The Early Barth—Lectures and Shorter Works

Volume 2: 1909–1914

Karl Barth

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"Even as a student Barth wrote lengthy texts that show his theologically pugnacious nature. It will be of great importance for English-speaking Barth scholarship that these earliest documents of his theological development are now available in English translation."

—CHRISTIANE TIETZ, Church President of the Protestant Church in Hesse and Nassau, Germany

"The latest fruit of the collective labor of an industrious and committed group of skilled translators, this volume will provide English-language readers with new and direct insight into the very beginnings of Karl Barth's theological existence. This is another fine and welcome contribution to theological scholarship from Westminster John Knox Press."

—PHILIP G. ZIEGLER, Professor of Christian Dogmatics, University of Aberdeen

"This translation of Barth's earliest works is to be welcomed. For the first time in English, these lectures and essays provide a window into Barth's earliest academic labors and theological formation. In light of all that would come, they bear witness not only to the beginning of his theological travels but also reveal how very far those travels would take him from the religious reflections and nascent convictions of these early years."

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"This translation of Karl Barth's early works from his parish ministries in Geneva and Safenwil provides an indispensable account of a theologian in his formative stages. The introductions to each essay and lecture are rich with biographical detail and historical context, allowing the reader to enter the specific world of Barth's developing thought. We encounter a figure navigating the practical challenges of pastoral service—from the composition of the weekly church newsletter to the public defense of industrial workers—and catch a glimpse of the pastoral heart at the center of the theological journey that lay ahead."

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"The latest installment of the English translation of the Gesamtausgabe continues to prove generative. Skillfully translated by an international team of scholars, this volume deepens and extends our understanding of Barth's developing thought by bringing together a rich selection of his early lectures and papers—from biblical exegeses and devotional writings to political treatises, social commentary, essays, reviews, and studies of key theological and philosophical figures. It is a treasure trove of theological goods!"

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"Who was Karl before he became the Barth we all know, love, and fear? At the end of his life, he would insist that his whole theology had always fundamentally been a theology for pastors. Now readers can trace the beginning of this evolution for themselves, as this volume presents—for the first time in English language—the collected writings of the fledgling pastor in Geneva and Safenwil."

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"Kudos to Kaitlyn Dugan, Cambria Kaltwasser, Matthias Gockel, Paul Nimmo, and the Center for Barth Studies for this superb English edition of Karl Barth's writings from 1909 to 1914. The voice is Barth's, during his religious socialist period, and the work of editorial-scholarly transmission is detailed, helpful, vibrant, and consistent."

—GARY DORRIEN, Reinhold Niebuhr Professor of Social Ethics, Union Theological Seminary, and author of *Over from Union Road: My Christian-Left-Intellectual Life*

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Editors' Preface

As announced in the volume *Lectures and Shorter Works, 1905–1909*, this continuation of the project is following around a year later. This second volume of Section III [of the Karl Barth-Gesamtausgabe] contains Barth's texts classified as "lectures and shorter works" from the period of time (from the middle of September 1909 to the end of July 1911) that he spent as *pasteur suffragant* [assistant pastor] in the German Reformed congregation in Geneva, a congregation that consisted mainly of German-speaking Swiss residents living there, as well as from his first years in the pastorate of the congregation of Safenwil in the Swiss Canton of Aargau.

The boundary between the previous volume and this one coincides with a biographical caesura in Barth's life, which is reflected in the noticeably different pattern of the "shorter works" generated in Geneva in contrast with those from earlier. In the ten months in Marburg, Germany (1908–1909), the Barth who was no longer a student took short but energetic steps into the area of free theological writing; now the Genevan position required him more often to take up the pen for ex officio reasons. He did this regularly as one of those responsible for the congregational newsletter; during the vacancy in the pastor's office, he was solely responsible for that. In doing so, he gave free rein, to a degree seldom reached later, to the journalistic gifts discovered in Marburg in his work on the journal *Christliche Welt* [Christian World]. Toward the end of his time in Geneva, he also engaged Genevan events occasionally and energetically in external periodicals. Many of the materials collected in the first half of this volume were inspired by his pastoral duties, some of which he himself invented: congregational lectures (later summarized in articles in the congregational newsletter) about Tersteegen and Novalis, and two series of confirmation evenings (extant in his notes), which under his leadership evolved into something like adult education lectures. In contrast, the theological pieces in a narrower sense, which could be regarded as continuations of the Marburg works, recede quantitatively. During the Geneva period, aside from a completed review and a fragment of a review for *Christliche Welt*, Barth also produced a sketch titled "Ideas and Thoughts on Philosophy of Religion" and two large lectures, of which one, "The Christian Faith and History," belongs to Barth's early publications, whereas the other, "*Le réapparition de la métaphysique dans la théologie*" [The Reemergence of Metaphysics in Theology], is published for the first time in this volume.

The boundary drawn at the end of this volume does not coincide with a notable biographical point in time but is conditioned rather by the amount of content that can be included. The last text in the volume is a sketch of a lecture given on February 8, 1914, in Safenwil's Blue Cross Association. The period covered in this volume, however, ends with March 1914, the point in time at which the comprehensive collection of materials on "The Workers' Question," which occupied Barth for the entire winter of 1913–1914, was concluded in its first iteration (though later it was frequently expanded). Everything else from this category [of materials] from the time between April 1914 and Barth's transition to the Göttingen professorate will be found in the third volume of Section III, *Lectures and Shorter Works, 1914–1921*.

A further biographical caesura whose literary deposit is clearly detectable, especially in the genre of shorter works, falls in the middle of the time period documented in this volume. The transition from Barth's temporary and then subordinate pastorate in the city of Geneva to the pastorate of the village of Safenwil meant a transition into a massively different sphere of activity, in which Barth was confronted by profoundly changed tasks as he experienced the demands of this sphere of activity. The scholarly theological work begun in Marburg continued in the early Safenwil years only in his review of Karl Heim's book about the problem of the conscience, as well as in his lecture "Belief in the Personal God." The latter was to remain Barth's last contribution in this field for many years, until he reentered the field with his exposition of Romans at the turn of the year 1918–1919, by which time he himself had changed significantly. The lectures and shorter works written in Safenwil, aside from occasional products partially journalistic in style, belonged mainly to two groups of texts, which were new in the years of the Aargau pastorate. First, Barth engaged energetically with the small local Blue Cross Association, by regularly attending its Sunday evening gatherings, at times as its president, and often conducting the program. Mostly he led Bible studies—including for the youth group of the association, the "Covenant of Hope"—for which Section III is not the proper place, and now and again he gave lectures on differing themes. Although the latter are preserved only in very broad outline, they are printed in this volume. One might say that they represent the broad field of Barth's activity in Safenwil. The second group of works, which in a much more comprehensive sense represented new territory for Barth, are lectures and texts with political content. Their emergence can be ascribed to the fact that the structure of the population was shaped more by the native textile industry than by the farm-village culture. This led him into a vehement preoccupation with the social question, during which he adopted more and more socialist convictions. The foundations of the related specialized knowledge that he appropriated for himself are impressively documented in the collection already mentioned, "The Workers' Question," from the winter of 1913–1914. But already two years earlier, in his first winter in Safenwil, he began to become known as a speaker in the Safenwil Workers Association, the local organization of the Social Democratic Party, and was invited more and more to give lectures at socialist gatherings outside his own village. He wrote out, word for word, the first of such invited lectures, and he had the second one, "Jesus Christ and the Social Movement," printed immediately in a newspaper, reaping a harvest of public opposition that he

himself publicly countered.[1] Soon, however, he shifted his approach and wrote down each lecture only in outline, with various levels of thoroughness. Thirty-two of these outlines are found in his literary estate, bundled together in a used envelope, labeled (and underlined) with a blue pencil in Barth's handwriting as "Socialist Speeches." The postmark on this envelope, dated January 30, 1915, suggests that around this time Barth began the separate collection of these outlines, which, together with the few lectures of this provenance written out word for word, indeed form a distinctive genre. Under the title from that envelope this genre, which will be accessible in its entirety with the publication of this and the next volume of Section III, has become quite well known and aroused all kinds of curiosity.

The most important content relating to the editorial history of the first three volumes of this section has already been given in the foreword to *Lectures and Shorter Works, 1905–1909*. According to the original assignment of editorial responsibilities, *Herbert Helms* was initially accountable for the lecture "The Christian Faith and History," the lecture on Gerhard Tersteegen, and the French lecture on the reemergence of metaphysics in theology, all from Barth's Genevan period; and the lecture "Belief in the Personal God," from his Safenwil period. The preliminary work done by him laid the foundation for editing these texts. For the often tedious deciphering [of handwritten texts] as well as for providing the basic material for the references, *Friedrich-Wilhelm Marquardt* has performed highly meritorious service in regard to "Ideas and Thoughts on Philosophy of Religion," in the first part of the volume; and the following pieces in the second half: "Human Rights and Civic Duty," "Jesus Christ and the Social Movement," "Religion and Science," "Earning, Working, Living," "Christmas Celebration at the Workers Association in Rothrist," "Gospel and Socialism," and above all the highly demanding text "The Workers' Question." A great deal of effort for elucidating these texts and for the necessary research on the details, especially in regard to the last one, could only be accomplished in Switzerland and by a person working exclusively on this project. *Dr. Ulrich Winkler* took on this task with great industriousness as a vicar in the Evangelical Church of the Rhineland, being seconded by the administration of his church to the Karl Barth Archive from 1986 to 1988. He served as an assistant in the Archive for eighteen months and brought with him the required qualifications at a level unusual among theologians. Finally, *Hinrich Stoevesandt* was responsible for editing all the texts mentioned up to now, and for writing introductions for each individual text. Editorially, he also handled the letter of a sarcastic reader to the *Basler Nachrichten*, "Category 44 IV Church Life." All the other texts in this volume were edited by *Hans-Anton Drewes*, who undertook every step from deciphering to final redaction, including writing the

1. Since there is in the Collected Works (Gesamtausgabe), Section V (Letters), a special subsection of Open Letters, this public letter exchange with W. Hüssy will be published there in due course [ed. note: it was later published as K. Barth, *Offene Briefe, 1909–1935*, ed. D. Koch (Gesamtausgabe, § V) (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 2001), 4–17]. Its close connection with the lecture that triggered it has made it necessary to incorporate it into this volume as well and to accept, in this instance, exceptional double publication of the same piece within the Collected Works.

introductions.[2] Without wanting to remove every trace of the editorial work carried out by so many hands, the two editors whose signatures are below made every effort through much oral and written interaction to arrive at the highest degree of formal consistency.

The *sequence of the pieces*, following the pattern of the previous volume, corresponds to the chronology of their actual writing, though this point in time can only be estimated in the cases of the short text with the lapidary title "Paul," the fragment of an article titled "Monsieur Tout le monde," and the review "Modern Pastoral Care and Its Psychological and Religious Foundations": no connections make dating these possible. Texts that emerged successively—such as the lecture series "Survey of Protestant Mission," "Biographical Sketches from the History of the Christian Religion," and "Reformation in Bern," as well as "The Workers' Question"—were placed in the chronology according to when their writing *began*.

The editorial principles applied in this volume agree with those stipulated in the Foreword to *Lectures and Shorter Works, 1905–1909*. This makes it unnecessary to revisit them.

The editors thank many people who have contributed to the development of this volume with numerous kinds of specialized knowledge as well as with their counsel and action. Ms. *Caren Algner* should be mentioned by name: from the spring of 1991 to the spring of 1992, she served as assistant in the Karl Barth Archive, sent there by the Evangelical Church in the Rhineland. She carried out the editorial proofreading and took on the demanding task of generating all three indices. Mr. *Jörg-Michael Bohnet* once more carried out valuable service in the tracing and finding of sources. Mr. *Werner Blum*, the Director of Theologischer Verlag Zürich, displayed a level of patience beyond the norm during the preparation of this volume, just as he did with the previous one. The extremely difficult problems with citation and sourcing—not least with pieces so roughly outlined that they created puzzles, yet still needed to be made accessible to the reader as far as possible—frequently required that further research be done, the amount of which could not be foreseen and resulted in the delayed appearance of the volume. And since the special character of many of the texts in this volume required a very high level of typographical care, the publisher accommodated the necessity of entering corrections even in advanced prepress stages. He will be the one able to testify most competently to readers who have had to wait a long time for certain sections of this volume that particularly interest them: the time of waiting did not pass idly by.

Tübingen and Basel, October 1992
Hans-Anton Drewes
Hinrich Stoevesandt

2. The biographical material incorporated into the introductions is derived, if not otherwise noted, from the Karl Barth Archive in Basel. The statistical material in the introductions, dealing with social and political content, was collated by Ulrich Winkler.

Translators' Preface

This translation of the second volume of Karl Barth's *Lectures and Shorter Works* [*Vorträge und kleinere Arbeiten*], from section III of the German edition of the Gesamtausgabe [Collected Works], continues the work of the Barth Translators Seminar, one dimension of the work of the Center for Barth Studies at Princeton Theological Seminary. A previous project of the Translators Seminar resulted in Westminster John Knox Press's 2017–2019 publication of three volumes of Barth's late conversations: *Barth in Conversation*, *1959–1962*, *1963*, and *1964–1968*. A follow-up project, supported by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, has already led to the 2022 publication, also by Westminster John Knox Press, of the first volume of Barth's *Lectures and Shorter Works*, covering the earliest years of his career, from 1905 to 1909. The present volume covers the *Lectures and Shorter Works* from 1909 to 1914; a third volume will follow shortly and cover Barth's works from 1914 to 1921. A third project, again supported by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities, is well underway, and covers the *Lectures and Shorter Works* from the years 1921–1925, 1925–1930, and 1930–1933, respectively. The grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities, secured primarily through the labors of Kaitlyn Dugan, Director of the Center for Barth Studies, have made it possible for the translators of these volumes of *Lectures and Shorter Works* to meet regularly; it has provided stipends for all those working on the project; and it is providing subsidies for the publication of these six volumes. The Translators Seminar hopes to continue the work beyond if funding is available.

Clifford Anderson started the Barth Translators Seminar in the mid-2000s. In collaboration with Steve Crocco, Lenox Librarian, and the Board of the Center for Barth Studies, he invited scholars interested in the challenges of translating Barth to meet once a year for three to four days to work on actual texts. The group's work focused on providing accurate and accessible translations, with particular concern for consistency in the translation of Barth's terminology. All the experience and expertise gained in these earlier projects has been transferred to the present project on the *Lectures and Shorter Works*. The four volumes published thus far were supervised by an editorial team of David Chao (project editor), Karlfried Froehlich and Matthias Gockel (German-language editors), and Darrell Guder (English-language editor). The present volume is the first to be completed under a new editorial team, consisting of Cambria Kaltwasser (project editor), Matthias Gockel (German-language editor), and Paul Nimmo (English-language editor), once again working under the leadership of Kaitlyn Dugan.

The reader of these volumes will recognize the importance of the detailed editorial introductions to each text and the exhaustive footnotes within each text supplied by the editors of the original volumes. The introductions provide a documentary history of the evolution of each piece, and, where relevant, its publication and reception, additionally locating the texts within the emerging world of Barth's thought. The footnotes not only indicate sources but also make connections to a wealth of biographical, theological, and other material.

The reader of especially this volume will quickly and gratefully recognize the thorough and thoughtful work carried out by the editors of the original German edition (Hans-Anton Drewes and Hinrich Stoevesandt, in association with Herbert Helms and Friedrich-Wilhelm Marquardt). They have performed a deeply impressive work in compiling and with such clarity presenting the vast array of diverse and complex texts present in this volume, and there is a wealth of important insight in their introductions and in the footnotes.

The translation team has endeavored to render these works of Barth, together with the editorial introductions and footnotes, accurately and accessibly. Some of the texts in this volume have been translated into English before, occasionally more than once. However, the Translators' Seminar was of one mind about the desirability of providing a new and complete translation of each volume of Barth's *Collected Works* in turn, replete with all the additional material provided by the editors of the original volumes.

In their foreword, the editors of the original volumes set out detailed information about their editorial policies, especially with regard to punctuation; see *Lectures and Shorter Works, 1905–1909*, ix–xi. As far as possible, the translators have followed the practices of the German edition. At the same time, the preparation of this volume has involved certain translation-specific challenges.

With regard to format, in broad terms, certain practices developed in the translation of the three *Conversations* volumes and the first volume of the *Lectures and Shorter Works* are continued here. Thus, with regard to bibliographical citations, the practice is to cite from English translations of cited works if they exist, revising these where necessary. If there is no English version, a full bibliographical reference in German or Latin is provided (normally in a footnote), and translators may opt to insert an English translation of the title (in square brackets) if that information is deemed of interest to the English-speaking reader; where text is cited in the German volume, an English translation is provided. Where certain German volumes are only partly translated into English, the correspondence between Karl Barth and Eduard Thurneysen being the most prominent example, this results in a somewhat mixed economy of presentation involving both practices above. Additions to the text by the original editors or by the translators are marked by square brackets. The former are usually reserved for biblical allusions or citations that Barth does not specify; the latter generally indicate unusual or significant terms in the German edition that underlie the given translation. Beyond such interpolations, the use of expressions in foreign languages has been limited to allow for maximal readability. Barth's parentheses are preserved as parentheses, while curly brackets in the main text indicate additions Barth himself made in square brackets in his own text (these additions were rendered in double brackets in the original German edition) or translations of texts already within parentheses or brackets. At

points, translators have inserted their own, additional translators' footnotes, marked "[Trans. note:]," with the aim of providing additional clarification and illumination.

A particular formatting issue in this volume has been the two-level footnoting system found in the German edition, in which there is a first level of footnotes, marked by letters, for Barth's own footnotes, and a second level of footnotes, marked by numbers, for editorial footnotes. It has not been possible to replicate this system in the present volume, in which there is only one set of numbered footnotes. Instead, Barth's footnotes are marked at the outset by the designation "[Barth's note:]." Where the editors inserted a footnote marker *into* Barth's footnote in the original edition, the present volume puts the content of the editors' footnote in square brackets within Barth's note. Though it is a little awkward at first sight, all the information is thus preserved; we hope that English-language readers will soon find this format natural.

With regard to language, at times Barth draws on Swiss German and other dialects, and at times his tone can be sarcastic or even harsh: at such points, the translators have essayed to represent his content and his tone appropriately in their translations. Biblical citations are generally translated by the NRSV, with revisions as necessary to preserve Barth's meaning.

A further language issue relates to the desire in contemporary scholarship to render language as inclusively as possible; the translators in this project have recognized this issue clearly. At times, this desire is rendered difficult by Barth being in certain ways a figure of his times, with all the social and cultural norms that entails. And at times, it is rendered difficult by the English language itself often not having suitable alternatives to render what are gender-neutral terms in German. In the present work, a variety of strategies have been deployed to use gender-inclusive language wherever this can be done nonobtrusively; this has been done on an especially proactive basis in seeking inclusive language for human beings in most cases. With regard to the deeply difficult issue of language for God, attempts have been essayed to avoid overuse of gendered language, although in certain circumstances this has proved difficult, and no consistency has been imposed upon translations.

In closing, we hope that these translations in the present volume will prove to be a welcome and reliable resource for the study of Barth in years ahead. We thank Kait Dugan as Director of the Center for Barth Studies for her untiring moral and administrative support for this project. We also thank our dedicated group of translators, whose commitment for the project is inspiring and whose company on the journey is much appreciated.

Cambria Kaltwasser, Project Editor, Orange City, IA
Matthias Gockel, German-Language Editor, Basel
Paul Nimmo, English-Language Editor, Aberdeen

April 2025

Introduction to the English Edition

This work presents a translation of the second volume of *Lectures and Shorter Works* from the critical edition of the Collected Works of Karl Barth. The volumes within this division of the Collected Works contain lectures and shorter works in which Barth deals not only with theological issues but also with broader topics and problems; they are usually texts of a manageable length and generally directed to a larger and less specialized audience than his diverse academic works. These pieces mainly take the form of public lectures or essays, but now and then they also include expert opinion pieces, reviews, and sundry other writings. Often the topics for these texts were chosen for him—sometimes with consultation, sometimes without such—but almost always they are texts in which Barth seeks to express himself in a manner suitable to his audience and his time. The texts regularly make reference to early twentieth-century questions and conversations and correspondingly contain many allusions to contemporaneous culture and quotations from other writings.

In the publication of texts such as these, it is clear that a critical edition with detailed commentary is important and necessary, indeed perhaps even more important and necessary than for lengthy monographs or lecture series, in which similar allusions and quotations also appear but do not play nearly such an important role in relation to the text as a whole and to the intention of what is written. This is all the more the case in relation to the *translations* of these texts, in which certain features of the text can simply become lost in translation. Moreover, today's readers, at a distance of more than one hundred years from the original versions, let alone today's readers from a non-German-speaking context, do not generally possess the sufficient knowledge of German literary classics or contemporaneous German ecclesiastical and theological discussions needed to recognize such finer references on their own. For this reason, and especially with a view toward the ongoing and accurate reception of Karl Barth's theology in non-German-speaking contexts, this translation of the second volume of *Lectures and Shorter Works* is based on the original critical edition and includes both the latter's detailed introductions to the texts and its annotation apparatus. Beyond these, it also includes translators' remarks at various relevant points, to illuminate further features of the cultural or literary context in which Barth was writing.

The present volume is the second one chronologically in this division of Barth's Collected Works, bringing together texts that Barth wrote during his time as assistant pastor [*pasteur suffragant*] in Geneva (September 1909 to June 1911) and in the first two and a half years of his parish ministry in

Safenwil (July 1911 to February 1914). The first half of the volume contains the articles, essays, and lectures belonging to the period Barth spent with the urban and educated bourgeois members of the German-speaking congregation in Geneva. These texts range from more journalistic articles—Barth was responsible from the outset for the congregational newsletter—through scholarly but generally accessible treatises, to an academic essay on the topic "The Christian Faith and History," spurred by Barth's disappointment with contemporaneous lectures and publications on the topic. After the move to the parish of Safenwil, where he was sole pastor, little changed with regard to the variety of the works either published or presented publicly by Barth: lectures, sometimes only roughly sketched, to the congregation and increasingly to the temperance-oriented Blue Cross Association appear next to opinion pieces that, as a central theme, tackle problems and conflicts in Safenwil that were partly caused or forced by Barth himself. These are joined by statements strongly criticizing ecclesial practice and, as before, scholarly oriented essays for journals or for the Swiss Preachers Association. One context, above all, is new: on several occasions Barth now delivered lectures on a wide range of subjects to the local Workers Association, at first mainly about religious topics but soon increasingly more pointedly about the relationship between the workforce and the church: in Barth's words, between "gospel and socialism"; these are the first of the addresses of the Safenwil period that he himself termed "socialist speeches." To resource these works, Barth started an extensive collection of material relating to the "The Workers' Question," in which he analyzed and filed contemporary publications, reports, and statistics concerning the living and working conditions of the workforce and outlined "answers and solutions" as well.

What already applied to the first volume in this division applies here, too: of course, one cannot expect from these early works of the budding pastor Karl Barth any revolutionary insights into the understanding of the theology he developed later. These works were formulated long before the trailblazing *Epistle to the Romans* and were written before the turn in his theological thinking that gave rise to this book. Similarly to the first volume, however, at least three aspects can be identified concerning these "lectures and shorter works," which continue to make a closer engagement with them profitable.

1.

From 1909, at first glance, genuinely theological topics recede into the background in the texts of this period, especially when compared to the earlier lectures and essays of his student days. The new situation, the entry into ministry, is making itself felt. On the whole, however, the range of topics actually expands in comparison to the preceding years.

Apart from a few occasional texts, the more practical questions and problems of his congregation in particular, and of church or society in general, offer Barth an opportunity for more precise expositions. On the one hand, there are texts of a rather informative nature concerning ecclesial topics and holy days: for instance, the Reformation, Christmas, or mission. On the other hand, there

are also shorter writings on important figures in the church: Christian Friedrich Spittler, Immanuel Stockmeyer, Gerhard Tersteegen, Novalis, and John Mott, as well as the collage "Biographical Sketches from the History of the Christian Religion," compiled in preparation for the instruction of confirmands.

Very modern-sounding issues occupied Barth already in 1909 and 1910: if and how religious contemplation and the behavior of Christians on holy days can still be distinguished from that found in secular celebrations ("Goodwill to All People!"); whether ecclesial idiosyncrasies are still understood by "the world" (personified here by Barth as "Monsieur Tout le Monde"; "A Strange Misunderstanding"); and, already true in Geneva in 1910! how to manage to stop doing the kind of work in the church "from which a lot more people could benefit than is actually the case, [the kind of work] which about 50–90 percent [of the time] is done for no purpose, because for quite futile reasons, the demand does not correspond to the supply, the receiving to the giving" ("Something about the Church! Especially about the German Reformed Church in Geneva and What to Make of It," p. 153).

With a lot of passion, but of course not without a theological-ethical basis, Barth plunges into the political fray not only in Safenwil but already in Geneva, spurred on by the closure of the *Cercle des Étrangers* in the Geneva Kursaal decreed by the Swiss Federal Council in the context of prohibiting casinos "because it was not a *Cercle* but a gambling den—rather open to everyone" ("For the Dignity of Geneva," p. 222; see also "We Do Not Want Him to Reign over Us!"). The storm of protest that this decree unleashed among the Geneva population led to a meeting and a counterresolution that was agreed there; Barth, who was present, in turn criticized this protest and the politicians who fueled it in a populist manner. He accepted the fate of voting with only "10–12 others . . . against the 8,000" (p. 220) remaining participants of the meeting and being abused in retrospect as a conservative sanctimonious hypocrite.

In Safenwil both the topics and the pitch of debates change. The imparting of often rather specialized knowledge about church history recedes almost entirely. In his talks to the Workers Association, the local representatives of the Social Democratic Party of Switzerland, he is much more concerned with presenting fundamental beliefs, in order that the workers might—at their request!—come to know these again. Quickly, however, the talks also became occupied with the new pastor's solidarity with the plights and demands of the many male and female factory workers in his congregation. Barth's "shorter works" in this early Safenwil period could be characterized as almost enlightening, in an ecclesial sense. One senses in them the elation with which Barth describes the situation in the new congregation to his father, contrasting it with the intellectual and distanced churchliness in Geneva: "I notice how very differently you are immersed in public life as a pastor here, whether you want to be or not, than for instance in Geneva. [. . .] Here, as a pastor you can become and do simply everything, and people consider it rather natural that you are present and at the top everywhere where 'culture' is concerned. I rather relish this situation, more than that in other places where you stand at the margin with your 'Christian' efforts and need to rejoice when people want something from you at all. Here you have the pleasant feeling of being *needed*" (Letter of September 21, 1911; Karl Barth Archive 9211.90).

In quick succession, Barth now spoke several times before the Workers Association. This volume contains four lectures delivered there and others given in front of different workers' meetings; additionally, though in close connection with these lectures, there is his engagement in the Blue Cross Association, of which he would soon become chair. For him, both the social engagement on behalf of the female and male workers and the struggle against alcohol abuse belong together: for, although there was certainly excessive alcohol consumption across the classes and professions, its dire consequences especially affected the families of workers living in precarious conditions. Those wanting to improve living conditions here had to follow through there. To call these addresses to the Workers' Association "socialist" is only appropriate to the extent that a pastor who politically tended toward (democratic) socialism was speaking here in front of a socialist-oriented audience. In terms of content—and this is true both for the early addresses assembled here as well as for further similar speeches that will be published in the next volume—it is quite unambiguously a theologically and ethically motivated interest that guides Barth. From the gospel and the commission to proclaim it, his path leads him—self-evidently for him!—to the burning issues of the local workers, with which nobody else is really engaging. It would be naive to deny a certain interaction entirely, but it is not the socialist body of thought that Barth here permits to dictate his theology; rather, it is his theological motivation that is and remains dominant. This too may also be a benefit of this edition and its translation: there is nothing somehow "toxic" that would require one to handle these addresses with extreme caution; those who, because of Barth's own designation, expect pure "socialist theology" will certainly miss his fine sense of irony here and his delight in provocative formulations.

Finally, however, some of the texts assembled in this volume reflect those incipient problems created for Barth in the congregation by the better-off, not least because of his engagement for the socially disadvantaged. And these were exacerbated by the problems he also had with certain behavioral patterns and idiosyncrasies characteristic of Swiss churchliness at that time. The first aspect becomes strikingly visible in the discussion conducted in open letters with the Hüssy family, who were important both in the town and in the congregation. The latter can be gauged from texts such as "Category 44 IV Church Life" or "Aargau Reformed Church Synod [2]," texts that, despite Barth's predilection for ironical formulation and exaggeration, are nevertheless grounded in the thoughts and questions regarding ecclesial practice that accompanied Barth from a young age until the end of his life. Here too a continuity is clearly discernible across all theological disruptions.

2.

As mentioned above, during this period and for the first time—and simultaneously for the last time!—work on scholarly theological expositions moved, as Barth himself wrote, "alarmingly . . . into the background" (p. 346). This does not, however, mean that they are entirely absent nor that looking into them would not be rewarding.

In these texts Barth details his thoughts in outline on philosophy of religion; the aforementioned detailed representation and discussion of both the classic and the latest literature on the topic of "The Christian Faith and History"; the position paper against the then frequently emphasized importance of metaphysics for theology, delivered orally in French in 1911 in the Geneva section of the Swiss Preachers Association; and the lecture "Belief in the Personal God," which was given two years later at the pan-Swiss annual general meeting of the same association, being later published in 1914 in the *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*.

One aspect in particular should be taken into account here: already in his early years Barth expressed his intense frustration with the theological authorities of his time and his own studies. His "favorite foe" is Ernst Troeltsch, whose position he attacks time and again, but Albrecht Ritschl and even Wilhelm Herrmann and Hermann Cohen—Barth studied with both in Marburg—do not escape unscathed, even if they do come off better on the whole. With a view also to later debates in entirely different contexts, the twofold "against Wobbermin" and "against Troeltsch" in the metaphysics lecture (pp. 250, 254) is especially instructive. Similarly, the paper on "The Christian Faith and History" is initiated precisely by the debate about the relevant article that appeared in *RGG*[1] from Ernst Troeltsch; it morphs into a discussion with Schleiermacher before a counterposition is formulated by a return to Reformed theology, especially with the aid of Calvin. Those who are familiar with later texts by Barth will recognize some aspects of the formal structure.

Of course, the parallels and continuities are limited more to formal aspects and the positions attacked, and Barth's later counterpositions are indeed of a "wholly other" kind and hardly comparable. Both aspects need to be stressed. Nevertheless, it is interesting, and can be deduced from the texts in this volume, that even before Barth's great theological turn, he was already expressing his frustrations concerning the same authorities and basic tenets in theology and church. Later, Barth always liked to anchor his insight into the necessity of a radical theological change of view on a specific point: the manifesto in favor of the German cause and Germany's prosecution of war, which he set eyes on a few weeks after the outbreak of the First World War. That the manifesto had been signed by his theological teachers shocked him so much that this need for change of theological view became obvious to him. On the other hand, decades later Eduard Thurneysen wrote in one of his last letters to Barth, with whom he had been friends since those early days, about a little speech of his own in which he admitted "that our departure indeed originated in a period of crisis in world events"; yet he at the same time "refused to acknowledge that it originated in this crisis as much as it coincided with it" (Letter to Barth dated August 10, 1968; Karl Barth Archive 9370.847). Certainly, this description by Thurneysen should not be overstretched from a distance of several decades; neither is it necessary to see a conflict here with the well-known statements of Barth. At any rate, though, the texts assembled in this volume are striking and support Thurneysen's view at least to some extent that Barth's unease about the dominant theology, as well as about the specific form of churchliness at least partly responsible for the behavior that so shocked Barth in the face of the outbreak of the War, offered material for Barth's criticism years before this central event.

3.

Finally, with regard to Barth's biography, this volume as much as every other volume in the division *Lectures and Shorter Works* offers again plentiful information and illustrative material. The multitude of topics covered and the many references to current topics and events as well as the many allusions of a literary kind, all of which recur in the texts time and again, reveal something of Barth's character and predilections. Once again, some of the impressions from his travels, conversations, or other events find entry into the texts, and all of these instances are elucidated by the editors in the critical apparatus as far as possible. And once again, particularly important sources for Barth's biography are found in the editorial introductions written for each of the texts. These introductions present, on the basis of extensive research of the surviving sources, information regarding the causes, the circumstances of creation, the surrounding arrangements and consultations, the particularities, and the important reactions in respect of each text—again, as far as possible including what appeared to be of interest to the editors.

Barth's path from his study days to his first incumbency in Geneva, really only meant to be that of an assistant pastor but in fact held by him as sole pastor for several months, as well as the transition from there to his first and sole incumbency in Safenwil—his path is illuminated by the texts in this volume. In conjunction with the parallel sermon volumes, they offer a vivid picture of the joys but also the adversities of these years. In the texts one can feel the pioneer spirit with which the young Barth entered upon his ministries, but soon also the frustrations that some aspects of those ministries cause him. Be it his criticism of the superficial delight in gambling in Geneva or his engagement for the socially disadvantaged and thus against the civic authorities in Safenwil, Barth occasionally doubted the form and manner of his engagement, as can be read, for example, in the sermons from 1912. Yet he consistently supported, sometimes against strong resistance, whatever he had come to regard as relevant and correct regarding the content of his engagement, it being in accord with the gospel to be proclaimed. This remained true even if by virtue of this stance he belonged to a small minority, or perhaps even stood on his own; even if others wanted to push him into an unpleasant corner; and even if he was personally disparaged or had to accept financial disadvantages because of his stance. The fact that, by the end of his ministry at Safenwil, his pastoral position ranked among the worst paid in the Canton of Aargau may well have something to do with the fact that the incumbent did not make himself especially popular with some of his actions. Here too, parallels with later years are not hard to find.

And thus there is at least a threefold interest served by the texts in this volume, now over a century old, together with their editorial reappraisal and now also their translation: (1) a biographical-historical interest in the narrower sense in the career-oriented beginnings of Barth's ministry and the topics and tasks that occupied him during this time; (2) a generic theological-historical interest in the question of which experiences and developments enabled Barth in 1933 to reject and resist, almost on his own, nearly every governmental, ecclesial, and theological authority and to show the emerging "Confessing Church" the way, often enough against the will even of its leading representatives; (3) a more

current theological interest in how certain topics and challenges, some of which today many feel to be unique and never before existent, were in reality already recognized as problems and addressed over a hundred years ago. These challenges include the dreaded loss of the churches' relevance for the socially disadvantaged and the role of the church in the face of modernity in general.

These few points, offered here only in outline, should suffice to elucidate what many years ago motivated, and in more than one respect made necessary, the scholarly edition of these texts and, more recently, their translation as presented in this welcome volume.

Peter Zocher
Karl Barth Archive, Basel

April 2025

List of Translators and Assignments

[The translation team cooperated in translating various pieces.]

Clifford Anderson, Director of the Divinity Library, Yale University: "The Reemergence of Metaphysics in Theology," "Religion and Science," "The Workers' Question."

Matthew J. Aragon Bruce, Director, Cultivating the Gift of Preaching at Synod of the Covenant, adjunct professor, Calvin University Prison Initiative and Western Theological Seminary: "Category 44 IV Church Life," "The Workers' Question."

John P. Burgess, Professor of Systematic Theology, Pittsburgh Theological Seminary: "The Workers' Question," "The Blessing of a Christian Home."

David C. Chao, Director of the Center for Asian American Christianity, Princeton Theological Seminary: "Ideas and Thoughts on Philosophy of Religion," "God in the Fatherland," "Spittler, Christian Friedrich," "Stockmeyer, Immanuel," "Jesus Christ and the Social Movement," "The Workers' Question."

Terry L. Cross, Professor of Systematic Theology and Dean, School of Theology & Ministry, Lee University: "The Christian Faith and History," "Belief in the Personal God," "The Workers' Question."

Sven Ensminger, PhD (University of Bristol): "Belief in the Personal God," "The Workers' Question," "[Speech at the Blue Cross Celebration in Rupperswil]," "Christmas at School," "Better Times."

David A. Gilland, PhD (University of Aberdeen): "Review of Karl Heim, *Das Gewissheitsproblem in der systematischen Theologie bis zu Schleiermacher*," "The Workers' Question," "Christmas Celebration at the Workers Association in Rothrist."

Darrell L. Guder, Emeritus Professor of Missional and Ecumenical Theology, Princeton Theological Seminary: "Editors' Preface" by Hans-Anton Drewes and Hinrich Stoevesandt, "Reformation," "Review of E. Schrenk, *Seelsorgerliche Briefe für allerlei Leute*," "Christ is Born!," "Goodwill to All People!," "[An Old-Fashioned Christmas Song]," "[Address at the Christmas Celebration of the German Reformed School in Geneva]," "Earning, Working, Living," "The Workers' Question."

Judith J. Guder, Retired musician and translator, "Earning, Working, Living," "The Workers' Question."

Anette Hagan, MTh (University of Edinburgh): "Introduction to the English Edition" by Peter Zocher.

Thomas Herwig, Assistant Professor, Honors College of the University of Alabama: "The Christian Faith and History," "Jesus Christ and the Social Movement," "The Workers' Question."

Cambria Kaltwasser, Associate Professor of Theology, Northwestern College: "From One Plate," 'A Strange Misunderstanding," "On the Two Poems," "Having Died with Christ," "Did Jesus Live? A Retrospective Easter Meditation," "Confirmation Evenings," "Survey of Protestant Mission," "The Workers' Question."

Oliver Keenan, Academic Dean and Lecturer in Christian Doctrine, Ripon College Cuddesdon, Oxford University: "Biographical Sketches from the History of the Christian Religion," "For the Dignity of Geneva," "We Do Not Want Him to Reign over Us!" "[Invitation to the Aargau Abstinence Day]," "Once Again: Jesus and Psychiatry," "The Workers' Question."

David MacLachlan, Associate Professor of New Testament, Atlantic School of Theology: "The Christian Faith and History," "Something about the Church: Especially about the German Reformed Church in Geneva and What to Make of It," "Congregational News," "Human Rights and Civic Duty," "Paul," "Gerhard Tersteegen [Lecture]," "Gerhard Tersteegen [Essay]," "God Disposes, but Humans Should Still Propose! From Calvin's *Institutes* (1559)," "The Workers' Question."

Arnold Neufeldt-Fast, Vice President Academic, Dean, and Associate Professor of Theology, Tyndale Seminary: "Gerhard Tersteegen [Lecture]," "Gerhard Tersteegen [Essay]," "God Disposes, but Humans Should Still Propose! From Calvin's *Institutes* (1559)."

Travis R. Niles, Postdoctoral Researcher and Assistant, Institute for New Testament Studies, University of Bern: "Act Justly and Fear No One! (Not a Treatise, yet Otherwise for Contemplation)," "Jesus' Resurrection," "Novalis [Lecture]," "Novalis [Essay]," "The Workers' Question."

Paul T. Nimmo, King's Chair of Systematic Theology, University of Aberdeen: "The Workers' Question," "Aargau Reformed Church Synod [1]," "Aargau Reformed Church Synod [2]," "Gospel and Socialism."

Patricia L. Rich, Translator: "John Mott and the Student Christian Movement," "John Mott's Lectures," "Pious Poser," "Objection Regarding Military Aircraft," "Socrates," "The Workers' Question."

Ross Wright, Rector, The Church of the Good Shepherd; adjunct professor, Randolph-Macon College: "The Workers' Question," "Speech at the November Celebration of the Grütli Association Ober-Entfelden," "The Jetzer Affair," "Reformation in Bern."

Abbreviations

General Abbreviations

anon.	anonymous
Art./art.	article
cf.	[Lat.] confer, compare
chap(s).	chapter(s)
Co.	Company
col(s).	column(s)
cts.	cents
ed(s).	editor(s), edited by, edition
e.g.	*exempli gratia*, for example
esp.	especially
ET	English translation
et al.	*et alii*, and others/another
etc.	*et cetera*, and so forth, and the rest
f.	and following
fn(s).	footnote(s)
Fr.	franc(s) [money]
i.e.	*id est*, that is
K.	Kronen, crown(s) [money]
M.	mark(s) [money]
n(n).	note(s)
no(s).	number(s)
p(p).	page(s)
¶(¶)	paragraph(s)
Pf.	*Pfennig(e)*, penny (pennies) [money]
rev.	revised
§(§)	section(s)
trans.	translator, translated by
v(v).	verse(s)
vol(s).	volume(s)
yr.	year

Abbreviated Works

AFranc	*Analecta Franciscana*
AMZ	*Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift*
ASS	*Acta sanctae sedis*
BN	*Basler Nachrichten* [Basel News]
BSLK	*Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche*. Edited by Deutschen evangelischen Kirchenausschluss. 10th ed. Göttingen, 1986
Busch	E. Busch, *Karl Barth: His Life from Letters and Autobiographical Texts*. Translated by John Bowden. London, 1976
Bw. B.	K. Barth and R. Bultmann. *Briefwechsel*, 1922–1966. Edited by B. Jaspert. Karl Barth Gesamtausgabe, Part 5: Letters. Zurich, 1971
Bw. R.	K. Barth and M. Rade. *Ein Briefwechsel*. Edited by Chr. Schwöbel. Gütersloh, 1981
Bw. Th.	K. Barth and E. Thurneysen. *Briefwechsel*. Vol. I: 1913–1921. Edited by E. Thurneysen. Karl Barth Gesamtausgabe, Part 5: Letters. Zurich, 1973
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina
CR	Corpus Reformatorum. Halle/Braunschweig/Berlin; Leipzig; Zurich, 1834–
CSEL	Corpus scriptorium ecclesiasticorum Latinorum
CW	*Die christliche Welt*
DS	*Enchiridion symbolorum, definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum*. Edited by H. Denzinger and A. Schönmetzer. 35th ed. Rome, et al., 1973
EA	Erlangen Ausgabe. M. Luther. Sämtliche Werke. Erlangen, 1826–
Early Barth, 1	Karl Barth. *The Early Barth: Lectures and Shorter Works*. Edited by Hans-Anton Drewes and Hinrich Stoevesandt. Vol. 1, *1905–1909.* Louisville, 2022
EKG	*Evangelisches Kirchengesangbuch*. Various editions. 1853–
GCS	*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte*. Berlin, 1897–
GERS (1891)	*Gesangbuch für die evangelische-reformierte Kirche der deutschen Schweiz*. 1891–
GERS (1952)	*Gesangbuch für die evangelische-reformierten Kirchen der deutschsprachigen Schweiz*. 1952–
HBLS	*Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz*. Neuenburg, 1921–34
Inst.	*Institutes of the Christian Religion.* By John Calvin. Translated by Ford Lewis Battles from the 1559 Latin edition. Edited by John T. McNeill. Library of Christian Classics. 2 vols. Philadelphia, 1960
KBRS	*Kirchenblätt für die reformierte Schweiz*
KHC	Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament

LThK	*Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*. 2nd ed. 1957–68
LW	*Luther's Works*. Ed. J. Pelikan et al. American Edition. Saint Louis, 1955–
MGKK	*Monatsschrift für Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst*
MPG	J.-P. Migne, Patrologiae cursus completes, Series Graeca
MPL	J.-P. Migne, Patrologiae cursus completes, Series Latina
NZZ	*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*
PhB	Philosophische Bibliothek. Leipzig, 1868–
RE^{3}	*Realencyklopäedie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*. 3rd ed. Leipzig, 1896–1913
RGG^{1,2,3}	*Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. 1st ed., 1909–13. 2nd ed., 1927–32. 3rd ed., 1957–62
RV	*Religionsgeschichtle Volksbücher für die deutsche christliche Gegenwart*. Halle/Tübingen, 1904–
SThZ	*Schweizerische theologische Zeitschrift*
ThB	Theologische Bücherei. Munich. 1953–
TVZ	Theologischer Verlag Zurich
VTKG	*Vorträge der theologischen Konferenz zu Gießen*
WA	Weimarer Ausgabe. M. Luther. Werke. Kritische Gesamtausgabe. Weimar, 1883–
WA B	WA Briefwechsel
WA DB	WA Deutsche Bibel
WA TR	WA Tischreden
ZTK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*

Abbreviations in the Text "The Workers' Question"

Art(s).	articles
BN	*Basler Nachrichten*
BV	*Basler Vorwärts*
Die Hilfe	A German liberal magazine published in Berlin (1895–1941)
FA	*Der freie Aargauer*
Fabr. Insp.	*Berichte der eidgenössischen Fabrik- und Bergwerkinspektoren über ihre Amtstätigkeit in den Jahren 1910 und 1911, Aarau 1912; . . . in den Jahren 1912 und 1913, Aarau 1913*
FSA	*Der freie Schweizer Arbeiter: Wochenblatt für Sozialgesinnte aller Stände* (abbreviated by Barth: Fr. Schw. A)
GR	*Gewerkschaftliche Rundschau für die Schweiz* (abbreviated by Barth: Gew. Rsch.)
Herkner	H. Herkner, *Die Arbeiterfrage: Eine Einführung*. 5th ed. Berlin, 1908
NFA	*Neuer Freier Aargauer: Sozialdemokratisches Tagblatt*
NZZ	*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*
Pflüger	Paul Pflüger, *Einführung in die soziale Frage*. Zurich, 1910
Sombart I	Werner Sombart, *Die gewerbliche Arbeiterfrage (Sammlung Göschen).* Berlin/Leipzig, 1912^{2}

Sombart II	Werner Sombart, *Das Proletariat: Bilder und Studien; Die Geselleschaft: Sammlung sozialpsychologischer Monographien*, published by M. Buber. Vol. 1. Frankfurt a. M., 1906
Sombart III	Werner Sombart, *Sozialismus und soziale Bewegung*. Jena, 1908[6]
TA	*Der Textilarbeiter*
‰	per mille (per thousand)

Reformation
1909

When, on September 16, 1909, Karl Barth started his position as a pasteur suffragant [assistant pastor] at the "German Reformed Congregation of Geneva," Adolf Keller (1872–1963), the senior pastor of the congregation, was in the process of transferring to Zurich. His successor was yet to be chosen. The result was that Barth served the congregation alone[1] *from October 1909 to February 1910, instead of "sharing the work with the pastor"—as had been anticipated*[2]*—"such that he [Barth] would preach twice a month and lead the children's church in rotation, that he would occupy a special residence, Paquis, for the particular needs of parish care, and otherwise assist the pastor with the needs of the poor and the work of the congregation." Barth's responsibilities during this interim also included the publication of the "Congregational Newsletter for the German Reformed Community of Geneva," which was "to appear six times a year" ("annual subscription, 50 Cts."). In the year 1909–10 it appeared seven times, and later eight times.*[3] *This was perhaps a confirmation of the hope expressed in the Newsletter when greeting the new assistant pastor that his "activity" with the editing of* Christliche Welt *would also "benefit our newsletter."*[4] *After the first two issues, Barth did in fact write to Martin Rade, "It turned out to be a benefit for me that I had worked for a while as an editor, even if next to the* Christliche Welt *our good little newsletter looks like a zebra next to an elephant."*[5]

In the first edition for which he was responsible, Barth was to "promote from the pulpit" the appeal of the church council (the responsible leadership of the congregation) regarding the "imminent election of a pastor."[6] *The election was to take place on Saturday 6th and Sunday 7th November. On that same first Sunday in November it was the custom in Reformed Switzerland to commemorate the Reformation. For that purpose Barth wrote the following article, which appeared in the edition of the parish newsletter for November 2, 1909.*

1. See below, fn. 6.
2. As announced in the parish newsletter's report on his reception, in the *Gemeinde-Blatt* for the German Reformed Congregation of Geneva, year 6, no. 31 (September 17, 1909).
3. *Gemeinde-Blatt*, year 7, no. 38 (September 14, 1910), 5.
4. *Gemeinde-Blatt*, year 6, no. 31 (September 17, 1909).
5. *Bw. R.*, 73.
6. Barth liked to use this expression "promote from the pulpit" [*kanzeln*] and did so in a postcard (postmarked November 5, 1909) to the pastor elected of the two candidates, Paul Walter, at that time in Marseille. Walter was installed into his position in Geneva on February 20, 1910. Barth's appeal appeared in no. 32 (year 6) of the parish newsletter, from November 2, 1909. It will appear in the Gesamtausgabe A, in *V. Letters (Offene Briefe)*. [Ed. note: it was later published as Karl Barth, *Offene Briefe, 1909–1935*, ed. Diether Koch (Gesamtausgabe, §5) (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 2001), 1–3].

There is an old custom that this coming Sunday, November 7, should be set aside to commemorate the Reformation.[7] In Geneva, someone or other might think that there had been enough of a good thing. Everyone can still remember the festive days in which the spirits of a remarkable but wonderful age were summoned in word and picture, in song and presentation.[8] The past has been honored, and now the present should have its rights again. That can be just good talk. But it is an old lament that we Swiss are much too preoccupied with the celebrations of the past, and this lament is also a concern for Swiss Christianity. One can be enthusiastic about the fame and grandeur of old Calvinist Geneva, yet without having perceived a hint of Calvin's spirit, perhaps with the quiet mental reservation that it's a good thing not to have been present personally, at least there and then, under Calvin's strict regime! Reformation enthusiasm, but Reformation celebration at a distance—that's not something that we want either. That might be good for the antiquarian, for the historian. People who work every day, people of the present day, sense that to be hollow and artificial. But then it is only very few of us who want to push away any thought about the past of the Protestant church. For the people of today who have their own lives, the past is more than an antique store. On the ossuary of Murten, in which the remains of those who fell in the battles of 1476[9] were preserved until the French destroyed it[10] in 1798, the words of Albrecht von Haller were inscribed:

> Announce, Helvetia, you fatherland of heroes:
> How is your people today related to those of yesteryear?[11]

Isn't it true that with this question the past receives another appearance? And it is precisely this question that we Protestants want to confront when we celebrate the Reformation. Then we realize that all the external undertakings: speeches, singing, parades, and so on, which we think of automatically when we mention "celebration," can only be a preparation, a getting dressed for the major concern, the question of our conscience: What is the situation with us? And then we notice further that one cannot deal with the Reformation the way one manages a shooting festival. For alert and lively people, the celebration of

7. Based on the suggestion of the Conference of (Swiss) Protestant Church Administrations, the first Sunday in November was usually celebrated as Reformation Day. See Fr. Meier, Article "Schweiz," in *RE*[3], vol. 18, cols. 58–60, on p. 55; cols. 3–5, on p. 60.

8. The Genevan celebration of Calvin's 400th birthday had taken place from July 2 to 7 in 1909. See *Les Jubelés de Genève*, nos. 1–3, Geneva, 1909.

9. Battle between the Confederates and Charles the Brave on June 22, 1476; the successful defense against the Burgundian attack sealed the political independence of the Swiss Confederation. See Walter Schaufelberger, *Spätmittelalter*, in *Handbuch der Schweizer Geschichte* (Zurich: Verlag Berichthaus, 1972), 1:323.

10. On the history of this ossuary [bone house]: Ernst Flückiger, "Beinhaus bei Murten," in *HBLS* 2:79. Reproduced there is the six-line inscription that Haller wrote for the ossuary, posted there that same year (see also Theophil De Quervain, "Wie Albrecht Hallers Inschrift am Beinhaus in Murten entstanden ist," in *Berner Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Heimatkunde* (1950), 163–65). The fact that, in the following citation, Barth recites lines from another poem by Haller, which he relates to the Murten Chapel, is apparently a confusion on his part.

11. See Albrecht von Haller, "Die verdorbenen Sitten," in Haller, *Versuch schweizerischer Gedichte* (Bern: Typographische Gesellschaft, 1777), 122–40, esp. 124.

the Reformation cannot be something that just passes by, precisely because it is always a question of our conscience.

But what then? If the "relationship" about which we are supposed to inquire, if the relationship of the present day with the people back then, of our Christianity with that of Calvin or Zwingli or Luther, if it should consist of their thoughts and words, the church institutions and public and private morals, then we would be in a bad way. Even those among us who are most conservative in doctrine and life would find no grace in the eyes of a Calvin and would try in vain to get it. And again we would have the practical people of the present against us, those who do not want to know anything about the renewal of *that kind* of relationship. We must then inquire about something else. Whether we want it or not, we can't change the fact that there is now a generation that *thinks* differently. *Thinking differently!* But *thinking* is not the ultimate and highest in human living and in history, as little as are the changing forms of state, church, and social life. So, as people of the present day *and* as Protestant Christians, we will state this wish:

> Let the spirits of the ancestors rest,
> Only the Spirit of the ancestors can do it.[12]

The Spirit of the ancestors is, however—and when we are speaking about the Reformers, more than ever—the Spirit of God, who again and again created for itself *many kinds* of tools. This Spirit accomplished in them and with them the work of freedom and power that humanity needed.

And now the celebration of the Reformation confronts us with the question of conscience, whether we also have *this* Spirit. Do we, in our most concealed personal lives, in our churches and schools, in our state, in our society, sense something of the inward omnipotence of this stream that spreads righteousness and love wherever it goes? In the days of the Reformation, the stream of the Spirit of God broke out of the gravel and debris of the human spirit that had grown old. That is its significance. Once more:

> How is your people today
> Related to those of yesteryear?

In *our* forms of thought and life, do we have that concealed thrusting power which in those of the Reformation triumphed over the world? Asked in that way, we have every reason to become contemplative and modest. But this self-contemplation is only one half. The other half:

12. **The Ancestors**

O Swiss, do not call upon the light
Of the ancestors, let them rest!
The spirits of the ancestors do not help,
Only the Spirit of the ancestors can do it.

The poem belongs to the tradition of the Zofingia fraternity in Basel and was published in the *Centralblatt des schweizerischen Zofingiavereins*, year 33 (1892–93), 469, without naming the poet, in the section titled "Choix de Poésies," under the rubric "Aus dem Basler Gärtli" ["Selections of poetry," under the title "From the little Basel garden"].

> If you would own the things your forebears left you,
> you first must *earn and merit* their possession.[13]

We need, however, to receive as a gift the inward sense for the one [inheritance] and the power for the other [possession]. *This is how* we want to celebrate the Reformation.

13. See Johann W. von Goethe, *Faust I & II*, trans. Stuart Atkins (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), 20 [Part One, Night, lines 682–83].

Review of E. Schrenk, *Seelsorgerliche Briefe für allerlei Leute [Pastoral Letters for All Kinds of People] 1909*

The following text belongs to the series of reviews which Barth wrote for Christliche Welt. *See "Introduction to the Reviews," in* Early Barth, *1:227–29.*

E. Schrenk, *Seelsorgerliche Briefe für allerlei Leute,* Kassel[: Verlag von Röttger], 1909.

It is difficult for me to imagine this as a devotional book in the hands of the readers of *Christliche Welt*.[1] Much understanding of church and dogmatic history is required in order to recognize its common religious motive and quietive, in spite of the language of [pietistic] fellowship Christianity in which it is written; the necessity of such abstraction will most likely not make ascetic usage for our friends easier. Even theologians will find it a strenuous task to learn something for their own pastoral work. We are suffering, as it says on page 114, from "dogmatic softening of the bones," and we can find little that is promising in the author's authoritarian recourse to this or that "biblical" doctrine and to single passages that then often require formal exegetical explication.

As a piece of human life that is interesting when it grasps you,[2] especially from a religious perspective, the book can delight some. It offers a rich spectrum of religious and moral problems, all visibly lifted out of life, from the question of the knowability of God's will[3] to an issue such as whether a European missionary should be allowed to marry a native or not.[4] And as the problems are humanly meaningful, so are Schrenk's responses shaped by religious history and religious psychology. The most valuable observation that anyone can make in these letters will be this: What makes the cure of souls, the religious interaction of people, ultimately possible and real at all? It is not the persuasive power of the rational and "biblical" demonstration, but rather the inward liveliness of the interpreting leader who stands behind it.

1. Next to the book reviewed here, two further volumes appeared (Kassel 1910 and 1911). On the missionary preacher and evangelist Elias Schrenk (1831–1913), cf. the articles about him in *RGG*[1], vol. 5, col. 388; and *RGG*[2], vol. 5, cols. 163–64.

2. Cf. Johann W. von Goethe, *Faust I & II*, trans. Stuart Atkins (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), 6 [Prelude on the Stage, lines 167–69].

3. Cf. Elias Schrenk, *Seelsorgerliche Briefe*, cols. 158–62.

4. Cf. Schrenk, *Seelsorgerliche Briefe*, cols. 183–85.

Christ Is Born!
1909

Information about the origin of this piece as well as the occasion of the following one is provided in a letter that Barth sent on December 14, 1909, to his future superior, Rev. Paul Walter. He begins by saying "most sincere thanks" for Walter's article "To the Congregation," in which Walter, elected on November 6 and 7 to succeed Adolf Keller, requests "in advance . . . your trust and indulgence," for himself and his future activity. Barth then continues his letter: "Now I must get to work very quickly on the writing of my article. I hope that it does not become straw. An abominable slide has been set up directly in front of my window, with a steam pipe and an orchestrion [mechanical music machine] that uninterruptedly blares out to the world melodies from 'The Merry Widow' and the like. If you are by chance in possession of a cannon, please send it to me. This thing will stay here until January 3, perfect for 'happy holidays.'"

Barth's essay "Christ Is Born," written under these conditions, opens the Christmas issue of the Congregational Newsletter, dated December 22, 1909. Walter's letter "To the congregation" is followed by Barth's reflections, titled "Among Those Whom God Favors!," which the disturbing musical or rather acoustic phenomenon in front of Barth´s window inspired him to write.

It was presumably through Zofingia that Barth became aware of the folk-song collection titled "Im Röseligarte" [In the Rose Garden], from which he included an "old-fashioned Christmas song" in the same newsletter. Otto von Greyerz, who published the collection, was a "Zofingia brother." A lengthy discussion in the Centralblätter [the Zofingia fraternity's newsletters] dealt with the first booklet in the song collection, reminding "the students, as cultivated people," of their responsibility in view of "the current fake 'folk music.'" We also learn from the article that the Bern Zofingia men especially enjoyed singing "these marvelous songs . . . over and over again."[1]

On January 10, 1910, Barth wrote to his grandmother and aunt in Basel: "What did you think of our Christmas Congregational Newsletter, with its new mixture of humor and edification? Don't I have a talent for work as an editor of the Volksbote *[a popular tabloid] or the like? . . . A crazy man wrote several letters to me about the slide. He understood me to be saying that I wanted to encourage the people to ride the slide as much as possible and bitterly accused me that this was not a nice thing for a pastor to do. Otherwise the Genevans were very edified by my article." A letter to his parents dated December 23, 1909, discussed both themes, the misguided outrage of one person as well as the edification generally expressed by others: "Today two women visited me, one of whom wanted to express her pleasure at the newsletter article about the slide, and*

1. A. Rollier, "Im Röseligarte," in *Centralblatt des schweizerischen Zofingervereins*, Year 48 (1907–8), 188–199, esp. 190, 197–98; cf. *Centralblatt*, Year 47 (1906–1907), 596–600.

the other to assure me that this was the nicest edition of the noble newsletter that she had seen. Apparently the writer of the enclosed letter does not share this opinion. . . . He is either crazy or otherwise confused."

This expression says that light has come into the world (cf. John 3:19; 12:46). I know that we talk about many lights, and that is justified. Before and after Christ, there have been lights of science and art, and humanity does well not to forget either these or the former. Forgotten lights are always a loss, greater than superficiality might think. But science and art are marvelous formations of life; they are not life itself. And for that reason it makes no sense at all to pose comparisons between Christ and Plato or Beethoven. And we do not render ourselves guilty of any limitations when we repeat: Light has come into the world when Christ came. For in him was that which is pure and independent and unbroken, that which merits the name *Life* (cf. John 1:4).

And for you and for me, that means a mysterious door is opened to us, once we have seen it. For at first we do not see anything except that we are impure, dependent, and broken. In the distress of the neediness and wickedness in the world, this is what we have become. And if we are truly honest with ourselves, all the sciences and arts don't help us past it. Life is generated only through life. And when a person obeys and serves, not simply because of necessity or suitability, but because of wanting to do so—that is life. This obedience and this serving, however, is the mystery of the person of Christ. You can see this mystery expressed in thousands of pictures.[2] It is always Christ who strides through humanity. And *when* you have seen it, this way or that way, then you have seen the way out of neediness and death into life. And thus the message "Christ is born" is a message for today.

2. An allusion to "The Song of Mary," by Novalis: "In countless pictures I behold thee." See below, p. 215.

Goodwill to All People![1]
1909

Introduction, see above, pages 6–7.

A few days ago, on the island in the Rhône,[2] they set up beneath my window a giant slide, an ungainly thing with many electric lights and with a Swiss flag on top. A machine somehow gets the whole thing moving, and children large and small slide from the top to the bottom, starting with a spiral at the top, and then in a straight descent. To increase their and my enjoyment, an orchestrion [mechanical music machine] plays at regular intervals and in a regular sequence the melodies of "The Merry Widow" and other classical selections. To my delight and astonishment, I learn that this is going to continue until January 3, and I respond with edifying observations about the joys and sorrows of sermon preparation in the big city. Dear colleague and fellow student in the snowed-in Alpine valley: You do not experience this kind of thing, and that is clear. You are to be pitied.

But this egoistic course of thought would have no right to appear in the columns of the Congregational Newsletter. I continue to watch the people rolling like glass marbles down the slide over there, and I try to clarify, using my own sharp thinking, whether and what kind of thought processes might be unleashed in *them* by this rolling pleasure. For evidently they find it fun; otherwise they would not do it. And now my thoughts meander back a few days. The Genevan population put on the fools' costumes to celebrate the fact that the Duke of Savoy was not successful way back then.[3] The many Savoyards in Geneva presumably join in the celebration. Why not? A party is a party. The view of the fun on the slide and the remembrance of the questionable figures that the Escalade brought out on the streets leads me further. I think of all the honky-tonks that daily open their gates and apparently find an audience every day. I think of what some call "big city life," and I mean only the harmless side of it. I think of all the musically oddly problematic melodies that our boys whistle on the streets. To be sure, I don't think of all this because I am a "man in black" [i.e., a pastor] who, for vocational reasons, has to be irritated by all this. Simply from a human perspective, I am interested in the question of what is

1. Luke 2:14.

2. As an assistant pastor in Geneva, Karl Barth lived at first, from 1909 to 1910, on the shores of the Rhône, with a view over Rousseau Island (Quai des Bergues 21, 4th floor); see Busch, 52–59.

3. The night attack [on Geneva] by Duke Karl Emanuel of Savoy on December 22, 1602, which ended up a failure, although one Savoyard storm troop was able to climb the city walls. The defense of their freedom against what has come to be called the "Escalade" is celebrated by the Genevans every year. See Peter Stadler, "Das Zeitalter der Gegenreformation," in *Handbuch der Schweizer Geschichte* (Zurich: Verlag Berichthaus, 1972), 1:609–10.

really "behind" these things. It all adds up to fun and happiness! And I would have to be a very boring person if I were not interested in experiencing what this happiness consists of, even if I don't understand it myself. If a real expert reads these lines, may he not fail to explain things thoroughly to me.

By means of this little detour, I have now arrived at the joy of Christmas, toward which we are moving. All kinds of evidence threaten to instruct me that, by and large, the valid motto here is also "A party is a party." There is *one* part of the Christmas message that is understood by everyone, even those who are too lazy to give any thought to the rest of it. And that is the section "*goodwill to all people*." It is translated this way: these are the days in which a person experiences all kinds of things that please him. Right away, Christmas trees, gingerbread, lotteries, and animated club evenings appear before his eyes invitingly. A party is a party, whether it's called Christmas or something else; the main thing is the fun involved. Again, I don't want to be the party pooper, but it bothers me that the fatal question mark, of which I was just speaking, pursues me all the way, even to [a place] under the Christmas tree. Or am I being unfair to people, if I am so mistrusting? I am almost at the point of believing that [I am], when I read the following advertisement in No. 24 of the *Schweizerisches Familien-Wochenblatt* [Swiss Family Weekly Paper]:

> The most wonderful thing for the Christmas tree is my angel Christmas tree-bells, a brass choir for the birth of Christ. Immediately after lighting the candles the angels fly around the tree in the air, and the brightly sounding bells bring the really proper Christmas mood. My angel bells are made of nickel-plated metal . . . and so on.[4]

It's been accomplished. Honky-tonk for the Christian home. The genuine, proper Christmas mood—who would be so crass as not to crave such a thing? Run and buy, dear reader; for the bargain price of Fr. 1.75 you get all this glory! Goodwill to all people! Now the celebration is a Christmas celebration, the joy a Christmas joy, the brass choir with the birth of Christ guarantees it.

Or are you now for your part mistrusting about my delight? Since you are buttonholing me so energetically and would like to know my real opinion, I will tell you directly: It seems to me that the marvelous "Angel Christmas Tree-Bells" stands in a weird relationship to the fun on the giant slide over there. In both cases, you wonder, "What is the grand thing 'behind' it all?" and you get no answer—at least, I don't. And since so much of what is now called Christmas celebration is as "marvelous" and tasteful as the "angel Christmas-tree bells," . . . well, you can finish my sentence yourself.

And now I would like to put a quick period at the end of my reflections. Not an edifying period. Rather, I would like to ask the friendly reader, in view of the diverse question marks that I have set out, to help me with the revision of that which we are accustomed to call "joy." Perhaps, then, before Christmas we can also get a clearer sense of what is called "Christmas joy." Or even better: a clear question mark is already half the answer.

4. *Schweizerisches Familien-Wochenblatt für Unterhaltung und Belehrung* [Swiss Family Weekly for Entertainment and Instruction], 29th year, half-vol. 17, no. 24, December 12, 1909, supplement.

[An Old-Fashioned Christmas Song]
1909

Introduction, see above, pages 6–7.

The *old-fashioned Christmas song* that we make available to the interested reader in this issue comes from Gontenschwil in the Canton of Aargau. That is, it was rediscovered there, for in the area of folk songs, there is growing interest in rescuing the good old songs from the swamps of modern sweetness. We have reprinted it from the collection titled "Im Röseligarte,"[1] edited by Otto von Greyerz. The three volumes published thus far[2] contain an abundance of old treasures. Perhaps some examples will encourage one or other German-speaking Swiss person, who does *not* want to "Frenchify," to delight himself and his family with one or all of these nicely illustrated and affordable booklets for Christmas.

Weihnachtslied	**Christmas Song**
1. Es ist für uns eine Zeit angekommen.	A time has arrived for us.
Sie bringt für uns eine große Gnad':	It brings for us a great grace:
Unser Heiland Jesus Christ,	Our Savior Jesus Christ,
Der für uns, der für uns,	Who for us, who for us,
Der für uns Mensch geworden ist.	Who for us has become human.
Die Hirten of em Feld	The shepherds in the field
Die laufen eso schnell.	They run so very quickly.
Sie laufen und springen	They run and they leap
Und mänge hört singen:	And many hear singing:
Die Ehr Gott in der Höh	The glory of God in the highest
Und Friede sei auf Erd!	And peace be on the earth.
2. Jesulein lag in der Krippe	Little Jesus lay in the manger
Auf einem harten Felsenstein	On a hard cliff rock
Zwischen Ochs und Esulein.	Between the ox and the little mule.
O du armes, o du armes,	Oh you poor, oh you poor,
O du armes Jesulein.	Oh you poor little Jesus.
Ach Gott, erbarm!	Oh God, have mercy!
Wie ist die Mueter eso arm!	How the Mother is so very poor

1. *Im Röseligarte* [*In the Rose Garden*], ed. O. von Greyerz (Bern: A. Francke, 1908), 1:37–39. The reproduction in the Congregational Newsletter, as it is given here, has a somewhat different spelling than the original.
2. The second and third booklets of the collection appeared in 1909 and 1910, also in Bern.

Sie hat ja kein Pfännelein!
Zu kochen dem Kindelein,
Kein Brot und kein Salz,
Kein Butter und kein Schmalz.

She has no little warming pan
To cook for the little child.
No bread and no salt.
No butter and no lard.

3. Es kamen drei Könige her zu reisen.
Sie kamen her aus dem Morgenland
Ein Stern tät sie begleiten.
Und führte sie bis, führte sie bis,
Führte sie bis gen Bethlehem.
Im Morgenland,
Dort ist es eso kalt.
's mueß mänge verfriere
Und ds Läbe verliere.
Doch d' Mueter, au no so arm,
Sie haltet ds Chindli warm.

There came three kings traveling here.
They came here from the orient.
A star accompanied them.
And led them to, led them to,
Led them up to Bethlehem.
In the Orient,
There it is so very cold.
Many must freeze to death.
And lose their life.
Yet the mother, as poor as she is,
She keeps the little child warm.

4. Über einem Stalle, da hielt der Stern stille.
Sie traten ein und in den dunkeln Raum;
Kneuleten vor dem Kindelein her;
Großes Opfer, großes Opfer,
Großes Opfer brachten sie dar.
"Wir kommen hier an,
Das wünschen wir euch an:
Ein guetes glücksäligs
Gesund und auch fröhlichs,
Ein guetes neues Jahr.
Das wünschen wir euch an."

Above a stable the star stood still.
They entered into the dark room,
Knelt down before the little child;
Great offerings, great offerings,
Great offerings they presented.
"We have arrived here,
This we wish for you:
A good and blessed,
A healthy and also happy,
A good new year,
That we wish for you."

[Address at the Christmas Celebration of the German Reformed School in Geneva]
1909

At the beginning of a letter to his parents on Sunday, December 19, 1909, Karl Barth gives a lovely description of the occasion for the "following words": "Your child has had a lively day. In the morning the sermon (of doubtful reviving force) with children's instruction as usual; in the afternoon . . . Christmas celebration in the great Salle de réformation [Reformation Hall], which was filled with crowds of German congregational comrades, five times as many as the Auditoire would hold!!! Oehl[er]-Dubach (he is the president of the congregation and the school, whom Mama knows) was oiling [oehlte], the gymnasts were doing gymnastics, the girls were dancing; Grütli, Alpenrose, and Concordia were singing moving songs of the fatherland, such as:

Swi . . .tzerland
Thou beloved, beloved Switzerland
Thou belo . . . ved Switzerland

At the conclusion the man in black [i.e., the pastor, Barth himself], namely, your child, stepped onto the podium and spoke the following words with a thundering voice. If they are too 'brave' [wacker] *for you, then you must think of the context, and you will understand me. The main thing was that the main thing still came."*

*Enclosed with the letter was the program of the "Christmas Celebration of the German Reformed School in Geneva, with the kind participation of the [following] associations: Concordia Men's Choir * Alpenrose Women's Choir * Grütli Men's Choir." Barth indicated on the program with arrows and underlining the upward curve of anticipation leading to his own address. This document can clarify the position and function of his words and explain some allusions: Besides the diverse musical offerings, there was a "Bloom Ball Roundelay" performed by the "girls in the sixth grade," a display of "gymnastics with and without bars" as well as a pyramid, by "the boys of the fifth and sixth grade," and finally the "Confederate Song of the Guard" performed by the "Concordia Men's Choir." Then, finally, the "Christmas tree" took center stage, followed by "the address by Pastor Barth" and the "distribution of the Christmas presents."*

Dear Children!

Now here is your Christmas tree, and you have certainly earned it with your singing and gymnastics this evening. Take a good look at it because it won't return for another year. And a little bird has told me that afterward there are other wonderful things waiting for you. In spite of that, would you listen to me for a few minutes? I would like to add some words about all of this.

You all know what it means when we celebrate Christmas. It should not mean that the big and little people simply must have a festival in the winter as well, since they have more than enough of them in the summer. Rather it should mean that we remember the birth of the Lord Jesus. You all know it; I don't need to tell you. But do you really know exactly how everything happened with the baby in the manger and the shepherds in the fields? If you don't know it exactly anymore, then go to your dear parents afterward and tell them you would like to hear the story.

But pay attention now! That we celebrate today the birthday of the Savior and that we perhaps also know how it happened back then, all this is by some distance not everything that we know. Have you ever thought about why we celebrate this birthday? The fact that every year because of this birthday we always set up a tree with candles, and pass out apples and gingerbread—well, that's a curious thing, don't you think?

Now look, you go to school one day after another, one year after another, and your teachers make great efforts with you to teach you all kinds of useful things: reading and writing and arithmetic, and geography, and handcrafts. Why do all that? Because they enjoy it? I believe that sometimes it's not enjoyable for them. Or is it for your enjoyment? You yourselves will tell me that learning isn't always enjoyable. No, instead, you go to school now so that later on you can become competent and useful men and women. Becoming a competent person means not only that you learn how to earn a bag of money, a little bag or a big bag, so that you have something to nibble on every day, and possibly even more so that on Sunday afternoon you can go for a walk at the Salève.[1] A competent person is only the one who is a good person, and a good person is only the one who knows what is right and not right, and who not only knows it but also acts accordingly. The bag of money can become empty very quickly, just as it filled up. The enjoyable time on the Salève or somewhere else passes by quickly, just as the candles on the Christmas tree go out when it's their time to do so. But what do not pass by quickly are the joy and quiet that a good person carries in the heart. And now our Lord Jesus has shown us how one becomes a good person, and he not only showed it to us but also demonstrated it through the remarkably kind way that he lived and died. And he said to you and to me, "If you want to try to live in a way that is right and good, then there is a loving Father here, invisible and yet very close to you, and he will take you by the hand and lead you through life, better and more safely than even the best parents and teachers can." Look, that was the Lord Jesus, and that's why we celebrate his birthday today.

This evening we have heard a lot about the fatherland, and you boys showed with your gymnastics that you want to become a brave Swiss soldier someday. And further, when you are grown up, you will receive a ballot in your hand, perhaps by then even you girls will receive one,[2] and you should help to decide

1. A popular mountain southeast of Geneva, which has grand views in all directions and is visited by many people.

2. Women's right to participate in political elections and votes (women's suffrage) was introduced in Switzerland at the level of the Federation in 1971, at the cantonal level successively between 1959 (Geneva: 1960) and 1972, but in Appenzell Innerrhoden not until 1990. It should be noted that the

about the well-being and problems of city and countryside. What do you think? To put on a uniform and a helmet and to put a ballot in the urn as legally entitled voters, well, anyone can do that; but to become a *good* Swiss soldier and a *good* Swiss citizen—that can only be done by someone who is already a good person.

And the candles on the Christmas tree show you the way to get there, if you understand them properly. May God help you to do so—this is the Christmas present that I wish for you.

Genevan National Church decided already on April 23–24, 1910, by way of a vote of the legally authorized electors, to grant women the right to vote in church matters.

From One Plate
1910

Karl Barth himself contributed three pieces to the last of the three issues of the Congregational Newsletter that were published under his direction: the meditation, "From One Plate"; the clarification, "A Strange Misunderstanding"; and the exposition, "On the Two Poems" (from C. F. Meyer and H. Annoni), both of which Barth included in this issue.

The first of Barth's texts has a backstory worth telling and an aftermath worth noting. On July 21, 1909, Barth writes to his parents from Marburg: "On Sunday [July 18] I once again experienced something unique. Rev. Cornelius in Niedergrenzebach had long been urging [Wilhelm] Loew and me to make a farewell visit. We were dragging our feet. . . . Well, it was good that we went just last Sunday, because when we arrived, they announced that we were invited along with the pastor's family to a big country wedding. So, having only just arrived, I led the pastor's oldest daughter not—fortunately—up to the altar, but into the church in the midst of a train of adventurous gala costumes, as are customary there. . . . By luck, I had my big hat on, so I too looked a little strange amid this costume museum, in which one involuntarily began to think of oneself as entirely antediluvian. After church, an enormous meal began, which I gladly accepted, considering the dining situation in Marburg. Plenty of meat. That dragged on, with a long break before the evening. We only watched the dance, of course. By contrast, I took over the speech to the father of the bride (!), or rather, the toast, since the speech moved in very general regions and was, for example, adorned with the presentation of a Swiss song, which gave the locals of North Hesse much pleasure. Rev. Cornelius gave no fewer than three speeches later in the evening: one to the bridal couple, one to Switzerland (!), and one to the pan-German brotherhood of all Germanic tribes 'from the lowlands of Milan to the North Cape.' The whole thing was Germanic, it cannot be denied. However, I think the farmers were cleverer than their pastor: at least they responded to my energetic headshaking with very smart looks, the kind you can probably see in the Canton of Bern on similar occasions. Of course, a lot of strange things, regarding religious history and otherwise, took place."

The meditation for the Geneva Congregational Newsletter that follows found a friendly reception even in French-speaking church circles. On February 12, 1910, Barth reports to his parents: "Yesterday, at Pastor Heyer's," there was "talk about translating the 'One Plate' for the parish newsletter of the French congregation. It was probably more of a great compliment than a serious intention, but the thought of Ulchen [i.e., Karl Barth] as auteur français très remarquable [a very remarkable French author] is nonetheless flattering." By no means did it remain a compliment. On March 7, 1910, Barth was able to send his parents the "Messager paroissial de Plainpalais [Parish Newsletter of Plainpalais] with the translated 'Plate.'" And a further response

is noteworthy: On July 24, 1910, after a visit to Marburg, Barth reports to his parents that Prof. Ernst Christian Achelis—with whom Barth as recently as 1909 had had a lively argument over "Modern Theology and Work for the Kingdom of God"[1]*—showed himself to be "very gracious" and informed Barth that "he had used the story 'From One Plate' as a wedding toast!!"*

The text itself provides vivid detail over the circumstances which led Barth to clear up a strange misunderstanding *regarding the name of his "German Reformed Congregation" (and, incidentally, a second misunderstanding, as though "liberalism" [Freisinn] were "leased" to one specific party).*

One reason for Barth's interest in the religious lyrics of Hieronymus Annonis *(1697–1770) and his trying to interest his congregation in it lies in his family history, as Barth reports in the 1965/1966 written fragment of an autobiography: one of his ancestors, Johannes Rudolf Burckhardt, "was on familiar terms with the pastor Hieronymus d'Annone, who worked in Muttenz and who was such a powerful preacher that the laudable Council of Basel, at the request of the venerable clergy, had to have the city gates locked on Sunday morning due to the 'exodus to Muttenz.'" A copy of Annoni's "Bushels of Sacred Songs for Obliging Pilgrims to Heaven" (Basel: Bischoff, 1774), in which "Edifying Wash Thoughts" may also be found, came into Barth's possession from the Burckhardt family, after it had initially belonged to the library of J. R. Burckhardt's son Johannes. The fact that Barth in the above-mentioned autobiographical text confesses to having "received the strongest spiritual influence" from this man among his ancestors indicates that his respect for this specific pietism, with appropriate modification, also applied to the living piety testified by Annoni's songs, to which Barth wished to point in his short reflection.*

When I was still a student, I once traveled with a good friend from beautiful Marburg into the countryside of Hesse. We wanted to call on a pastor for whom we had both already preached. When we came to the place, it happened that the entire village was celebrating a great wedding. We hadn't known about it beforehand, but because we were already there, it happened to us just as to those from the "roads and lanes" in the parable: We were compelled to come in [cf. Luke 14:23]. We were happy to be invited, and so we witnessed a Hessian country wedding more beautiful than those described and illustrated in the most beautiful of books. However, it is not my intention to present the friendly reader with my own account of this wedding. I would simply like to tell you about a custom that may exist elsewhere, but which I witnessed for the first time there. The bride and groom were, throughout the whole meal—and it was not short—required to eat together from only *one plate*, with the help of *one* spoon, *one* fork, and *one* knife. The friendly reader will shake his head and think, "The poor souls!" Yes, "the poor souls!" is what we thought at the time as well. However, it was soon explained to us that it made good sense: Husband and wife are hereafter to have all things in common, food and drink and everything. This should be their greatest joy, but they must prepare themselves for this joy by mutual kindness and forbearance. Kindness and forbearance must be learned, though, and thus they should begin right there on their wedding day—and therefore eat from one plate.

1. See *Early Barth*, 1:244–67.

Well, it seems to me that what applies to the bridal pair in the Hessian countryside and—mind you—to all engaged and married couples, also applies, in the end, to human beings and Christians as a whole.

It is a sad view of things if someone thinks that all is well if the dear God has filled their own plate with all kinds of good things, and that the main thing now is to empty it straightaway, with decency and dignity, before another reaches in with their spoon. In the good old days, in another part of the German Empire, there was a hymnbook containing the following stanza:

> Send rain, Lord, and sunshine,
> On Schleiz and Greiz and Lobenstein,
> And if others also want something,
> Then let them tell you it themselves![2]

This is how many people imagine their relationship with the dear God. Just as if God were only there for them, for the princedoms of Schleiz, Greiz, and Lobenstein, for Mr. X. and Mrs. Y., for Hans and Liese, in order meticulously to provide them with all kinds of happiness. But it's no use having a full plate for yourself alone. It is not good that man should be alone [Gen. 2:18]. There are a whole host of others who would like to and should have something too, and that is where true joy in life and in the good gifts of God begins, when their joy becomes your joy, and when you don't like or want to rejoice more in your own life than you do together with others. But, as you know, this joy together with others has its snags. Because humans are, after all, no soft mollusks with whom everything gives way wherever you touch them, but rather indescribably bristly creatures with many edges and prickles. There's friction and competition. Everyone—openly or secretly—wants to get the largest plateful from the dear God. It would be fine and lovely indeed if siblings lived together in harmony [cf. Ps. 133:1], but this must be learned; one must prepare oneself for it. And when Hans and Liese begin to do this, they soon realize that it is not so easy, that they stand rather at the beginning of a long journey. And the stations along this way are clarity, sincerity, obedience, loyalty, self-denial, and sacrifice. And when they begin to notice that precisely the last two stations are the most important ones, then maybe they'll realize: Aha, a human being is actually something "that must be overcome,"[3] that is, the old bristly human being. Aha, God actually created me for something other than to have all sorts of plates filled for me and emptied by me, namely, to become free and strong, free toward myself and strong for the Good. In this way, through the friction and competition of life, through the common plate, God teaches us to be transformed from human beings into Christians.

2. According to Johannes Keßler (*Ich schwöre mir ewige Jugend* [Leipzig: Paul List Verlag, 1935], 7), among others, the verse was contained in one of the "old hymnbooks" of the Principality of Reuss-Greiz. According to Wilhelm Nelle (*Die Rabenaasstrophe und einige andere Seeschlangen*, in *MGKK*, Year 7 [1902], 323–26, 358–65, see esp. 363–64), however, it belongs rather to the "sea snakes" that haunt "popular hymnology"—alleged hymns, which in truth have never been in a hymnal.

3. See Friedrich Nietzsche, *Thus Spoke Zarathustra: A Book for All and None*, ed. Adrian del Caro and Robert B. Pippin, trans. Adrian del Caro (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 5: "*I teach you the overman*. Human being is something that must be overcome. What have you done to overcome him?"

But it's not finished yet. Especially not for Christians. Christians are those who have begun that journey, bravely and gratefully. Why gratefully? Because they have to say to themselves at every step they take, "It was not you who accomplished that, you bristly little person. It was God, who is completely different from you, and who is about to make you completely different from what you still are." And because they can therefore only ever understand the free and strong life that awakens in them on this path as a gift, not as something that they can prepare for themselves. And now it is very essential for them to realize that this gift of God—we want to learn to understand it more and more as the *one* great gift—is not something for them alone, but rather for many brothers and sisters with them. Even for many who still think that they can walk away from the school of God. True joy in God is, once again, only joy *together with others*. Jesus did not speak of a *kingdom* of God for nothing. He was serious about it. There are no hermitages in this kingdom. You have to get that clear. But precisely here the bristliness of the old man shows up in a particularly bright light. He can neither forbear nor get along with those like himself, even when it comes to the one great simple gift of God. Since times of old there has been friction and competition. And it now seems almost self-evident to us that everyone must have their special plate with especially good things, their special church or movement with especially good teachings and views. Maybe it is practically the case, and maybe necessarily so. Maybe one of the most important parts of the education that we have to go through—all the more so as Christians—is to get used to hearing others speak of Christ differently than we do. In any case, God does what God wants with God's people as God intends. But that doesn't change the fact that if we want to be serious about the kingdom of God, we have to consider the thought that God's gift is truly, and without ulterior motives, the same for everyone, however differently we may think and talk about it. The common plate, the external unity of Christians, may for the time being be a beautiful dream for the future, only realized on particular occasions, such as the Calvin celebration last year.[4] Thus, let us at least sit, each of us, behind our beloved special plate, with an open, friendly disposition, not sneering to the left and right, but with the sincere awareness: *After all, we belong together!* After all, at the Hessian wedding as at the Kappeler milk soup of our brave ancestors,[5] what mattered wasn't the common plate or pot, but that people and Christians and Swiss learned to understand and live this *together.*

The apostle Paul was also of this opinion. See 1 Cor. 1:10–13; 3:1–15; 8:6; 12:4–30; Rom. 12:3–6; Eph. 4:2–7.

4. See p. 2, fn. 8.

5. The "Kappel milk soup," over which the opponents in the First Kappel War are said to have come together, is a symbol of a united Swiss consciousness. See Peter Dürrenmatt, *Schweizer Geschichte* (Zurich: Schweizer Verlagshaus AG, 1976), 1:299–309, esp. 303–4; Leonhard von Muralt, "Renaissance und Reformation," in *Handbuch der Schweizer Geschichte* (Zurich: Verlag Berichthaus, 1972), 1:499–500.

A Strange Misunderstanding
1910

Introduction, pages 15–16.

At this point, I want to clear up *a strange misunderstanding* that I have now frequently encountered. It has to do with the description of our congregation as a "German Reformed Congregation." The misunderstanding concerns the word "Reformed." By the way, isn't it a little shameful that in Calvin's city it is necessary to provide explanations for *that*? Well, in the Reformation period, Protestantism divided into two large groups, the *Lutheran* church on the one hand, and the Zwinglian and Calvinian church on the other hand, as a result of differences in the doctrines of election and of the Lord's Supper. The latter two churches agreed on common confessions and together received the name the *Reformed* church. There were times when Lutherans and Reformed people fought with each other as fiercely as they did with the Catholics. But that was a long time ago. The differences have become blurred, but not entirely; yet it does take quite adept ears to distinguish a Lutheran from a Reformed sermon. However, even today the difference in the external order of worship is clear to everyone. And precisely because people tend most tenaciously to keep hold of the external orders, there are still Lutherans and Reformed today. In northern Germany the Protestants are predominantly Lutherans; in southern Germany, in Switzerland, in France, they are predominantly Reformed. So we are Reformed, and that is so self-evident that, for instance, it is not even stated in the official title of the Genevan national church.[1] But now there is a *German Lutheran* congregation in Geneva,[2] and so to avoid confusion we are called the *German Reformed* congregation. These are the facts of the matter.

Now the misunderstanding: I am astonished to hear the word "Reformed" used in the sense of "liberal [*freisinnig*]."[3] I'm told that's how "the people" have

1. Église nationale protestante de Genève [The Protestant Church of Geneva].

2. For the history of the German Lutheran congregation in Geneva, see Karl Daniel, *Die Deutsche Lutherische Kirche in Genf. 1707–1907: Zum Zweihundertjährigen Jubiläum ihrer Begründung im Auftrag der Kirchendirektion verfasst* (Geneva: Ch. Zöllner, 1906).

3. In Switzerland, "*freisinnig*" referred to the followers of theological liberalism, the so-called "Reform," as well as to those of political liberalism. Cf. Oskar Pfister, "Reformer in der Schweiz," in *RGG*[1], vol. 4, cols. 2102–4; Otto Erich Straßer, "Reformer, Schweizerische," in *RGG*[2], vol. 4, cols. 1783–84; Rudolf Pfister, "Reformer, schweizerische," in *RGG*[3], vol. 5, cols. 882–83; and Oskar Pfister, *Die gegenwärtige Metamorphose der theologisch-kirchlichen Parteien in der Schweiz*, in *SThZ* 21 (1904): 65–96, 139–72. The party of—or, in any event, of a particular—political liberalism bore [until 2008] the name "Freisinnig-demokratische-Partei der Schweiz" [Free Democratic Party of Switzerland] (in French-speaking Switzerland: "Parti radical Suisse" ["Radical Swiss Party"]); cf. Ernst Steinmann, "Freisinnig-Demokratische Partei der Schweiz," in *HBLS* 3:314–16.

interpreted it. Liberalism is a nice thing, especially if it's real liberalism and not just a catchphrase. But the time-honored name of our church has nothing to do with that. The misunderstanding has arisen in a complicated way; allow me to disclose it here: As is well known, there is another German-speaking congregation in Geneva, the German Evangelical [*evangelische*] Congregation,[4] they call themselves. This "evangelical" is used in French-speaking Switzerland as a term for the theological movement elsewhere known as "positive" or "orthodox."[5] Improperly, by the way, since fortunately the gospel is not leased to any party, anymore than is liberalism. Now, the deceased Reverend Steiger,[6] whose memory is cherished on all sides, belonged to the theologically liberal party in our congregation, which is called the *Reform* movement[7] in German-speaking Switzerland. And suddenly there arose confusion between Reformed and Reform. And the "*Reformed* congregation" was understood in contrast to the *Evangelical*, while, in reality, one is as Reformed and—let us add—in a well-understood sense as evangelical as the other. To cut a long story short, the German Reformed Congregation is *not* a *party church*, but it serves everyone.

One or another reader is pondering over all the names, churches, congregations, and parties. I am also pondering over them, and in this respect the whole matter is an illustration of the question of the common plate, which is related in more detail above.[8]

4. On the "Deutschschweizerische evangelische Kirchgemeinde" [Swiss-German Protestant Congregation], a free church founded in 1868 by the orthodox minority of German-speaking Protestants in Geneva, see the appendix in Alfred Schreiber, *Die deutsche Gemeinde in Genf 1580–1917: Geschichtlicher Überblick auf ihre Entstehung und Entwicklung; Dargestellt auf Grundlage des Gemeindearchivs und der Ratsbücher* (Geneva: Albert Kündig, 1919), 26–28.

5. For example, the Free Church of the Canton of Geneva, which emerged from Pietist beginnings, bears the name "Église évangelique de Genève" [Evangelical Church of Geneva]. See Charles Correvon, "Freikirchen: 6. in der französischen Schweiz," in *RE*^{3}, 6:252–59, esp. 253, lines 37 and 48.

6. Otto Steiger (1828–1903) had been the German-speaking pastor of the national church of Geneva since 1875 and became a parish pastor of the then newly formed "German Reformed Parish of Geneva" in 1903; cf. A. Schreiber, *Die deutsche Gemeinde in Genf*, 27–28.

7. Cf. above, fn. 3, and the article "Reformrichtung," in *Schweizer Lexikon in sieben Bänden* (Zurich: Encyclios-Verlag, 1946), vol. 3, col. 349.

8. See above, p. 15–18.

On the Two Poems
1910

Introduction, pp. pages 15–16.

The poem by K. F. Meyer[1] is recommended to the thoughtful reader for repeated reading with the promise that it is worth it. It is presented here as another contribution to the question of fellowship among Christians.[2] I believe that the poet leads us up to the highest vantage point.

"Edifying Washing Thoughts" is also the work of a Swiss poet. The people from Basel-Land can count him as one of their own: the honorable Hieronymus Annoni, born in 1697 and from 1747–1770 parish pastor in Muttenz.[3] What does

1. C. F. Meyer, "Alle," *Sämtliche Werke: Historisch-Kritische Ausgabe* (Bern: Benteli, 1963), 1:260. [Trans. note: The reference to K. F. in the main text seems to be Barth's error.] In what follows, the text is reproduced according to the reprint in the Congregational Newsletter:

Alle	**Everyone**
Es sprach der Geist: Sieh auf! Es war im Traume.	The Spirit said: Look up! It was in a dream.
Ich hob den Blick. In lichtem Wolkenraume	I raised my eyes. In a bright expanse of clouds
sah ich den Herrn das Brot den Zwölfen brechen	I saw the Lord break the bread for the Twelve
und ahnungsvolle Liebesworte sprechen.	and speak foreboding words of love.
Weit über ihre Häupter lud die Erde	Far above their heads he invited
er ein mit allumarmender Gebärde.	the earth with an all-embracing gesture.
Es sprach der Geist: Sieh auf! Ein Linnen schweben	The Spirit said: Look up! I saw a linen floating
sah ich und vielen schon das Mahl gegeben,	and many already given the meal,
da breiteten sich unter tausend Händen	when the tables were spread under a
die Tische, doch verdämmerten die Enden	thousand hands, but the ends were obscured
in grauen Nebel; drin auf bleichen Stufen	in gray fog; inside on pale steps
Kummergestalten saßen ungerufen.	sat sorrowful creatures not called.
Es sprach der Geist: Sieh auf! Die Luft umblaute	The Spirit said: Look up! The blue air enclosed
ein unermeßlich Mahl, soweit ich schaute,	an immeasurable meal as far as I could see,
da sprangen reich die Brunnen auf des Lebens,	the fountains of life sprang richly,
da streckte keine Schale sich vergebens,	no bowl was held out in vain,
da lag das ganze Volk auf vollen Garben,	the entire people lay upon full sheaves,
kein Platz war leer und keiner durfte darben.	no place was empty, and none allowed to starve.
—K. F. Meyer	—K. F. Meyer

2. Cf. above, Karl Barth, "From One Plate," pp. 15–18; and "A Strange Misunderstanding," pp. 19–20. Between these two articles in the Congregational Newsletter is inserted the poem by C. F. Meyer; the "Edifying Washing Thoughts" stands between "A Strange Misunderstanding" and "On the Two Poems."

3. Hieronymous Annoni, *Erbauliche Wasch-Gedanken, zu singen nach der Melodey des 100. Psalms* (Basel: zu finden im Bischoffischen Buchladen, 1758). Reprinted in *Hieronymus Annoni: Ein Abriß seines Lebens sammt einer Auswahl seiner Lieder*, ed. Christoph Johannes Riggenbach (Basel: Verlag christlicher Schriften, 1870), 150–52. The reprint in the Congregational Newsletter offers the text according to the Riggenbach edition, with its orthography: Barth's copy served the typesetter as a template, into which

the well-disposed reader think of his poetry? For many it is understandable and enjoyable without further interpretation. The wish—

Möchten doch die Wäscherinnen	May the washerwomen
Bei der Arbeit Gutes sinnen!	Ponder good thoughts as they work!

Barth had also entered the newly appended explanation of the term *bauchen* [see below]. The following reprint corrects the minor orthographic deviations of the Genevan typesetter according to the Riggenbach template, and it defers to the 1758 printing to correct an oversight that had been passed on from the Riggenbach template to the Congregational Newsletter (in stanza 2, instead of "Wie," "Wir" appears erroneously):

Erbauliche Waschgedanken Isa. 1:16; John 13:8	**Edifying Washing Thoughts** Isa. 1:16; John 13:8
Möchten doch die Wäscherinnen Bei der Arbeit Gutes sinnen! O sie trügen mit dem Lohn Auch die Himmelsfrucht davon.	May the washerwomen Ponder good thoughts as they work! O would they carry with the reward the celestial fruit of it as well.
Beten, Singen, Waschen, Baden Ist der Weg zu Davids Gnaden (Ps. 51). Schwadern in dem Sündenkoth Ist der Weg zur Höllennoth.	Praying, singing, washing, bathing Is the way to David's grace (Ps. 51). Wading in sin's excrement Is the path to hell's distress.
1. Wir arme Weiber haben nun Mit einer Wasche viel zu thun. Der Leib empfindts, wir werden matt: Wohl dem, der Gott im Herzen hat!	1. We poor women are now Being kept busy with a wash. The body feels it, we become dull: Happy is she who has God in her heart!
2. Der Zeug, den man jetzt säubern soll, Ist schwarz und freilich unratsvoll. So sind wir alle von Natur: Wie nöthig wär auch uns die Cur.	2. The stuff that should be cleaned Is dark and full of dirt. So are we all by nature, How necessary then, is the cure also for us.
3. Nun waschen wir es schön und weiß; Doch macht ihm erst die Lauge heiß: Sie dringt durch jedes Fädemlein Und bauchts* von Ruß und Flecken rein.	3. Now let's wash it nice and white; But first the lye makes it hot: It permeates through every little thread And submerges* it to remove soot and stains.
4. Die Lauge, so uns beizen muß Heißt insgemein die wahre Buß, Wo Gottes Zorn das Herze preßt Und Sünd und Schulden fühlen läßt.	4. The lye must stain us so This is the true penance, Where God's wrath presses the heart And makes you feel sin and guilt.
5. Wie findt der Mensch sich hier so schwarz! Die Erbsünd klebt ihm an wie Harz, Das Herze klopft in Schuldennoth, Man weint und fürchtet gar den Tod.	5. How we find ourselves so dark here! Original sin sticks to us like resin, The heart beats under the affliction of guilt, We cry and utterly fear death.
6. Die Leinwand spinnt und webt und schlicht't** Und baucht und wascht sich selber nicht. Nein, es bringt eine fremde Hand Das Werk so nach und nach zu Stand.	6. The linen does not spin or weave or starch** or submerge or wash itself. No, it takes a strange hand To get the work done step-by-step.
7. Hier faßt man alles Stück für Stück, Kein Stücklein bleibet je zurück. Man salbts mit Seife, klopft und reibt, Bis nichts unsaubers überbleibt.	7. Here one takes it all, piece by piece, No little bit is left behind. One anoints it with soap, pounds, and rubs, Until nothing remains unclean.
8. So wirket auch, der Schöpfer heißt, In seinem Sohn, durch seinen Geist, Und macht bald langsam, bald geschwind, Nachdem ers gut und nöthig findt.	8. So the one called Creator also works In his Son, through his Spirit, And goes now slow, now fast, As he finds it good and necessary.

*[Barth's note:] In Basel, *bauchen* [bending] means placing the laundry in hot water.
** [Barth's note, reproduced from Riggenbach's note for the Congregational Newsletter:] That is, proofs.

—applies as well today as it did then, in Geneva as well as in Muttenz, for washerwomen as well for all others. Others will think, "A bit strange! Here and there a little tasteless!"

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9. Da greift ers immer ernstlich an.
Das Werk ist nicht so flugs gethan,
Der Sünder selber kanns auch nicht;
Durch Gott allein wirds ausgericht't.

10. Doch hält man wie die Leinwand still
Dem, der uns neugebären will,
So geht es ohne Fehlen gut
Mit Leib und Seel, mit Sinn und Muth.

11. O große Jesuskraft und Treu!
Sie macht sogar das Alte neu,
Das Schwache stark, das Schwarze weiß.
Wer sagt genugsam Dank und Preis?

12. Ist denn der Zeug genug gespühlt
Und auch beim Brunnen abgekühlt,
So wird er an die Sonn gebracht,
Die vollends weiß und trocken macht.

13. So, wenn der Mensch erneuert ist,
So wird ihm auch die Noth versüßt
Und auf den Schuld- und Sündenschmerz
Scheint ihm die Gnadensonn ins Herz.

14. Jetzt sieht er erst die Wahrheit ein,
Wie Gott so groß, wie er so klein;
Jetzt findt er erst in Gottes Wort
Die Kraft, die Ohr und Herz durchbohrt.

15. Jetzt merkt er erst, wie Christi Blut
So groß' und süße Wunder thut;
Jetzt fühlt er erst an Leib und Seel
Des heil'gen Geistes Zucht und Oel.

16. Jetzt steht er erst im Gnadenstand
Und lebt im heil'gen Liebesbrand;
Jetzt spricht er erst recht, was er spricht.
Wer unrein ist, der kennt dies nicht.

17. O Sonne der Gerechtigkeit,
O wär ich doch auch schon erneut,
Von deinem Gnadenschein bestrahlt,
Lebendig, weiß und roth bemalt!

18. Zuletzt, wenn mans zum Kasten trägt,
Wirds ordentlich zurecht gelegt;
Und wenn es dann noch Falten hat,
Macht mans mit Bügeleisen glatt.

19. So, wann der Herr sein Werk vollbracht
Und er den Menschen neu gemacht;
So trägt er ihn der sel'gen Ruh
In seiner Arch und Tempel zu.

20. Wer sich nun hier zu schicken weiß,
Dem macht nicht Tod noch Hölle heiß:
Er fährt im Glauben fröhlich hin,
Denn Sterben ist nun sein Gewinn.

9. He always undertakes it seriously.
The work is not done immediately,
Neither can the sinner do it himself;
By God alone will he be made right.

10. But one keeps quiet like the linen
Before the one who wants to regenerate us,
In this way it goes well without mistakes
With body and soul, with purpose and courage.

11. O great power and faithfulness of Jesus!
It even makes the old new,
The weak strong, the dark bright.
Who can give enough thanks and praise?

12. Once the stuff is washed enough
And also cooled down at the well,
It is brought into the sun,
Which makes it completely white and dry.

13. In this way, when we are renewed,
Even affliction becomes sweet to us.
And upon the pain of guilt and sin
Shines the sun of mercy into our heart.

14. Now we first see the truth,
How God is so great, how we are so small;
Now we find first in God's Word
The power that pierces the ear and the heart.

15. Only now do we realize how Christ's blood
Does such great and sweet miracles;
Now we first feel in body and soul
The Holy Spirit's discipline and oil.

16. Now only do we stand in the state of grace.
And live in the holy fire of love;
Now we first say what we say rightly,
Whoever is unclean does not know this.

17. O sun of righteousness,
Oh, would that I also be renewed already,
Illuminated by the rays of your grace,
Alive, clad in white and red!

18. Finally, when one carries it to the wardrobe,
It is straightened out orderly;
And if it still has wrinkles,
One smooths it out with an iron.

19. Thus, when the Lord finished his work
And he made us new;
He carries us to the blessed rest
Of his ark and temple.

20. Whoever behaves properly here,
Fears neither death nor hell;
He wanders cheerfully in faith,
For dying is now his gain.

If I have nonetheless dared to serve up this bitter fare from days gone by, it was because it is healthy for all of us to learn to understand and appreciate the piety of the clever people who lived *before us,* without shrugging our shoulders and smiling contemptuously, even if they should seem very strange to us. Theologians call such understanding *history of religion*. But those who are not theologians have just as much need in this area to learn to think *sympathetically*, that is, to learn to think in terms of the history of religion. And whoever goes a little deeper will not find it so difficult in this case. Annoni was a Pietist, of course, and today some person or other is already overcome by a mild horror at the sound of the word. But the Pietists at that time were just those who demanded that a right piety must be *life*, and a right life must be *piety*. It may seem to us, by and large, that the translation from one to the other, from the orthodox dogmatics of those days into the language of the laundry room and vice versa, is far too literal here. We will nonetheless need to find Annoni's *intention* commendable. We would say some things—even a great number—differently, and we would rather not draw some of his comparisons. The main thing is clear: we tell ourselves *that* what is transitory, if we understand it correctly, is a symbol for what is not transitory;[4] *that* we stand at our work cheerfully and as wholesome people, everyone at their own work, cheerfully and completely, precisely *because* we know—

Die Welt mit ihrem Gram und Glücke,	The world with its grief and happiness,
Will ich, ein Pilger, frohbereit	will I, a pilgrim, joyfully
Betreten nur wie eine Brücke,	Walk upon only as a bridge,
Zu Dir Herr, übern Strom der Zeit.[5]	To thee, Lord, across the river of time.

21. Hingegen, wo man ungestalt, Hat freilich noch der Tod Gewalt: Sein Stachel sticht, sein Feuer brennt. Wie mancher hat es schon bekennt!	21. However, where one is misshapen, Death still has power, of course: Its thorn pricks, its fire burns. How many have already felt it!
22. Mein Schmelzer! nun so bitt ich dich: Bewirke hier, vollende mich, Daß ich fein fröhlich, rein und schön Kann in die Ewigkeiten gehn.	22. My Smelter! Now I beseech thee: Work here, complete me, That I, fine and cheerful, pure and beautiful, Can enter into eternity.

4. See Johann W. von Goethe, *Faust I & II*, trans. Stuart Atkins (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), 305 [Act 5, lines 12,104–5].

5. Joseph von Eichendorff, "Morgengebet," stanza 3, in *Werke*, vol. 1, *Gedichte, Versepen, Dramen, Autobiographisches* (Munich: Winkler, 1970), 265–66.

Having Died with Christ
1910

Beginning with issue No. 35, dated March 10, 1910, the leadership of the Congregational Newsletter passed over to Reverend Walter. However, he left it to the assistant pastor [Barth] to write the passion meditation for this issue. Two weeks later Assistant Pastor Barth also gave the Good Friday sermon (on Hebrews 12:1–3). Together with the sermon on James 1:13–18—given by Barth on February 13, 1910, as part of his series on the Epistle of James—these two passion texts play a role in the theological "negotiations" (Letter of March 18, 1910) in which Karl Barth engages during these weeks with Wilhelm Loew. Barth sends the two sermons to his college friend on May 1, 1910, "for serious consideration and appraisal of the view of reconciliation presented in them," and adds, "See in addition the Newsletter article 'Having Died with X [Christ].'" What is especially interesting, Barth further explains that in his confirmation classes he had "latched on to the beginning of Romans 6 . . . regarding the death and resurrection of Jesus and their meaning for us, . . . even more strongly and more one-sidedly than in the sermon. There I find all the material for a doctrine of reconciliation that corresponds to our ethical-spiritual view, and yet does not become a mere parergon, as is often the case with the modernists."[1] *There seems to begin here a line of independent preoccupation with the Epistle to the Romans, which first continued in the section on Paul in the "Biographical Sketches from the History of the Christian Religion" (see below, pp. 59–63). It is more clearly accessible for us in the following small passion meditation on Romans 6:8 than in Barth's preparations for his classes that have been preserved.*[2]

Rom. 6:8. But if we have died with Christ,
we believe that we will also live with him.

The message of Good Friday holds the content of Christianity. Not because the Bible and dogmatics demand it, but because in fact all serious life-experience finds its beginning and its completion in this way or that in the cross of Jesus. That's how it was and that's how it is. But it is equally undeniable that the message causes difficulties for many serious Christians. Some have taken offense at this but have nevertheless adopted its living content [*Lebensinhalt*] with open eyes and a willing heart and have thus, without knowing or wanting it, become bearers and preachers of the cross of Christ. But there are far more for whom the offense taken at the message is an obstacle to participation in the living content it holds. It is said that the so-called modern thinking is to blame

1. Cf. Karl Barth, *Konfirmandenunterricht*, 1909–1921, ed. Jürgen Fangmeier (Gesamtausgabe, §1) (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1987), 48–49, fn. 100d.
2. Cf. Barth, *Konfirmandenunterricht*, 48–49, fn. 100d.

for the fact that there are so many of them, and some "resolute" [*entschieden*] Christians[3] are then willing to apply Paul's word to them, that the word of the cross is foolishness to those who are perishing [1 Cor. 1:18]. But that explanation and this judgment do not correspond to the seriousness of the matter. Both are incorrect because [they are] superficial. They awaken or confirm the prejudice that Christianity and the cross of Christ are a dogma, to put it plainly: a proposition that one must "believe" in order to be saved. And what matters then is either to accept the old dogma as true despite modern thinking or to reinterpret the old dogma, that is, to turn it into a modern dogma. The difficulty mentioned earlier, however, is precisely that serious, honest people are naturally reluctant to accept dogmas, meaning propositions, whether old or new, as a means of becoming partakers in God. For they naturally tell themselves that by such acceptance, as little is changed in their good or bad relationship with God as if they were to begin a pilgrimage to Lourdes or Einsiedeln. The one like the other is *self-made* [religion] and therefore untruthful religion. The religion of truthfulness, by contrast, is always something *gifted* to us. The gift is the freedom of the inner life from sin, affliction, and death. In Christian ideas, formerly called dogmas, we speak about this inner life, but they are not the thing itself any more than the telegraph wire is electricity, nor can they establish or replace it, any more than you can make electricity out of so many wires. So it is with all the ideas that one usually counts among the Christian dogmas. So it is too with the idea of Good Friday that Jesus died on the cross for our sake, in which Christians of all times have rightly seen the core and heart of all thoughts about faith.

The Bible passage that precedes these lines is intended to guide us to celebrate Good Friday rightly. It tells the willing and the unwilling, the old-fashioned and the fashionable Christians, you dear friends all together, that what matters is not that you manage to "believe" any old or new doctrine of the death of Christ, but that you learn to "die with Christ." He lived to fulfill God's will and out of love for his siblings, and he died because he wanted to do both not partially, but completely. He gave his "life" for the sake of life. You stand before the content of the gospel *at that moment* when you become aware of this remarkable fact in your innermost heart. But in this awareness you realize that such complete fulfillment of the will of God and such complete love should and may become mine. The direction your life then takes is the direction of Christ's way of the cross. It begins with the serious decision, "Father, not *my* will but *yours* be done" [Luke 22:42], and it leads to the surrender of "life" for the sake of life. And the more seriously and truly you walk *this* path, the more seriously and truly *life* will be given to you in *faith*, the more deeply your small existence becomes anchored in the ground of eternity. Faith and life are not there once and for all, but they grow, and so a Christian exists not in having become, but in becoming.[4] But precisely for this reason Jesus' death

3. For information about the "Jugendbund für Entschiedenes Christentum [Young People's Society of Christian Endeavour]," cf. *RGG*[1], vol. 3, cols. 854 and 525; and M. Müller, "Jugendvereinigungen und Jugendwerke: I. Ev. Jugendvereinigungen," in *RGG*[3], vol. 3, cols. 1045–49, esp., col. 1047.

4. Cf. Martin Luther, "Defense and Explanation of All the Articles (1521)," trans. Charles M. Jacobs, in *LW* 32:24: "This life, therefore, is not godliness but the process of becoming godly, not health but getting well, not being but becoming . . . ; we are not now what we shall be, but we are on the way." —Martin Luther, *Die erste Vorlesung über den Galaterbrief* (1516/17), in WA 57.2: 102, lines 15–18: "Ex

and life remain the ever-new source of our growing and becoming. What *he* has done is done once and for all.

Noch steht in wunderbarem Glanze	Still stands here, in wondrous glory,
Der heilige Geliebte hier;	The loved, the holy, with his own;
Gerührt von seinem Dornenkranze	By his thorn-crown and faithful story,
Und seiner Treue weinen wir.	Our hearts are stirred—we weep and moan.
Ein jeder Mensch ist uns willkommen,	Welcome whom from sleep will waken,
Der seine Hand mit uns ergreift,	And grasp his hand of sacrifice!
Und, in sein Herz mit aufgenommen,	Into his heart with us he's taken,
Zur Frucht des Paradieses reift.[5]	To grow a fruit of paradise.[5]

May we believe *this* on Good Friday and every day.

quibus patet, quomodo vita christiana non stet in esse, sed in fieri . . ." [From which it is clear that the Christian life does not stand accomplished, but is always {in process of} becoming] —*Annotationes in aliquot capita Matthaei* (1538), in WA 38:568, line 37: "Christianus enim, non est in facto, sed in fieri . . ." [For a Christian is not something perfect, but rather in {a process of} becoming]. Martin Rade comments on this sentence as follows: "A much-quoted word. Literally: 'The Christian is not in that which has become (or, in having become), but in becoming.'" (Martin Rade, *Luther in Worten aus seinen Werken*, Die Klassiker der Religion, vols. 10–11 [Berlin: Hutten-Verlag, 1917], 311, fn.).

5. Novalis, *Geistliche Lieder*, no. 1: "Was wär ich ohne dich gewesen?," stanza 10, in Novalis, *Schriften: Die Werke Friedrich von Hardenbergs*, ed. P. Kluckhohn and R. Samuel, vol. 1, *Das dichterische Werk*, 3rd ed. (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1977), 161, lines 73–80. [ET: Novalis, "Spiritual Songs of Novalis," no. 1, "Without thee, what were all my being?," in *Exotics: A Translation of the Spiritual Songs of Novalis, the Hymn-Book of Luther, and Other Poems from the German and Italian*, by George MacDonald (London: Strahan & Co., 1876), 6.]

Did Jesus Live?
A Retrospective Easter Meditation
1910

As he reports with a slightly ironic undertone to Martin Rade, Karl Barth read the Reichsbote *[Imperial Courier] at his "Christian lunch table everyday as Christian spiritual food."*[1] *The* Reichsbote *was the newspaper of the conservative Christian middle class in Germany, with whose questionable fighting tactics—as judged from a Christian ethical perspective—the* Christliche Welt *had again and again dealt critically. It was through the reporting of the* Reichsbote *that Barth first became aware of the Berlin Assembly of February 20, 1910, which set out to protest the denial of the historicity of Jesus that had recently been issued by A. Drews and others at the Berlin Religion Conference of the German Monist League on January 31 and February 1, 1910, and that had provoked a resounding response.*[2] *The fact that numerous special reprints of the report from the* Reichsbote *also later appeared in Geneva may have given Barth cause to discuss the question in a "Retrospective Easter Meditation," which basically follows the lines of Herrmann's Christology. Barth's detailed letter to Wilhelm Loew of April 30(–May 1), 1910, also provides the lively concrete background to this text. It is, in addition, generally illuminating for the inner development of Barth and his theology.*

Barth reports to Loew that he has "worked through Melanchthon's first . . . Loci with great pleasure" and is "now at Calvin's Institutes of 1559": "The difference from Melanchthon and Luther in the formulations of the questions is quite striking. Here the medieval scholasticism, there the curious mixed culture of the late Renaissance. The discussion, for example, of the equation 'nature = God,' which Calvin explains as the possible assertion of a pious spirit, is remarkable." This observation leads Barth to a cardinal dogmatic problem: It is not about "exclusivity, as became clear to me again yesterday evening upon rereading Green Henry by the Feuerbachian Gottfried Keller. Yet," he adds in order to distance himself from Loew, "I do not call this extension of the religious . . . way of seeing an extension of the concept of religion, or the Christian concept of religion, which for me remains quite identical, even though I unhesitatingly include characters like Schiller and Goethe in it. We must reject Rade's rejection of 'unconscious Christianity.'" "Conscious Christians"—with assent to a dogmatics—may be rare indeed. "With the others there is only the inner religious, concept-independent Christian factuality—to a greater or lesser degree, of course—the reality that Herrmann describes as the experience of Jesus and his effects. I must affirm that it can get

1. *Bw. R.*, 76–77.
2. A summary of the "Debate about the Historicity of Jesus" is given by Albert Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, ed. John Bowden, trans. W. Montgomery, J. R. Coates, Susan Cupitt, and John Bowden (London: SCM Press, 2000), 391–436. On Barth's reckoning with the "*Husarenritt* [daring act]" of Arthur Drews, cf. also below pp. 146–47, fn. 134; and moreover pp. 112, 134.

along with Feuerbachian philosophy as well"—"the dear God must become greater for us grumbling theologians than our classroom wisdom can dream, that's all."

When Barth continues the letter the next day, he resumes by ironically qualifying himself with regard to this "full-throated remark." But his "Easter Meditation" also makes it clear that for him Herrmann's "factuality" really is the basis, the starting point and the endpoint of his theology. Barth is well aware of the controversial position he is taking. But he also sees himself strengthened by the fact that in his treatment of the question of the historicity of Jesus, as he writes to his friend further on, he finds his "encyclopedic attempt of last summer . . . a proved and welcome 'starting position.'" Barth thereby alludes to a "scientific struggle conducted in theses," over which he and Loew had fought with Wilhelm Heitmüller in July 1909 and which, among other things, concerned "our views on a more suitable organization of NT theology" (letters to his parents on July 13 and July 21, 1909). A decade later, on August 22, 1919, Barth reminds his friend once again of this Marburg discussion with Heitmüller and asks whether, with his book on Romans, he has now been "thrown to Godet and Schlatter or positioned . . . as a defector? Or do you recognize the line along which I was led with all sorts of detours from that program for the renewal of NT theology that we jointly presented to Heitmüller in 1909 to this incursion into the sacred field of history?"

The weight that Barth continued in 1919 to attach to that programmatic discussion also says something indirectly about the wider significance of this small occasional text of 1910. As the letter to Loew of April 30–May 1, 1910, reveals, Barth is well aware that his article in the Congregational Newsletter must be "a provocation" for Heitmüller. He also sees a distance between himself and Jülicher: "Only slowly does the night flee from the valleys"; in his booklet[3] Jülicher had offered "sincere but insignificant material on this point." (On the other hand, the statement of the Bremen Protestant Association[4] was "in principle welcome and appropriate, but toward the end unclear, incautious, and general, precisely with regard to the main point.")

So it could not surprise Barth that he found only a mixed reception for his article when he visited Marburg from July 7–14, 1910. On July 17 he informed his parents: "Our Congregational Newsletter is more respected in Marburg than I had thought. Even in Rade's house, which is full of papers, it is actually read completely by Herr and Frau Professor. Yes, even Jülicher, whom I was also with, took note of my remarks on the Drews case; although he and Heitmüller, these historical minds, found my solution to the Gordian knot more Alexander-like than inadequate, while Herrmann approved of it." Oscillating in a peculiar way between assent and disapproval was the judgment of Paul Wernle, whom Barth had met during the summer holidays, on August 24, 1910, in Langenbruck. Barth had apparently made known to Wernle his thoughts regarding the Passion and Easter, as they are summarized in his two contributions to the Congregational Newsletter, "Having Died with Christ" and "Did Jesus Live?" On October 7, 1910, Wernle responded to being sent Barth's "Easter Meditation." He thanked Barth very much for the "Congregational Newsletter, which shows me that you are engaged in such wonderful and fruitful work. The article about whether Jesus lived is, upon rereading, not as bad as I previously thought; I can understand everything very well. Whether the readers understand it too, I do not know. Afterward, however, it struck me as curious that you argued with me in the morning about the meaning of the death of

3. See fn. 5 below.
4. *Christliche Welt* 24 (1910), no. 17 (April 28, 1910): 402–5.

Jesus and in the afternoon raised the question of how things would be if Jesus had not lived. My mind cannot piece it together; that is, it certainly could, but it does not want to, and says to itself, there's something lacking somewhere." (Compare also p. 92!)

Meanwhile, the Genevans had seen themselves "edified" by the article. One reader even said that "I should have printed the entire article in bold; this is how pleased he was about the tenor of the thing" (letter to Loew on April 30–May 1, 1910).

This is an odd question, but in recent years it has been asked by various scholars and answered, in all seriousness, with "No." As far as I can see, for the time being it is only the theologians and the circles closest to them who are dealing with the matter, and thus there ought to be no immediate reason to present it in the Congregational Newsletter. Yet the observation has already been made that such thrilling news from the world of real and alleged scholarship tends to become popular in wider circles just at the point when higher experts are filing it away and finally laying it to rest. This is what happened to the bold hypothesis of Feuerbach at the time, to the coarse materialism of the older stock, to Darwin, to the droll monistic philosophy of Ernst Haeckel. So, here too, it will not be long before our monists and freethinkers will exploit the matter in their own way for their fresh, cheerful fight "against obscuring and enslaving, against hypocrisy and the deception of priests," to use their tasteful way of speaking. Let the reader be advised.

This new idea is apparently one of those that we call "earth-shattering." If Jesus did not live, all Christianity is a two-thousand-year-old error. This, at least, is the claim being made from both sides. What shall we say about it? In the face of such "earth-shattering" attacks on the Christian faith, a person can do one of two things.

On the one hand, you give proof to the contrary. In this way, when Haeckel and others wanted to eradicate the dear God, Christian theologians and natural scientists got together and, through many lectures and articles, proved that this eradication was a careless unscientific overreach and that the knowledge of nature, taken seriously, in fact leads back to God. That was good. Concerning today's question also, the experts have already stepped onto the scene with massive evidence to the contrary. They have shown that, according to all principles of healthy historiography, Jesus can in no way be a fabrication of his followers, as has been claimed. In all kinds of details, the tradition stemming from him may be uncertain; [but] the fact of his life, of his outer work, and of his death under the emperor Tiberius belongs to the safest of the safe. It's a good thing that they have proved that to us, and we are happy to accept it.[5]

5. [Barth's note:] Those who are interested or would be interested in further details should be made aware of two short essays that are also suitable in other ways for awakening and furthering a historical understanding of the beginnings of Christianity. Both have the same title: "Did Jesus live?" One is by Prof. D. Adolf Jülicher in Marburg, the other by Prof. D. Hermann von Soden in Berlin. Both are available from Burkhardt [a bookshop], 2 place du Molard, Geneva. By contrast, a special reprint from the *Reichsbote* that has found its way to Geneva in numerous copies is unfortunate. It contains a report on the religious protest that took place at the Busch Circus in Berlin on February 20, 1910. The genuine "Berliner" pompous manner in which the matter was handled there seems to me to produce more confusion than clarity. Protesting and demonstrating does not prove anything, at least not here in Switzerland! [Adolf Jülicher; *Hat Jesus gelebt?* (Marburg: N. G. Elwert, 1910); Hermann von Soden, *Hat Jesus gelebt? Aus den geschichtlichen Urkunden beantwortet* (Berlin: Protestantischer Schriftenvertrieb,

But it would be a fatal thing if, in such attacks on the foundation of faith, we had to wait for the counterevidence of the scholars, as valuable as it is to us, if we had to suspend faith, as it were, until we had clearly understood the historical reasons that speak for the existence of Jesus. That would mean erecting a bronze statue on a wooden pedestal, and that cannot be a good thing to do.

Hence we say: The foundation of our faith stands and exists *independent* of all proofs and counterproofs. The evidence of science gives us a certainty that remains only the highest probability. The certainty of faith, on the other hand, may be compared to the certainty of the fact that we breathe and therefore live. But, with that, something else is implied: The foundation of faith that is now being disputed cannot be proved, and what can be proved is not the foundation of our faith. So the wild and daring[6] abolition of the dear God has always appeared to true believers as a bellowing at the moon. It is a good thing if the bellowers are chased away from us, but even without that happening, we are not afraid for the moon for a moment. So it stands also with today's question.

What can be denied or proved is the fact that once a man named Jesus lived and taught and did great deeds, that he died on the cross, and that immediately thereafter a community of his followers came into being. But this fact is not at all the foundation of our faith. Whatever Jesus has in common with Alexander the Great and Napoleon, the external reality of his existence, is what faith is least of all interested in. It may be valuable to us as a frame; [but] the picture is something else. Faith rests on foundations in relation to which the pros and cons of the scholars have no validity.

For faith is not an acceptance and a taking as true of external facts, but confidence in and obedience to what is "not seen" [Heb. 11:1], namely, to the living God, who called us "out of darkness into his marvelous light" [1 Pet. 2:9]. According to Melanchthon's word, such an acceptance would be a "cool opinion," one possible even for the indifferent and godless.[7] Faith, however, is the immediate living contact with the living One, forgiveness of sins, and eternal life.[8] Faith is a mystery, and it is gifted to us.

The foundation of faith is Jesus. Therefore, the kind of confidence that makes us free from evil and the kind of obedience that makes us free for good are possible and real because something like the life of Jesus was possible and real among human beings. But when I say this, I mean something that is necessarily beyond all academic discussion. The "life of Jesus" that is the foundation of faith or that for us means God's revelation is not the series of external facts handed down about him. That would be the framework about which the dispute has now arisen. Rather, the foundation of faith is the personal inner life of

1910); lp. [authorial byline], "Jesus lebt!," in *Der Reichsbote*, year 38, no. 44, 3rd Supplement (February 22, 1910): 1 (col. 1)–2 (col. 2)].

6. See the refrain from Theodor Körners poem "Lützows wilde Jagd [Lützow's Wild Hunt]": "This is Lützow's wild and daring hunt."

7. Philip Melanchthon, *Loci communes theologici*, trans. Lowell J. Satre and Wilhelm Pauck, in *Melanchthon and Bucer*, ed. Wilhelm Pauck (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2006), 98: "This faith concerning creation is no frigid opinion, but a very lively recognition"; and 100: "For the ungodly do not believe but hold to a frigid opinion"; cf. 97.

8. See the third article of the Apostles' Creed ["I believe in the Holy Spirit"].

Jesus.[9] By this, I understand his human character, which presents itself to us as complete obedience to God, as complete love for his brothers, and therefore as complete self-denial, which does not stop even at death, because the way to life goes through death. When, in view of this character, it becomes clear to us what *God is* and what we are to *become*, then we *believe*, then we *have* the assurance and anchor that we need to become free, joyful people. This assurance is neither weakened nor strengthened by what the scholars have to say for or against the certainty of the *external* life of Jesus. Even the people who today count Jesus among those who never existed, as if he were the imagined hero of a legend or of a fairy tale, even they cannot avoid the fact that his peculiar character, even if they merely consider it to be "imagined," *has been a reality* since the days of the apostles, that people *have received* again and again the assurance that God calls them his dear children, who "seek first the kingdom of God" [Matt. 6:33], and for whom therefore "all things must work together for the best" [see Rom. 8:28]. You may think, "If it is proved to me that Jesus never lived, then I must regard such assurance as a deception." But look, the disciples of Jesus may have spoken to each other in just this way on the evening of Good Friday and on the quiet Saturday. You can read about it, for example, in Luke 24:18–24. They had also come to know Jesus without even asking themselves the question whether this wonderful life was also truth, because the answer was self-evident. But [earlier], when they saw him die on the cross, they also thought that the assurance they had received was false: his death seemed to them irrefutable proof of this. But they were told afterward, and they themselves realized, that in this view they were "fools and slow of heart" [Luke 24:25]. We, too, would be this if we surrendered to the evidence of the scholars or waited for evidence to the contrary, both of which might be as irrefutable as possible. The Easter faith is the certainty of the truth in the revelation of God that came to us through Jesus. This certainty is sure in itself, eternal in itself. It has always been the way that external appearances have seldom spoken for it and have often rather spoken against it. *Only* the Easter faith that knows how to say "*Nevertheless*" is real, Christian faith. But where this Easter faith is, there *is* the truth, namely, *the* truth that God, through *the* life of Jesus, which no science can erase or prove, makes even us into living human beings. But this truth is the ultimate truth, unmistakable in itself, and there is no higher truth that might have to ground it. If the new view that Jesus never lived makes us stronger and deeper in such faith, then we can rejoice that it has occurred. For even the strongest negation can do nothing *against* the truth, but only *for* the truth [2 Cor. 13:8].

And now here are a few words from the yarn weaver and poet *Gerhard Tersteegen*, which may perhaps serve to make clearer to one person or another what this is about:

> Alas, that so many hungry souls have so long allowed themselves to be supported and fed on dry, feeble husk-and-shadow figures of the truth, in which the mind can find no solid or abiding satisfaction and peace, since in them

9. For the train of thought characteristic of the theology of Wilhelm Herrmann, cf., for example, *The Communion of the Christian with God: A Discussion in Agreement with the View of Luther*, trans. J. Sandys Stanyon (London: Williams & Norgate, 1895), 54–63, esp. 58–60; and Wilhelm Herrmann, *Systematic Theology*, trans. Nathaniel Micklem and Kenneth A. Saunders (New York: Macmillan Co., 1927), 49–52.

the essential central truths of the inward life of a Christian, still by God's grace to be experienced here in this pilgrim way, are, where not scorned, yet so little realized and known in their beauty and preciousness that sympathy can never sufficiently lament it. Alas, human beings search far and wide and with many an effort for a treasure that they cannot properly find; yet they could have it so easily and so intimately, if only by God's help they would give themselves a chance of entering into the appropriate preparedness or disposition of the heart.

Come, O souls called by God to His pure service of the Spirit! Let us in the Lord's strength rid ourselves and let ourselves be rid of all visible things, of the senses, of reason, and of all idiosyncrasies, in order that, as properly secluded, simplified, pure creatures, we may enter into our spirit and soul-ground, and there find, behold, and love God, who is also a Spirit, and enjoy his "peace, . . . which surpasses all understanding" [Phil. 4:7].[10]

That is Christian faith, nothing else. And we close with E. M. Arndt:

Das ist das Licht der Höhe,	This is the light from heights,
Das ist mein Jesus Christ,	This is my Jesus Christ,
Der Fels, auf dem ich stehe,	The rock on which I stand,
Der unvergänglich ist,	That is immortal, sure,
Der nimmermehr kann wanken,	That nevermore can falter,
Der Heiland und der Hort,	The Savior and the Refuge,
Die Leuchte der Gedanken,	The Light of all my thoughts,
Die leuchtet hier und dort.[11]	That shines both here and there.

10. Gerhard Tersteegen, *Vorbericht an den Gott suchenden und Gott liebenden Leser*, in *Des gottseligen Arbeiters im Weinberge des Herrn: Gerhard Tersteegen's gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 1, *Geistliches Blumengärtlein* (Stuttgart: L. F. Rieger, 1844), 8–9.

11. Stanza 5 of the song "Ich weiß, woran ich glaube," *GERS* (1891), 235 (*EKG* 278, stanza 5; *GERS* [1952], 268, stanza 2).

Confirmation Evenings
1910

Barth's article in the Congregational Newsletter of May 30, 1910, provides vivid detail as to the purpose of the Geneva confirmation evenings and his motives for establishing them. It is signed, "Paul Walter, pastor. Karl Barth, assistant pastor." Yet, the tone of the "cosigned" piece at once reveals the author to be the latter. Accompanying the article is an endorsement from the president of the church council of the congregation:

"With great satisfaction I received news that the pastors of our congregation intend to set up so-called 'confirmation evenings,' in which the young people will be further engaged and instructed through lectures and discussion, and which have the added purpose of maintaining friendship and connection among our youth.

"I would like to strongly encourage both the young people and their parents to attend these evenings. We hope it will have a good effect both upon them and upon our congregation."

A. G. Dubach, *President of the Church Council*.

Barth writes to his parents on May 30, 1910, regarding both texts—and also regarding the first evening: "First off, I'm now getting the confirmation evenings going, or rather, trying to get them going. You'll soon read an announcement in the Congregational Newsletter, whose author you will recognize by its style. Dubach's approval is less a tribute to the cause than to Dubach himself; in its current form, by the way, it is the vigorous revamping of a completely useless original, at which everyone would have laughed. —I started with the boys eight days ago, and, to my astonishment, I managed to talk about mission for the full 1¼ hours. Since I first had to produce my own thoughts about the mission imperative, and so on, ex nihilo, at least the danger was avoided that I would present them with seasoned apologetics." Of the other group and of the impending first evening with the "girls and women," Barth writes: "Some women who have nothing to do with the confirmands also wish to come, and, of course, we turn no one away. Now all that matters is that I find the appropriate tone and material. First, I want to show them Socrates. If it goes well, then I will also take a chance with Plato. Those are, of course, only suggestions, given the audience. But the practical materials that immediately suggest themselves are too tempting to pass up, especially since a number of adults and other interested people are expected to come. Afterward, I will go with a leap to Paul." That Barth's "Biographical Sketches from the History of the Christian Religion" begin with Socrates and Plato—and that Jesus has no place of his own in

them—seems to Barth, in this letter, not to require any explanation.[1] *He does, at any rate, explain that he is leaving "the OT" "aside for the time being," "since it has just been dealt with in detail in the classroom."*

Barth's letters to family and friends provide a multifaceted picture of the progress of the two series. Together with the announcements in the Congregational Newsletter, they enable one to piece together the complete series of dates and topics. Occasionally, especially when the discussion of a topic filled multiple evenings, one can only guess at the more precise organization of the material. A calendar overview is given at the end of this introduction.

As the aforementioned letter suggests, Barth first had to work out the "Survey of Protestant Mission" himself. In a letter to his grandmother dated May 3, 1910, Barth puts it even more clearly: "I am just about to hold a confirmation evening, and, to my horror, the young people have demanded that I give lectures on the history of missions. I now have to sit down and study, because my knowledge in this respect does not go far beyond the fact that a gong is necessary for mission, as I convinced myself in Basel. But I'll seek to expand this meager knowledge straightaway." Along these lines, he implores his brother Peter on May 5, "You wanted to become a missionary—Pack up all the missions literature lying around you, right away, whether coarse or refined, thick or thin, . . . and send it to me. I've set up confirmation evenings, and the people want the history of missions. To this end, I have to buckle down to make up for a gap in my theological development at once. 'It'll be fine!' Dad would say." On June 3, Karl Barth can report to Basel that Hans Anstein, pastor of the Basel Mission and temporary editor of the Evangelischer Heidenbote *[Protestant Messenger to the Heathen] now "wants to send me literature about the new Bali mission. I am learning something in the process too. . . . For the time being we are debating the mission imperative in general, which I have first to make clear to myself. I feel like the infamous Prof. Karl Friedrich Bahrdt in the 18th century, who announced a lecture course in Syriac, which he then first had to learn himself. In short, the work is in progress, and if my sharply worded call and the propaganda from the pulpit still work, it is going to be a 'marvelous' work . . ."*

*The first two evenings on mission in Cameroon apparently went well. After another evening, however, doubts arise that go down to the foundation: "I'm having fewer good experiences with the mission evenings than with the girls' group. First of all, the boys come in smaller numbers and more irregularly. Second, the subject matter is too foreign to me and to them and also too peripheral. There's plenty of interesting stuff there that's nice to share and to listen to, but the thing itself, the event that Negroes [*Neger*] become 'Christians,' doesn't really grab me. I don't quite know why. The life story of a simple Genevan woman gives me religiously much more to think about than the most beautiful founding of mission stations with chorales in the Negro tongue [*Negersprache*]. No doubt this is also the expansion of God's kingdom, but it does not capture my interest. It's too raw for me. It's very bad. I wonder if there's a Barthian family inheritance at hand??" (Letter to his parents on October 4, 1910.) Nor does the following evening diminish these far-reaching doubts; on October 14 Barth confesses to his friend [Wilhelm] Loew, "The mission theme with the boys' group doesn't satisfy me much; I am*

1. However, to reassure his grandmother, mother, and aunt, he writes in a letter to Basel on June 3, 1910: "What is genuinely Christian will not be neglected, even when I deliberately place the matter on a somewhat broader basis. Uncle Ernst [Sartorius] does not entirely agree, of course."

obviously not yet ripe for real interest in missions, even less for the specifically Christian work for the kingdom of God." Thus it is not surprising that after another evening, Barth ends the "Survey of Mission." On October 23, he explains to his parents: "I have to combine the confirmation evenings for the boys and girls now. Things are taking a different course than I thought. In the girls' session I had almost all adults, whereas the boys come in such small numbers that the extra evening for them was not worth it (the last time it was only 3). . . . Thus I'll . . . combine what there is to combine into one evening, with the added goal of offering something to the adult church members that they have not had up to now."

From the end of October 1910 to the beginning of 1911, the confirmation evenings, which were therefore no longer held twice [a week], followed the "Biographical Sketches" program. In a letter to O[tto] Lauterburg dated January 29, 1911, Barth confesses that they were called confirmation evenings "because almost no (former) confirmands come, but again a circle of adults, mostly teachers and the like, to whom I give a continuous lecture on the history of doctrine (!)." At least at the beginning, however, the biographical sketches were not merely "at heart a popular lecture on the history of doctrine" (on November 25, 1910, to Willy Spoendlin). Rather, Barth also asked "numerous questions in all directions," and the adults took part "in answering," so that "my little sheep for the year" "shied away a bit from answering before their elders" (letters of June 19, 1910, to his parents, and June 3, 1910, to his grandmother, mother, and aunt). Later, there came questions in return from the audience. On January 8, 1911, Barth gives his mother an account of the first "'confirmation evening' (2 confirmands, almost all were other people!) about Origen. They were quite interested and asked questions but had some trouble grasping the doctrine of the Trinity, which is very understandable. The restoration of all things, to which I come next time, will please them more."[2]

As with the other series initially, Barth did not disregard how the study of church and dogmatic history benefited himself: "For me, this popularization of great people and thoughts is itself very stimulating and interesting, because it compels me to live into them, in a way that was never necessary for any exam" (on June 3, 1910, to his grandmother, mother, and aunt). "The preparation for this is perhaps more instructive for me than is the lecture for my audience" (on October 4, 1910, to his parents). "The previous two times and the next, I'm busy with Paul, which is again very fruitful for me" (on October 14, 1910, to Wilhelm Loew). "I've finally gone through 'John' and Justin and am coming now . . . to Irenaeus. With that, I reach the point at which to study the great Harnack to some extent,[3] *which I had not done until now, and the people are happy about it too" (on November 21, 1910, to Wilhelm Loew).*

In contrast to "The Survey of Mission," however, here Barth also experienced an important inner gain. Indeed, he has to confess to his friend W. Loew in a letter on January 8, 1911, "I consider myself lost to historical thinking; on this occasion I see just how staunchly one-sided my so-called historical presentations turn out to be, and if someone

2. On the same day he wrote to Wilhelm Loew: "Last Wednesday I talked about Origen . . . for 1½ hours uninterrupted." The listeners "appeared refreshed. Incidentally, they'll have to endure him [Origen] once again next time, since, as usual, I did not finish. Only over the doctrine of the Trinity did they shake their heads sullenly; I think some were hearing for the first time that there was such a thing. The apocatastasis next time will appeal to them more, for on an earlier occasion they were quite reluctant to entertain the idea of an eternal punishment in hell." Cf. p. 76, fn. 251.

3. That is, Harnack's three-volume *History of Dogma*, in contrast to his short "history of dogma" in one volume, *Outlines of the History of Dogma.* [Trans. note: the English translation of *History of Dogma* runs to seven volumes.]

qualified were to look into the notebooks of my listeners, some of which are filled out with teacher-like exactness, there could be indignation." But in the same letter, Barth expresses the joy of having encountered a truly enjoyable theologian in Origen (see p. 76, fn. 251). The fundamental significance this historical work had for Barth's becoming a theologian is expressed movingly in a letter to Loew on February 19, 1911, in which Barth first of all addresses the "outer and inner restraints" that stood in the way of his intention to "write a doctoral thesis in Marburg" under Wilhelm Herrmann.[4] *Barth lists the following reasons to his friend: "First, because I can't afford the time for the comprehensive study that would be necessary. Second, because Schleiermacher . . . lies terribly distant from me theologically at the moment, and I don't feel ready enough to bang on about Schleiermacher and the 19th century before I have made the analytics and dialectics of the religion of the Reformation my own in a completely different way." Calvin had drawn his attention to "gaps and shallows" on which he would have to work before he again dealt with the idealist philosophy of religion. Therefore, for now, "Schleiermacher and Herrmann's adversary Schuster" were not to be read, but "Luther and Zwingli," and from there backward the Scholastics, Augustine, and possibly the New Testament, "which until now I have been accustomed to treating more like the Reformers did, as a source of evidence." One day, Schleiermacher will come into view again, but when and how, no one knows. For "at the moment theologically I do not 'stand' but rather sit before the views of those more clever." The expression that follows naturally ought to be read against the backdrop of the study of the Reformers and the theologians of the early church:*[5] *"If one wants to call this 'standing,' I currently 'stand on' the position of verbal inspiration and absolute double predestination, feel intense sympathies for the doctrine of the Trinity in the Athanasian Creed, and teach the people accordingly." The ironic tone does not let one miss the undertone of serious wrestling. Certainly, "no sudden conversion" took place here.*[6] *But the studies in historical theology, to which even the "popular lecture on the history of doctrine" to "the young ladies" (to Loew on November 21, 1910, and on January 8, 1911) gave Barth stimulus and incentive, nevertheless form a point of convergence and divergence forward and backward in Barth's theological development.*

This could be said even more clearly of a turn that Barth's confirmation evenings took in their third phase (from late January to June 1911). In the "Congregational News" of the Congregational Newsletter, No. 42, of March 9, 1911, we read, "The gatherings which since last summer have been designated confirmation evenings have developed in a direction that no longer justifies this name. The newly confirmed young women and men, for whom these evenings were primarily intended, have largely left Geneva or are prevented by other circumstances from regular attendance. Instead, however, a wider audience has discovered and taken part in the evenings with growing interest. At the special request of the participants, from now on the meetings will take place every Wednesday evening and alternate between lectures, discussions, and conversations about the Bible. In this way, they will serve the reflection and religious

4. As Barth wrote later in his "Autobiographical Sketches" in the album of the Protestant Theological Faculty of the University of Münster (1927), in Karl Barth and Rudolf Bultmann, *Letters, 1922–1966*, trans. Geoffrey Bromiley (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 154. On January 29, 1911, he had already confessed to his school and college friend Otto Lauterburg, "Herrmann even expects a thesis from me on Schleiermacher's doctrine of prayer, but I see more and more that nothing will come of it."

5. On January 29, 1911, Barth writes to his parents, "May I ask for a good portrayal of *Augustine . . .* ?"

6. "Autobiographical Sketches," *Letters, 1922–1966*, 154.

formation of all our members, and we hope thereby to have created a permanent offering able to promote the intellectual life of our congregation." Already in January, Barth had returned to the weekly rhythm—but now no longer alternating between "boys" and "girls," or between history of missions and church history, but rather between the lectures on "biographical sketches" and "discussion evenings," where he felt, as he wrote on February 19, 1911, to Loew, "rather more in my element." "We talked for two evenings about the importance of the person of Jesus, the next time about miracles, then about the resurrection of Jesus." After the discussion evenings mentioned here, in March, in addition to the fortnightly Wednesday lectures now dealing with Augustine and the Pelagian dispute, there took place two additional "Bible conversations": on March 22, 1911, the conversation about the resurrection of Jesus resumed, and on April 5 the topic was Romans 1:1–17. After the Easter break, Barth changed the nature of the evenings yet again. On April 27, he concluded [the current series] with a presentation on Augustine. But then he combined the "Bible conversations with the lecture evenings" into one event, as was announced in the Congregational Newsletter, No. 43, on April 13, 1911. "Every Wednesday (for the past three weeks)," he reports to his parents on May 7, 1911, "I have been giving a lecture on Romans instead of the presentations, which is very stimulating for me at least. I prepare by reading Jülicher and Schlatter, but then talk quite freely, with only the book in front of me, and notice that exegesis also has its joys." These lectures on Romans ran until June 21, 1911. On June 25, Barth held his last service in Geneva. As he writes in a letter to his parents on June 23, 1911: "Things are winding down here. The Wednesday evenings have come to a close. The ladies surprised me with a beautiful gift, ten volumes of Goethe."

The roots of this exegetical contemplation of Romans already influenced the emphasis on Romans 6 in the volume on the Confirmation Lessons 1909–21 and the passion meditation "Having Died with Christ." In the "biographical sketches" themselves, there is, if one may say so, a prelude to all this in the theological part of the portrayal of Paul that Barth, it seems, quite independently constructs out of a theology of Romans (see below, pp. 62–63). It was Romans that would later, in July 1916, became so dominant for the turning point in Barth's further path.

Dates and Themes of the "Confirmation Evenings"	
Boys	**Girls**
May 25, 1910: Mission imperative, etc.	
	June 1, 1910: Greece, Athens, Socrates
June 8: Mission imperative	
	June 15: Socrates (continued)
June 22: Nation and people of Cameroon in general	
September 7: Stories from Cameroon	
	September 14: Plato

September 21: (continued)	
	September 28: Paul
	October 12: Paul (continued)
October 19: (continued)	
	October 26: "John"
Both groups combined November 9: Justin November 23: Justin/Irenaeus December 7: Irenaeus December 14: Tertullian	
January 4, 1911: Origen (Doctrine of the Trinity)	
January 18: Origen (Apocatastasis), Athanasius	

Discussion evenings	**Biographical sketches**
January 25	
	February 1: Athanasius (continued)
February 8: The meaning of the person of Jesus for faith	
February 15: (continued)	
Tuesday, February 21: The Miracles	
	March 1: Augustine
Wednesday, March 8: The Resurrection of Jesus	
	Thursday, March 16: Augustine (continued)
March 22: (continued)	
	Wednesday, March 29: Augustine (continued)
April 5: Bible discussion (Romans 1:1–17)	
Thursday, April 20: Romans (continued)	

	Thursday, April 27: Augustine (conclusion)
"Bible conversation and lecture evenings" ("Lecture on Romans") *Wednesday, May 3* *May 10* *May 17* *Tuesday, May 23* *Monday, May 29* *Wednesday, June 7* *June 14* *June 21*	

According to Genevan custom, the confirmation classes in our congregation last half a year, no more and no less. In German-speaking Switzerland, one has a whole year of them, if not two or three. Among us, teachers and students are treated like the words of the song: "Barely greeted, then shunned."[7] Half a year long, two hours each week, which are, moreover, made available by some masters [only] reluctantly and grumblingly, as is shown by the many "necessary" absences, especially among the boys. Finally, these two hours each week are further amply shortened by frequent, if not regular, late arrivals. These are the external circumstances confronting the instruction by which the young people ought to be receiving the coherence and clarity in their inner life that they need for the independent existence they are facing. We turn to our confirmed youth themselves, whether older or younger—they must know best—to ask whether they sincerely believe this goal can be achieved in such a way so as to even approximate the importance of the matter. We ask whether they can actually be satisfied with having "settled" the questions of life and worldview in half a year at the pace of a stenography course. And if our confirmed youth perhaps do not feel the unreasonableness of the situation, if they only later become aware of the gaps, then at any rate, the one who has to teach cannot escape the fatal realization that all too often thoroughness has had to suffer under the striving for breadth, and conversely breadth and clarity has suffered under the striving for thoroughness in detail.

A person could object to these considerations: Goodness, you must not expect and demand too much from confirmation classes either. They should only review, supplement, correct, and summarize what has already been made known to the children in religious instruction in school. And, in fact, there would be all sorts of praiseworthy things to say about the knowledge and interests of the young people who come to our lessons directly from German-speaking Switzerland.[8] Not quite the same, however, but rather the opposite must be said about those of our young friends who come to us from Geneva's schools. We must stand by them above all, because they belong to the tribe of our congregation and are destined to form its promising younger generation.

7. From the seventh stanza by Nikolaus Lenau, "Der Postillion," *Sämtliche Werke und Briefe*, ed. Eduard Castle (Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1910), 105 [ET: The Postillion].

8. [Barth's note:] *Eastern Switzerland* would be especially worth mentioning here.

A few years ago, a Bernese priest was charged with a grave offense for saying of the schoolchildren in his parish that their religious knowledge would in any case stand *below* that of the Christian Negro children from the Gold Coast. I believe that in Geneva it would hardly be possible to find a reason for taking offense at this saying, and if we take things honestly as they are, we will have to say: that is how it is. At the beginning of the last confirmation series, for example, in response to the request to name some Old Testament *prophets*, the answer given was "*Abraham* and *Eve*." An otherwise diligent and intelligent young man announced two weeks before confirmation that he had no idea of the existence of the four Gospels. In opening the Bible, it was not unusual to search for Romans among the five books of Moses. How can the lesson "review," "supplement," bring more clearly into view, and promote ownership of something that is not there at all? You cannot get blood out of a stone![9] We know too little about the school conditions in Geneva to be in a position to judge how it comes about that *this* is how things stand regarding the *prerequisites* of confirmation classes. But even those more knowledgeable than we do not wish to deny that in our German[-speaking] school, for example, religious instruction stands in the view of teachers and children so far outside the other instruction[10] that it cannot possibly fulfill its purpose. We direct our attention, therefore, only to the results and say: the cognitive prerequisites are *not* there.

But now a person could come and say that knowledge is not at all the main thing in religion. Knowing God and his will is more important than knowing the Bible and church history. We say, very true, that *is* more important, but the person who has no idea about the historical contexts does not come to a clear, conscious, inner Christianity. They have no knowledge of the sources and history and are therefore unable to take a stand on what wise people before them experienced with God and thought about God; consequently, they are unable independently to shape their inner and outer life. A Christianity that wanted to renounce knowledge would be a regression from Protestantism to Catholicism. It would hand over the searching and inquiring persons helplessly to whatever their pastor thinks fit to offer on Sunday. Here in Geneva, it would especially be an open circumvention of the duty that our church constitution lays upon *every* member of the church, "to gain personal and considered convictions."[11]

But it would be foolish and not funny to complain about the existing conditions without setting one's hand to the plow. Therefore, in the near future an attempt will be made in this direction, to which we would like to direct the kind attention of the smaller and wider circles of our congregation. Every Wednesday beginning on May 25 of this year, a *confirmation evening* will be held to give our young friends the opportunity to deepen and strengthen what they have

9. [Trans. note:] Literally, "Where there is nothing, the emperor has lost his right [Wo nichts ist, da hat der Kaiser sein Recht verloren]." See K. F. W. Wander, *Deutsches Sprichwörter-Lexikon: Ein Hausschatz für das deutsche Volk* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1870), 2:1097, no. 63.

10. [Barth's note:] It is not given by the classroom teacher, as would be appropriate and as even the teachers would surely desire, and in the decisive upper classes it takes place in the last and, as we know, most unsuitable hour of the week, on Saturday afternoon.

11. *Constitution de l'Église nationale protestante de Genève* (July 7, 1908), Titre I, Déclaration, in *L'Église de Genève, 1535–1909: Esquisse historique de son organisation suivie de ses diverses constitutions, de la liste de ses pasteurs et professeurs et d'une table biographique*, by H. Heyer (Geneva: A. Jullien, 1909 [= Nieuwkoop: de Graaf, 1974]), 361–75, citation from 361.

heard in class, alternating between boys and girls every 14 days. In each section, a specific subject will be dealt with in a continuous series of discussions, beginning with a *Survey of Protestant Mission* for the boys, due to the wishes of this year's confirmands, and a series of *Biographical Sketches from the History of the Christian Religion* for the girls. However, emphasis will be on discussion of the religious and practical questions arising from these materials. And the classes will not have the character of lectures but rather proceed as far as possible in open class discussion. Of course, all academic testing and the like is ruled out.

These evenings will begin on Wednesday, May 25, at 8:30 in the evening for the boys, and on Wednesday, June 1, at 8:30 in the evening for the girls, with each section in our fellowship hall, Rue Pépinière 4. *All former confirmands of all years will be warmly welcomed. All other German-speaking young people are just as cordially invited,* and in order to make it easier for especially the girls to come, we add that *we will be pleased if their venerable parents or relatives also want to gather with them,* though we will naturally turn to the youth in the tone and content of our conversations.

We offer this announcement for the sympathetic involvement of our parishioners, which they can do first by *spreading the word* as widely as possible. Our congregation suffers from a lack of young people. Here is an opportunity to help attract some, [and] . . . not only on paper, as many things are in our church. It should be expressly stated, however, that it is *not* a question of founding a *club*, a boys' or girls' society, or of rivaling existing organizations. Nor is anyone taking upon oneself an obligation, either in relation to financial payments or in relation to participation, although regular attendance is desirable because more beneficial. The purpose of the matter is . . . to offer our young friends a free stimulus and guidance to freely and independently shape their Christianity, in the sense of the passage of our church constitution already mentioned, in the realization of which we see the basic condition for the development of a healthy and lively congregational Christian life.

For the time being, the leadership of the evenings lies in the hands of the cosigned.

Paul Walter, Pastor
Karl Barth, Assistant Pastor

Survey of Protestant Mission
1910

Introduction, see pages 34–40.

Purpose of the evenings: Open continuation of the too-short confirmation lessons, engagement with material that teaches how to reflect on the world and life, God and the human being
Reflection is not the main thing in Christianity, but an important means to it, without which there is ambiguity and helplessness. Christians in the city must know *why* they are Christian.

Participation: Free, Christianity is completely free or it is not Christianity, no baptism with the fire extinguisher.[1]
Summer bad? Nowhere is it written that the Christian must fall asleep in summer like the bears in winter. Regular participation is desirable for cohesion. You do eat regularly; [the] mind is no less important!

Implementation: Neither school nor lecture, but open exchange among adults. Discipline, of course, active participation (questions!) should *happen*.

Subject:

Survey of Protestant Mission

Mission: The spread of Christianity. Two-thirds of humanity are non-Christian, that is, not baptized and instructed as Christians.[2] And the Christian third? Countless nominal Christians and plain heathenism [are] in the midst of us. Not to speak of "atheists" and the like, how much heathenism among the church members (superstition and practical heathenism: view of money, of amusement, etc.)? And how do things stand within us??

1. Allusion to the mass baptisms during the Roman Catholic missionary work in the Americas, in which, for example, in Mexico, seven million natives are said to have been baptized between 1524 and 1539: "Lacking sufficient numbers of missionaries," only a few of the new converts gathered on a large square could be given baptism with all the prescribed ceremonies; "for the others, they confined themselves to giving them water, which is the essence of baptism." Mathieu-Richard-Auguste Henrion, *Histoire générale des missions catholiques depuis le XIIIe siècle jusqu'a nos jours* (Paris: Gaume frères, 1846), 1:435; cf. also Gustav Warneck, *Protestantische Beleuchtung der römischen Angriffe auf die evangelische Heidenmission: Ein Beitrag zur Charakteristik ultramontaner Geschichtsschreibung* (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1884/1885), [2nd half], 367–68).

2. See Gustav Warneck, *Abriß einer Geschichte der protestantischen Missionen von der Reformation bis auf die Gegenwart: Mit einem Anhang über die katholischen Missionen*, 9th ed. (Berlin: Martin Warneck, 1910), 521, fn. 2.

Why mission then? Why roam into the distance? . . .[3] Right! Each should begin with the "spreading of Christianity" in the vicinity, above all with oneself. This is what the various *churches* are here for, the so-called "home mission" (city missionaries, associations, Blue Cross, charities) is a support. But each should do the one and not neglect the other: The heathen are just as much our siblings as are the people of our setting, especially as they are brought physically nearer to us today through global communications.

Interest in mission is appropriate for educated Christians: 6,000 missionaries, 17,000 schools in operation, about 62 million francs annual expenditure for Protestant missions alone.[4] So already a respectable thing outwardly. Obstacles to our interest: Mission is the business of certain Christian circles that do not suit us—but exactly that should change. The way it is talked about (tracts, English, Swabian)[5]—but that is not the thing itself.

The thing itself is that we have something good, the best, in our Christianity. And the heathen are there, people like us, so we need to make it available to them.

Serious *objections* are now being raised against it, however, and we have to consider them in order to recognize our

Mission Duty

1. Mission *disrupts the colonial trade*, and so on. On the contrary, through Christianity the people become useful workers. What is "disrupted" is the quest for amusement (liquor,[6] finery[7]), which is not a bad thing. For many Europeans, the natives are an object of exploitation, but mission counters this.

Much is *destroyed* by the Europeans on foreign continents. The natives have their freedom taken, often their homeland (Indians), in war even many of their lives (Herero).[8] Even where the relationship is peaceful, European vices are introduced, dissolution of all the old ways that they love as much as we do (protection of homeland![9])

Read aloud: King Bombilo's song of lament (*Der freie Schweizer Arbeiter*, May 20, 1910). In India the decline of the caste system, in China of ancestor

3. Cf. the beginning of J. W. von Goethe's poem "Erinnerung [Remembrance]": "Willst du immer weiter schweifen, / Sieh, das Gute liegt so nah" ["Do you wish to roam farther and farther? / See! The Good lies so near."]

4. Barth apparently borrowed the expenditure figure from Ernst Troeltsch, "Die Mission in der modernen Welt," in *Christliche Welt*, vol. 20 (1906): col. 8 (cf. the edited version in Ernst Troeltsch, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 2, *Zur religiösen Lage: Religionsphilosophie und Ethik*, 2nd ed. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1922 [= Aalen: Scientia, 1962]), 782).

5. See Warneck, *Abriß einer Geschichte*, 91–118 and (Barth is likely thinking above all of Württemberg's strong share in the *Basel Mission*) 135–37.

6. [Barth's note:] In 1906 in Cameroon, 600,000 M. of 13 million M. total imports.

7. See Peter Steiner, *Kamerun als Kolonie und als Missionsfeld*, Handbücher zur Missionskunde (Basel: Verlag der Basler Missionsbuchhandlung, 1909), 2:44.

8. In the so-called Herero War (1904–1907) in what was then "German Southwest Africa," around 80% of the native Herero died as a result of the extermination strategy of the German troops.

9. In 1905, the "Swiss Association for Homeland Protection" was founded to combat the increasing destruction of beautiful scenery by commercial buildings. In addition, it set itself the task of promoting traditional architecture and contributing to the preservation of domestic customs, costumes, dialects, folk songs, etc. (cf. Ernst Leisi, "Heimatschutz," in *HBLS* 4:127–28).

worship. Examples of narrow-mindedness? Fine, but then something better must take their place. Whoever tears down has the duty to build up.[10]

Christianity does not disrupt the colonial work, but it does transform it. One cannot *wish* for anything else.

2. We ought rather to bring European culture to the heathen. What is that? *Technology*? Railroads, automobiles, cannons. Fine, but with all this we ourselves are no better; we have not even helped ourselves, let alone the heathen (the Boxer Rebellion, Herero war).[11] *Education* then. Sure, knowledge is power,[12] there is no right life without knowledge. For this reason, all missions establish schools. But knowledge is not itself life; knowledge is not formation. Culture exists only where there is life and education, where there are right *people*. India and China already have culture in the other sense, culture much older even than Europe (paper, gunpowder, Indian philosophy), but we see just there that culture in this sense is of no actual value, often just the opposite (arrogance and cruelty of the Chinese, lazy contemplativeness of the Indian).

The thing is, humanity is a unity. The goods of culture must indeed become common to all. But not in order to hold back the most valuable, meaning that which alone makes cultural goods such as technology, knowledge, art, and politics valuable and true: religion. Religion shows one how to become a right human being *by means of* those goods. It is best, therefore, if the heathen are, above all, introduced to God. Culture, *thus* Christianity.

3. Mission *means intolerance against other religions.* The idea of tolerance has become the most powerful factor in religious spiritual life. Before simply: Christianity is true, all heathen and the like have a false religion. Since 1700, it is different. Frederick the Great: Everyone as they see fit . . .[13]

In today's political life, equality of all religions and confessions (concensuses!).[14] Christianity a religion alongside others. With that, religious studies: knowledge and understanding of the other religions as well. Traces of truth

10. *Der freie Schweizer Arbeiter* 3, no. 34 (May 20, 1910): 3. It deals with the translation of "La chant du roi Bombilo [The Song of King Bombilo]" ("la complainte du roi Bombilo, des Wangatas de l'Equateur [the lament of King Bombilo of the Wangatas of the Equator]"), from the stories of D. Bersot, *Sous la Chicote: La vie au Congo; Nouvelles congolaises* (Geneva: A. Jullien, 1909), 37–43. This text was intended to give an "atmospheric portrayal," amid the disputes over the "atrocities of King Leopold of Belgium in the Congo," of the "situation and feelings of the population of that unfortunate country"; the opening lines of the text (in the preface to the translation) read: "We were happy. Then the whites came!"

11. After the siege of the diplomatic quarter in Beijing during the so-called Boxer Rebellion in 1900, the Chinese capital was conquered by German and Japanese troops. The "Boxer Protocol" of 1901 imposed war reparations on China and, among other things, a ban on xenophobic actions. On the Herero War, see fn. 8 above.

12. "Ipsa scientia potestas est," "Knowledge itself is power"; Francis Bacon, who explained this thought in more detail elsewhere, expressed it in this brief form in the *Meditationes sacrae* (1597), or *Religious Meditations* (1598), found in *The Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. J. Spedding, R. L. Ellis, and D. D. Heath (London: Brown & Taggard, 1861), 7:241, 253.

13. On the historical background of the instruction of Frederick the Great[, who said that] "The religions must all be tolerated; . . . here everyone may be saved as he sees fit," see Anton Friedrich Büsching, *Character Friederichs des zweyten, Königs von Preussen*, 2nd ed. (Karlsruhe: C. G. Schmeider, 1789), 206–7.

14. The Federal Population Census, scheduled for 1910 and carried out on December 1 of the same year—as in 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880, 1888, and 1900—again inquired about religious confession. As since 1880, the survey forms provided the categories "Protestant," "Catholic," "Israelite," and "other or none." The forms of 1860 and 1870 classified even further, while in 1850 only "Protestant," "Catholic," and "Israelite" were differentiated (*Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Statistik/Journal de statistique suisse* 17 [1881]: 26–27; 29 [1893]: 300–301; 37 [1901]: 314–15; 47 [1911]: 104–5).

everywhere, God clearly at work everywhere. Why, then, not leave everything as it is? Why impose something strange?

It does *not* have to do with something foreign, but rather with what is actually the right thing, which the heathen religions stammer and sense. Paul, Acts 17:22–30.

Whoever *is* a Christian, knows that they have what is needed by all people, the real God. "Tolerance" as *indifference* to the inner life of others is unchristian. Even among us, living faith must always have the desire to spread, to ignite. All the more so in contact with the heathen world, where the effects of internal aberrations are especially clear. "The love of Christ compels us" [2 Cor. 5:14].

Only on that basis is real tolerance possible, the *tolerance of love*, whereas the tolerance of indifference is basically the deepest intolerance. In every religion a justified core, often in all sorts of wraps. By contact with the Spirit of Jesus, a foreign religion is not despised in its peculiarity, but returned to its own most valuable essence. Chinese Christianity is different, as is African Christianity!

Christianity does not make human beings uniform, but it unites them.

To ignore this task would be to deny the essence of Christianity: for the *individual* and for the *church* as a whole.

In sum: Two solid points that directly relate the missionary task to our inner life:

1. The way of the Christian faith: Love. "Go into all the world. . . ." (Mark 16:15).
2. The clear need: World without love. "Come over here . . ." (Acts 16:9).

The Work of Mission

In ancient times the Christian church was per se a missionary church because it was in the midst of the heathen. (Inner strength diminishes with the extensive expansion?) The time of the Reformation did not understand *this* task (heathen condemned, gospel already proclaimed, judgment day near).[15]

In modern times it is a *work of free charitable activity* (in principle correct, distribution of power, but the collective must somehow stand behind the individuals, with gifts, but even more, with interest (Your kingdom come [Matt. 6:10 || Luke 11:2])).

Societies. "Mission churches" and institutes in Europe, and from there, emissaries, "missionaries" to those outside. Methods are manifold.

Two principles, not conflicting, but complementary:

(a) *Old method.* The founding of "stations": housing for missionaries, churches, from there street preaching and other forms of preaching. *In addition*, immediately thereafter, schools, workshops, plantations, and hospitals. Through these means direct conversion (only then baptism!) of the heathen is achieved, then the planting of *churches*.

15. See Warneck, *Abriß einer Geschichte*, 6–23, esp. 12, 14–16.

So, for us especially, the *Basel Mission* (founded in 1816, modest beginnings, today the most important continental mission).[16]

(b) *New method*. The founding of schools, hospitals, and so on, without a definite Christian character. Influencing the heathen simply by the fact of the superiority of real Christian culture. *In addition*, there come immediately sermons, newspapers, and church plants for the purpose of conversion.

Thus, the General Evangelical Protestant Missionary Association (founded in 1884).[17]

Different starting point. Both possible and justifiable; compare rescue of the drinker.[18]

Cameroon in General

Geographical. Slave trade familiar since the 15th century[19] (Prussia!).[20] Arousal of trade interest (intermediate trade) and—liquor! No culture.[21]

Size: Almost like Germany, [population] 3.5 million[22] (little!).

Landscape: Mount Cameroon (Mongo ma Loba, God's mountain;[23] cf. Sinai, Olympus, Germanic tribes, On the mountains is freedom,[24] etc.) Island Fernando Po. City of Victoria. Cameroon basin with mangrove islands. (Fever!) Rivers: Mungo, Wouri, Sanaga. Three zones: Lowland, jungle, highlands (with plateau!). Great natural beauty, but dangerous.[25]

Population: Mixture (migrations of peoples in Africa too!). Disunity facilitates control by the Europeans, shows political immaturity,[26] but it could be different! (Ethiopian Movement).[27]

16. See Warneck, *Abriß einer Geschichte*, 135–37.

17. See Warneck, *Abriß einer Geschichte*, 148; in addition, Adolf Harnack, "Grundsätze der evangelisch-protestantischen Mission," in Harnack, *Reden und Aufsätze* (Gießen: Töpelmann, 1904), 2:109–28. The lecture examines the motive and principles of mission in the spirit of the General Evangelical Protestant Missionary Association. Barth's argument in the preceding touches in some places upon the one presented here (see esp. 111, 113–15, 124, 128).

18. Barth was likely thinking of the coexistence of temperance efforts with explicit and pronounced religious motives (e.g., at the "Temperance Association of the Blue Cross") and those in which the religious impulses and goals (at first) remained in the background. See Eduard Blocher, "Mäßigkeits- und Enthaltsamkeitsbestrebungen, evangelische und humanitäre," in *RGG*[1], vol. 4, cols. 25–30.

19. Steiner, *Kamerun als Kolonie und als Missionsfeld*, 5–6.

20. The meaning of the keyword added later is unclear: Prussia and Brandenburg are mentioned only marginally in the literature in connection with the slave trade (see Gustav Warneck, *Die Mission in der Schule: Ein Handbuch für Lehrer*, 2nd ed. (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1887), 120). Was Barth instead thinking of the similarity between slavery on the one hand and hereditary subservience in connection with serfdom in the east German estate system on the other, which was only abolished with the reforms of 1807?

21. Steiner, *Kamerun als Kolonie und als Missionsfeld*, 6–7, 43–44.

22. Steiner, *Kamerun als Kolonie und als Missionsfeld*, 10, 34.

23. Steiner, *Kamerun als Kolonie und als Missionsfeld*, 8.

24. Friederich von Schiller, *Die Braut von Messina oder Die feindlichen Brüder*, act 4, scene 7 [ET: *The Bride of Messina: A Tragedy*, trans. George Irvine (London: John Macrone, 1837), 156].

25. Steiner, *Kamerun als Kolonie und als Missionsfeld*, 8–12.

26. Steiner, *Kamerun als Kolonie und als Missionsfeld*, 12, 14.

27. The independence movement in South Africa since 1892 under the leadership of black religious leaders, strove for a so-called Ethiopian-African church free of foreign leadership with the slogan "Africa to Africans." Cf. J. Lins, "Südafrika, Britisches," in *RGG*[1], vol. 5, col. 987; B. Sundkler, "Sekten. V. Sektenwesen in den jungen Kirchen," in *RGG*[3], vol. 5, cols. 1664–65.

1. *Bantu* Negroes in the lowlands, especially *Duala*.[28] 2. *Sudan Negroes, especially Bali, Bamum, Wute*.[29] 3. *Fulbe* and *Hausa* (The former a conquering people, the latter merchants).[30] Therefore, also a mixture of languages[31] (mission elevates a few to written languages),[32] drum language.[33]

Religion. Fetish service. Losango (secret societies) for this purpose, but also for blackmail. Trials by ordeal[34] with poisoned drinks.[35] Dances of the dead (face masks and animal heads). Belief in highest being[36] (Loba).[37] In the foreland medicine men, in the interior theocracy.[38]

Islam propagated through Hausa. Success. Reasons: (a) Superiority (monotheism); (b) African affinity (witchcraft, polygamy); (c) Commercial dexterity; (d) Open [trade] routes in the interest of colonial politics. Conversion takes place from the outside to the inside.[39]

First *Christian* mission: *Saker*, Baptist,[40] 1846–76. Engineer: every blow of the hammer calls out, Africa! "That I had yet another life for Africa." [Worked] out of Fernando Po.[41] Commercial and economic education. Enthusiastic pioneer.[42] Detriments: no church discipline.[43]

German colony. Trade interests with chieftains, no protection from the Englishmen. 1884 hoisting of flags. Armed force. Land surveying. Colonial army. Advantages: peace, justice, laws, welfare (cities: Duala, Victoria, Buea). Disadvantages: immoral whites.[44]

Trade: Colonial goods, consumer demand of the Negroes.[45] Mission trade (personnel, orderly business practice, relationship to mission, no liquor).[46] Problems:

Liquor: East Germany, import duties, "the worst idol"[47]

28. Steiner, *Kamerun als Kolonie und als Missionsfeld*, 12–13.
29. Steiner, *Kamerun als Kolonie und als Missionsfeld*, 15–16.
30. Steiner, *Kamerun als Kolonie und als Missionsfeld*, 16–18.
31. Steiner, *Kamerun als Kolonie und als Missionsfeld*, 18–19.
32. Steiner, *Kamerun als Kolonie und als Missionsfeld*, 25; C. Römer, *Kamerun: Land, Leute und Mission*, 9th ed. (Basel: Verlag der Missionsbuchhandlung, 1902), 21, 67.
33. Steiner, *Kamerun als Kolonie und als Missionsfeld*, 19.
34. Steiner, *Kamerun als Kolonie und als Missionsfeld*, 19–20.
35. Römer, *Kamerun. Land, Leute und Mission*, 17.
36. Steiner, *Kamerun als Kolonie und als Missionsfeld*, 20–21.
37. Cf. the following article not referenced: "Die Religion der Küstenstämme in Kamerun," in *Der evangelische Heidenbote* 77 (1904): 28. The essay refers to Paul Wurm, *Die Religion der Küstenstämme in Kamerun: Nach Berichten der Missionare Keller, Schuler, Spellenberg, Schürle und Dinkelacker* (Basler Missionsstudien, no. 22 (Basel: Verlag der Missionsbuchhandlung, 1904), see 31–34.
38. Steiner, *Kamerun als Kolonie und als Missionsfeld*, 19–21.
39. Steiner, *Kamerun als Kolonie und als Missionsfeld*, 20–22.
40. Steiner, *Kamerun als Kolonie und als Missionsfeld*, 23.
41. Römer, *Kamerun: Land, Leute und Mission*, 20, 34.
42. Steiner, *Kamerun als Kolonie und als Missionsfeld*, 24-25, 30.
43. Römer, *Kamerun. Land, Leute und Mission*, 41–42; Steiner, *Kamerun als Kolonie und als Missionsfeld*, 67.
44. Steiner, *Kamerun als Kolonie und als Missionsfeld*, 31–34, 37–38, 40–41.
45. Steiner, *Kamerun als Kolonie und als Missionsfeld*, 42–45.
46. Cf. "Auszug aus den Komitee-Verhandlungen: Neuordnung der Verhältnisse der Missionsfaktoreien in Afrika," in *Der evangelische Heidenbote* 82 (1909): 23–24.
47. Steiner, *Kamerun als Kolonie und als Missionsfeld*, 44; Theodor Oehler, "Neunundachtzigster Jahresbericht der Evangelischen Missionsgesellschaft zu Basel: Kamerun," in *Der evangelische Heidenbote* 77 (1904): 68; on the import duty on spirits in the African colonies, see, e.g., the "Mitteilungen aus den Verhandlungen des Komitees," in *Der evangelische Heidenbote* 79 (1906): 95. The complaint that "the most powerful idol is surely liquor" can be found in Theodor Oehler, "Achtzigster Jahresbericht der

Land: Bakwiri, mission helps the natives for their rights.[48]

Work: Education of the (lazy?) Negroes. In the place of slave labor, their own plantations;[49] cf. our social aspirations at home!!

Railway Bonaberi—Foumban.[50]

Mission conference in Bremen, 1886. Mix of colonial and religious interests. Basel takes over the area.[51]

The Grassland Mission

The 1889 expedition of *Dr. [Eugen] Zintgraff*. Interest in mission. Reason for rejection: compromising of the "God-Europeans" by the "war-Europeans" (black team of attendants). Nevertheless, desire for something better than commerce. Zintgraff needed a whole year for the journey, which today requires just 12–14 days.[52]

Garega, Prince of Bali. Friendly reception, wants to enlarge his empire with the help of the whites. Keeps Z[intgraff] from further action. Z[intgraff] founds a *station* in Bali and stays there. (Baliburg) Welcome party.[53]

Read Autenrieth, pages 13–15.

1891 war against the Bafut. Defeat of Z[intgraff]. His 4 Europeans, 600 enemies, 170 Bali dead. Z[intgraff] government successor. Covenant of loyalty (stone mound, blood, palm wine). Repeated desire for mission. Lively traffic with the coast (obstacle: other expansion of work)[54]

October 31–November 19, 1902 *Exploratory trip* of the missionaries Schuler, Spellenberg, Keller

Departure from Bombe. 30 porters. Want to preach on the way. Fatal meeting with a German punitive expedition, villages empty.[55]

Evangelischen Missionsgesellschaft zu Basel," in *Der evangelische Heidenbote* 68 (1895): 64. Cf. Friedrich Würz, "Die Basler Mission auf ihren Arbeitsfeldern," in *AMZ* 23 (1896): 159. When Barth mentions "East Germany," beyond the keywords offered by this outline, he is likely thinking of the disproportionately high consumption of spirits in the eastern provinces of Prussia compared with the western, and more generally in the eastern parts of the [German] Empire compared with the western. See, e.g., Abraham Baer, *Der Alcoholismus, seine Verbreitung und seine Wirkung auf den individuellen und socialen Organismus sowie die Mittel, ihn zu bekämpfen* (Berlin: A. Hirschwald, 1878), 240–42, 247–48, evidenced by figures.

48. Steiner, *Kamerun als Kolonie und als Missionsfeld*, 46–47.

49. Steiner, *Kamerun als Kolonie und als Missionsfeld*, 48–50.

50. Cf. the footnote to the article by Ferdinand Ernst, "In einer afrikanischen Festung!," in *Der evangelische Heidenbote* 77 (1904): 22; see also *Der evangelische Heidenbote* 78 (1905): 45, 47; and *Der evangelische Heidenbote* 79 (1906): 93; on the location and names of the places, see *Der evangelische Heidenbote* 81 (1908): 44–45 (missions map of Cameroon) and 63.

51. Steiner, *Kamerun als Kolonie und als Missionsfeld*, 51–58.

52. Cf. Friedrich Autenrieth, *Im Baliland: Missions- und Kulturgeschichtliche Schilderungen*, Christrosen [Stories for Our Youth], [Basler Missions-Studien,] vol. 38.8 (Basel: Verlag der Basler Missionsbuchhandlung [1903]), 4–8, 10. (Barth's copy of this source is held in the Karl Barth Archive, Basel.)

53. Autenrieth, *Im Baliland*, 11–15.

54. Autenrieth, *Im Baliland*, 15; Jakob Keller, "Die erste Reise nach Bali," in *Der evangelische Heidenbote* 76 (1903): 33–34.

55. Autenrieth, *Im Baliland*, 16–17; Keller, "Die erste Reise nach Bali," 34.

Difficult river passages (25 on 1 day), suspension bridges, narrow paths, elephants.[56]

Read Autenrieth, pages 20–21.

Arrival in Bali on the evening of Nov. 13. A town on hills. No roads, the paths between the farmsteads are also brooks. Farmsteads of 2–4 houses, these cube-shaped (4–6 m[eters]), little space, spherical roofs like haystacks, yards with small tobacco gardens. *King's* yard is more spacious. Veranda with a throne seat: round stone with elephant teeth. Large square with stone mounds for speeches.[57]

People immigrated 60 years ago from South Adamawa. Horse's tail held in esteem, sign of dignity.[58]

Large imposing people. Head partly shaved smooth. Wide Hausa robe with cap and necklace. Pelt bag, front of legs [equipped] for hanging up pipe, cup, and nuts. Women partly naked, but painted red, and bangles especially popular from military buttons. Men's *incisors* on top and bottom filed to a point. In women, the upper ones broken off, the lower ones filed, especially ugly (beautiful!) when all kinds of jewelry are pierced through the lower lip.[59]

Trade and agriculture. Proud and self-confident and fearless.[60]

Reception in Bali. King demands immediate greeting.[61]

Read Autenrieth, pages 22–27.

On November 17 (Monday), the first worship service.[62] *Read Autenrieth, pages 29–34.*

Return on November 18.[63] *Read Autenrieth, pages 35–36.*

February 11, 1903. Decision of the committee: Keller, Ernst, Leimbacher (as architect).[64] Message to the King to provide quarters and porters.[65]

Arrival May 17: Ernst and Leimbacher. No porters. King seems swayed in a hostile manner. "Mission folk" keep their word. 3 weeks in the king's hut, rain, no space, the king does not allow [them to] build, in order to show off. "God's palaver." "When the Bali do begin, they build a house in three days."[66]

King energetic ruler, early riser. Supreme judge, dance, wants to learn to read and write. Friendly relationship. At serious urging in 3 days, a house of 3 rooms and a kitchen is built.[67]

Visit of the neighboring prince, *Fotifin*. Ernst accompanies him a distance of three days' travel.[68]

56. Keller, "Die erste Reise nach Bali," 34; Autenrieth, *Im Baliland*, 18, 20.
57. Autenrieth, *Im Baliland*, 21; Keller, "Die erste Reise nach Bali," 35.
58. Keller, "Die erste Reise nach Bali," 35.
59. Keller, "Die erste Reise nach Bali," 35; Autenrieth, *Im Baliland*, 28.
60. Autenrieth, *Im Baliland*, 28–29.
61. Autenrieth, *Im Baliland*, 22.
62. Keller, "Die erste Reise nach Bali," 36–37.
63. Autenrieth, *Im Baliland*, 34–35.
64. Keller, "Die erste Reise nach Bali," 37; see also *Der evangelische Heidenbote* 76 (1903): 24.
65. Keller, "Die erste Reise nach Bali," 37.
66. Theodor Oehler, "Achtundachtzigster Jahresbericht der Evangelischen Missionsgesellschaft zu Basel," in *Der evangelische Heidenbote* 76 (1903): 68; Ferdinand Ernst, "Die ersten Erfahrungen unserer Brüder in Bali: Bericht von Br. F. Ernst," in *Der evangelische Heidenbote* 76 (1903): 74; Autenrieth, *Im Baliland*, 37.
67. Ernst, "Die ersten Erfahrungen unserer Brüder in Bali," 74–75.
68. Ernst, "Die ersten Erfahrungen unserer Brüder in Bali," 86–87.

Building of the schoolhouse for 50 pupils, benches: palm branches. King learns to read and write. People willing. Costs 20–30,000 M[arks]. King's speech.[69] Magical being: . . . draws to a close.

January 22, 1904, *Keller* with wife and *Trautwein*. Transport of the child: Negro women, river.[70]

69. [Barth's note:] *Ernst's visit to Bamum*. Fortress with defensive trench 35–45km long, etc. Mosque! Young king, sympathetic. Riding game. Discussion of Mohammedanism. "Behold, this is the book of the true God." Beatitudes, resurrection, and judgment. Whites judged equally? Bad environment? Mohammed? "Mohammed is a trickster." [Ferdinand Ernst, "In einer afrikanischen Festung!," in *Der evangelische Heidenbote* 77 (1904): 19–21.]

70. *Der evangelische Heidenbote* 77 (1904): 6, 24; Theodor Oehler, "Neunundachtzigster Jahresbericht der Evangelischen Missionsgesellschaft zu Basel," in *Der evangelische Heidenbote* 77 (1904): 69; Jakob Keller, "Missionar Kellers Reise nach Bali mit Missionar Trautwein," in *Der evangelische Heidenbote* 77 (1904): 41–43.