place for acquiring knowledge."

4. Ibid., 214: "Wer eine Lehre von den Geboten Gottes hat, die nur innerhalb eines *corpus christianum* oder einer regulär funktionierenden Demokratie gilt, die aber hilflos gegenüber einer Zeit steht, die 'aus den Fugen' ist, hat im Grunde überhaupt keine derartige Lehre besessen, sondern vermutlich nur eine religiös-ideologische Überhöhung jener 'ordentlichen' Situation."

5. Ibid., 217–20, quoting Karl Jaspers, *Philosophie*, vol. 2, *Existenzerhellung* (Berlin: Springer, 1932) 204: "Grenzsituationen erfahren und existieren ist dasselbe."

6. Moltmann, *Theology of Hope*, 21.

of (a) beginning: what God initially intended, and (b) end: the outer limits of total, human, sinful distortion and God's judgment and renewal.

Followers of Jesus are not always pushed to the extreme limits of their faith. Nevertheless, a robust Christian faith ought to be informed and shaped by the borderline situation. It is not a bizarre love for the extreme that motivates the focus on borderline situations, but the hope that it will reveal insights, expose weaknesses and teach healthy principles for the believing community. To remain within the realm of ordered normality risks blunting the church's response in the face of crisis. Furthermore, it makes the church lose sight of what was always a vital part of following Jesus, the element of crisis.

Why listen to Bonhoeffer and Köster? Simply because their historical context constituted an extreme borderline situation. Their generation of Christians was faced with agonizing dilemmas. The German politician Gebhard Müller said then: "A Christian cannot fold his hands in prayer and watch how the evil forces of his country destroy people that have been entrusted into his care and desecrate every value he considers sacred."⁷

They, like every other Christian, had to respond in some way or another. Responses were varied and had to fit particular contexts and personalities. Whatever the circumstances, choices had to be made. The aim of this study is not to choose between either of them, but to listen and learn from two distinct witnesses, who sought to integrate faith and life in their own personal life stories.

Dietrich Bonhoeffer requires little introduction. He has become *the* dominant Christian voice and witness of the Third Reich period. A recent biographer described him as "Martyr, Thinker, Man of Resistance"⁸ and according to the German theologian Dorethee Soelle, "Dietrich Bonhoeffer is the one German theologian who will lead us into the third millennium."⁹ Clearly, Bonhoeffer casts an extensive shadow.

Pastor Arnold Köster, although still remembered at the Baptist Church Vienna-Mollardgasse 35, is unknown and unresearched in English. The only published book containing a selection of his sermons has been out of print for many years.¹⁰ In the German language, the Baptist church historian Franz Graf-Stuhlhofer has published selected excerpts of Köster's sermons

7. Thielicke, *Ethik* 2/1, 222, quoting Gebhard Müller 1900–90, Badisch-Württembergischer Ministerpräsident: "Er kann nicht mit gefalteten Händen zusehen, wie die Mächte des Abgrundes sein Land, die ihm anvertrauten Menschen und alle Werte, die ihm heilig sind, verwüsten und vernichten."

8. Schlingensiepen, *Dietrich Bonhoeffer, 1906–1945*.

9. From the dustcover of Bonhoeffer, *Sanctorum Communio*.

10. Köster, *Lampenlicht*.

for the purpose of demonstrating that Arnold Köster was a rare outspoken public critic of National Socialism.¹¹ This is in itself an extraordinary claim, especially since Andrea Strübind, deploring the silence and introspectiveness of Baptists during the Third Reich, referred to the Baptist “free church as a bound and muzzled church.”¹² Although Arnold Köster’s voice is beginning to gain a little recognition in German, no comparison between the well-known Lutheran Bonhoeffer and the obscure Baptist Köster has been undertaken either in German or in English. Köster’s unpublished source material is stored in the archive of the Baptist Church Vienna-Mollardgasse 35. Köster’s sermons and lectures are unavailable in English. All translations of selected texts are mine and it seemed appropriate to footnote Köster’s quotes extensively.

FOLLOWING JESUS OR DISCIPLESHIP

The most frequent term used for those who became associated with Jesus was *mathetes*, “disciple.” *Mathetes* is the substantive of the verb “to learn.” The learner or pupil is thus defined in contrast to the teacher or rabbi. This usage suggests that gaining insight is the primary focus of discipleship. This concurs with the first century practice of rabbis teaching disciples the Torah. These students in turn aspired to become teachers themselves.¹³ However, a distinctive feature of Jesus’ disciples was that their role was primarily defined by following rather than knowing. Ernest Best states in his study on Mark’s gospel that “throughout the Gospel the word ‘follow’ is used almost exclusively of the disciples of Jesus.”¹⁴ Furthermore, the evangelists portray the disciples as role models for every successive Christian: “Jesus’ teaching as Mark views it was not primarily intended for the few, Peter, James, Andrew and John who were sitting or standing around Jesus, but was intended for all who would be his followers; the role of the disciples in the gospel is then to be examples to the community.”¹⁵

11. Graf-Stuhlhofer, *Öffentliche Kritik*.

12. Strübind, *Die unfreie Freikirche*, 323.

13. Bornkamm, *Tradition and Interpretation*, 40: “Discipleship of Jesus does not arise on the basis of a free attachment to a teacher, but on the basis of a call to follow him which issues from Jesus. Jesus does not exercise authority over his disciples on account of his knowledge of the Torah, nor is he a means to the end of gaining a similar wisdom in the law. Further, the position of a *mathetes* is not a preliminary stage, with the intention that the disciple himself shall become a *didaskalos* (23.8 ff.), but signifies a lasting relationship to Jesus.”

14. Best, *Disciples*, 5.

15. *Ibid.*, 130.

Theologians from the Anabaptist tradition have argued that discipleship is the “essence of Christianity.”¹⁶ For the radical reformers of the Anabaptist¹⁷ communities, the key word was not “faith,” as it was with the magisterial reformers, but “following.”¹⁸ Such an emphasis begs for further clarification. Who is a disciple? What distinguishes a believer from a disciple? Indeed is there a distinction at all? The Mennonite historian Harold S. Bender speaks of being transformed and fashioned after Christ. These terms suggest an inner change and outward patterns of distinct Christ-like living. What remains obscure and difficult to define is the point of transition. When has a believer become a disciple? What are the basic characteristics and disciplines of a disciple?

A disciple’s most basic task is to be a follower, to participate in a journey. Probably the earliest self-description which followers of Christ applied to themselves was “those of the Way.”¹⁹ The gospel’s emphasis on motion rather than ontological change through imitation is in agreement with how faith is frequently expressed in the Old Testament. The patriarch Abraham was challenged to leave his native home and to discover God on the move. When Moses desired to know God’s name at the burning bush he was told that it is, YHWH, I am who I am. McClendon translates it as “I will always be ahead of you. Find Me as you follow the journey.”²⁰ Moses is then sent to lead the people out of Egypt. For the people of Israel, the exodus journey becomes and remains the identity defining experience. John Goldingay states in his *Old Testament Theology*: “It is of the essence of Israel to be a people with a story.”²¹ The life and work of Jesus is both continuation and culmina-

16. Bender, *Anabaptist Vision*, 26: “First and fundamental in the Anabaptist vision was the conception of the essence of Christianity as discipleship. It was a concept which meant the transformation of the entire way of life of the individual believer and of society so that it should be fashioned after the teachings and example of Christ.”

17. Cahill, *Love Your Enemies*, 157–58: “Anabaptists . . . first emerging as a real movement in Zurich in 1524 under the leadership of Conrad Grebel and Felix Manz, the Anabaptists were to repudiate not only Roman Catholicism, but also the Lutheran (‘evangelical’) and Calvinist (‘Reformed’) movements. They were in search of a more radical return to biblical discipleship. The radical reformers wanted a full restitution of the New Testament life and saw persecution and suffering as marks of the true church. Although they preferred the name ‘Christian Brethren,’ their opponents called them Anabaptists (‘rebaptizers’) because they accepted only adult baptism as reflective of early Christian practice. The concrete and practical aspects of discipleship were of utmost importance to them, especially the formation of voluntary and disciplined communities, the integral relations of faith and works, and the rejection of participation in government.”

18. McClendon, *Ethics*, 29.

19. Acts 9:2; 19:9, 23; 22:4; 24:14, 22.

20. McClendon, *Doctrine*, 285.

21. Goldingay, *Old Testament Theology*, 30.

tion of this story. The dynamic challenge of YHWH became a personal encounter and challenge for those who heeded Christ's call. Responding to the dilemma that not everyone within the old community was willing to follow, Jesus formed a new community²² of followers. It was in the act of following that men and women discovered that Christ was always ahead and that they found God as they followed the journey.

The value of the term *following* is that it focuses on a simple act. Those that follow may be unaware or uncertain concerning their final destination. Their following may at times be a steady purposeful gait, at other times it may be a weary stumble. Yet, each constitutes an act of following. A basic answer to the question, "What do disciples do?" is, "They follow." In contrast, the term *discipleship* covers a much broader spectrum of meaning such as believing in Christ, imitation, being in Christ, ethical purity, and behavior. As one engages in the act of following, these themes are invariably encountered, yet the humble admission of merely following, indicates that much is yet to be discovered and worked out. Being on the way demands an openness and a willingness to engage with whatever, whenever. "In this sense we may say that the journey is open-ended. It would be a dead-end if it ended at the cross; it is open-ended because the leader on the Way is alive."²³

The sermons, writings and reflections of Bonhoeffer and Köster do not yield a detailed manual for discipleship. Their historical context of extreme crisis prohibited them from drawing up a catalogue of discipleship features. Nevertheless, their own tentative and at times confused walk with the Lord, is best described as *following*.²⁴ The meaning of following is also expressed in the German word *nachfolgen* from which the noun *Nachfolge*²⁵ is derived—the original German title of Dietrich Bonhoeffer's book *The Cost of Discipleship*.

Story, Crisis, and Conflict

The concept of journeying, concretely expressed in the unfolding of life stories, is a key characteristic of biblical faith. Faith is expressed in and through

22. Ibid., 839.

23. Best, *Disciples*, 15.

24. Longenecker et al., *Patterns*, 2: "The verb 'to follow' (*akolouthēin*) and the adjectival participle 'those who follow' (*hoi akolouthountes*) appear regularly in the Gospels to identify the crowds who thronged around Jesus. But they are also used in the Gospels to identify the 'disciples' as those committed to Jesus."

25. Bonhoeffer, *Nachfolge*.

the lives of those who are on a journey of following. The nature of the lived Christian faith is tested by crisis and the borderline situation. Experiences that are gained at these extreme limits provide important criteria for the practical and ethical challenges of following.

A substantial part of this thesis is based upon two distinct biographical stories. Each protagonist was not just faced with difficult personal choices, but also sought to offer leadership to their respective church communities. They operated within different ecclesiological premises and came occasionally to different conclusions.

This investigation of their stories has a similar purpose to that mentioned by the Baptist theologian James McClendon in his examination of the Radical Reformers. In his *Ethics* he writes: “For if we can penetrate their times, seeing that which was central to them but noxious to the religious and political authorities, picking out the hinges on which their story turned, we may be able to see the ways in which our story is like or unlike theirs, and the ways in which a theology in light of the baptist vision must have a distinctive (dangerous?) shape and scope.”²⁶

The metaphor of “picking out the hinges on which their story turned” provides an appropriate image for the task of this study. The distinct feature of the Bonhoeffer-Köster context is that unlike the Radical Reformers, both men shared an oppressive historical context even though Bonhoeffer’s original allegiance was to the established church. Yet he soon realized that the threat of the Nazi regime was equally dangerous to members of the established church and to the separatist churches.

These hinges are attached to a double door, the writings of Bonhoeffer and Köster. Bonhoeffer’s books are widely available and they have left their mark on subsequent Lutheran theologians and many others. Much lesser known are the writings and sermons of Arnold Köster. The bulk of the Köster source material consists of articles written for Baptist periodicals and typed manuscripts of sermons and lectures delivered from 1939 onwards. These notes were written down by a member of the congregation called Gertrud Hoffmann. She had shorthand and typing skills and has, unbeknown to her, bequeathed to successive generations unique and historically useful documents of this critical period. Relevant extracts from Köster’s documents will be quoted extensively and worked into the main text because the source material is unavailable in English.

“Picking out the hinges” requires the application of a certain methodology. This study seeks to explore three interlocking themes and their relevance to the topic of following Jesus. Each of these themes incorporates

26. McClendon, *Ethics*, 20.

elements of story, crisis and conflict. Attempting to impose a hierarchical order either by sequence or importance would be misleading. After all, a door that is only fixed to the doorframe by a single hinge is positively dangerous. In the same way, following Jesus involves not one, but at least three interdependent theme-clusters, namely salvation, church and world.

Salvation, Church, and World

A disciple's encounter with the savior is the foundational starting point of the journey. The gospels report that the nature of these encounters were varied and of different intensity. Common to all was that "they are called by Him [Jesus] into discipleship."²⁷ A positive response to the command "come and follow," inevitably involved a redirection of the whole life, but also the possibility of failure. The challenge of following is to hear and retain the double message of: "You must persevere, and by God's grace, you will."²⁸ Set within the challenges of borderline situations this leads to the inner conflict of having to integrate the reality of sin into the follower's life-story without tolerating it. Examining the hinge of salvation in the stories and the theological reflections of Bonhoeffer and Köster provides an opportunity "to see the ways in which our story is like or unlike theirs."

Beyond the initial encounter with the savior, the disciple finds companions on the Way.²⁹ The story of self is grafted into the counter-story of the Christ community. The horticultural image of grafting suggests the cutting off and insertion of a branch into a different plant or tree. In a similar way, to be grafted implies that the self is cut and placed into a larger body. Ernest Best conveys the radical difference between discipleship and a self-focused lifestyle so common to sinful nature. What does it mean to follow Jesus? It means to drop in behind him, to be ready to go to the cross as he did, to write oneself off in terms of importance, privilege or right, and to spend one's time only in the service of the needs of others.³⁰

The central importance of the body of Christ is a recurring New Testament theme. The inner cohesion, life and vitality of a church community are tested in the context of borderline situations. How is a follower of Jesus to respond when the church has become seduced by the lure of power or the desire for a peaceful existence? Is it ever right to jeopardize, for the sake

27. Rengsdorf, "Mathetes," 444: "A fundamental mark of the *mathetai* of Jesus in the tradition is that they are called by Him to discipleship."

28. McClendon, *Doctrine*, 142.

29. Acts 9:2.

30. Best, *Disciples*, 13.

of justice, the livelihood and viability of the church? How is the follower of Jesus to respond when the community which has hitherto defined and sustained the believer becomes unfaithful to its calling?

Both Bonhoeffer and Köster were involved in the struggle for the true church. Their responses and reflections on church constitute the second hinge of this study. Again the task is “to see the ways in which our story is like or unlike theirs.”

To follow Christ is to work with Jesus and to participate in his mission. “As He Himself does not turn inward into Himself, but girds Himself for service, so He directs the gaze and powers of His disciples to His task, which by their association with Him is theirs.”³¹

As followers of Christ its people are *ekklesia*, a called out community. In the words of the evangelist John, “They do not belong to the world” (John 17:14, 16). At the same time their task is to engage with the world, for Christ’s word and prayer is, “I have sent them into the world” (John 17:18). The New Testament insists that the church and the world are not the same.³² There is a clear divide and yet the church’s task is to bridge that division with the gospel message.

The borderline situation of Nazi Germany increased and sharpened these dilemmas even further. How can the church maintain its identity when the world attempts to hijack church and use the gospel for its own ends? How are followers of Jesus meant to protect themselves from a world they inhabit and are inextricably a part of? Is it always right and legitimate to “be subject to the governing authorities?”³³ What comfort can the church draw from the apocalyptic accounts of Scripture during times of extreme crisis? Given the church’s “mandate to go,”³⁴ when, if ever, is it legitimate to opt for prudent self-preservation and let the world go its own course?

Goal and Method

The goal of this book is to explore the marks of faithful following. In this case it is an ecumenical exercise, in that two separate voices, a Lutheran and a Baptist, are represented. An important strength of this approach is its bifocal perspective. Two distinct Christians and pastors, in spite of their

31. Rengstorf, “Mathetes,” 452.

32. McClendon, *Ethics*, 17: “The struggle begins with the humble fact that the church is not the world. This means that Christians face an interior struggle, inasmuch as the line between church and world passes right through each Christian heart.”

33. Rom 13:1–7.

34. Matt 28:19.

Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Arnold Köster

different church traditions and life settings, shared the same struggle: to be faithful followers of Jesus.

More than half a century after the Third Reich of Nazi Germany, much has changed. Yet, even though the church is now facing a different world, the basic challenge still remains—to be followers of Jesus. Is it not reasonable to expect that the shadows of the past could become important guides for our future?

The method of the argument is both biographical and theological. Chapter two explores the life and writing of Dietrich Bonhoeffer. A major focus of this chapter is Bonhoeffer's controversial involvement in the plot to assassinate Adolf Hitler. This clearly sets his struggle into the realm of the borderline situation. Arnold Köster's life and ministry are explored in chapter three. While one might feel that Bonhoeffer has gone beyond the limit, Köster himself described his struggle as going to the limit. Each biographical chapter will attempt to briefly draw on their reflections on salvation, the church and the world.

In chapter four the historical and theological developments of the term 'world' are explored. The purpose of chapter five is to discover how the Lutheran Bonhoeffer and the Baptist Köster sought to respond to the claims of a totalitarian regime and its worldview. Chapter six explores their understanding of church, rooted for each of them in distinct ecclesiologies. The last topic, chapter seven, is that of salvation. The reason for reversing the order salvation, church and world is that during the Nazi period, *Weltreich*, or the realm of the world, sought to claim every aspect of life. The totalitarian state's aim was to claim the space of the church for its own ideological purposes, thus forcing the church either to submit or to resist. The conclusions drawn from this study are presented in chapter eight.