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MARTIN RADE — 50 YEARS AFTER

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The German theologian and churchman Martin Rade (1857-1940) died in Frankfurt fifty years ago this year. In Britain, as in Germany, he is mainly remembered as the founding editor of *Die christliche Welt*¹, and as the eventually spurned mentor of one particularly outspoken Swiss pastor turned "dialectical" theologian.

In consequence, Rade generally rates a mention in the footnotes as a "religious journalist" or as Barth's erstwhile teacher at Marburg. He may even appear in a "group biography" of Protestant Liberals. Seldom, however, does he figure in his own right in the historical theologian's grand narrative of modern religious thought.

Christoph Schwöbel of King's College has done much over the past decade to rescue Rade's name from the footnotes and to restore it to the text of twentieth-century theology: first through his monograph on Rade as theologian,² then through his edition of the Barth-Rade correspondence,³ and finally through his recently completed edition in three volumes of Rade's selected writings.⁴

These volumes have all been well received in Germany and have done much to enhance Dr Schwöbel's, no less than Dr Rade's, reputation. Anyone wanting to understand more fully the development of modern religious thought is in Dr Schwöbel's debt for having elucidated Rade's unique contribution to the history of modern German theology.

Why do Martin Rade's accomplishments as Christian theologian deserve more notice than they have so far received by historical theologians in their relentless search for the living among the dead?

On the one hand, it must be conceded that Martin Rade was not a "great thinker". His name is not one which anybody would instinctively include in their canon of leading modern theologians alongside the names of Schleiermacher and Newman, or Troeltsch and Niebuhr. Nor did Rade produce in his lifetime a single book that one could justifiably list amongst the ten or even twenty most influential books in the history of modern theology. For intellectual historians, this may be reason enough to allow Rade's name to continue resting undisturbed in the footnotes to which it was long ago consigned.

On the other hand, Martin Rade was what could be called a "representative thinker", by which I mean a thinker who uniquely embodied the dominant concerns of his age. Rade continually had his finger on the pulse of German society, and he consistently responded theologically to the fundamental issues of the day. That being so, his collected writings may actually prove a more reliable guide to his times than are those of some more celebrated *fin-de-siècle* German theologians.

As constructive theologian, Rade's likeness is more nearly captured when we portray him as a "concrete" or *contextual* thinker than when he is drawn as an "ideological" or *positional* theologian. He was certainly a more independent-minded thinker than one might have surmised from the historical theologian's familiar image of him as a typical "liberal" or "Kulturprotestant".⁵

When, on the basis of these *Ausgewählte Schriften*, we consider his life's work as a whole, it becomes clear that the theological agenda were set for Martin Rade more by the requirements of the concrete situation in which he found himself than they were by the ideological demands of some party programme, by whatever name it be called.

Martin Rade's theological writings appeared over four decades, beginning in the early 1880s. Of his major publications, only the *Glaubenslehre*⁶ appeared beyond that period, but it may well have been born out of season.

The span of Rade's active authorship was not the easiest time to be a theologian in Germany. Outward political unification of the separate states had been achieved by 1871 with the King of Prussia as Kaiser; but the nation remained inwardly disunited in virtually every respect.⁷

The strain of the times was felt by all social institutions, including the universities and the churches.

German universities were transformed in the period, partly as a result of more open access and the education requirements of the burgeoning middle class. The older Humboldt ideal of humanistic learning gave way to an increasingly specialized professional training in which there was a loss of any sense of wholeness, whether of the university as a totality or of the sub-disciplines within a specific faculty.⁸ Learning had become a commodity and, as Harnack observed wryly, universities had in effect become "education factories".⁹

Repercussions from such fragmentation were felt particularly within the Protestant theological faculties. During the first third of the nineteenth century — in the heyday of philosophical idealism — theology had played a central part in German university life and enjoyed widespread respect for its academic accomplishments; by the final third of that century, however, the intellectual climate within universities had become less friendly to theological studies, with an increasingly vocal minority openly questioning the academic propriety of confessional theology.

Some voices, and not only those hostile to theology as such, favoured its being replaced within the universities by a more broadly based comparative study of religions, the aims of which would be wholly "scientific". Less radically, others favoured a loosening of the "confessional" constraints on academic theology, which would then become free enquiry (*freie Wissenschaft*) into matters Christian.

In this rapidly changing and potentially less hospitable intellectual environment, shaped more by scientific "positivism" than by philosophical "idealism", there ensued a wide ranging debate about the academic status of theology and its role in the modern university. Although there were some — including in their different ways Harnack, Troeltsch and Rade — who were determined to defend theology as a unified discipline, some representatives of biblical studies, historical studies and various "practical" subjects often seemed more concerned about justifying their own sub-discipline's "academic" standing before an empirically orientated conception of *Wissenschaft* than they were about maintaining the unity of theology as an academic discipline.

Those — such as Rade — who steadfastly defended the academic integrity of theology and its wider significance did so

against a backdrop of the steady marginalization of theology within the academy.¹⁰ The standing of theology at the beginning of the present century was made more precarious by the fact that it alone of all the faculties within the university had failed to share in the great expansion experienced within the German university system at the end of the nineteenth century.

Between 1892-3 and 1913-14, the total number of students in German universities increased from about 28,000 to about 61,000. In the same interval, the number of students studying in Protestant theological faculties increased from about 3,600 to only about 4,300. When expressed as a percentage of the total student population, even that modest increase masks an underlying erosion in the proportion of students choosing to read theology in Protestant faculties. Between 1892-3 and 1913-14, the proportion of students registered in faculties of Protestant theology declined from 13% to 7% of all students registered in German universities.¹¹

At the beginning of the twentieth century, there were intensive discussions within Germany about the need to expand the university system in order to cope with the increased student population. Given the steadily downward drift in demand for theology amongst German students at the time, however, it is hardly surprising that there were publicly expressed doubts about the desirability of establishing theological faculties in any of the planned new urban universities.

The formal proposal in 1911 to establish a new university at Frankfurt, for instance, omitted theology from the list of faculties, citing for justification the decline in student interest in the subject over the past thirty years.¹² In the controversy that ensued, the Prussian minister of education helped defuse the issue slightly by reassuring parliament that, even if not included amongst the first faculties of the University, there was nothing to prevent the addition of a theology faculty at some future date.

Martin Rade was amongst those who argued for including the study of theology within the “new” universities. He could hardly make his case stand on the grounds of heavy student demand!¹³ But he could, and did, argue for such faculties on other grounds, including the academic legitimacy of theology within the academy and its wider cultural significance beyond the university.¹⁴ Basically, Rade was convinced that a theological faculty was necessary in order for a university to be academically sound: “a new university without a theological faculty is misshapen from birth [*eine Mißgeburt*]”.¹⁵

Wherein lay the academic justification of university theology, according to Rade?

True to his origins in the version of Ritschlianism that had been mediated to him by Hamack at Leipzig,¹⁶ Rade defended the legitimacy of theology’s place in the university by arguing that it was to be counted amongst the historical sciences.¹⁷ This suggests that Christianity is to be approached in the same way that one would approach other historical phenomena. The methods of enquiry appropriate to them were also appropriate to Christianity and *vice versa*. And, indeed, this is precisely what Rade was in all his writings keen to substantiate.

Academic theology is not, in his view,¹⁸ some expressly “religious enquiry” [*religiöse Wissenschaft*] which has to be set over against the “secular enquiry” [*profane Wissenschaft*] of the other faculties. Theology has to do, not with another and

invisible world, but with the world which we ourselves inhabit. It concerns not some transcendent and inaccessible being called “God”, but what real people actually believe about “God”.

In keeping with this conception of theology, Rade had wanted his *Glaubenslehre* to be an account to which an adherent of any religious tradition or none could turn in order to learn what Protestants believe today.¹⁹ And when in that work he attempted to elucidate a doctrine, such as the Holy Spirit, he was inclined to turn first to the liturgy and the hymn book in order to uncover from piety the meaning of that doctrine for Protestantism today.

It was also this conception of theology which allowed Rade to argue — this time against Hamack²⁰ — that the subject should not be restricted to the study of Christianity alone, but that the study of theology should be broadened in order to include within itself the historical study of other major religious traditions as well.²¹

And it was this same conception of theology which allowed him to suggest that there might be more reason to establish at the then new university of Frankfurt a faculty of Jewish theology than to set up yet another faculty of Christian theology, whether Protestant or Catholic.²² The strictly *academic* justification of theology seems, therefore, for Rade to reside in the sorts of issues it raises and the kinds of methods it applies, and not in the culturally privileged status accorded to any one scheme of religious belief and practice.

Though Rade defended on properly academic grounds the presence of theology in the university, his own concern with theology was not merely academic. Contrary to the dialectical theologians’ widely touted image of “liberal” theology as detached from the churches,²³ Martin Rade was firmly convinced that university theology existed also to serve the life of the church. This shows itself in at least three different ways.

First, the *academic* grounds on which he defended the place of theology in the university were also at the same time for Rade genuinely *religious* grounds.

The plea for intellectual freedom both in the pulpit and in the lecture hall was in Rade’s case based less on the Enlightenment ideal of autonomy than it was on the Reformation ideal of the *libertas christiana*.²⁴ Modern critical theology, according to Rade, is “a true daughter of the Reformation” in that — as one of the historical sciences — it is constantly correcting itself as required by conscience, whilst at the same time refusing to submit itself to the dictates of any external authority.²⁵ Thus, the historicizing of the authoritative texts of the Christian religion as required by the methods of investigation appropriate to the university is held by Rade to be entirely compatible with or — more accurately — to be peculiarly expressive of a Protestant view of religious authority. But at the same time, the historicization of Christianity frees also Protestantism from its more repressive forms.

Second, Rade’s extensive editorial activity was undertaken at least in part in order to mediate between university theology and the educated church membership.

Both the encyclopaedia *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, which Rade instigated but did not himself edit,²⁶ and the still influential *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, which

Rade co-edited from the end of 1906 to the end of 1917,²⁷ aimed to serve the needs both of the academy and of the wider religious community. Both publications sought in different ways to protect theology as a unified discipline against the fragmentation occasioned by over-specialization; and both publications attempted to publish the most up-to-date theological work in a non-technical language that would make it accessible not only to those working in the various subdisciplines of theology and to those working in cognate disciplines within the university, but also to the educated membership of the churches, whether lay or ordained.

Obviously, *Die christliche Welt*, the periodical which Rade guided from its beginning in 1886 until his retirement as editor in 1932,²⁸ aimed to make ethical and theological issues accessible to the educated readership within the churches. Unlike other new periodicals aimed at the new *Bildungsbürgertum*,²⁹ however, *Die christliche Welt* was not content simply to report in popularized form recent developments in the academic world. This was sometimes done, of course, as when an entire issue was given over to the "Christ-myth" debate.³⁰ But Rade also actively encouraged novel theological ideas to appear first in *Die christliche Welt*, some of which came to have a lasting impact on university theology. He commissioned the leading theologians of the day to write heavyweight articles. Troeltsch's demanding analysis of the concept "essence of Christianity", for instance, appeared first as fortnightly instalments in Rade's periodical.³¹ And many of the most important blasts from the new "dialectical" theologians were broadcast in *Die christliche Welt* at a time when more cautious editors may have denied them the space.³² Rade's experiments were not always successful, as when he had attempted to encourage debates across generations on the nature of theology.³³ But, in any case, Rade used his position as editor of *Die christliche Welt* not simply to report theology, but to make theology happen. And this is wholly consistent with the image of him as a concrete or contextual theologian.

Finally, both as Lutheran pastor and as university professor, Rade was in entirely practical ways engaged theologically with ethical issues which concerned the church and society of his time.

From at least his years as a student at Leipzig, Rade was occupied with the practical implications of Christian faith.³⁴ There is no point, however, in looking for a systematically worked out statement of his moral theology.³⁵ Here, as nowhere else in his writings, Rade did his theological thinking through reflexion on direct engagement with the social and political issues of the day. Theory was derived from practice.

Rade also showed himself willing to discard a cherished theoretical scheme, if required to do so by the facts of concrete human existence. For example, he abandoned the Ritschlian social ethic, with its characteristically Lutheran emphasis upon "vocation", when he came to see that in modern industrial society that doctrine had had the effect of legitimating a fundamentally flawed social order.³⁶

Throughout his life, Rade was concerned with the rights of minorities and with the plight of the under-class. Again, he used his position as editor to advantage by speaking his mind on issues of public concern.

In the columns of *Die christliche Welt*, Rade opposed anti-semitism at a time when it was becoming more acceptable,

even in the quality newspapers.³⁷ Later, in his final year as editor, he spoke out strongly against the brutality of the Nazis' "mindless race fanaticism".³⁸ Rade also supported social welfare for the poor, adult education for workers and women.³⁹ He argued that social problems such as prostitution were unlikely to be dealt with properly so long as it was men who made and enforced laws.⁴⁰ And he championed the cause of women more generally.⁴¹ He argues that they should be given equal opportunity for advancement to top positions within the professions.⁴² He also gave his editorial blessing to their full participation in the decision-making bodies within the church and to their ordination.⁴³

The practical thrust of Rade's theology is shown moreover by his early participation in the "Evangelisch-Soziale Kongreß" (ESK) and later, after the First World War, by his direct involvement in national politics.

The ESK was established in 1890 by an unlikely consortium of Protestant churchmen and academics in order to find ways to counter the growing disaffection of the urban working class from the churches.⁴⁴ From 1896 onwards, the organization was dominated by Rade's circle under the leadership of his brother-in-law Friedrich Naumann. Rade's contribution to the work of the ESK was wide ranging,⁴⁵ but special attention should be drawn to his pioneering use of the social-scientific technique of group questionnaires in order accurately to measure working-class attitudes toward a range of religious topics.⁴⁶

Rade was not content simply to talk about the social and political issues of the day. Increasingly from about 1907, he involved himself also in real politics.⁴⁷ He came to the conclusion that the Christian ethic can have political consequences only if Christians themselves become active in politics.⁴⁸

He had already won a taste for political action before the First World War through his having organized opposition to the treatment of the Danish minority living in then North Schleswig.⁴⁹ During the War itself, Rade gingerly steered a moderate course in *Die christliche Welt*, avoiding the extremes both of militaristic jingoism and of "wet" neutrality, with the result that he was soundly criticized by militant nationalists⁵⁰ in Germany, as well as by at least one former pupil in Switzerland.⁵¹

After that War, from which he had emerged a pacifist, Rade was unstinting in his efforts on behalf of democracy, peace and international understanding. He was realistic enough to know that the success of democracy in Germany required total support for the uncertain Republic that had begun in Weimar. In party politics, Rade joined the German Democratic Party (DDP), serving for a time as its chairman in Hesse and as deputy leader of the party in the Prussian Assembly. In church politics, Rade campaigned for the creation of "a democratic church in a democratic state".⁵² And he seized opportunities as they presented themselves to secure for Germany greater understanding abroad, in the hopes that his nation might someday be allowed to work for international peace alongside other countries in the League of Nations.

In all of his writings on such issues, Rade achieves an even-handed reasonableness that is compelling in its authority. One thinks, for instance, of his remarkable attempt in 1922 to interpret for an American reading public the religious situation in a defeated Germany.⁵³ More remarkably still, he achieved

much the same temperate tone in his efforts at about the same time to help the German people come to terms with their military defeat and to recognize the political, social, and spiritual tasks that lay ahead.⁵⁴

Rade's immediate hopes for Germany and for a free church in a free society were crushed by the subsequent turn of events. Although he did not live to see the worst of times, Rade did survive long enough to see shattered everything for which he had worked all his life in the church, in the university, and in politics.

Now — fifty years after — Germany is again united, old enmities seem to have broken down, and Europeans look a little more hopefully, if still a little anxiously, toward a new *fin-de-siècle*. Are the signs now perhaps more propitious for a recovery of the theological vision of Martin Rade and “the friends of *Die christliche Welt*”?

At a time when many of the brightest amongst England's younger theologians are increasingly inclined to reject liberalism in pursuit of the post-modern experiment, one cannot but be struck by the fact that — Germany having over a long period itself attempted a succession of anti-liberal experiments, both theological and political — many of the brightest amongst Germany's younger theologians have been rediscovering the vision of Martin Rade, Ernst Troeltsch, and their circle.

One can only wish them well.

Footnotes

- 1 I am grateful to the Librarian of Westminster College, Cambridge, for having allowed me access to the College's holdings of *Die christliche Welt*, without which writing this review article would not have been possible.
- 2 *Martin Rade: Das Verhältnis von Geschichte, Religion und Moral als Grundproblem seiner Theologie* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1980).
- 3 *Karl Barth-Martin Rade: Ein Briefwechsel* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1981).
- 4 *Martin Rade: Ausgewählte Schriften* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus Gerd Mohn, 1983, 1986, 1988).
- 5 Actually, it is far from easy even to state what it would be to be “typically” *kulturprotestantisch* or “typically” *liberal* — a difficulty compounded by the fact that both terms have served as definite descriptions and as emotive expressions, that is, as badges of honour (or of shame) awarded to viewpoints about which one has deep feelings. For guidance about the difficulties encountered, see Hans-Joachim Birkner, “Liberale Theologie” in *Kirchen und Liberalismus im 19. Jahrhundert*, eds. Martin Schmidt and Georg Schwaiger (Göttingen, 1976, pp. 33-42, and Friedrich-Wilhelm Graf, “Kulturprotestantismus: Zur Begriffsgeschichte einer theologiepolitischen Chiffre”, *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte*, 28 (1984), 214-268. For Rade's account of his own difficulties with the labels “liberal” and “kulturprotestantisch”, see his article “Religiöser Liberalismus”, *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, 19 (1938), 243-261, and his earlier entry on “Kirchlicher Liberalismus” in the first edition of *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, III, cols. 1626-9.
- 6 The first volume, covering the doctrines of God and of Christ, was published in 1926; the second volume, on the doctrine of Spirit, appeared in 1927.
- 7 For a useful overview of the experience of fragmentation in German public life which so deeply affected Rade's generation, see the introductory chapter to Harry Liebersohn's *Fate and Utopia in German Sociology, 1870-1923* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988).
- 8 See Charles E. McClelland, *State, Society and University in Germany, 1700-1914* (Cambridge, 1980).
- 9 Adolf von Harnack, “Vom Grossbetrieb der Universität” [1905], in *Aus Wissenschaft und Leben* (Gießen, 1911), volume I, pp. 10-20. Cf. Reinhard Riese, *Die Hochschule auf dem Wege zum wissenschaftlichen Grossbetrieb* (Stuttgart, 1977).

- 10 The circumstance for theology was possibly not quite so bleak as this may suggest. Just as there are those (such as Harry Liebersohn) who argue that cultural pessimism was not quite so pervasive at the time as received account would have it, there are others (such as Friedrich Wilhelm Graf) who argue that theology had not become quite so marginalized as I have suggested. As regards the standing of theology within the university, it all depends upon whether one puts greater weight on the self-confident rhetoric of contemporary theologians or on the less optimistic impression left by university statistics from the period. For his important reassessment of the place of Protestant theology at the turn of the century, however, see Graf's “Rettung der Persönlichkeit: Protestantische Theologie als Kulturwissenschaft des Christentums” in *Kultur und Kulturwissenschaften um 1900: Krise der Modern und Glaube an die Wissenschaft*, edited by Rüdiger vom Bruch et al. (Stuttgart, 1989), pp.103-31.
- 11 To put this in wider historical perspective, it is revealing to compare these statistics with those from the first third of the nineteenth century. In the academic year 1831-2, for instance, there were 3,100 students reading Protestant theology out of a total student population in Germany of only 13,000; that is to say, almost one student in four was studying Protestant theology. For more complete university statistics and their interpretation, see Konrad Jarausch, *Deutsche Studenten, 1800-1970* (Frankfurt a.M., 1984) and Charles E. McClelland, *State, Society and University in Germany, 1700-1914*.
- 12 See Erich Foerster, “Frankfurt a.M.: II. Universität, in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (2nd. edition; Tübingen, 1928), II, cols. 660-662.
- 13 *Die christliche Welt*, 25 (1911), cols. 308-9.
- 14 See, for instance, Rade's defense of “Die Bedeutung der theologischen Fakultät für die heutige Kultur” in *Akademische Rundschau: Zeitschrift für das gesamte Hochschulwesen und die akademischen Berufstände*, 11 (1913), 632-50.
- 15 *Die christliche Welt*, 26 (1912), col. 266.
- 16 For insight into the theological consequences of Rade's having been introduced to Ritschlian thought through Harnack, see Schwöbel's monograph, *Martin Rade: Das Verhältnis von Geschichte, Religion und Moral als Grundproblem seiner Theologie*, pp. 17ff. The enduring quality of the Harnack-Rade connexion initially established during Rade's student years in Leipzig is underscored by Harnack's having dedicated the second volume of his collected *Reden und Aufsätze* (Gießen, 1904) to “my friend, Martin Rade”, and by Rade's having subsequently dedicated his *Glaubenslehre* to Harnack. See also Rade's touching tribute to his former teacher which was published in *Die christliche Welt* on the occasion of Harnack's sixtieth birthday [25 (1911), cols. 424-5].
- 17 “Die Bedeutung des geschichtlichen Sinnes im Protestantismus” (1900), now in *Recht und Glaube*, volume 3 of *Ausgewählte Schriften*, pp. 98-122. When it was first published in the *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, Rade's article attracted hostile reactions from the likes of Wobbermin and Traub. See his reply to his critics, “Zum Streit um die rechte Methode der christlichen Glaubenslehre”, *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, 11 (1901), 429-34.
- 18 See *Recht und Glaube*, p. 98.
- 19 *Glaubenslehre* (Gotha, 1926), I, ix.
- 20 In opposition to Max Müller and other champions of the comparative study of religions, Harnack had held that nothing essential could be learned from studying “other” religions which could not be learned from the proper study of Christianity alone: “He who knows this one religion, knows the whole of religion.” See, “Die Aufgabe der theologischen Fakultäten und die allgemeine Religionsgeschichte” [1901], now in Adolf von Harnack *Reden und Aufsätze*, II, 161-78. Shortly after Harnack's dictum was originally published, Rade registered in the columns of *Die christliche Welt* [15 (1901) cols. 920-2] his dissent from its evident Christian tribalism, thus provoking a less than temperate reply from Harnack, which also appeared in *Die christliche Welt* and was subsequently reprinted in Harnack's *Reden und Aufsätze*, II, 179-87.
- 21 See, e.g., his entry on “Religionsgeschichte” in the first edition of *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Tübingen, 1913), IV, cols. 2183-2200, where he identifies Harnack as the unwitting founder of “the history of religions school”. On the impact of the historical and comparative study of religions on Rade, see Schwöbel's monograph on *Martin Rade: Das Verhältnis von Geschichte, Religion und Moral als Grundproblem seiner Theologie*, pp. 68ff, and also his editorial introduction to *Wirklichkeit und Wahrheit der Religion*, volume one of *Ausgewählte Schriften*, pp. 14ff.
- 22 *Die christliche Welt*, 26 (1912) cols. 266, 483-5.
- 23 At least as regards Rade, this distorted image has been shattered by the total impact of Schwöbel's research and editorial work, which serves to

- substantiate his claim that — for Rade — the contemporary church, as the concrete community of faith, is “the starting-point and the final objective of theology”. *Wirklichkeit und Wahrheit der Religion*, p. 11.
- 24 See, e.g. the selection of Rade’s writings included in *Recht und Glaube*, as well as Schwöbel’s illuminating introduction to that volume. See also Rade’s “Unkonfessionalistisches Luthertum: Erinnerung an die Lutherfreude in der Ritschlschen Theologie”, *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*, 18 (1937), 131-151.
 - 25 “Die Amtsentsetzung des Pfarrers Schrempf”, *Die christliche Welt*, 6 (1892), cols. 759-768. See also *Der rechte evangelische Glaube* [1892], now in *Recht und Glaube*, pp. 39-61.
 - 26 See Friedrich Michael Schiele’s editorial foreword to the first volume of *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Tübingen, 1909) p. v. For the objectives of the new encyclopaedia, see especially pp. viii-ix.
 - 27 See especially the announcement “An der Leser” in the final issue of vol. 16 (1906) and the first issue of vol. 17 (1907), in which Rade and his co-editor Herrmann set out the journal’s new editorial objectives.
 - 28 Schwöbel rightly identifies *Die christliche Welt* as Rade’s “life’s work”. *Martin Rade: Das Verhältnis von Geschichte, Religion und Moral als Grundproblem seiner Theologie*, p. 49; cf. pp. 44-50, 120-132, 206-220. See also the still valuable study by Johannes Rathje, *Die Welt des freien Protestantismus* (Stuttgart, 1952).
 - 29 On the cultural significance of the new genre of periodicals which were occasioned by this new readership, see Karl-Ulrich Syndram, “Rundschau-Zeitschriften: Anmerkungen zur ideengeschichtlichen Rolle eines Zeitschriftentypus”, in *Ideengeschichte und Kunstgeschichte: Philosophie und bildende Kunst im Kaiserreich*, edited by Ekkehard Mai et al. (Berlin, 1983), pp. 349-70.
 - 30 See *Die christliche Welt*, 24 (1910), No 7.
 - 31 “Was heißt ‘Wesen des Christentums?’” appeared in *Die christliche Welt* in six instalments between 7 May and 16 July 1903. Readers then, as now, found parts of it heavy going. “Bedtime reading it’s not”, Rade allowed, “but for anyone used to the diet of our best secular magazines, surely not all that difficult to digest.” *Die christliche Welt*, 17 (16 July 1903), col. 693.
 - 32 It is striking that no fewer than sixteen of the items selected by James M. Robinson for his version of *The Beginnings of Dialectic Theology* (Richmond, 1968) were articles that had originally appeared in *Die christliche Welt*.
 - 33 One thinks particularly of Harnack’s famous “fifteen questions” to “those theologians who are contemptuous of academic theology”, which were published in *Die christliche Welt*, 37 (11 January 1923, cols. 6-8), and Barth’s effusive reply, which followed in the issue dated 8 February (cols. 89-91). The “conversation” closed with an unsatisfactory pair of “open letters” between Harnack (cols. 142-144) and Barth (cols. 244-252). What we already know of the background to this debate from Barth’s letters to Thurneysen is now usefully supplemented by the relevant correspondence in Schwöbel’s edition of *Karl Barth — Martin Rade: Ein Briefwechsel*, pp. 183-189, a volume which should be regarded as essential reading by anyone wishing a more nuanced understanding of Barth’s theological relationship to Rade and the “friends of the Christian World”.
 - 34 On the relation between faith and praxis as a leading theme in every phase of Rade’s life, see Schwöbel’s introduction to *Religion, Moral und Politik* [vol. 2 of *Ausgewählte Schriften*] and his monograph *Martin Rade: Das Verhältnis von Geschichte, Religion und Moral als Grundproblem seiner Theologie*.
 - 35 The nearest one comes to such is his article on “Sitte, Sittlichkeit, Sittengesetz” in Hauck’s *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche* (Leipzig, 1906), vol. 18, pp. 400-410; now in *Religion, Moral und Politik*, pp. 115-131.
 - 36 See “Religion und Moral: Streitsätze für Theologen” [1898], now in *Religion, Moral und Politik*, pp. 42-54. See also the fourth section of *Die Religion im modernen Geistesleben* [1898], now in *Wirklichkeit und Wahrheit der Religion*, pp. 27-79, esp. 55-61.
 - 37 See *Die christliche Welt*, 26 (1912), col. 166.
 - 38 See *Die christliche Welt*, 46 (1932), col. 651.
 - 39 See *Die christliche Welt*, 25 (1911), cols. 957-8.
 - 40 See *Die christliche Welt*, 26 (1912), col. 653.
 - 41 See *Die christliche Welt*, 26 (1912), cols. 265-6.
 - 42 See *Die christliche Welt*, 25 (1911), col. 237.
 - 43 See *Die christliche Welt*, 25 (1911), col. 452. More radically, however, he argued that any suitable member of the church — male or female, lay or ordained — should be allowed to exercise “priestly” functions, including the right to celebrate both sacraments. See “Das königliche Priestertum der Gläubigen und seine Forderung an die evangelische Kirche unserer Zeit” [1918], now in *Recht und Glaube*, pp. 167-196.
 - 44 Amongst recent studies of the ESK, which was founded 100 years ago this year, see in particular E. I. Kouri, *Der deutsche Protestantismus und die Soziale Frage 1870-1919: Zur Sozialpolitik im Bildungsbürgertum* (Berlin and New York, 1984); Harry Lieberohn, *Religion and Industrial Society: The Protestant Social Congress in Wilhelmine Germany* (Philadelphia, 1986); and W. R. Ward, *Theology, Sociology and Politics: The German Protestant Social Conscience 1890-1933* (Berne, 1979).
 - 45 For Rade’s reflections on the Congress and its accomplishments, see “Vor 50 Jahren” in *Evangelisches Ringen um soziale Gemeinschaft: Fünfzig Jahre Evangelisch-Sozialer Kongress 1890-1940*, edited by Johannes Herz (Leipzig, 1940), pp. 9-13. See also Schwöbel’s monograph, *Martin Rade: Das Verhältnis von Geschichte, Religion und Moral als Grundproblem seiner Theologie*, pp. 50ff, and his editorial introduction to *Religion, Moral und Politik*.
 - 46 See *Die sittlich-religiöse Gedankenwelt unserer Industriearbeiter* [1898], now in *Religion, Moral und Politik*, pp. 55-114. See also R. -W. Becker, *Religion in Zahlen: Ursprung und Wege der quantifizierenden Erforschung religiöser Orientierungs- und Verhaltensweisen* (Heidelberg, 1968), p. 25 [cited by Schwöbel in *Religion, Moral und Politik*, n. 20, p. 16].
 - 47 See Schwöbel’s introduction to *Religion, Moral und Politik*, pp. 32ff.
 - 48 See *Unsere Pflicht zur Politik* (Marburg, 1913), now in *Religion, Moral und Politik*, pp. 144-180. See also the political essays reprinted in Rade’s *Das religiöse Wunder und anderes* (Tübingen, 1909).
 - 49 See J.-P. Leppien, *Martin Rade und die deutsch-dänischen Beziehungen 1909-1929: Ein Beitrag zur historischen Friedensforschung und zur Problematik des Nationalismus* (Neumünster, 1981).
 - 50 Not least because of views expressed in his two meditations in *Die christliche Welt* on “Der Bankrott der Christenheit” 28 (1914), 849-50, and “Der Gott der Völker” 28 (1914), 869-71. In the latter of the two, Rade dared to suggest that German Christians should pray also for their enemies. In the Germany of the time, as in an England of more recent memory, a dangerous suggestion for a cleric to make!
 - 51 See the relevant correspondence in Schwöbel’s edition of *Karl Barth-Martin Rade: Ein Briefwechsel*, as well as Schwöbel’s editorial introduction which, when taken together with what one finds on pp. 175-90 of his *Martin Rade*, gives the most convincing reconstruction yet of Karl Barth’s reaction to the events of August 1914.
 - 52 See Schwöbel, *Religion, Moral und Politik*, p. 38.
 - 53 “The Present Situation of Christianity in Germany”, *The American Journal of Theology*, 24 (1920), 339-367. Though temperate in tone, the article does put frankly the German point of view on such questions as war guilt, with the result that the American editors felt it necessary to add a footnote (p. 339) reminding readers that opinions of contributors are not necessarily those of the editors — a footnote for which the editors of the successor to *The American Journal of Theology* had apparently felt no comparable need when in the following year they published French Protestant Maurice Goguel’s companion piece interpreting “The Religious Situation in France” [*The Journal of Religion*, 1 (1921), 561-577], a piece in which he praised the *union sacrée* between the churches and the State which had been established at the outset of hostilities with Germany.
 - 54 “Christentum und Frieden” (1922), now in *Religion, Moral und Politik*, vol. 2 of *Martin Rade: Ausgewählte Schriften*, ed. Christoph Schwöbel (Gütersloh, 1986), pp. 181-202.