The Biblical Counseling Movement

{ HISTORY AND CONTEXT }

David Powlison

"I have watched with much interest the developments in Christian counseling over the past forty years. The issues discussed here are still very important, and this book is a good introduction to them. Even readers already familiar with this movement will learn new things. David's book is entirely judicious, careful, and balanced in its treatment of Adams, his opponents, and the events affecting the biblical counseling movement. I hope the book attracts a large readership."

John M. Frame, D.D.
Professor of Systematic Theology, Reformed Theological Seminary; author of *The Doctrine of the Christian Life*

"Powlison is provocative and delightful: provocative because he addresses fault lines within pastoral care; delightful because he does it with honesty and kindness. Thank you, David, for showing us where we need to be heading!"

D. Clair Davis, Dr.Théol.
Professor of Church History and Chaplain, Redeemer Seminary

"David Powlison and I share a deep commitment to biblical counseling and to church history. Dr. Powlison unites these twin themes in his excellent work, *The Biblical Counseling Movement: History and Context*. Everyone interested in the modern biblical counseling movement over the past generation needs to read this well-researched and well-written book. This is a fair and balanced presentation of one of the most important movements in the evangelical church over the past forty years. Readers will be equipped not only with historical insight but, more importantly, with wisdom for how to speak the truth in love."

Bob Kellemen, Ph.D.
Author of *Soul Physicians*, *Spiritual Friends*, *Beyond the Suffering*, and *Sacred Friendships*

"It is difficult to overestimate the importance of this book. The 'counseling wars' of the past half century have ignited passions often characterized by labels rather than by careful analytic thought. This is the first broadly comprehensive history of these developments. Although Powlison is one of the important players, he takes extraordinary pains not to misrepresent those with whom he disagrees. Above all, while trying to be open to truth and insight whatever their source (after all, the reaches of common grace are vast), Powlison faithfully argues that the Christian faith must play a constitutive role in building a robust model of Christian counseling. Amen and Amen."

D. A. Carson, Ph.D.
Research Professor of New Testament, Trinity Evangelical Divinity School; author of *The Gagging of God*, *Christ and Culture Revisited,* and *An Introduction to the New Testament*

"David Powlison has written the definitive account of a biblical counseling movement that arose in the 1960s and continues to influence the field of Christian counseling today. The reader is taken on a journey through the historical development of nouthetic counseling, its origins, influences, theological content, organizational fault lines, and key figures. Powlison is not a dispassionate outsider. He is clear in what he believes, but he approaches his subject with such a thoroughness and fairness in his research and assessment that he will leave readers from all sides of the Christian counseling field with a new comprehension of the theological, philosophical, personal, social, and cultural components of the movement. This book is a must-read for anyone interested in understanding the rapid and turbulent growth occurring in faith-based counseling in the latter part of the twentieth century."

Ian F. Jones, Ph.D.
Director, Baptist Marriage and Family Counseling Center; Professor of Psychology and Counseling, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary; author of *The Counsel of Heaven on Earth*

"Understanding history enables us to make better sense of people's ideas and practices. Biblical counseling has been around now for over forty years, and it has developed. This definitive and reflective examination of its origins in the story and work of its founder, Jay Adams, provides the necessary context to appreciate its important contributions to the Christian counseling world from a second-generation leader in the movement."
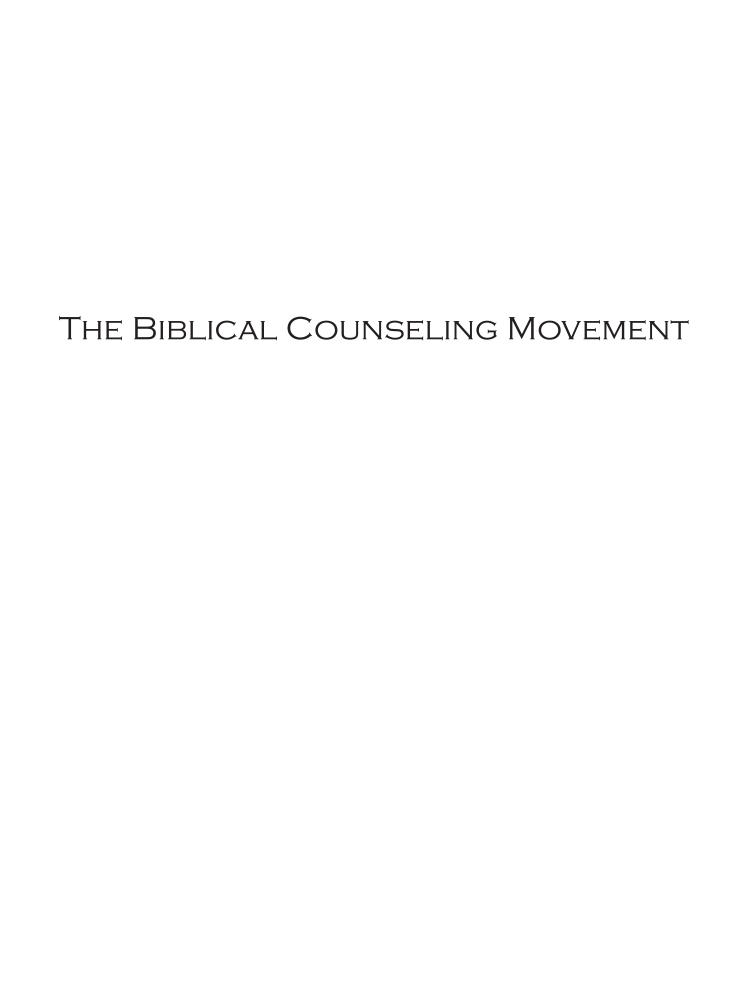
Eric L. Johnson, Ph.D.
Director, Society for Christian Psychology; Lawrence and Charlotte Hoover Professor of Pastoral Care, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary; author of *Foundations for Soul Care*

"David Powlison has well served the church of Jesus Christ with this historical survey of the biblical counseling movement. His writing style is informative, engaging, and full of grace. You feel like an old friend is telling you a story by the fireside. At Faith, we consider this book to be so important that it will be a required textbook for several of our biblical counseling training programs."

Steve Viars, D.Min.
Senior Pastor, Faith Baptist Church,
Lafayette, IN

The Biblical Counseling Movement

THE BIBLICAL COUNSELING MOVEMENT
HISTORY AND CONTEXT

David Powlison

This book is dedicated to the memory of

Peter Andrews Powlison (1922–1987).

He would have found great pleasure in this day.

Contents

List of Tables

Preface

It delights me that this book has been read by so many readers and has been so well received. It is, after all, a "dissertation." That genre does not usually promise a stimulating read—more an Esther 6:1 soporific for sleepless nights than a spine-tingling page turner!

This new edition makes two changes from the original dissertation. The first is minor but significant. The second is more substantial. We have also corrected many small errors of spelling, punctuation, fact, and format.

The minor alteration is a title change from the original. It is now, as you have seen, *The Biblical Counseling Movement: History and Context*. This accurately describes both the topic: biblical counseling; and the intellectual task: to trace the history and to set that history in its sociocultural context, both ecclesiastical and professional.

Why the change? It is a matter of intended audience, in order to clear up a common misunderstanding. The original title was *Competent to Counsel?: The History of a Conservative Protestant Anti-Psychiatry Movement*. This PhD dissertation completed my studies in the history of science and medicine at the University of Pennsylvania in 1996. Like all dissertations, it was written primarily for practitioners in its particular field. To an audience of historians of medicine, "anti-psychiatry movement" describes a well-known genre. Under that label come studies of various proposed alternatives to the reigning psychiatric orthodoxy. These have included feminist, Marxist, Szaszian, and liberal Protestant alternatives to the ideas and professional assumptions of the mental health establishment. Historically, biblical counseling is one of many proposals to reconfigure psychiatric thought and practice (and it is one of the few that generated a significant social movement). As an historian, I was able to justify and to locate my topic by portraying the biblical counseling movement as one more alternative to mainstream psychiatry and psychotherapy. So "conservative Protestant" parallels "feminist" or "Marxist" as an adjective, and "anti-psychiatry movement" is the genre that each adjective describes.

What communicated well to professional historians too easily miscommunicates to counseling practitioners trying to sort out the history of a movement in which they are actively involved or about which they are curious. "Anti-psychiatry" tends to be read as a defining characteristic of the biblical counseling movement, as if a negative rhetoric of attack is the leading edge. But, as both the dissertation and a reading of relevant literature make clear, the biblical counseling movement has never been "anti-psychiatry" in the way

that adjective tends to be heard by nonhistorians. Negative rhetoric appears on occasion (see chap. 7), but the movement essentially voiced a positive and practical intention: to enrich the practical theology and ministry of the church of Jesus Christ (for example, see chaps. 4–6). Regarding psychiatry, it has tried to redefine how a properly reconfigured psychiatric profession would go about useful medical business, while not trespassing into the work and theology of the church. Chapters 1 and 6 of this dissertation (and the citations therein) orient the reader to this question.

You will find a discussion of the technical definition of "anti-psychiatry" on pages 9–10. Chapter 7 (p. 143) will discuss what Jay Adams said about psychiatry in 1975, answering questions often posed by his critics:

> *Are you saying that psychology and psychiatry are illegitimate disciplines? Do you think that they have no place at all?*
> No, you misunderstand me. It is exactly not that. . . . My problem with them is that they refuse to stay on their own property. . . .
> If [the psychiatrist] were to use his medical training to find medical solutions to the truly organic difficulties that affect attitudes and behavior, the pastor would be excited about his work.

Given this fundamentally positive vision, it is no accident that many Christians with mental health credentials—psychiatrists, neurologists, psychiatric nurses, social workers, psychotherapists—embraced biblical counseling, believing that it offered a truer understanding of people and a better cure for troubled souls.

The second change is more substantive. I have added several appendices not included in the original dissertation. In a personal note on page 15, I commented on the challenge of writing dispassionate history when one is a passionate participant in the events described: "I hold views

on many of the issues that will be described. . . . I have written some of mine down." What was true in 1996 is even truer by 2009. I think readers have appreciated that this book is written from the standpoint of a professional historian, seeking above all else to be accurate, comprehensive, and fair minded. But for this new edition I've added three articles that show explicitly where I stand. "Cure of Souls (and the Modern Psychotherapies)" (2007) updates the history but in a way that openly reveals my commitments and hopes. "Crucial Issues in Contemporary Biblical Counseling" (1988) outlines my assessment of balances and imbalances in Jay Adams's model. "Biological Psychiatry" (1999) updates the discussion of what constitute "truly organic difficulties" in the light of developments in psychiatry decades after Adams wrote his views.

Given these additions, you may want to consider your reading strategy as you begin. My preference is for readers to plunge into the history first, later going on to the appendices where I give my point of view. I suspect that this preference expresses my instincts as a counselor—listen carefully to people and to all that's going on, then seek to make sense of it all! But some readers may want to start with the appendices, then double back to ponder the historical flow. Either way, I trust you will gain a vivid sense for the challenge of embodying two things simultaneously. A *scholar* and *historian* aims to be self-critical, observant, and evenhanded in describing persons, ideas, and events. An *advocate* and *counselor* should embody those same strengths but also care deeply about what happens, applauding or lamenting at every turn, always hoping to influence what happens next. By instinct, I'm an advocate and counselor. I care deeply about the outcome of this story. But the discipline of learning to be a fair-minded historian brought incalculable benefits. I hope that you, too, benefit from the combination.

Wise ministry is always "occasional" and particular, rather than timeless and general. It takes place with reference to the particulars of person, place, time, and current challenges. Locating ourselves in history is extremely valuable. I hope that you find *The Biblical Counseling Movement: History and Context* both informative and helpful. I hope that one fruit of your reading will be to further the development of counseling ministries that worthily glorify Jesus Christ. After all, Christian faith and practice is the original "cure of the soul"—the pastoral phrase which supplied the Greek etymology for both "psychiatry" and "psychotherapy." The reinvigoration of cure of souls in our time and in our varied places is one great challenge that currently faces each of us and all of us together.

Now may the God of peace who brought again from the dead our Lord Jesus, the great shepherd of the sheep, by the blood of the eternal covenant, equip you with everything good that you may do his will, working in us that which is pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ, to whom be glory forever and ever. Amen.

— Hebrews 13:20–21 ESV

David Powlison
February, 2009
Glenside, Pennsylvania

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank the people who helped in various ways to bring this project to completion. Charles Rosenberg, my advisor, modeled for me what it means to be an historian. My readers, Ronald Numbers, Riki Kuklick, and Clair Davis offered not only their comments but also their encouragement. Charles Bosk told me to prepare to be changed by participant research. He was right in more ways than I could have imagined; in fact, the history itself was changed in some small way by becoming subject to participant research.

Jay Adams, my prime subject, and Betty Jane Adams generously gave their time and hospitality, for which I am very thankful. I owe thanks also to many others who appear in these pages, with whom I conversed or corresponded over the years, in particular Donald Capps, John Carter, John Coe, Gary Collins, Larry Crabb, Howard Eyrich, Bill Goode, Vernon Grounds, Lloyd Jonas, Stan Jones, Wayne Mack, Bruce Narramore, Robert Roberts, George Scipione, Bob Smith, and Richard Winter, along with numerous attenders at AACC, CAPS, and NANC. Of those listed, George Scipione's diligence and insight were particularly helpful.

Edmund Clowney first suggested I study history. John Bettler suggested the specific topic and contributed in many other tangible and intangible ways. Paul Tripp, Ed Welch, and my other colleagues managed to know when and when not to ask how the dissertation was going. Barb Bradley provided invaluable help on CCEF's client database. Brad Beavers and Bill Smith helped to find sources. Librarians at the University of Pennsylvania, Westminster Theological Seminary, Fuller Theological Seminary, and Biola University patiently assisted and guided me.

Others provided moral and material support along the way. Without Bob Kramer's steady and practical encouragement, this project could not have happened. The encouragement of many other friends—the Blakemans, Covingtons, DeHarts, Groves, Millers, Yenchkos, and others—carried me along. Maryanne Soper tidied up countless details at the proofreading stage. Jane Burns's hospitality at St. Clare's and St. Julian's came at a crucial point in the writing process. My mother, Dora Powlison, quietly but persistently encouraged me, as did my parents-in-law, Frank and Eloise Gardner. I would like to thank Peter, Gwenyth, and Hannah, who grew up with "Dad's dissertation" as a somewhat mysterious backdrop throughout their lives. Finally, I would like to thank my wife, Nan: it is not without reason that "love is patient" heads the list.

Abstract

In 1970 Jay Adams, a Presbyterian minister, launched an anti-psychiatry movement among American, conservative Protestants. Partly inspired by O. H. Mowrer and Thomas Szasz, Adams made a threefold claim. First, modern psychological theories were bad theology, misinterpreting functional problems in living. Second, psychotherapeutic professions were a false pastorate, interlopers on tasks that properly belonged to pastors. Third, the Bible, as interpreted by Reformed Protestants, taught pastors the matters necessary to counsel competently. Adams's "nouthetic counseling" rapidly developed the institutional forms that typically signal a profession. But it was environed by three powerful professional neighbors. Secular psychological professions dominated twentieth-century discourse and practice regarding problems in living. The mainline Protestant pastoral counseling movement had shaped religious counseling from the 1940s. A rapidly professionalizing community of evangelical psychotherapists shared Adams's conservative Protestant faith but looked to integrate that faith with modern psychologies. A conflict over professional jurisdiction ensued between Adams and evangelical psychotherapists. This conflict has never been documented historically. I studied it almost exclusively from primary sources: interviews, publications, case records. Adams's intellectual system contained six main parts. First, his epistemology arose from Reformed Protestantism and featured the Bible. Second, he defined problems in living morally as expressions of sin. Third, he treated physiological and social constraints as the context of personal problems, not their cause. Fourth, he proclaimed the grace of Christ as the comprehensive solution to life's problems. Fifth, he defined counseling as pastoral and church-based. Sixth, he subjected secular psychologies to a program of suspicion, debunking their intellectual and professional claims. Adams gained followers among pastors and their parishioners but largely lost the interprofessional conflict. In the 1980s evangelical psychotherapists successfully asserted their claim to cultural authority over problems in living, extending their institutional power in higher education, publishing, and the provision of care. The nouthetic counseling movement became isolated from the mainstream of conservative Protestantism; its institutions languished; fault lines emerged internally. But in the 1990s, nouthetic counseling again began to prosper.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

I am convinced about you, my brothers, that you are competent to counsel one another.
— Paul to the Roman church, c. AD 60[1]

Nearly all the wisdom we possess, that is to say, true and sound wisdom,
consists of two parts: the knowledge of God and of ourselves. . . . [A] veritable world of miseries
is to be found in humankind. . . . Accordingly, the knowledge of ourselves not only arouses us
to seek God, but also, as it were, leads us by the hand to find him. — John Calvin, 1559[2]

Has Evangelical religion sold its birthright for a mess of psychological pottage?
—O. Hobart Mowrer, 1961[3]

A good seminary education rather than medical school or a degree in clinical psychology
is the most fitting background for a counselor. —Jay Adams, 1970[4]

In 1970 Jay Adams, a forty-one-year-old Presbyterian pastor and seminary professor, published an inflammatory book about counseling. Written for an audience of theologically conservative Protestants—chiefly pastors and seminary students, but including laypeople and mental health professionals—*Competent to Counsel (CtC)* attacked the hegemony of the psychiatric establishment over the church's thinking and practice in the area of problems in living. Stimulated by the anti-psychiatries of O. Hobart Mowrer, William Glasser, Perry London, and Thomas Szasz, Adams intended a particularized revolution: he wanted conservative Protestants to take care of their own, to defer and refer to psychiatric authority no longer.[5] The agitator succeeded in the way that agitators often do, gaining both loyal converts and resolute foes.

Adams and the movement he created present the historian with an unusually discrete case study in jurisdictional conflict. Both the intellectual and the institutional boundaries between Adams and his opponents were remarkably clear. Unlike, for example, the conflicts between doctors and nurses in medical settings, this is not a story of infighting to reallocate privileges and responsibilities within a set of shared cognitive and institutional assumptions. In this story, an intellectual and institutional paradigm attacked the dominant paradigm and created a parallel world of practice. At the same time, the fiercest conflicts in this story occurred between people who apparently had a great deal in common:

Adams and the rapidly professionalizing community of conservative Protestant psychotherapists. *The Biblical Counseling Movement: History and Context* traces the historical, intellectual, and social dimensions of this jurisdictional conflict.

Adams's dispute with the mainstream understanding of personal problems was organized around a knowledge system framed in explicitly theological terms. He objected to the prevailing notions of mental illness and mental health. In his view, the medical model, as an interpretive schema mapped onto troubled emotions or troubling behavior, excised human life of its fundamentally moral character. It defined men and women as basically nonresponsible, both for themselves and to God. Corresponding to this presumed misdiagnosis of the human condition, the medical model misinterpreted the therapeutic ideal, contenting itself with producing untroubled emotions and untroubling behavior. Adams did not think that either peace of mind or socially acceptable behavior prescribed an adequate goal for the "cure of souls." He asserted instead that the church should understand the vast majority of problems in living in terms of an explicitly moral model.

Given this diagnostic framework, he established goals for the church's counseling that employed the ingredients of the traditional Christian message. First, because "man's greatest need is forgiveness,"[6] the forgiving grace of Jesus Christ was essential to solving problems in living. Adams believed that God worked within the human personality, and that those who were forgiven would also be helped by the Holy Spirit to alter patterns of thinking, feeling, and behavior. Second, as thankful recipients of such grace, "human beings should look like Jesus Christ."[7] Thus Adams defined the change process, again in frankly theological terms, as "progressive sanctification." Both normal- and extreme-range sin and misery would find progressive resolution as

people began to live according to the pattern of "faith and practice" taught in the Bible.[8]

Given his redefinition of both the human dilemma and its solution, Adams logically objected to the institutions of the psychiatric and psychotherapeutic professions. In Adams's eyes, the systems of education, training, and licensing; the instruments of publication and public relations; the agencies that delivered services—all these were enemies, not friends, because they were prejudiced against the beliefs and purposes of the conservative Protestant churches. Adams's redefinition of the counseling task as explicitly "pastoral" brought with it a number of institutional ramifications. Expert authority in the personal problems jurisdiction needed to be reallocated to pastors and pastoral theologians—away from mental health professionals who did not interpret or address problems in living in terms that Adams found acceptable. He claimed that people needed a pastoral cure-of-souls, not the ersatz of psychotherapy or psychiatry. Such counseling practice needed to be relocated into local churches—away from hospitals and professional offices.

Predictably, Adams suspected those fellow conservative Protestants who sought to acquire secular credentials and to replicate professional mental health structures, ideas, and practices within the Christian community. Their growing control over higher education, publication, and counseling services during the time period of our story seemed to Adams simply to cloak the wolf in sheep's clothing. Pastor and church were the primary institutions in Adams's proposed reconstruction of counseling practice, intended to replace the characteristic institutions of America's twentieth-century mental health system. Adams, however, did pour a great deal of energy into creating secondary institutions that paralleled the forms of the established mental health system: programs to provide various levels of training and education, a

professional journal, an association for accrediting counselors, links with publishing houses willing to print his books.[9]

Given the theological and institutional assumptions that Adams brought to interpreting personal problems, he logically objected to prevailing therapeutic methods. In his view, such methods were predicated on commitments regarding human nature, God, and the role of the human community inimical to conservative Protestant beliefs. Central to his vision was the notion that human life is meant to be lived under benign authority—parental, pastoral, ecclesiastical, and, ultimately, immediate theocratic authority as articulated in the Bible—whose purposes were to transform human nature, not actualize it. In particular, he excoriated the notion that the counselor's stance should be detached, nonevaluative, nondirective, and all-accepting in the attempt to elicit healing forces from within the troubled individual. Such a stance only pretended to neutrality in Adams's view. It obscured the value-laden character of the counselor's covert commitment to a notion—"the solution to man's problems lies in the man himself"[10]—that Adams deemed unacceptable, given that Christianity believed in an external Savior and in a necessary conversion from those evils presumed to operate deep within human nature. He conceived of the counselor's role as activistic—even intrusive. He believed that counselors needed to become caring mentors: advisory, consultive, didactic, informative, confrontive, guiding. In a phrase, Adams called on counselors to be "lovingly frank" or "irenically direct" in impressing a biblical worldview on counselees.[11] Adams coined a name for his approach: "nouthetic counseling."[12]

Adams's system sought to apply conservative, Reformed Protestantism to counseling. The adjective "Reformed" highlights the distinctives of Adams's theological position within Protestantism. He was heir to that particular tradition of the Reformation deriving from John Calvin. Within the Reformed tradition he was most influenced by nineteenth-century American Presbyterianism and by certain elements of twentieth-century Dutch Calvinist philosophy. Adams presented his system as a comprehensive worldview, explicitly denying that it was "scientific," or could be validated or invalidated scientifically:

> The conclusions in this book are not based upon scientific findings. My method is presuppositional. I avowedly accept the inerrant Bible as the Standard of all faith and practice. The Scriptures, therefore, are the basis, and contain the criteria by which I have sought to make every judgment. Two precautions must be suggested. First, I am aware that my interpretations and applications of Scripture are not infallible. Second, I do not wish to disregard science, but rather I welcome it as a useful adjunct for the purposes of illustrating, filling in generalizations with specifics, and challenging wrong human interpretations of Scripture, thereby forcing the student to restudy the Scriptures. However, in the area of psychiatry, science largely has given way to humanistic philosophy and gross speculation.[13]

As a worldview, Adams's counseling had totalitarian qualities, like other comprehensive worldviews.[14] It thus entailed a sweeping critique of systems founded on other assumptions. In *CtC* and subsequent books Adams repeatedly attacked the three major schools of personality theory (psychodynamic, humanistic, behavioral), along with medical model psychiatry and all forms of secular psychotherapy, for misconstruing the human dilemma. He expressed guarded appreciation only for experimental psychology, for strictly somatic psychiatry, and for anti-psychiatrists such as O. H. Mowrer, William Glasser, Perry London, and Thomas Szasz.[15]

Mowrer was particularly catalytic. Adams read his works and studied with him during the summer of 1965. Adams subsequently wrote:

> Reading Mowrer's book *The Crisis in Psychiatry and Religion* . . . was an earth-shaking experience. In this book Mowrer, a noted research psychologist who had been honored with the Presidency of the American Psychological Association for his breakthrough in learning theory, challenged the entire field of psychiatry, declaring it a failure, and sought to refute its fundamental Freudian presuppositions. Boldly he threw down the gauntlet to conservative Christians as well. He asked: "Has Evangelical religion sold its birthright for a mess of psychological pottage?"[16]

Adams answered yes to Mowrer's question, picked up the gauntlet, and called on his fellow conservative pastors to join him in reclaiming their birthright. He urged ministers to retake the personal problems domain for those people under their pastoral care.

The precision with which Adams defined both his program and his audience contributes unique features to this case study in interprofessional relations and intellectual conflict. For example, Adams evidenced little interest in suggesting public policy for a pluralistic society; he intentionally constructed a sectarian counseling system for a limited audience. He showed no interest in contributing to forms of counseling that could be tailored to the diverse worldviews of people who did not share his belief system. He thought others should come to share his beliefs, hence he was explicitly evangelistic in counseling. He had no interest in simply gaining an increased role for pastoral counselors within the existing mental health system; he intended to build a parallel, alternative system.

Another noteworthy feature is that little direct confrontation occurred between Adams and those theoreticians and institutions he opposed. He had little interaction with mental health professionals. His reiterated opposition to "Freud, Rogers, and Skinner" served in large part as a symbolic resource for his ongoing feud with other Christians who more or less embraced the theories and practices of secular psychologists. He collided with the two groups wielding cultural authority over the personal problems sphere within Protestant churches, groups claiming authority in the same jurisdiction as Adams. First, Adams occasionally criticized theoreticians of the "pastoral counseling movement," who had defined pastoral counseling for both liberal and conservative seminaries. The pastoral counseling movement had been extremely influential in the 1950s and 1960s, mediating Carl Rogers, Alfred Adler, Carl Jung, Sigmund Freud, and others—packaged in liberal theologies—to liberal pastors, and to those few conservative pastors who thought at all about counseling. Second, Adams more frequently argued with evangelical psychotherapists who, beginning in the mid-1950s, articulated a nonpastoral psychotherapy to explain and address the personal problems of conservative Protestants.[17] The nascent psychotherapy movement among theologically conservative Protestants—who called their program the "integration" of psychology and theology—mediated the same set of secular psychologists to a community increasingly interested in thinking about and practicing counseling.[18]

If *CtC* had simply offered one more attack from the borderlands of the disaffected and disenfranchised, Adams would merit only a minor footnote in the history of his generation's anti-psychiatric writings. But he was only secondarily disaffected from the mental health establishment in which he had received a fair bit of instruction, and under whose intellectual and institutional hegemony he had chafed. He was primarily an entrepreneurial system builder, with aspirations to retake turf for

a particular constituency. Attacks on psychiatry, psychotherapy, theoretical psychology, and the mental health system[19] served defensive functions for Adams's positive intentions. He sought to offer—in particular to conservative Protestants—an intellectual, methodological, and institutional alternative to the mental health system.

Adams possessed two resources lacking in most anti-psychiatries. First, he could draw on a well-developed body of articulated belief and practice, the vast intellectual resources of classic Protestantism. To the extent that Adams was an innovator, it was in suggesting a new range of contemporary implications and applications of traditional Calvinist beliefs. Second, Adams belonged to a community that found those beliefs compelling, and had a teaching position at one of the leading educational institutions, Westminster Theological Seminary.[20] His social location within conservative Protestantism gave him a ready—if, as we shall see, ambivalent—constituency for institution building. Many anti-psychiatrists must content themselves to play the role of intellectual guerrilla or gadfly; Adams was able to establish a homeland.[21]

The Genesis and Development of This Project

In conceptualizing this project, I have been chiefly influenced by two writings: Charles Rosenberg's "The Crisis in Psychiatric Legitimacy" and Andrew Abbott's *System of Professions*.[22] Let me briefly indicate the impact of these two pieces on the definition and framing of my topic. Rosenberg's analysis of the status of psychiatry prompted the questions I asked. Abbott's systematic analysis of jurisdictional disputes—particularly his chapter on how psychiatry replaced the pastorate's jurisdiction over personal problems—suggested the lineaments of an historical narrative.

Rosenberg noted how psychiatry's social legitimacy depended on its maintaining a distinctly medical identity. Promises of rationality and efficacy—a science and technology of human dysfunction and dysphoria, as it were—define psychiatry's badge of authority. Yet the profession has been unable to provide "either understanding or relief consistent with the pretentiousness of such demands" for cognitive and therapeutic authority.[23] The truth contents are often dubitable assertions of faith: "We still debate the fundamental basis of the most common psychiatric diagnoses and their relationship to belief systems and the realities of social structure."[24] Therapeutics are equally problematic. Only the "hard medicines"—psychotropic medication, electroconvulsive therapy, lobotomy—and physical care of the chronically disabled are easy to categorize as medicine. Professional claims to possess effective psychotherapeutic methods only too easily wobble in the face of both dubitable efficacy and the intrinsic difficulty of staking sustainable claims to the methods and contents of talking cure.[25] Psychiatry's identity as a distinctly medical specialty is sometimes tenuous.

A further complication arises because those affiliated with psychiatry's most overtly "medical" institutions and clientele—mental hospitals treating people with chronic organic syndromes—have occupied the lowest status within the profession. The high-status activities of psychiatrists have been those least distinguishable from philosophy, theology, and pastoral care: "much of our century's most influential psychiatric writing has consisted of general statements about the human condition."[26] Such high-status activities—to teach the meaning of life and to cure the soul's ailments—contribute a great deal to psychiatry's status as more than a custodial profession. But the meaning of life is difficult property over which to sustain a professional claim.[27]

Rosenberg noted that psychiatry has been assigned an immense social role in secular

America. This profession has assumed responsibility for the varied ills, dysfunctions, and pains of the human soul. Yet the profession's knowledge and efficacy lag seriously behind its responsibility to provide aid. The call to love and help overwhelms the resources of truth and power. The "embittering gap" between social expectation and professional performance continually threatens the profession's legitimacy.[28]

Within this general framework, Rosenberg made two specific comments that catalyzed this project. First, "We are no more willing, many of us, to suffer the pain of depression or anxiety than that of some more readily localized and meliorable physical ailment; in our society neither stoicism nor traditional religious viewpoints seem ordinarily to provide a context of meaningfulness for such ills of the soul."[29] Psychiatry not only must deal with society's most intractable problems: the demented or behaviorally deviant. It also must deal with the gamut of Everyman's troubles in life, a responsibility inescapably mirroring in reverse the fortunes of religion in modern society. Rosenberg's description of the usual—the modern failure of both stoicism and traditional religion—invited an exploration of the unusual. Jay Adams wrote within a cultural context that frequently still found traditional religious viewpoints meaningful in addressing the soul's ills.

Second, Rosenberg observed, "Because the specialty of psychiatry has so diffuse a responsibility and possesses so little limit-defining knowledge, it is prone to border disputes."[30] That last phrase turned on lights. There are many possible configurations of jurisdictional conflict. For example, the institutional politics within inpatient psychiatric facilities often find psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers contending for the territory of psychotherapeutic intervention (with nursing staff—psychiatric nurses and mental health workers—occasionally thrown into the mix).[31]

This is "normal" politics. But the biblical counseling movement presents a case study of a different sort of border dispute: "secessionist" politics. The case study before us is no contest for relative allocations of power and responsibility within psychiatry's heartland; it is a breakaway republic. Theologically conservative Protestants never fit easily into a mental health system that claimed to explain and treat the wanderings and woes of the soul as a medical ailment. Jay Adams experienced and capitalized on such unease and turned it into an intellectual and institutional program.

Rosenberg concluded that psychiatry's legitimacy is tenuous but sustainable within the medical profession, mainstream American society, and public policy. But Adams found an eddy of society within which psychiatric claims could be fiercely and—given the presuppositions of his constituency—persuasively opposed. Few anti-psychiatry programs have had a social and institutional base from which their claims might be sustained with relative success and turned into the legitimating basis for an alternative institutional structure. Jay Adams was able to make a case both for his anti-psychiatry polemic and for his biblical counseling agenda within the institutions of conservative Protestantism. His success was modest, for he was opposed more often than embraced, especially among the cultural gatekeepers of his natural constituency. But he won a hearing and adherents to his program in certain local churches, conservative theological seminaries and Bible colleges, mission agencies, and publishing houses.

If Rosenberg suggested the broad contours of my project, Andrew Abbott suggested many particulars. He asserted that "it is the history of jurisdictional disputes that is the real, the determining history of the professions."[32] *The Biblical Counseling Movement* will trace a multifaceted conflict between professional groups for authority—both intellectual dominance and control over tasks.

Abbott gave a nuanced set of categories for understanding this conflict.

For example, Abbott emphasized the significance of knowledge systems, rather than trivializing cognitive content as the cost of recognizing the importance of economics, politics, professional organization, and rhetoric. "Knowledge is the currency of competition."[33] This proved very illuminating for my project, in part because it fit so well the self-conscious beliefs and practices of my subjects, people who taught, wrote, and preached because they never doubted that structured knowledge mattered supremely.

In Abbott's terms, a profession's ability to control a jurisdiction hinges on the viability of its system of abstract knowledge. "Only a knowledge system governed by abstractions can redefine its problems and tasks, defend them from interlopers, and seize new problems—as medicine has recently seized alcoholism, mental illness, hyperactivity in children, obesity, and numerous other things."[34] Jay Adams would have read that list and accused medicine of trespassing into functional problems in living. He attempted to seize back what he would call drunkenness, flight from responsibility, willfulness, gluttony, and numerous other things also in need of relabeling.[35]

Abbott's chapter tracing the modern history of the personal problems jurisdiction in America proved fruitful for my purposes. He described how "legitimate psychotherapy was to be an official, public monopoly of the medical profession" from the 1930s into the 1970s.[36] During this period of relative professional peace, "'neurologists' gave organic treatments to patients who had diseases with organic etiology, and 'psychiatrists' gave psychic treatments to patients who had diseases with psychic etiologies," including those who were "anxious, depressed, and upset with their everyday life."[37] Abbott, following the trail of the professional fortunes of psychiatry, noted that in the 1970s and subsequently competition from psychologists and social workers prompted a "rebiologizing" of personal problems by psychiatrists.

We will follow the fortunes of the other professional group that figures prominently in Abbott's story: the clergy. Abbott describes the clergy's historical decline this way. In the nineteenth century "clergy analysis remained primitive. . . . The clergy's failure to provide any academic foundation for their practice with personal problems ultimately proved their undoing."[38] The absence of a compelling knowledge system—to explain and treat problems in living, to interact critically with newly ascendant systems—accelerated marginalization. "By the 1920s the clergy had lost any vestige of cultural jurisdiction over personal problems."[39] They had clearly lost such jurisdiction over high culture; and even in their own self-image and among their own religious constituency, the authoritative voices increasingly spoke *to* the church from the outside, not *from* the church. Abbott summarized the eclipse of the clergy in these words: "There emerged in this period [the 1920s] a clinical pastoral training movement aiming to give young clergymen direct experience with the newly defined personal problems. Seminarians would learn the rudiments of human nature from psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers who 'knew' those rudiments, that is, from the professionals who currently controlled the definitions of them."[40] Abbott cited the career of Anton Boisen as an object lesson in the fate of those who fail in conflicts for jurisdiction. Boisen "became a guerrilla in the psychiatric heartland. . . . But few rallied to the flag Boisen raised."[41] Jay Adams agreed with Boisen that problems in living had a moral-spiritual explanation, but he eschewed both the psychiatric heartland and the mainline Protestant churches that Boisen had sought to address.[42] Adams averred that the controllers of knowledge, who claimed to know

the rudiments of human nature, had brokered error not truth, and he proposed a different set of definitions. He raised his flag in a different country, and there won converts.

Abbott concluded his discussion by noting the "drift of pastoral counseling towards secular psychotherapy."[43] Pastoral counseling was supplanted by secular psychotherapy in large part; it also drifted toward secular psychotherapy even where it continued to claim a distinct identity. This dual phenomenon provoked Adams's anti-psychiatry. He launched his jurisdictional offensive by seeking to redefine both personal problems and the counseling task in opposition to secular psychotherapy. He sought to debunk both secular professionals (psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers) and religious professionals (pastoral counselors and evangelical psychotherapists) who drifted toward a secular and medicalized psychotherapy.[44]

In many other ways, Abbott's paradigm helped me both to understand and to tell my story. For example, his discussion of the different ways claims may be settled was provocative—even prescient. He thought that a "jurisdictional reconstruction seems to be imminent in psychotherapy," as he described that form of settlement in which a jurisdiction is divided along the lines of different client constituencies.[45] He observed that such client differentiation is crucial to the success of a group that invades the jurisdiction of another group. "The pattern of attacking groups emerging from the paraprofessional periphery, serving ignored clienteles, and urging reform is the most common."[46] This is exactly what happened as Jay Adams and the biblical counseling movement identified and engaged conservative Protestants as a client type.

All this is of interest historically. On the one hand, the most frequently studied religious counseling movements—for example, the Emmanuel movement, clinical pastoral education, and the

pastoral counseling movement—tell stories of thorough-going psychiatric dominance. In each case mainline clergy attempted to retake at least a significant portion of the jurisdiction of everyday life problems. But in each case religious practitioners ended up in a distinctly subordinate role: they were either dismissed or assimilated, or they consciously placed themselves in the student role. On the other hand, the most frequently studied influences of religion on secular counseling—for example the influence of "positive thinkers" on twentieth-century American systems of counsel—trace themes characteristic of optimistic, mainline, liberal Protestantism.[47] The biblical counseling movement yields a different kind of story. Its anti-psychiatric obstinacy continued into the 1990s. The pessimism of its view of human nature assailed optimistic liberalism in both its religious and secular forms. To the historian's gaze, this movement presents a coherent set of culture-, time-, place-, and people-specific ideas and practices. Jay Adams articulated a distinctive knowledge system that a particular kind of people believed. He built an alternative institutional structure that those same people chose to inhabit.

Relevant Literatures

The Biblical Counseling Movement: History and Context is based on primary sources.[48] No secondary literature exists because the events and ideas described have thus far existed under conditions of invisibility to the wider culture. But the story told is related to other stories. Many bodies of literature have proved helpful for understanding my topic; I hope this project might also contribute to a number of different scholarly discussions.

History of medicine naturally frames my story, particularly the history of psychiatry and the numerous discussions of the "medicalization" of problems in living since the late nineteenth

century. If the ailments of the human body provide "raw material for the imprinting of cultural messages,"[49] how much more transparently do problems in living carry messages. Matters of value and philosophy appear in the problems of living domain explicitly rather than covertly. The intellectual constructs, therapies, and institutions of medicine respond to the physical constraints of the human condition. We might say, analogously, that psychotherapy, broadly defined, responds to the psychosocial constraints of the human condition. Psychotherapy has its origins in the social response to timeless realities: dysphoric emotion, interpersonal conflict, the search for meaning, decision making, the varied psychological and behavioral responses to suffering, child-rearing, uncertainty about the criteria of truth and goodness, disorders of the conscience, and those habitual behaviors variously (and tellingly) labeled either sin, vice, deviancy, or addiction. Hence the history of psychotherapy is the history of attempts to explain and ameliorate the "moral" drama of the human condition.

The *anti-psychiatry* literature also frames our story. A diverse literature of criticism has arisen in the broad wake of such pioneer critics of institutional psychiatry as Foucault, Goffman, and Szasz. Psychiatry's attempts at asserting normativity and eternality have been assailed from many directions for many different reasons. Some revolutionaries made sweeping policy suggestions. For example, Szasz suggested the dismantling of coercive institutions in service of a libertarian social agenda. Marxist historians, such as Scull, made the same suggestion based on a different analysis and aiming for a different social effect. Other critics have weighed in with intentions more reformist than revolutionary. Mowrer wished to displace the dominant psychodynamic therapies and explanations in favor of a moral behavior model. Showalter pursued a psychiatry sensitive to feminist per-

spectives. Other more moderate reformers have suggested modifications of emphasis in public and professional policy. For example, Gerald Grob urged that psychiatry vigorously assume a caring and custodial role, as an act of social compassion toward some of the most helpless members of our society.[50]

Like many other anti-psychiatries, the biblical counseling movement arose in the 1960s. But unlike them, it has not had its chroniclers. This was most likely due to the relative invisibility of the conservative Protestant subculture until recently, a product of scholarly inattentiveness on the one hand and cultural separatism on the other. Adams is a different sort of revolutionary or reformer: the builder of a sectarian, parallel system of thought and practice. His most noteworthy accomplishment—as I have suggested—is having succeeded in developing a constituency so that his alternative to the mental health assumptions of modern American culture has become institutionalized. But both Adams's accomplishment and the turf battle between him and conservative Protestant psychotherapists have been invisible to the wider culture.

As a member of a separatist subculture, Adams's social vision was very different from that of other anti-psychiatrists. He focused his attention almost exclusively on local churches and on sectarian schools and seminaries, intending that they should provide an alternative to public therapeutic institutions. In his few comments on public policy he contended that well-defined organic problems constitute psychiatry's legitimate sphere.[51] He added to this a further rationalization for psychiatric hospitals. They might serve as protective and disciplinary social consequences. People whose behavior became so unacceptable that they threatened themselves, others, or the social order faced the psychiatric hospital as a freedom-limiting consequence.[52] The social agenda Adams proposed

was not liberationist—like Szasz, Rothman, or Showalter—but conservative, like Mowrer. He did not see people as slaves of coercive mechanisms of social control, needing freedom in order to act autonomously. He saw people as slaves of their sins, needing freedom to act responsibly. But even my description is culled from stray comments, for Adams only rarely alluded to a general social vision. Unusual among anti-psychiatrists, Adams spoke only to his well-defined constituency.

I have found the literature on *alternative medicine and science* in America during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries stimulating. This body of work suggests numerous parallels—and contrasts—and helps to frame my story.[53] Biblical counseling was clearly deviant, an alien amid the dominant psychotherapeutic culture. It replayed many of the themes of disenfranchised medical therapies. For example, the often-noted linkage between religious interests and alternative therapeutic schemas explicitly appears in my narrative. The history of nouthetic counseling offers a case study that both complements and contrasts with Ronald Numbers's *The Creationists*.[54]

Studies of alternative medicine have provided a window on cultural meanings embedded in both diagnosis and treatment. Alternative systems appear to incarnate their worldview "obviously"; they enable a backward glance that reveals less obvious worldviews incarnated in dominant medical philosophies. As mentioned earlier, even more dramatically than with somatic misery and dysfunction, problems of living lend themselves to a great variety of constructions which reflect the views of practitioners and constituencies. The medicalization and moralization of life play tug-of-war, as do competing moralizations.

Biblical counseling not only sought to "seize back" behavioral problems that had been medicalized in the relatively recent past; it also sought to reach into areas long a part of standard medical practice. One subtheme of this history will be the extensive writing on psychosomatics and lifestyle diseases published by medically trained nouthetic counselors. Medical doctors contributed about one-fifth of the articles in the *Journal of Pastoral Practice* and addressed the physical effects of poor dietary habits (gluttony or self-starvation); sleep loss; sexual promiscuity; use of cigarettes, alcohol, and both prescription and street drugs; worry and unresolved anger; and so forth. Articles targeted not only presumed moral causes of physical problems but also moral responses to unavoidable physical problems such as illness, pain, disability, menstrual cycle dysfunction, and aging.[55]

Like many alternative medical philosophies and practices, a populist strand ran strongly through the biblical counseling movement. Adams's writing exhibited a tension between the well-trained pastor as "God's professional" and the traditional Protestant theme of the priesthood of all believers, defining anyone with life wisdom as "competent to counsel." It provides a case of relatively deprofessionalized knowledge and practice, offering truths and techniques that the common person was intended to grasp and apply in self-care and care for family, friends, and neighbors.

The biblical counseling movement was also striking in its differences from most alternative therapies that have been studied by historians. For example, in contrast to spiritual psychotherapies—the Emmanuel movement, Christian Science, and contemporary "inner healing" movements—biblical counseling did not pursue "healing" as the goal of face-to-face resolution of emotional and behavioral problems. Adams saw healing only as a metaphor when it came to problems in living, and he contended that the metaphor had lost virtually all utility because of the medicalization of human moral existence.[56] Adams did not view problems in living as dysfunctions to be diagnosed, nor did he conceive of counseling as therapeutic treatment.

Rather he claimed to offer a rational assessment of problems, and then counsel, things meant to be believed and acted upon. Adams was distinctly nonmystical and decidedly hardheaded: "I don't have a mystical bone in my body."[57] Even when he spoke of the Holy Spirit as the power of God to change sinful beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors—and he reiterated this at the beginning of nearly every book—he meant "Holy Spirit" as a reference to an enabling person, the third person of the Trinity in historic Christian belief, who intended to enact a rational agenda for cognitive, behavioral, and motivational renovation. Similarly, the "Word of God" for Adams contained a rational message, and prayer was meant to be focused toward specific, describable goals.[58]

As already mentioned above in discussing Andrew Abbott, *histories of the professions* also bear on the story of biblical counseling. The clergy is one of the classic professions, and the degrading of their status in the modern age has been repeatedly noted. An eddy against the historical flow, in which clergy take the offensive intellectually and institutionally, merits notice.[59]

Histories of pastoral care also frame my story. For example, Holifield traced the development of pastoral care in America from the eighteenth century to the 1960s. His major thesis is that a theocentric concern for "salvation" was replaced by an anthropocentric concern for "self-realization." Holifield significantly breaks off his story with this comment: "My narrative comes to its conclusion at the end of the 1960s. . . . I would argue that the end of that decade did mark a turning point."[60] The story of pastoral care and counseling evidenced a marked "liberalizing" drift for most of two centuries. But at the end of the 1960s a number of more conservative tendencies emerged: from theological self-criticism by liberal pastoral counselors, to the evangelical psychotherapy movement, to Adams's biblical counseling movement. Pastoral

counseling in the twentieth century was generally a story of religionists making derivative adaptations of the dominant paradigms.[61] But from 1970, theological liberals and conservatives alike increasingly sought to ground their counseling practice more explicitly in their (various) conceptions of the faith.

The rapidly growing body of literature on *American conservative Protestantism* proved very helpful for setting and interpreting my story.[62] American evangelical religion is notoriously fluid. Semantic precision in describing religious groups is notoriously difficult to attain. A rather extensive literature has grown up in recent years attempting to map contemporary conservative Protestantism. Adjectives such as conservative, evangelical, Reformed, separatist, fundamentalist, and Bible-believing express a wide range of denotative and connotative meanings. I ran through the gamut in considering the original title of this book before settling on perhaps the most generic term: "conservative protestant."[63]

Already I have used a variety of terms to locate Jay Adams: conservative Protestant, Calvinist, Presbyterian, Reformed. To this list other terms might be added. Some terms are relatively precise but obscure to the general reader: the scholarly Calvinism of "Old Princeton" Seminary, Old School Presbyterianism, the presuppositional apologetics of Westminster Seminary. Other terms are more popular but less precise: evangelical, fundamentalist, separatist, Bible-believing. Each of these terms helps to a degree to locate Adams theologically, ecclesiastically, and sociologically. But many of them, unfortunately, bear a freight of meanings that varies substantially from reader to reader.

Adams is easiest to describe precisely in terms of his theological commitments. He was a thoroughgoing Calvinist, self-consciously Reformed theologically.[64] For Adams, God sovereignly controlled everything, and that assumption saturated

his counseling system both in theory and practice.[65] The "Five Points of Calvinism" described his view of how God's grace works.[66] Adams also held more particular theological positions within generic Calvinism: for example, the children of believers should be baptized as members of the covenant community; the mode of baptism is pouring or sprinkling, not immersion;[67] the proper form of church government is rule by elders—Presbyterian—rather than by bishops or by the congregation;[68] the millennium is currently realized in the reign of Christ spreading his kingdom worldwide—amillennialism—rather than occurring in the future as postmillennialists and premillennialists believe;[69] epistemology and apologetics must be presuppositional, in the way of Calvinistic philosopher Cornelius Van Til, not positivistic and evidential.[70]

Adams's ecclesiastical affiliations occurred within a series of small conservative Presbyterian denominations, several of which had splintered from the northern Presbyterian Church in the 1930s during the modernist-fundamentalist controversies. His academic career as a professor of practical theology took place at Westminster Theological Seminary, which had broken off from Princeton Seminary during those same controversies, and was also generally Presbyterian in orientation. But locating Adams ecclesiastically is complicated by the wider impact he had. He found respondents across a wide spectrum of conservative denominations: various Presbyterians; Dutch Christian Reformed; fundamentalist and independent Baptists; the milder sorts of charismatics and Assembly of God Pentecostals; inner-city, black independent churches; Brethren churches; Mennonites; Episcopalians and Congregationalists involved in conservative "renewal" movements in their mainline denominations; and even an occasional "renewed" Roman Catholic. He also found opponents—for many different reasons—in the same circles.

Historical analyses of conservative Protestant phenomena illuminate many of the themes and subthemes that play out in and around the history of Adams's nouthetic counseling. The movement was a hybrid, combining intellectual and practical features of both the Reformed tradition and the fundamentalist tradition. It hatched within Reformed circles but found its widest reception in fundamentalist audiences. Adams himself combined Reformed commitments with certain fundamentalist tendencies that made him acceptable to some moderate fundamentalists. These moderate fundamentalists who received Adams often were criticized by more militant fundamentalists for deemphasizing the significance of traditional distinctives: premillennial eschatological preoccupation, believer's baptism, sectarian separatism, instant experiential sanctification, exclusive use of the King James Version of the Bible, and biblicistic proof-texting. Moderates were willing to embrace an amillennial, paedobaptist Presbyterian who taught a more painstaking progressive sanctification and employed Reformed biblical scholarship.

Yet Adams also stressed traditional fundamentalist themes: the authority and scope of Scripture; the antithesis between Christian and secular thought; a relatively uncomplicated counseling method promising relatively rapid progress; an activistic call to arms and action, rather than to reflective or scholarly concern; a populist, grassroots emphasis; a separatist style of disengagement from both the wider Christian counseling community and the culture at large; a communication style that emphasized rhetorical abilities and public speaking rather than measured scholarly subtleties. What Noll terms "fundamentalist Manichaeism"[71]—construing the world as an immediate battleground between Christian forces of light and demonized forces of darkness—finds articulation in Adams, yet with Reformed subtleties that his followers sometimes did not retain.

Lastly, my small story is naturally embedded in one of the largest of historical narratives: the *secularization of the West,* a story whose further telling and analysis preoccupied so much of twentieth-century scholarly work. The biblical counseling movement envisioned itself as a counterculture. But to what degree its pretensions to swim against the current will succeed is a story for a future historian. It can at this point in history be considered a reactionary eddy, or perhaps a small ripple in an upstream direction. Rearguard action, reactionary retreat, accommodation, reconstructive engagement, and aggressive debunking have typically been the themes of churchly reactions to modernity. Strands of defense, flight, surrender, engagement, and offense can be seen—in varying proportions—in the story of nouthetic counseling that follows.

I hope to contribute in some small way to each of these bodies of literature. Though my story is small and self-contained, it is also a story worth pondering in other communities of historians. It bears on the histories of medicine, alternative medicine, anti-psychiatry, and the professions; it bears on histories of pastoral care and conservative Protestantism; and, finally, it bears on histories of secularization and resacralization.

The Historian's Stance

How will I parcel out my attention and purposes between the descriptive, the explanatory, and the evaluative? I have sought to stand chiefly in the role of historian-as-narrator. This study plows in previously unbroken soil; therefore, my chief purposes will be descriptive. There is a story to be told and positions to be explicated. It is a story worth entering the repertoire of contemporary historians of medicine, psychiatry, psychology, and religion. I have labored to establish basic facts—both narrative and intellectual—

and to provide an extensive bibliography of primary sources.

I will offer my explanations with a cautious hand. There are two reasons for this. First, my subject matter is contemporary, and in good conscience I can only be tentative in offering historical explanations for a movement that is still rapidly developing. To extend the apt metaphor of warfare for professional territory, at times I have felt like a war correspondent dropped near the front lines of a fluid battle. Events have swirled before my eyes. But to probe cause and significance demands more historical distance. Second, I admit to a certain agnosticism when it comes to determining the weight of the numerous forces presumably contributing to historical causality. I am sure that my story happened; I am less sure of why it happened.

Nouthetic counseling was only conceived in the mind and practice of its founder during the summer of 1965. Rudimentary courses in a theological seminary were developed during the late 1960s. The first book was published in 1970, and other institutional forms were created in the late 1970s. As a social movement, nouthetic counseling enjoyed an initial spurt of popularity in the decade after 1970, leveled off through the 1980s, and then has become resurgent since about 1990. My initial intention, at the point I chose this book topic (1988), was to cover the history of a movement that seemed to have peaked historically, leveled off, and even stagnated. I intended to concentrate on the initial trajectory of the movement, cutting things off at the mid-1980s. But at present biblical counseling is in an expansive mode. Books by new authors are being published, conference attendance and course enrollments are swelling, fresh conflicts are occurring both outside and inside the movement, and institutions are being developed or redeveloped. My story will sketch events into the 1990s. The movement is less than fifty years old;

many of the principals are still active; interesting things are happening as news, not history. The contemporaneity of my subject matter demands that the purposes of narrative predominate over purposes of explanation. I will avoid evaluative commentary, neither indicting nor extolling my subjects. Neither will I speculate on the trajectory of a movement that currently appears to be in early adolescence: headstrong, with signs of greater institutional and cognitive maturity collocating with certain conflicts and uncertainties about identity.

Here is the place for an autobiographical aside. Let me say outright that I am a sympathetic critic of my subjects. My sympathies arise from sharing similar Christian convictions, of a Reformed persuasion, nurtured through master of divinity studies at Westminster Theological Seminary. My sympathies are also nurtured by my participation and friendship with many of the individuals and institutions studied. To a minor degree, I am even an actor in the later phases of my story. I teach pastoral counseling at Westminster Theological Seminary and succeeded Adams as editor of the *Journal of Pastoral Practice* in 1992 (an appointment that both slowed and enriched this book).

My criticisms of nouthetic counseling also arise from Christian convictions: the critical, historical gaze is extremely valuable. Most of life is lived within the self-justifications of parochial and partisan bias. But the glimpse from afar can reveal the ambiguities, contradictions, and rationalizations endemic in human affairs. George Marsden described his work as an historian in words I cannot improve on.

> Inevitably one's point of view will shape one's work. Since it is impossible to be objective, it is imperative to be fair. One way of being fair is to say something about one's point of view so that others can take it into account and discount it if they wish. . . . [H]istorians . . . can provide critical perspectives, especially on traditions that they take seriously. Partisanship, then, although to some degree inevitable, is to be suppressed for the purposes of such historical understanding.
>
> This approach will not entirely please those who see Christian history as adequately understood only as a battle in which it is perfectly clear who stands with the forces of light and who with the forces of darkness.[72]

I also see many ways where my own thinking has been shaped by that relativizing of self and society that an historical and cross-cultural consciousness produces. I grew up in a place that was as Asiacentric as Eurocentric—Honolulu—and most of my schoolmates were Amer-Asians. My father taught Asian history, and our dinner guests were as often as not from South or East Asia. Subsequent educational and practical experience—a degree in social relations at Harvard College, '60s-style alienation from capitalist and nationalist values, three years of work on the wards of McLean Psychiatric Hospital, and doctoral studies at the University of Pennsylvania—have reinforced habits of critical disenculturation and dislike of Whiggish triumphalism. As an adult convert to Christianity, and as a participant in a sometimes triumphalist and parochial movement, I can still find myself a stranger in the sometimes strange land of conservative Protestant Christianity.

Both debunking and apotheosizing one's subjects shape myths. In both actions the really interesting things about history are lost in the interests of self-justification. I don't believe that either angels or demons determine human affairs. My intent is to put both relative sympathy and relative reserve to work, to the end of being a good historian. The reader will have to weigh the cumulative effect of both my sympathetic and critical biases.

Let me mention three effects of which I am immediately aware.

First, I differ in many ways from "fundamentalists"—theologically, culturally, politically, ecclesiastically, temperamentally—but I respect them. When fundamentalists and other conservative Protestants appear in my story, I will make none of the disparaging and caricaturing remarks that one frequently reads when scholars discuss those who believe in a living, speaking, authoritative God.

Second, I have sought to write this history as a relatively detached observer, but I hold views on many of the issues that will be described. Doubtless my opinions have shaped both the selection of data and the manner of presentation. Though every historian of psychology and theology has his or her opinions about both the human and the divine, unlike most, I have written some of mine down. In a number of articles I have articulated criticisms of both biblical counseling and its critics, and I welcome the reader becoming informed of ways I am not simply a dispassionate historian. The appendices of this book include three articles expressing my personal views in a context of historical analysis.

Third, in doing research for this project I have developed friendships with my interlocutors—on both sides of the jurisdictional conflict that will be portrayed. My reactions to written words have often been tempered by personal experience. I have come to know the people I discuss in many modes: published writings, interviews, correspondence, public lectures and debates, counseling transcripts and case studies, casual personal hospitality. This has undeniably affected my "reading" of what I have read and, hence, what I write. Familiarity may breed contempt on occasion, but it can as easily breed sympathy.

For example, some of Jay Adams's written statements sound dogmatic, harsh, polemical, triumphalistic, simplistic, legalistic, impudent, reductionistic. Many readers have reacted to this, sometimes with violent antipathy. But I found my reaction tempered by a number of things. First, I read Adams both widely and thoroughly, which exposed me to many nuances and balances in his thought. Matters that other readers have described as seriously lopsided after reading one or two books by Adams, I often tended to see as understated or overstated matters of emphasis. Second, Adams discussed his rhetorical strategy freely. Blunt overstatement sounds different when understood as a conscious strategy rather than as the summary of a person's position. In person he offered a rationale for conscious overstatement: as a populist strategy for engaging in turf warfare, it pushed people to decide either for or against. He then criticized scholarly understatement as ineffective strategically, and frequently pusillanimous. He went on to acknowledge lacunae, nuances, qualifications, and debatable and vexing questions in the counseling field and in his own writings. Third, I found Adams in person to be engaging and humorous, even riotously so. His generosity with time and materials, his genuine kindness on the occasion of my father's death, his evident love for those he counseled and taught—these things could not help but make an impression.

My hope is that the reader will also reserve judgment, and enter into the life and logic of the narrative. Adams's views (and those of his leading critics, as well) may seem inconceivable from the standpoint of modern culture's absolutes; and from within the deeply internalized relativism of postmodern culture, he may seem sinfully absolutist. In the modern or postmodern West, the gods of traditional faith are dead, and truth and morals relative. Yet for Jay Adams, God is alive, and truth and morals are absolute and revealed. He was self-consciously premodern, which at the very least should enable us to see prevailing assumptions and their implications more clearly.

For a number of reasons, Adams makes an intriguing case study. First, he thought and practiced with remarkable consistency to his premises. To enter a full-blown alternative, intellectual and professional culture cannot help but make us see our dominant intellectual and professional culture in new ways. Second, Adams was an unusually self-conscious turf-warrior. What sociologists of professional competition say people do, he did, intentionally and out loud. And, as with any case study, nuances and variations emerge that enrich accepted models of interprofessional relations. Third, Adams was unusual among alternative psychiatries, psychologies, and psychotherapies because he emerged from a community that was once culturally dominant—conservative, Reformed Protestant orthodoxy. The voice of this community, though variously muffled, still catches the ear and arouses the passions of modern Americans. Adams offered "religious" counseling but from a perspective that derived neither from sentimental Protestant modernism (e.g., Emmanuel movement, strands in the mental hygiene movement, clinical pastoral education, positive thinking), nor from a religious fringe movement (e.g., Christian Science, New Age), nor from pietistic conservative Protestantism (e.g., demon exorcism, mystical subjective experience, moralizing). He represented a religious tradition that valued rational, hardheaded, and systematic thought, just as it valued principled action. Each of these factors—consistency, boldness, and historical memory—makes this case study unusual.

An Outline of the Narrative

Chapters 2 and 3 trace the history of Jay Adams's development of "nouthetic" counseling and its leading institutions through 1979. His historical context included three professional competitors: the secular mental health system, mainline Protestant pastoral counseling, and evangelical psychotherapists. He emerged out of a sectarian religious community that had long stressed the epistemological antithesis between secular and biblical systems for interpreting human experience. He and his cohorts founded institutions to provide counseling services and education.

Chapter 4 explores Adams's success as an aspirant for jurisdictional authority by analyzing the counselee population of CCEF. Numerous would-be counselees chose or were referred to nouthetic counseling when seeking help for their personal problems.

Chapters 5, 6, and 7 look at Adams's cognitive system. The first two chapters examine the positive system by which he defined problems and solutions in frankly theological, ecclesiastical, and pastoral terms. Then chapter 7 considers Adams's polemics, tracing the nuances of his position and rhetoric regarding secular psychologies. The biblical counseling movement arose into a context of well-institutionalized alternatives, and its authors rarely ventured far without doing battle.

Chapter 8 considers the various opponents of nouthetic counseling. Interprofessional conflicts occurred occasionally with secular mental health professionals and with the liberal pastoral counseling movement, and continually with evangelical Christian psychotherapists. Opposition from the last group was particularly fierce, as they directly competed with nouthetic counselors both for cultural authority among conservative Protestants and for clientele.

Chapter 9 will briefly trace the story of Adams's nouthetic counseling through the 1980s and into the 1990s. It will describe the lines of tension and conflict that arose within the biblical counseling movement, and the results of the jurisdictional conflict between that movement and the evangelical psychotherapists.

Chapter 1 Notes

1. Excerpted from Romans 15:14, as translated in Jay E. Adams, *The Christian Counselor's New Testament: A New Translation in Everyday English with Notations* (USA: Presbyterian & Reformed, 1977), 437.

2. John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion,* trans. Ford Lewis Battles, ed. John T. McNeill, The Library of Christian Classics (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960), 35–37.

3. O. Hobart Mowrer, *The Crisis in Psychiatry and Religion* (Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1961), 60.

4. Jay E. Adams, *Competent to Counsel* (USA: Presbyterian & Reformed, 1970), 61.

5. Ibid., 18.

6. Jay E. Adams, *More Than Redemption: A Theology of Christian Counseling* (Phillipsburg, N.J.: Presbyterian & Reformed, 1979), 184.

7. Jay E. Adams, *Change Them?. . . into What?: Counseling in America Today* (Laverock, Pa.: Christian Counseling and Educational Foundation, 1977), 12.

8. Chapters 5–7 will explore in greater depth Adams's intellectual system, but this brief summary gives some sense of how he performed an explicit theologization of problems in living.

9. Chapter 3 will trace the founding and initial development of the alternative set of institutions created by Adams and his confreres.

10. Adams, *Competent to Counsel,* 81; cf., 78–82.

11. Ibid., 62; Jay E. Adams, *The Christian Counselor's Manual* (USA: Presbyterian & Reformed, 1973), 59.

12. For a summary of the distinctives of such "nouthetic" counseling, see Adams, *Competent to Counsel,* 41–56. We will discuss it in detail in chapter 6. Adams derived "nouthetic" from the Greek word *noutheteo,* which underlies the quotation at the head of this chapter, "competent to *counsel*." Adams commented, "I have no great zeal for the label 'nouthetic' beyond its obvious advantages. However, since every school of thought eventually must be identified by an adjective, I should prefer to choose that adjective for myself" (*infra,* 52). In New Testament usage, the Greek word *noutheteo*—literally "to place in mind"—meant reproof, admonition, or other pointedly personal, constructive conversation. The word was often paired with expressions of intense love: for example, Paul's "admonishing with tears" (Acts 20:31) and his "as my beloved sons I admonish you" (1 Corinthians 4:14). It served as a summary word for wise and constructive conversation: whether as a general description of mutual counsel ("competent to counsel one another," Romans 15:14) or as counsel delivered with pastoral authority (1 Thessalonians 5:12). It also summarized the verbal aspects of a parent raising children (e.g., "bring them up in the admonition of the Lord"; Ephesians 6:4). *Noutheteo* in New Testament usage presumed objective criteria for the message presented: according to Colossians 3:16, the "word of Christ" was to be spoken to others both publicly ("teaching") and personally (*noutheteo*). Adams's intention as a biblicist was to replicate these sorts of activities in a twentieth-century context.

Adams believed that the Bible's objective authority mandated a style of counseling that was direct and directive. This emphasis was prominent in the ways both Adams and his critics characterized his system. But it is worth noting that Adams qualified this directiveness in three ways. First, he noted that the bias of assumptions in any system creates at least a covert directiveness; hence, he only made explicit what he believed was concealed by duplicity in professedly nondirective systems. Second, he declared that nouthetic counselors could operate in other modes than the directive and gave examples of such. He chose to emphasize the directive in order to highlight one significant contrast between his approach and the counseling ethos that prevailed since the 1940s (deriving from Carl Rogers's nonintrusive, client-centered therapy: Carl R. Rogers, *Counseling and Psychotherapy* [Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1942]; Carl R. Rogers, *On Becoming a Person: A Therapist's View of Psychotherapy* [Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1961]). Third, though emphasizing more problem-centered, remedial counseling, he frequently alluded to "preventive" counseling that partook of other modes of human discourse. For example, he mentioned or alluded to all three of these qualifiers in the following quotation. After citing Carl Rogers's list of differences between directive and nondirective counseling, Adams commented: "Rogers . . . fails to recognize the subtle directiveness that even his method must employ. Yet, no nouthetic counselor would consider his activity limited to the items Rogers describes as 'directive.' He does all those things that Rogers calls directive but also does many of those things that Rogers calls nondirective. The fact is that the whole range of appropriate Christian responses is available to the nouthetic counselor. He does not force every case into one limited role. Rather, in responding appropriately to each client and each problem, the entire gamut of possible Christian responses may be used in nouthetic counseling." Adams, *Competent to Counsel,* 89.

13. Adams, *Competent to Counsel,* xxi.

14. On the totalitarian interpretive qualities of nonscientific conceptual systems, note Michael Polanyi's skeptical comments about Freud, how believers "regarded the all-embracing interpretive powers of this framework as evidence of its truth; only when losing faith in it did they feel that its powers were excessive and specious." Michael Polanyi, *Personal Knowledge: Towards a Post-Critical Philosophy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), 288. Adams's system made its faith assumptions overt, and he never lost faith in its interpretive powers.

Similar to Polanyi, Karl Popper described the "apparent explanatory power" of Freud and Adler as akin to myth not science because their systems were "able to explain practically everything that happened within the fields to which they referred. The study of them seemed to have the effect of an intellectual conversion or revelation, opening your eyes to a new truth hidden from those not yet initiated. Once your eyes were thus opened you saw confirming instances everywhere: the world was full of *verifications* of the theory. Whatever happened always confirmed it. Thus its truth appeared manifest." Freud's and Adler's theories "describe some facts, but in the manner of myths." Karl R. Popper, *Conjectures and Refutations: The Growth of Scientific Knowledge* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963, 1965), 34–38. Adams's system was self-consciously "mythical," in Popper's terms, rather than pretending to validation as "science." He literally called for conversion on the basis of a revelation.

15. William Glasser, *Reality Therapy: A New Approach to Psychiatry* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965); Perry London, *The Modes and Morals of Psychotherapy* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964); Mowrer, *The Crisis in Psychiatry and Religion*; Thomas Szasz, *The Myth of Mental Illness: Foundations of a Theory of Personal Conduct* (New York: Harper & Row, 1961). I will delineate the nuances in Adams's view of psychology-related fields in chapter 7.

16. Adams, *Competent to Counsel,* xvi. Citation of Mowrer is from Mowrer, *The Crisis in Psychiatry and Religion,* 61.

17. "Evangelical" is perhaps the broadest term for nonfundamentalist conservative Protestants. See George M. Marsden, "The Evangelical Denomination," in *Evangelicalism and Modern America,* ed. George M. Marsden (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1984), vii–xix; George M. Marsden, *Reforming Fundamentalism: Fuller Seminary and the New Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1987), 1–11; George M. Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1991), 1–6. See the discussion of terminology later in this chapter and a sketch of the history of the evangelical psychotherapy establishment in chapters 2, 3, and 9. A full history of the evangelical psychotherapists, the "integrationists" who squared off against Adams, remains to be written.

18. Chapter 8 will treat the criticisms of Adams emerging from the pastoral counseling and evangelical psychotherapy movements. For an intellectual history of the pastoral counseling movement, see E. Brooks Holifield, *A History of Pastoral Care in America: From Salvation to Self-Realization* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1983). Pages 231–69 trace the development of the clinical education movement from the 1920s until World War II. Pages 269–348 trace the resurgence of postwar pastoral psychology. Holifield cuts off his story in the mid-1960s. For a sketch of developments subsequent to 1965, see Donald Capps, "The Bible's Role in Pastoral Care and Counseling: Four Basic Principles," in *The Church and Pastoral Care,* ed. Leroy Aden and J. Harold Ellens (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1988), 41–55; and Donald Capps, *Reframing: A New Method in Pastoral Care* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1990).

19. Rather than continually repeating these four variously overlapping terms—referring respectively to a profession, a protean form of practice employed by several adjoining professions, protean intellectual constructs, and a complex institutional arrangement—I will vary my terms depending on the primary referent. But typically I will intend loose, mutually inclusive meanings, rather than precise differentiation.

Anti-psychiatry—as used, for example, in my original subtitle—usefully provides a historiographic reference, connecting my subject to other anti-psychiatries and my work to other histories of anti-psychiatry. Though even Szasz has distanced himself from the term—see Thomas Szasz, "Mental Illness Is Still a Myth," *Society* 31, no. 4 (1995): 34–39—I think the appellation still usefully applies to Szasz, et al., who have generally opposed attaching medicalistic labels to human behavior.

Anti-psychology is ambiguous and potentially misleading but may serve as a synecdoche with appropriate qualifications. Adams was frequently termed an "anti-psychologist" or "psychology basher" by the conservative Protestant psychotherapists who

occupied the immediate jurisdiction for which Adams aspired. Yet Adams often expressed high regard for psychology as a discipline that studied psychological, psychophysiological, and psychosocial topics. His explicit objections were to psychologists acting in what he saw as the proper role of theologians and pastors: as theoreticians and therapists of the human condition.

Anti-psychotherapist is probably the most accurate description of Adams's central concern. The term captures his opposition to both the intellectual systems and practical methods operating in secularized versions of generically "pastoral" activities. But even that term doesn't capture Adams's objections to psychotropic medications being given to redress functional problems in living.

Some of Adams's critics eventually even labeled him the founder of an "anti-counseling" movement. In fact he was an energetic promoter of counseling—a certain kind of counseling—into a community that was often resistant to and suspicious of counseling activities under any guise. His polemics were directed toward secular counseling and toward what he perceived as secularizing tendencies in those conservative Protestants he criticized.

Strictly speaking, then, he is the founder of an "anti-secular-psychotherapy-and-psychiatry" movement, in the interests of his own system of personal, pastoral counsel. Adams primarily objected to attempts to minister secularized explanations and solutions—whether psychological or medical—to people experiencing problems in living. This footnote ought to be borne in mind when for concision I employ various shorthand terms in the pages that follow. It also ought to be borne in mind when I seek to disentangle the rhetoric of attack and counterattack in chapters 7 and 8.

20. Westminster's founder, J. Gresham Machen, authored *Christianity and Liberalism,* one of the defining works in the religious controversies of the 1920s. He is the subject of a recent critical biography, D. G. Hart, *Defending the Faith: J. Gresham Machen and the Crisis of Conservative Protestantism in Modern America* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994).

21. Chapters 3, 4, and 9 will look at the ground Adams's biblical counseling movement gained—and lost.

22. Charles E. Rosenberg, "The Crisis in Psychiatric Legitimacy: Reflections on Psychiatry, Medicine, and Public Policy," in *American Psychiatry Past, Present, and Future,* ed. George Kriegman et al. (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1975), 135–48 (reprinted in Charles Rosenberg, *Explaining Epidemics and Other Studies in the History of Medicine* [New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992], 245–57); Andrew Abbott, *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988).

23. Rosenberg, *Explaining Epidemics,* 140.

24. Ibid., 137.

25. The literature debating psychotherapeutic efficacy is vast. During the 1960s, two influential works were H. J. Eysenk, "The Effects of Psychotherapy," in *Handbook of Abnormal Psychology,* ed. H. J. Eysenk (New York: Basic Books, 1961); and Charles B. Truax and Robert R. Carkhuff, *Toward Effective Counseling and Psychotherapy: Training and Practice* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1967). Jay Adams would cite Eysenk (Adams, *Competent to Counsel,* 2f.) to the effect that patients did not get better under psychotherapy. Evangelical psychotherapists frequently cited Truax

and Carkhuff's description of the conditions for successful therapy (e.g., Andre Bustanoby, "Without These, Don't Start," *Christianity Today* [August 1973]: 38f.; William T. Kirwan, *Biblical Concepts for Christian Counseling: A Case for Integrating Psychology and Theology* [Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1984]).

26. Rosenberg, *Explaining Epidemics,* 142. For example, Carl Jung's *Modern Man in Search of a Soul,* Alfred Adler's *Understanding Human Nature,* along with Sigmund Freud's *Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis* are texts of enduring influence that illustrate Rosenberg's thesis. Psychologists have written similar works: e.g., B. F. Skinner's *Beyond Freedom and Dignity,* Carl Rogers's *On Becoming a Person,* Rollo May's *Man's Search for Himself,* and Abraham Maslow's *Toward a Psychology of Being.*

27. Similar observations underlie Thomas Kuhn's claim that most aspects of the social sciences are prescientific and function more like the arts, being "still characterized by fundamental disagreements about the definition of the field, its paradigm achievements, and its problems." Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Essential Tension: Selected Studies in Scientific Tradition and Change* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 222; cf., 118, 228–32.

28. Rosenberg, *Explaining Epidemics,* 144.

29. Ibid., 139.

30. Ibid.

31. My own experiences as a mental health worker at McLean Psychiatric Hospital (Belmont, Mass.) during 1973–1976 bear this out. I remember a sharp dispute between psychiatrists and social workers over the appropriateness of the latter doing "psychotherapy." And in the professional ecology of that hospital at that time, clinical psychologists did no counseling but were restricted to diagnostic testing. Nursing staff who talked too often and too long with patients were occasionally reproved for attempting to do therapy.

32. Abbott, *System of Professions,* 2.

33. Ibid., 102.

34. Ibid., 9; cf., 30.

35. Jay E. Adams, *The Language of Counseling* (Phillipsburg, N.J.: Presbyterian & Reformed, 1981) illustrates the degree to which Adams was scrupulous to give away as little terminological ground as possible.

36. Abbott, *System of Professions,* 302.

37. Ibid., 303.

38. Ibid., 286. Adams had commented in similar fashion: "With notable exceptions, there has been a general failure of the church since apostolic times to enter into the study and pursuit of personal counseling with the enthusiasm and vigor that must characterize any serious endeavor. No large body of theoretical thought or case study data has been accumulated. The meager amount of discussion concerning the work of counseling that has been preserved seems to view counseling as little more than a subhead of Church Discipline. As a result, personal counseling was carried on largely in unsystematic ways. It is no surprise, then, that personal counseling by ministers so readily was supplanted by psychiatrists." Jay E. Adams, *Shepherding God's Flock: A Handbook on Pastoral Ministry, Counseling, and Leadership* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1974–75), 168.

39. Abbott, *System of Professions,* 308.

40. Ibid., 309.

41. Ibid., 309f.

42. See chapters 2, 7, and 8 for further discussion of mainline pastoral counseling and its relationship to Jay Adams.

43. Abbott, *System of Professions,* 310.

44. Adams hoped to foster a sharp-edged division. "[The] incursions of psychiatry and clinical psychology into areas that require one to determine ethical norms as the basis for the alteration of attitudes and behavior, therefore, should have been met by a significant response from the church. . . . O. Hobart Mowrer, William Glasser, E. Fuller Torrey, and others have been exposing the fundamentally nonmedical nature of the psychiatric enterprise for more than a decade and have awakened even many sleeping members of the church to the reasons for the growing disenchantment and disillusionment with psychiatry. Increasingly, the basically ethical nature of psychiatric activities has become apparent and has resulted in a growing concern over the attendant dangers involved in an uncritical acceptance of these activities. . . . The future of the relationship between the mental health movement and conservative biblical Christianity . . . can hardly be predicted. But it would seem that in the period immediately ahead the antithesis between clinical psychologies and psychiatries that are based upon non-Christian presuppositions and biblical Protestant Christianity will come into sharper focus, thus separating the two into distinct camps in which the issues that divide them and the discussions that shall ensue will center about the ethical question." Adams, *Shepherding God's Flock,* 167–70.

45. Abbott, *System of Professions,* 77f.

46. Ibid., 95.

47. Donald Meyer, *The Positive Thinkers: Popular Religious Psychology from Mary Baker Eddy to Norman Vincent Peale and Ronald Reagan* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1988).

48. See the Note on Sources that precedes the bibliography.

49. Rosenberg, *Explaining Epidemics*, 4.

50. Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason,* trans. Richard Howard (New York: Pantheon Books, 1965); Erving Goffman, *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1961); Gerald N. Grob, *Mental Illness and American Society, 1875–1940* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983); Mowrer, *The Crisis in Psychiatry and Religion*; Andrew Scull, *Museums of Madness: The Social Organization of Insanity in Nineteenth-Century England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979); Andrew Scull, ed., *Madhouses, Mad-Doctors, and Madmen: The Social History of Psychiatry in the Victorian Era* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981); Elaine Showalter, *The Female Malady: Women, Madness, and English Culture, 1830–1980* (New York: Penguin Books, 1985); Szasz, *The Myth of Mental Illness.*

51. His view of the social role of psychiatry resembled Gerald Grob's on this point (see previous footnote for reference).

52. Adams was not averse to using the mental hospital as a threat to recalcitrant counselees exhibiting bizarre behavior or as a protection for suicidal counselees. Interview, December 4–5, 1990. Cf., Jay E. Adams, "The Christian Approach to Schizophrenia," in *The Construction of Madness: Emerging Conceptions and*

Interventions into the Psychotic Process, ed. Peter A. Magaro (New York: Pergamon Press, 1976), 143.

53. See, for example, Norman Gevitz, ed., *Other Healers: Unorthodox Medicine in America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988); Steven C. Martin, "The Only Truly Scientific Method of Healing: Chiropractic and American Science, 1895–1990," *Isis* 85, no. 2 (1994): 206–27; John Harley Warner, "Medical Sectarianism, Therapeutic Conflict, and the Shaping of Orthodox Professional Identity in Antebellum American Medicine," in *Medical Fringe and Medical Orthodoxy, 1750–1850,* ed. W. F. Bynum and Roy Porter (London: Croom Helm, 1987), 234–60. The references in Gevitz (pp. 265–91) provide a thorough bibliography of this literature—both primary and secondary sources—as of 1988.

54. Ronald L. Numbers, *The Creationists* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992).

55. Adams respected medical doctors and gained a significant following among physicians. Chapter 5 will explore Adams's views of medicine and the body, and his interactions with conservative Protestant doctors.

56. Interview, October 7, 1991, Lafayette, Indiana. In biblicist fashion, Adams cited chapter and verse to support his view: "The metaphor has been detached from its referent. Jesus said, 'It is not those who are healthy who need a physician, but those who are sick; I did not come to call the righteous, but sinners.' People take the first half of that and read into it any meaning they want."

57. Interview, October 5, 1994, Lafayette, Indiana.

58. Consistent with this, biblical counseling was highly skeptical of mystical religious approaches to healing physical ailments, for example, the ministrations of healer-evangelists such as Oral Roberts.

59. Joseph Ben-David, "Professions in the Class System of Present Day Societies," *Current Sociology* 12 (1963): 247–98; Eliot Freidson, *Professional Powers: A Study of the Institutionalization of Formal Knowledge* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986); Everett C. Hughes and Agostino DeBaggis, "Systems of Theological Education in the United States," in *Education for the Professions of Medicine, Law, Theology, and Social Welfare,* ed. Everett C. Hughes et al. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), 169–200.

60. Holifield, *A History of Pastoral Care in America*, 12f.

61. Abbott, *System of Professions,* 309f. Howard Clinebell is exemplary in this regard. Anton Boisen's co-opted revolution was a "sport" that found no ecological niche. Some mainline Protestant pastoral counselors were hostile to the modern therapeutic paradigms: e.g., Thomas Oden assailed the practice of "aping ineffective psychotherapies" by "secularized, hedonically oriented, fee-basis 'pastoral psychotherapists.'" Thomas C. Oden, *Pastoral Theology: Essentials of Ministry* (San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1982), 4f, 8f.

62. Martin Marty and R. Scott Appleby, eds., "Fundamentalisms Observed," *The Fundamentalism Project* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Martin Marty and R. Scott Appleby, eds., *Fundamentalisms and Society: Reclaiming the Sciences, the Family, and Education* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); Richard T. Hughes, ed., *The American Quest for the Primitive Church* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1988); Marsden,

Reforming Fundamentalism; George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870–1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980); Marsden, ed., *Evangelicalism and Modern America*; Marsden, *Understanding Fundamentalism and Evangelicalism*; Martin Marty, *Modern American Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986ff); Mark A. Noll, *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1994).

63. Cf., preface for discussion of the change in title for this edition.

64. Adams described his approach to the tasks of counseling this way: "I can speak only from my conservative, Calvinistic viewpoint as a Christian" (Jay E. Adams, "Grief as a Counseling Opportunity," in *The Big Umbrella and Other Essays and Addresses on Christian Counseling* [USA: Presbyterian & Reformed, 1972], 68). Similarly, "What has been going on in the practical theology department at Westminster [Theological Seminary] in the area of counseling has issued from a tight theological commitment. The position that has been developed and articulated is the direct result of Reformed thinking." (Jay E. Adams, "Counseling and the Sovereignty of God," in *Lectures on Counseling* [Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1975–77], 72).

65. Jay E. Adams, *Counseling and the Sovereignty of God* (Philadelphia: Westminster Theological Seminary, 1975); Jay E. Adams, *How to Overcome Evil* (Nutley, N.J.: Presbyterian & Reformed, 1977); Jay E. Adams, *How to Handle Trouble: God's Way.* Phillipsburg, N.J.: Presbyterian & Reformed, 1982); Jay E. Adams, *The Grand Demonstration: A Biblical Study of the So-Called Problem of Evil* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: EastGate, 1991).

66. In Jay E. Adams, *Counseling and the Five Points of Calvinism* (Phillipsburg, N.J.: Presbyterian & Reformed, 1981). He applied these traditional Reformed emphases to counseling issues. The Calvinistic "TULIP" consists in the following:

Total depravity: though people are never as bad as they could be, every part of human nature—intellect, volition, emotions, passions, body, conscience, memory, and so forth—is affected by sin in some way;

Unconditional election: God saves people from sin based on his choice, not because of any good or anticipated good in them;

Limited atonement: the death of Christ was personal and effective, forgiving the sins of those whom God chose unto eternal life;

Irresistible grace: God makes the dead alive, and those in whom he works will come to faith;

Perseverance of the saints: all whom God makes alive will continue in faith unto death and the fulfillment of their hopes at the return of Christ.

67. Jay E. Adams, *The Meaning and Mode of Baptism* (Phillipsburg, N.J.: Presbyterian & Reformed, 1975).

68. Adams, *Shepherding God's Flock,* 167–70.

69. Jay E. Adams, *The Time Is at Hand* (Greenville, S.C.: A Press, 1966).

70. Adams, *Competent to Counsel,* xxi.

71. Noll, *Scandal of the Evangelical Mind*, *infra.*

72. Marsden, *Reforming Fundamentalism,* xi.

The Making of a Conservative Protestant Counselor

[In colonial America] clerical counselors envisioned the cure of souls primarily as a remedy for sin. Despite the vast scope of pastoral counsel . . . the aim was always to allay the doubts resulting from sinfulness, or to temper the passions disordered by sinfulness, or to correct the vision clouded by sinfulness. The aim was to overcome the sinful temptations and undermine sinful resolves, to arouse the conscience against sin and to calm anxiety about sin. — E. Brooks Holifield[1]

[Twentieth-century America] has evidenced a singular preoccupation with psychological modes of thinking— modes which have tended to refashion the entire religious life of Protestants into the image of the therapeutic. — E. Brooks Holifield[2]

Like many other pastors, I learned little about counseling in seminary, so I began with virtually no knowledge of what to do. — Jay Adams[3]

How did a middle-aged, theologically conservative, Presbyterian pastor come to develop an institutionalized anti-psychiatry? In this chapter and the next I will trace this historical development through the 1970s, establishing the chronology of key events, introducing the leading actors, and describing the central institutions. This story has not previously been told, so I will seek to ascertain and fix basic historical facts. This chapter will first set the historical context and then will pick up Adams's story through 1969. I will divide that story into two periods: (1) the years before 1965 and his catalytic encounter with O. H. Mowrer and (2) the crystallization of Adams's distinctive system, 1965–69.

The following chapter will carry the story on through the 1970s, when Adams initiated a fierce jurisdictional conflict by launching his nouthetic counseling movement.

With respect to the counseling field, Jay Adams was the classic outsider or "marginal man." He had been socialized into the intellectual and practical habits of a conservative Bible exegete, a local church pastor, and a contender for the faith in ecclesiastical wars—hardly characteristics typical of twentieth-century psychotherapists. Coming from the periphery, he did not share the near-instinctive assumptions of those within the field. He was well suited to play the role of prophetic innovator in the eyes of those who would come to

embrace the paradigm shift he proposed; he was well suited to appear impudent and opinionated, even demagogic, in the eyes of those offended both by the matter of his propositions and by the manner in which he stated them.

What were the professional contours of that field into which Jay Adams attempted to insert himself? Many voices clamor for the right to explain and treat troubled and troublesome people. The "counseling" field—that vast realm of "functional" woes, disorders, malaise, interpersonal conflicts, vice, angst—is untidy both professionally and intellectually. Three professional communities provided the social environment for Jay Adams's career as a psychotherapeutic renegade in late-twentieth-century America: secular psychotherapists, mainline Protestant pastoral counselors, and conservative Protestant psychotherapists. The secular mental health professions achieved intellectual and professional dominance over the sphere of personal problems during the twentieth century, but from the late-1950s that establishment had been troubled by various critics who either commented on the immorality of current arrangements or suggested an overt remoralization of the "therapeutic" task. The mainline pastoral counselors variously accommodated to and argued with the modern psychologies throughout the twentieth century, but their dominant mode was acquiescence to the intellectual and professional program of the surrounding mental health professions. Evangelical psychotherapists only came into existence in the late-1950s, but rapidly professionalized, laying claim both to a knowledge program and to authority to provide psychotherapeutic services with a distinctively conservative Protestant theological twist.

We will look briefly at developments in each of these environing groups, touching lightly on the secular mental health system and the mainline Protestants but treating Adams's fellow conserva-

tive Protestants somewhat more fully both in this and subsequent chapters. Nouthetic counseling was a small, restive sect within a far larger counseling movement that began among evangelicals in the 1950s. A comprehensive, critical history of these co-religionists who were Adams's immediate professional neighbors remains to be written; in fact, no internalist histories exist, besides stage-setting sections of books and articles by practitioners. To fill such a gap is beyond the scope of this project, but some of that background is necessary in order to locate nouthetic counseling.

The Secular Mental Health Professions

In the century after the Civil War, the professional roles of asylum superintendent, psychological research scientist, and charity worker transmuted into a new secular psychotherapeutic pastorate. Professional jurisdiction over Americans' problems in living gradually passed from the religious pastorate to various medical and quasi-medical professions: psychiatry, neurology, social work, and clinical psychology. Pastoral retreat and subordination mirrored the advancing authority of those secular professions offering and administering psychotherapy, psychotropic medication, and psychiatric institutions.

The "therapeutic" was triumphant. Psychiatry and psychotherapy displaced the cure of souls, reifying the medical metaphor and so ordaining "secular pastoral workers" to take up the task.[4] Emotional and behavioral ills of the soul that once registered dislocations in a moral agent's relationships to God and neighbor were reenvisioned as symptomatic of a patient's mental and emotional illness. Worry, grumbling, unbelief, lovelessness, strife, vicious habit, and deceit came to be seen through different eyes, as neurotic anxiety, depression, inferiority complex, alienation, social

maladjustment, addiction, and unconscious ego defense. Hospital, clinic, and office displaced church and community as the locus of cure.

By the mid-twentieth century, the dominant psychotherapeutic ethos in the United States combined two broad tendencies: (1) generically psychodynamic insight into unconscious neurotic conflicts within the individual (a pessimistic, diagnostic, "Freudian" strand), and (2) permissive, nondirective counseling methods to elicit healing forces from within the psyche (an optimistic, curative, "Rogerian" strand).[5] The medicalization of problems in living and the creation of a benign secular pastorate set the background for Adams's reactionary response. But two particular developments within the mental health world during the 1950s and early-1960s played an immediate catalytic role in the development of Adams's nouthetic counseling.

First, numerous overtly directive-interventive psychotherapies were created midcentury: rational-emotive therapy (Albert Ellis), transactional analysis (Eric Berne), integrity therapy (O. Hobart Mowrer), reality therapy (William Glasser), structural family therapy (Salvador Minuchin), and other marriage and family therapies. These therapies reacted against the notion of a medicalized, encapsulated psyche; they sought instead to define and treat problems in living within a social-moral nexus. They reacted to the passivity and disengagement enjoined on therapists and urged that therapy look more like counseling: active, intrusive, problem-solving, didactic, hortatory. They urged a revolution against the medicalization of personal and interpersonal problems.

Of course, moralization, suggestion, and call to commitment are timeless components of any psychotherapeutic intervention; one moralization or other informs every social interaction, and suggestion, however covert, gives expression to particular moralizations, inviting commitment.

But these new therapies made overt imposition of moral standards the instrumentality and pivot for change. Different as these approaches were from one another in details, they had much in common. Each traced its lineage to Alfred Adler and bore at least a familial resemblance to the ideas and practices of Harry Stack Sullivan.[6] They all tended to focus on present events rather than past history. Instead of probing unconscious processes and complex emotional states, they were concerned with consciousness and behavior. Instead of viewing problems in living as symptomatic of personal illness, they put responsibility for cognitive and behavioral change on the person. They were explicitly educational. Except for Ellis and Berne (who replicated the individualism of the prevailing therapeutic ethos), the new directive therapies also stressed the social nature of problems in living, and they often worked with groups of people rather than individuals. They offered short-term, educative counseling—"brief, direct, action-oriented intervention procedures"[7]—rather than a long-term, exploratory relationship.

The rise of moralistic therapies corresponded to a second, somewhat overlapping development. A spate of influential "anti-psychiatric" works called attention to various supposed failings of the prevailing therapeutic professions. These failings—whether exposed for political, intellectual, or professional purposes—had presumably been masked by the tidy functionalist assumptions that legitimized extant professional arrangements. In the eyes of critics, the match between social needs and those professions currently claiming to meet the needs was dubitable. For example, psychiatrist Thomas Szasz argued that those processes by which diagnoses were made and patients committed to psychiatric institutions bore the malign stamp of ideology and political oppression, rather than fulfilling the benign purposes usually claimed for scientific knowledge and medical practice.[8]

Sociologist Erving Goffman analyzed psychiatric hospitals as "totalitarian" institutions, tracing the impact of institutionalization and stigmatization on the identity and career of inmates.[9] Psychotherapists O. Hobart Mowrer, William Glasser, and Perry London attacked the dominant psychodynamic therapies for ineffectualness and for neglecting the moral dimension inherent in problems in living.[10]

This was the wider cultural context in which Jay Adams's intellectual and professional formation occurred. He would spend a year studying with a Freudian psychiatrist; he assiduously attempted to apply Rogerian methods in his pastoral counseling; he would be radicalized by contact with Mowrer.

The Mainline Protestant Pastoral Counseling Movement

The history of mainline Protestantism—"liberal," "modernist," or "ecumenical" in orientation (in contrast with "conservative," "fundamentalist," or "sectarian" Protestantism)—is closely tied to the rise of modern psychological theories and professions. Modernist Protestantism and its approaches to pastoral counseling were both creature and cocreator of "the triumph of the therapeutic" in modern America. From the late nineteenth century on, popular social movements, influential pastors, and leading psychologists, neurologists, and psychiatrists met at the interface between liberal religion and the modern psychologies: William James, G. Stanley Hall, James Jackson Putnam, Elwood Worcester's Emmanuel movement, the mental hygiene movement, Harry Emerson Fosdick, Richard Cabot, Anton Boisen, clinical pastoral education, Harry Stack Sullivan, Carl Rogers, Rollo May, Seward Hiltner, Norman Vincent Peale, O. Hobart Mowrer, and Karl Menninger.[11]

The influences worked both ways. Liberal Protestants flavored American psychology with an optimism both about human nature and about the potential to offer salvific cures for what ailed people and relationships.[12] The psychologists in turn gave modern Protestantism a strongly psychotherapeutic cast. The assimilation of the modern psychologies into liberal theology created the "first crucial turning point in the history of American pastoral theology,"[13] as concern for a transcendent salvation receded into the background, and the urgencies attending individual adjustment and self-realization advanced into the foreground. "One can trace a massive shift in clerical consciousness—a transition from salvation to self-fulfillment—which reveals some of the forces that helped to ensure the 'triumph of the therapeutic' in American culture."[14]

In theory, an alliance existed between mainline pastoral counseling and the psychotherapeutic professions. Both sought to sustain and restore clients' mental health, and in theory their efforts were complementary and cooperative. But what transpired was largely a history of the church's subordination to the modern psychologies' intellectual contents and professional arrangements, with clerics hard pressed to define their distinctive intellectual and professional ground. Habits of deferring to the modern psychologies' understandings of human nature became well-established. Mainline Protestant pastors typically asserted their jurisdictional rights only by claiming that their religious resources could help solve those problems for which the modern psychologies had provided the diagnostic categories, a strategy that "concedes too much to be effective,"[15] and left pastoral counselors in a vulnerable professional position. Invariably, pastoral counseling drifted toward a junior version of psychotherapy.[16] Seward Hiltner dominated pastoral care in the 1950s, mediating "Rogers with a dash of Freud," as Howard Clinebell

half-appreciatively and half-critically summarized it in 1965.[17] A kindly, largely nonintrusive methodology combined with a Freudian analysis of human depravity to become a standard feature of mainline pastoral care.

Similarly, the rationale and mechanisms for referring troubled parishioners to the expertise of mental health professionals became well established in mainline churches. Hiltner called pastoral counselors to provide short-term spiritual encouragement. They lacked the time and training to provide anything more substantial or searching. As a matter of course they ought to refer seriously troubled people to mental health professionals for long-term psychotherapy.[18]

Though the subordination of pastoral counseling to psychology has been often noted, mainline pastoral counselors never entirely capitulated to the psychologies. Discontent with the terms of the current jurisdictional settlement repeatedly surfaced; however, programs to institutionalize such discontent quickly aborted intellectually and institutionally. For example, the Emmanuel movement failed in part because its pastoral self-assertion threatened doctors; a successful backlash in the 1910s put pastors back in their place. Anton Boisen had claimed in 1936 that mental breakdowns were fundamentally religious events and had to be understood and resolved in such terms[19]; but the clinical pastoral education movement he inspired was soon trimmed of radicalism. In the mid-1950s, Albert Outler gave lucid voice to a sentiment common even at the height of Hiltner's influence:

> The work of the psychotherapist involves the well-being of the whole person in a way which goes beyond the customary medical treatment—and thus requires a more explicit estimate of "the human condition." Nor can the Christian borrow and use the practical wisdom of psychotherapy without testing its presuppositions about human

nature and existence. Christianity and psychotherapy are both wisdoms-about-life, and it is by no means clear that they are the same wisdom.[20]

Outler observed that "the *cura animarium* has always had to depend, for its psychological categories, upon the prevailing doctrines of each particular age" and criticized the deficiencies in those prevailing doctrines, going so far as to say that the psychotherapies proclaimed an "anti-Christian gospel."[21] Nonetheless, "Rogers with a dash of Freud" still claimed the field.

After the mid-1960s mainline Protestants, influenced by anti-psychiatric writing, directive-interventive therapies, and Thomas Kuhn's history and philosophy of science, again went on the offensive to distinguish themselves from psychotherapists. Pastoral theologians such as Donald Browning and Donald Capps reinjected theology and the Bible into the counseling task and engaged in a program of suspicion toward the presuppositions of the modern psychologies: "secular therapists assume a moral context . . . even though it may not be directly invoked," therefore their stance of moral neutrality was a pretense; psychotherapies could take on "quasi-religious" meanings and "become competitors with established religious orientations"; the minister had a "direct professional responsibility to help shape this moral universe of values and meanings," instead of maintaining a stance of nonintrusive neutrality.[22] But the results of mainline Protestant opposition to secular psychology continued to be notoriously ambiguous: "Pastoral counseling [is repeatedly criticized] for its vaguely defined boundaries with psychology, namely that it tends not to have much of a life of its own independent of secular psychology from which it draws a great deal if not most of its vocabulary, content, and techniques. . . . [P]astoral counseling continues to be in search of its own soul."[23]

The mainline pastoral counselors proved influential even among conservative Protestants in the midcentury. When Jay Adams sought to improve his counseling as a young pastor in the 1950s, he read and sought to apply Hiltner. Conservative Protestants had few alternatives, having abandoned the counseling task over the previous century. Conservative pastors might disagree with the formal theology mediated by mainline pastoral theologians such as Hiltner, but their options were either to accept his counseling methodology or to revert to the primitive means that characterized their own versions of pastoral care: "prayer-and-Bible-verse prescriptions," rationalistic persuasion, moral condemnation, or casting out demons.[24]

The Beginnings of the Evangelical Mental Health Establishment

The counseling movement among mainline Protestant pastors antedated that among conservative Protestants by half a century. When conservative Protestants discovered the psychologies and psychotherapies during the late 1950s, the discoverers were not pastors, however. The immediate backdrop of this study of Adams's nouthetic counseling was a different professional group, evangelical psychotherapists. The prototypes arrived on the professional scene while Adams was still a young pastor, some fifteen years before his attempt at a counseling revolution.

The 1950s and 60s witnessed the beginnings of an evangelical psychotherapy profession and professoriate. Before then conservative Protestants in the United States had neither organized counseling services, nor counseling professionals, nor counseling models, nor any seeming inclination to develop these things. Though "the therapeutic" seemed to be triumphing in the wider culture, conservative Protestants were largely untouched. They continued to evangelize, to go to

"Higher Life" or prophecy conferences, to enter into "Christian service," and to "read the Bible, pray, and obey." In this community authority over problems in living had historically resided with the pastorate—and with various paraecclesiastical, charismatic leaders who gained influence through their books, radio programs, conferences, and evangelistic crusades. But the intellectual, methodological, and institutional resources remained threadbare. Fundamentalist-revivalist pastoral care regressed into what might be termed an anti-counseling mode. Problems in living were addressed by a hybrid of highly rationalistic, moralistic, mystical, and emotionalistic persuasion that aimed to accomplish a miraculous, instantaneous, absolute change.[25] The dropouts, failures, or burnouts either suffered in silence or covertly found their way into the secular mental health system. Beyond the traditional resources of piety (effective as those may have been in preventing or resolving some problems in living), the community provided no further organized resources for the counseling task.

The mainstream of American conservative Protestants traced their roots back to the Puritans and Jonathan Edwards, who had been notable for their conscientious empiricism and case-wise pastoral practice. But no conservative Protestant had set forth a systematic counseling model since Ichabod Spencer in the 1850s.[26] By the turn of the twentieth century, conservative Protestants retained some elements of Jonathan Edwards's formal theology, but William James was heir to Edwards's style of careful observation and rational reflection on human experience. The anti-intellectualism, cultural retreat, social disengagement, millennarian preoccupation, pietism, and subculture clannishness of emerging fundamentalism—the "paranoid style"—all contributed to a neglect of the problems in living and the counseling practices that might redress them.[27] The pockets of scholarly activity

and ability that remained devoted most of their energies to battles for the "fundamentals": biblical authority and other traditional tenets of Protestant orthodoxy.[28] After the Civil War and into the twentieth century, the secular psychologies and the liberal Protestant theologies were ascendant. Stimulating and shaping one another to a large degree, both defined themselves as empirical and practical, in counterpoint to the old scholastic orthodoxies of conservative Protestantism.

The first conservative Protestant institutional initiatives to take on the care of troubled people did not arise in the mainstream of evangelical-fundamentalist-revivalist religion, but among small Dutch and Mennonite ethnic denominations. The (Dutch) Christian Reformed Church had begun the first psychiatric services by and for conservative Protestants—largely their own constituents—earlier in the century. The Christian Psychopathic Hospital and Pine Rest Sanitarium (Grand Rapids, Mich.) had been founded in 1910.[29] The first association of conservative Protestant mental health professionals also arose in this same Dutch community. The Christian Association for Psychological Studies (CAPS) was founded in 1952 among a small group of predominantly Christian Reformed psychiatrists and psychologists.

Around the midcentury, Mennonites also began to institutionalize psychiatric services. Some 1,500 Mennonite conscientious objectors had worked in state mental hospitals performing alternative service during World War II. That experience catalyzed the formation of Mennonite Mental Health Services in 1947. The Mennonites were initially interested in "serving chronically ill, former hospital patients, in a homelike atmosphere for long periods of time," as a corrective to the impersonality and overcrowding witnessed in state hospitals. But plans shifted to "treating acutely ill patients for a shorter time in an active treatment facility," and a medical and psychiatric model was adopted.[30]

Over the next seven years four psychiatric hospitals were opened.[31]

But Christian Reformed and Mennonite groups lay outside the mainstream of indigenous, American conservative Protestantism. In that mainstream, monolithic fundamentalist suspicion of counseling practice per se did not begin to crack until the 1950s. The "new evangelicalism" of the 1940s, signaled by Carl Henry's *The Uneasy Conscience of Modern Fundamentalism,* had articulated a vision for reengagement in long-ignored cultural and social tasks.[32] Problems in living, the modern psychologies, and mental illness gradually emerged into the evangelical purview. Though conservative Protestant seminaries and pastors continued to neglect counseling, other conservative Protestants began to acquire graduate education and became licensed mental health professionals.

In the late 1950s Clyde Narramore became the first well-known author, speaker, and counseling practitioner who was certifiably both a psychologist and a conservative Protestant.[33] He packaged a popularized Freudianism with evangelical terminology and morality, and gained a nationwide reputation among conservative Protestants. His Narramore Christian Foundation provided a vehicle for publicizing mental health needs, distributing self-help literature, training pastors and other Christian workers, and offering counseling services.

During the 1960s the institutional foundations for an evangelical psychotherapy community were laid. Fuller Theological Seminary started its Graduate School of Psychology in 1965. The program was under the leadership of Lee Edward Travis, a well-known experimental psychologist at the University of Southern California, who had become a professing evangelical in 1961.[34] Its theoretical mandate was to "integrate" conservative Protestant faith with modern psychology's insights and

therapies. In so doing, Fuller sought to fill a perceived intellectual and social vacuum in conservative Protestantism. Its professors intended to engage—and profit from—the modern psychologies, which fundamentalists had simply ignored or disdained. They intended that their students replicate the mental health professions, whose role and activities had been almost wholly neglected by conservative Protestants, a neglect that presumably extended to people in need of help. Fuller's was the first graduate program to train evangelicals, those "reforming fundamentalists," to become mental health professionals.

These psychologists and religionists set out "to integrate the evangelical understanding of biblical doctrine with scientific and applied aspects of psychology . . . to reconceptualize psychology in such a way as to be consistent with the tenets of an orthodox, Protestant cosmology and anthropology."[35] That agenda was intended to produce intellectual goods that psychotherapeutic professionals might bring to an evangelical public struggling with life's problems. The catchword "integration" typically served to represent both the intellectual and professional tasks.[36] Though the definition of "integration" was much controverted, its common denominator could be found in the emergence of a new kind of professional, new both in ecclesiastical and mental health circles: a conservative Protestant psychotherapist who intended to take both halves of that designation with equal seriousness.

They professionalized rapidly and successfully over the decades that followed. They had stepped into a professional vacuum. Even by the late 1960s, though they often felt that they had a hard time persuading their church communities of the legitimacy of psychotherapy, they had gained a growing measure of recognition as the church's experts in the personal problems sphere. That a group of evangelical psychotherapists, not pastoral theologians, would be called in to

evaluate Adams's *Competent to Counsel (CtC)* in 1969 indicates the professional success they had achieved by that time. Among conservative Protestants there were simply no pastors, preachers, or pastoral counselors recognized as intellectually or professionally competent in the personal problems sphere. The psychotherapists would be the professionals with whom Adams came into immediate and continual conflict throughout the 1970s. Through the 1970s and 1980s psychology-related academic programs would proliferate among evangelicals; psychotherapy professions experienced tremendous growth; and the popular authority of psychologists soared. Evangelical psychotherapists would prove to be the agents of a belated triumph of the therapeutic within their subculture during the 1980s. By the 1990s one of their leaders could justly speak of "the Christian mental health establishment."[37]

Prior to 1965: The Prehistory of an Anti-Psychiatrist

Jay Adams was a conscientiously biblicistic, local church pastor. His intellectual and professional formation occurred largely in a context shaped by the battles between Presbyterian separatism and liberal Protestantism fought by the generation that preceded him. Born on January 30, 1929, Jay Edward Adams grew up in the Windsor Hills suburb of Baltimore as the only child in a working-class family; his father was a policeman, his mother a secretary. He graduated from high school at sixteen years old, in 1945, having accelerated a year. He described his childhood as happy and active, unexceptional, characterized by neighborhood play, sports, hanging on the street corner. He had "always liked to organize things" and had participated in a "Leaders Club" for boys but had no evident intellectual interests. He claimed never to have read a book through until his senior year in

high school when he read the New Testament for the first time.[38]

Adams was brought up in a nonreligious family. Neither parent attended church before their son was converted, though he had been "dragged to a liberal Methodist Sunday school" for several years. His chief memory of that experience was of a teacher throwing the Bible across the room on the first day of class, saying he knew nothing about it and did not intend to refer to it; the class spent the following months talking about sports, dating, and whatever else happened on the minds of class members.

When Adams was fifteen years old a neighborhood friend initiated a discussion on the street corner about whether the Bible was true.[39] Adams's interest was sparked; from a pile of old books in his pantry, he dug out a khaki New Testament that his father had been given during World War I. For the next two months he carried the book around "surreptitiously" and read it wherever he went, "devouring the New Testament." Over that two months he "came to understand and believe the gospel." His was a conversion apparently unmediated by social or emotional inducements; the Word of God had spoken and the human creature had believed. The unadorned biblicism of this conversion established a characteristic theme; the way Adams himself had changed would reappear in the emphases he would bring to the tasks of counseling twenty years later.

Adams's chief interest in school had been cartooning. Previously uninterested in reading, "suddenly I became voracious, I couldn't get enough." He began to attend a conservative Presbyterian church. Through the pastor's influence the sixteen-year-old Adams decided to attend Reformed Episcopal Seminary (RE) in Philadelphia the fall after his conversion.[40] As a largely ignorant new Christian, "I didn't even know who Moses, Jonah, and Noah were when I went to seminary." But he proved to be an indefatigable worker, researcher, and debater and quickly absorbed the Bible and Calvinist theology. Adams credited RE with a profound influence on both his basic convictions and his intellectual style. "The chairman of the faculty . . . asked me the standard question, as he did (individually) to every incoming student: 'Are you willing to test every question by the Scriptures?' In the fifty years that followed, to do so has been my avowed goal."[41] The head of the Systematic Theology Department, Robert Rudolph, had a profound influence on Adams's beliefs and style.[42] Rudolph was noted for his zeal for conservative Protestant orthodoxy, the adversarial atmosphere of his classroom, and his passionate conviction that true believers needed to separate from error rather than engage in cool discussion. Adams's recollection was that "the whole of the teaching methodology at RE was you've got to prove everything you believe. Every class was an argument. It taught you to think, and it taught you to think on your own, not just parrot back." The debater's style, the constant recourse to biblical evidence, hard work and constant study, and an iconoclastic instinct would characterize his subsequent endeavors.

He went on to do a double undergraduate degree, completing a two-year bachelor of divinity at RE (BD, 1951) and a four-year bachelor of arts in Greek at Johns Hopkins (AB, 1951).[43] At Hopkins he carved his own path: "The entire undergraduate classics department at Hopkins existed for me alone for two years. Then the last two years they threw me in with graduate students." A tutorial on *koine* Greek was particularly influential. That the New Testament had been written to plain people in rough, fish-market, gutter Greek contributed to Adams's lifelong aversion to forms of theological writing and religious expression that were primarily abstract, sentimental, pietistic, or aesthetic, rather than "practical" and "direct."[44]

Adams received minimal exposure to psychology during his extended undergraduate education: RE offered no counseling courses, and Adams took only an introductory psychology course at Hopkins. There the professor's opening act made quite an impression:

> On the first day of an elementary psychology course at Johns Hopkins University some twenty years ago, a professor sat on his desk silently reading the morning newspaper. The bell rang, but he didn't seem to notice it. Then audibly he began to read the headlines of the front page articles. They captioned difficult world problems, spoke of inhuman acts of man to his fellow man, and, in general, painted the typical sensational front page picture one may read every day. Presently, he looked up and said, "The world is in a mess." He spent the rest of the hour explaining how psychology is the world's one hope for straightening out that mess.[45]

The pastor-to-be, believing in a different Savior, had his doubts, but they were as yet inarticulate. Adams's intellectual formation, heavy on theological science, was almost entirely innocent of social and behavioral science. His practical formation, heavy on proclamation and debate, was nearly innocent of the all-tolerant probing and affirmation that typified the midcentury psychotherapeutic ethos.

The preacher and organizer did not waste time before getting involved in ministry after his graduation.[46] Adams demonstrated a take-charge ability early on. In 1951–52 he served as director of Youth for Christ in Baltimore, organizing evangelistic rallies and doing follow-up work with young people.[47] Adams went on to serve in a series of small conservative Presbyterian denominations during the 1950s and 1960s. He was ordained in the United Presbyterian Church as a twenty-three-year-old on October 10, 1952.[48]

His first pastorate was at Mount Prospect United Presbyterian Church outside Pittsburgh (1952–54). "I couldn't find a single person who understood the gospel. I started to preach the gospel and we had a mini-revival the first year with maybe sixty people saved. The youth group grew from about four to over a hundred." But while the congregation swelled in size, Adams's ineptitude in counseling was driven home to him.

> Early in my first pastorate, following an evening service, a man lingered after everyone else had left. I chatted with him awkwardly, wondering what he wanted. He broke into tears, but could not speak. I simply did not know what to do. I was helpless. He went home that night without unburdening his heart or receiving any genuine help from his pastor. Less than one month later he died. I now suspect that his doctor had told him of his impending death and that he had come for counsel. But I had failed him. That night I asked God to help me to become an effective counselor.[49]

Adams characteristically followed up prayers with action. The inadequacy of his training and skill led him to begin to study counseling informally in attempts to improve himself.

Over the next decade, Adams read widely in the counseling field: representative secular psychologists, the mainline pastoral counselors who dominated the religious counseling field, and the first generation evangelical psychologists (e.g., Clyde Narramore). The message to which he was consistently exposed was some form of depth psychology (generically "Freudian," in Mowrer's term that Adams later adopted); the methodology was typically Carl Rogers's style of benign, nonintrusive affirmation. Adams also attended the workshops that mental health professionals offered to pastors, workshops which, while teaching a few rudimentary interpersonal skills, carefully reinforced the

pastor's awareness of his limitations and encouraged referrals.

Local church counseling problems were not the only difficulties Adams faced. Theologically conservative Presbyterians in the 1950s agonized in the latest round of an issue "that had plagued Protestant reformers in America since the first Puritans set foot on Plymouth Rock: Must they separate from corrupted denominations?"[50] In the 1930s, Presbyterian separatists had left the mainline PCUSA because of its "modernism and indifferentism" and formed splinter denominations.[51] In the 1950s, the United Presbyterians were contemplating a merger into that perceivedly corrupt PCUSA. Adams strongly opposed the merger and became a spokesman for this cause in 1954.

Adams had continued to pursue formal education throughout this time. During 1952–54 he completed most of the course work for a master's in theology at Pittsburgh-Xenia Seminary, but he quit without doing his thesis. His stand against the denominational merger had jeopardized his relations with the faculty at Pittsburgh-Xenia Seminary, who largely favored the merger, and he withdrew from the program.

In 1954 the Mount Prospect church split in a backlash over the stir produced there by Adams's aggressive and successful evangelism and by his stand in the wider ecclesiastical controversy. Adams and the new converts left and founded Viewcrest Community Church in Eighty-Four, Pennsylvania (1954–56). Adams was never sentimental about preserving unity at all costs or about working within existing institutions. He operated with the instincts of a revolutionary, not a reformer. Without a backward glance he was willing to lead like-minded people to separate from existing institutions and to form new institutions.

Adams's next pastorate was in Covenant Bible Presbyterian Church in Haddonfield, New Jersey (1956–58).[52] This congregation was embroiled in a different ecclesiastical war, between varying degrees of separatists. It had split from the congregation pastored by extreme fundamentalist Carl McIntire shortly before calling Adams to become their first full-time pastor. McIntire was also becoming persona non grata in the wider Bible Presbyterian Church for his dictatorial tendencies and political extremism.[53] When Adams entered the denomination, he immediately became part of a group working to oust Carl McIntire from influence.[54]

Back in the Philadelphia area, Adams completed his master's in sacred theology at Temple University School of Theology (1958), studying under well-known homiletician Andrew Blackwood. During this time Adams took a year-long psychotherapy course under a Freudian psychiatrist at Temple University, an experience he subsequently recalled in *The Power of Error*. In a case study presented for the class, Adams described counseling a man fruitlessly for that year, presuming he suffered from a "psychoneurosis." The professor had annotated Adams's case records with comments and suggestions reinforcing such an interpretation. In retrospect, Adams attacked the psychiatrist's comments as "unsubstantiated dicta" and "gross speculation."[55] But his most withering remarks were reserved for himself, a would-be pastoral counselor in the psychotherapeutic mode:

> Robert [the counselee] made a great number of attempts to discuss the issue of his sin. Not once did the pastor-counselor [i.e., Adams] take up the invitation. You may wonder why the counselor didn't do so. The sad fact is that he *would* have if he had been following the Scriptures and if he had not been indoctrinated against doing so by psychological and psychiatric dogma and propaganda. Strange, how he refuses to accept pagan theory and practice altogether (his methods are directive and his

faith surfaces now and again), but it is most interesting to discover how at every crucial point the pagan viewpoint takes ascendancy over all else. . . .

The counselee has given him proper direction and permission to become personal—"look at my sin," he begs; but the counselor refuses to follow his direction. Why? He thinks, "The problem can't be anything so simple as sin. Indeed, the very fact that Robert talks in such an unusual way about himself is indicative of some fairly serious mental illness." So pagan dogma steers him from the true course to look for a label denoting something more complex.

Once labeled, the counselee's problem can be dealt with more comfortably under the rubrics appropriate to that "illness." Eventually he finds it: Robert is suffering from psychoneurosis. Thereafter, all that the counselor does is governed by the definitions and theory surrounding that concept. He will read all of Robert's actions and judge all of his words through the grid. . . .

What was [Robert]'s sin? We never find out because the counselor's bias blinds him and doesn't allow his biblical training to override his psychological orientation. Sad! . . .

Pastors galore have not helped Robert. Presumably they have tried giving him prayer-and-Bible-verse prescription. . . . One tried to cast a demon out of him. . . . The pastor-counselor who brings this report *wants* to understand, but . . . clearly he doesn't.[56]

Adams dutifully attempted to become socialized, even as he tried to avoid the evident pitfalls of pietistic, moralistic, or exorcistic pastoral counsel

typical within conservative Protestant churches. But his "biblical training" and his "psychological orientation" made restless bedmates.

In 1958 Adams's energetic and successful work in the ministry was recognized with a call to become executive secretary of Home Missions for the Bible Presbyterian Church. He moved out to St. Louis, and from there traveled the country, meeting with groups interested in starting churches, assessing pastoral candidates, raising money, exploring potential properties, and troubleshooting church problems. Adams was first and foremost a "churchman." His counseling interests were never primary but represented a subset of an overarching preoccupation with the gamut of problems faced by churches and pastors. And his churchmanship did not play out primarily at the level of denominational politics. He had the instincts, sympathies, and antipathies of a local churchman, the pastor of a flock he knew by name, a flock that he would evangelize, baptize, teach, lead, visit in the hospital, marry, advise, reconcile, and bury. The social, institutional, and professional habits he would bring to the counseling task were decidedly not those of the autonomous mental health professional.

Though opposing McIntire's extreme separatistic stance, Adams frankly advocated that ministers and their congregations separate from denominations tainted with liberalism. When the merger of the old United Presbyterians with the Presbyterian Church USA finally occurred in 1958, it occasioned a frank statement of Adams's separatist views. He called dissident pastors to come out of their now compromised ecclesiastical situation. Articulating standard separatist arguments, he invited them to consider the Bible Presbyterians as a new home. The enterprising home missions' director would build his denomination by recruiting shepherds to come out of apostasy with their flocks just as he had.[57]

In 1959 Adams wrote his first book, on a subject far removed from counseling. In a denomination that was largely premillennial in eschatology, he bluntly advocated the amillennial view.[58] This generated heated debate across the denomination. Adams was widely perceived as a "militant" amillenialist.[59] Though the issue was resolved at the 1960 synod in Adams's favor, allowing liberty of conscience, he quit his job in the Home Missions Department that same summer because the controversy seemed likely to prove detrimental to funding for church planting. It would not be the last time that Adams's militance proved as provocative as the content of his views. He was a controversialist, out to define and magnify differences, not a diplomat out to blur or reconcile differences.

If RE Seminary had honed the instincts of the biblicist debater, Adams's tumultuous church experiences during the 1950s produced two other things that would one day prove significant in his counseling revolution. First, by the time he was thirty, he was a veteran of the widely varied joys and strains of pastoring local churches. He felt with and for the pastor. When he subsequently spoke to conservative pastors about counseling, they knew they were hearing one of their own. That same voice, those same sensibilities, those institutional habits, would sound discordant to mental health professionals, even when they subscribed to the same basic theological system as Adams. But pastors heard a pastor, and his counseling model would be a model for them. The pastor would be defined as the "counseling professional," and the local church would provide the setting for most counseling activities. "Counseling," far from being esoteric, would overtly cohere with the content and goals of preaching, sacraments, discipleship, small groups, and church discipline. The Bible would serve as the sourcebook for counseling content and methods, and those methods would be frankly didactic and conversional in intent.

Even the anticipated trajectory of the counseling process—six to twelve weeks of highly structured and interventive counseling—would fit within the time constraints on a busy pastor.

Second, by the time he was thirty, Adams was a veteran of ecclesiastical wars. He had become well aware of the intense conflicts generated by matters of theology, church practice, and personality—and he was willing to participate. "No one *likes* conflict, unless he's proud and divisive, but sometimes you've got to take a stand. And when you do take a stand, you need the hide of a rhinoceros." Adams was not one to shrink from a fight where he thought the true and the right were at stake in a contest with compromisers. He took a hard-boiled attitude toward existing institutions and was willing to separate in order to start something new. A decade later, Adams's *CtC* and nouthetic counseling movement would be intended—as a matter of principle—to stir up trouble for the compromisers he perceived running the dominant counseling institutions. He would aim to create a church-based counseling practice separate from and parallel to extant counseling worlds, whether secular or religious. Adams would present his pastor-led endeavor as a theologically pure and ecclesiastically separate alternative, in sharp contrast with professions tainted by the forms and ideas of secular psychology.

But Adams eventually launched his counseling revolution neither as a local church pastor nor as a denominational administrator. His eventual platform proved to be a theological seminary. He had become increasingly interested in teaching other pastors how to do their job better. But a call to teach would not come for several more years and after yet another stint in higher education. On leaving the Home Missions office in 1960, Adams entered a PhD program in speech at the University of Missouri. He studied there until 1963, focusing, naturally enough, on preaching not counseling.

Again he was distinctively the pastor, interested in proclamation, persuasion, and conversion.

Adams, in fact, completed two dissertations. The first examined audience adaptation in the speeches of the apostle Paul. The tailoring of message to audience—based on detailed, first-hand knowledge of the listeners—was a lifelong preoccupation. This emphasis would eventually appear in Adams's approach to counseling in the attention he paid to detailed "data gathering."[60] Adams was forced to abandon the dissertation when his conservative assumptions about the Bible's integrity were challenged by a member of his committee who was "a theological liberal."[61] This experience reinforced a conviction that had arisen out of experiences in the ecclesiastical wars at Pittsburgh-Xenia a decade earlier, that "liberals play dirty pool."

Adams completed his second dissertation in 1965. It addressed a less controversial subject: the homiletical distinctives of his former mentor at Temple, Andrew Blackwood.[62] Blackwood's emphasis on reconstructing the seminary around the tasks of practical theology, particularly preaching, rather than around formal scholarship, resonated with the quintessential local church pastor. Though Adams would spend almost twenty years teaching in seminaries, he endured rather than adopted the institutional habits of academia. He was always the activist, the iconoclast, the popularizer, the *practical* theologue. He would later propose a revolution in the seminary curriculum that bore a strong resemblance to Blackwood's, seeking to remake seminary study to serve pastoral practice not academic interests.[63]

After completing his course work at University of Missouri, Adams and his family moved back East to accept another pastoral call. From 1963 to 1966 he served as pastor of Grace Orthodox Presbyterian Church in Westfield, New Jersey. Upon this move back into the local church setting,

the issues of pastoral counseling again presented themselves full force: "I'd always had an interest in counseling from the beginning—because of people. As a pastor I was trying to help people, and I'd always be thrust into the middle of their problems." But Adams was doubly intimidated. In his own attempts at counseling, he "muddled along, with no coherent alternative to the secular stuff." And he continued to attend periodic workshops for pastors sponsored by mental health agencies in which it was reiterated that the pastor should not attempt much but should "defer and refer" to secular mental health experts. "The bottom line message to pastors was, 'Leave things to the professionals. There is little you can do besides provide an accepting atmosphere for people. Troubled people are not violators of conscience, but morally neutral victims of an accusing conscience. They need professional help.' I couldn't see my way through the propaganda."[64]

The catalyst for the preacher and generalist pastor to concentrate on counseling came when Adams was assigned to teach pastoral counseling in a seminary curriculum. At the time he took over the pastorate of Grace OPC, Adams had been asked to come to Philadelphia one day a week to teach remedial speech at Westminster Theological Seminary. In 1963 the successful preacher, trained speaker, and PhD candidate gained his first opportunity to train other preachers in public speaking techniques. The next year he was appointed special lecturer in Practical Theology, assigned to teach courses in public speaking, preaching, and poimenics.[65] The poimenics course contained a unit on counseling:

What would I teach? I was stuck, and I didn't know the answers. So I started digging. I read everything I could find on counseling in two or three seminary libraries, as well as other books on psychology. I got immersed in Freudianism because that

was the thing that both the pagan books and the Christian books taught. I threw something together for a course; it was horrible. But at least I had started to wrestle with the issues.

Over the next five years, Adams's views on counseling theory and practice would dramatically change. This outsider to the well-developed socio-cultural world of professional counseling would lay the foundation for developing his own separate world of counseling practice.

1965–69: The Crystallization of Adams's Bible-Oriented and Pastor-Oriented System of Counseling

Adams had heard the name O. Hobart Mowrer from a Christian psychologist friend who thought Adams might be interested in Mowrer's work. In the early 1960s, Mowrer[66] had begun to challenge Freudian theory, to describe people as morally responsible, and to call troubled and troublesome human behavior "sin." In the winter of 1965, Mowrer gave a lecture at Beaver College, one mile down the road from Westminster Seminary in the suburbs just north of Philadelphia. Adams went to hear him. Afterward Adams spoke with Mowrer, who invited him to apply to a summer fellowship program for clergy sponsored by the Eli Lilly Foundation. Adams was accepted, and the six-week intensive course proved to be a dramatic turning point. Adams and the other five religionists "virtually lived with Mowrer." They spent the days working in therapy groups that Mowrer conducted in state mental hospitals in Galesburg and Kankakee, Illinois. Over meals, commuting, and in the evenings, they talked with Mowrer.

Adams witnessed Mowrer dealing with the moral failings of psychiatric patients, rather than treating them as mentally ill.[67] Four aspects of Mowrer's work made a profound impression on

Adams. First, the "sins" Mowrer uncovered in people were eye-opening to a pastor who took the Ten Commandments seriously: adultery, theft, lying, shirking responsibility, laziness, bitterness, fear, false beliefs, rebelliousness, substance abuse, and the like. The vast majority of the so-called "mentally ill," those with functional rather than organic etiologies, looked strikingly normal once Mowrer cut through the bizarre symptoms. Their guilt was real, not false. They were violators of conscience and avoiders of honesty, not victims of an overactive and diseased conscience.

Second, the "repentance" Mowrer taught people was no less striking to a pastor whose professional life had been dedicated to persuading people to convert. Mowrer called for confession of failings and for making restitution by marking out appropriate concrete behavioral changes. Those who had done wrong could own up and make things right. Mowrer emphasized hope that long-standing patterns of behavior and attitude could be broken if matters were faced and dealt with honestly. He emphasized responsibility—that people could choose to act in new, more constructive ways.

Third, Mowrer's counseling methodology was a revelation to an authoritative pulpit proclaimer. Adams had chafed at the passivity, patience, and professional reserve enjoined by the reigning counseling authorities. Therapeutic passivity had made little sense to someone whose life mission was to proclaim a message intended to change people's "faith and practice." Mowrer was direct and directive. The sedate pace of modern psychotherapy made little sense amid the demands on a busy pastor. Mowrer aimed to identify and solve problems quickly. Professional reserve did not square with life in the small community of the local church, the "family" where people unavoidably knew their pastor, where he knew them, and where all avowedly needed grace for common sins. Mowrer was assertive, no-nonsense, honest about his own

failings, and dealt practically with objectively discoverable failings. "He was rough on people in the psychiatric hospitals. He would tackle the impossible cases, and in groups would go after someone until a breakthrough occurred. And he would tell his own story freely." For Adams, Mowrer blew apart the mystique attached to the therapeutic process, to diagnostic and explanatory categories, and to the counselor's identity.

Lastly, Mowrer's withering attack on generic Freudianism brought a message of liberation to a would-be student of modern therapies who could never quite get it right. It simultaneously sounded the alarm to a religionist whose theological tradition featured an analysis of the presuppositional antithesis between biblical religion and the "world's" lies and whose ecclesiastical tradition featured militant separation from errorists. And it bluntly challenged the pastor and pastoral theologian, maintaining that clergymen and theologians were "more heavily under the sway of Freudian ideology than any other comparable group, including psychologists and, quite possibly, even psychiatrists."[68] Mowrer had demonstrated to Adams that the "irresponsibility ethic" woven into the medical model of neuroses and psychoses was bankrupt, a "mess of pottage" contradictory to church's "birthright."[69] The counseling world—secular psychiatrists, mainline pastoral counselors, and evangelical psychologists—had been broadly deceived. Mowrer and like-minded therapists such as Perry London and William Glasser, actively prosecuted the medical model in favor of a moral model. Mowrer's message was both a call to arms and a call to repentance. Adams leapt to join the debunkers, these "young, vigorous individuals who have begun to challenge the traditional Freudian and Rogerian ideas."[70]

The speech at Beaver College, Mowrer's book, *The Crisis in Psychiatry and Religion,* and that summer of study had a catalytic effect. Adams was duly appreciative of what Mowrer had given him.

> Mowrer did two things for me. First, he *destroyed* the Freudian system in my mind. He knew it inside out; he'd been a part of it; he'd come out of it and rejected it, and he knew why he'd rejected it. That was the reigning system then. Second, at the same time, he shook my faith in the mental health professionals. Previously I was still caught up in the idea that we preachers shouldn't be doing counseling. Mowrer cleared the field of rubble for me. He gave me the confidence to go forward.

Mowrer's moral framework, conversional intent, direct manner, and polemic against the dominant models dovetailed with many of Adams's existing commitments, discontents, successes, failures, and gropings.

Four major influences played a part in Adams's counseling revolution. First, his intellectual formation had occurred in terms of Reformed-Calvinist orthodoxy's view of truth, God, human nature, and the church. Second, Adams's professional life was shaped around the exigencies of local church pastoral ministry. He encountered people's problems in living in a social context that included many other activities besides "counseling." Third, his social style and ecclesiastical vision had been forged in the tumults that attended militant, separatist Presbyterianism. Mowrer provided the fourth and final ingredient in the formation of Adams's anti-psychiatry: a counseling vision. He gave a view of history: the church had capitulated to modern psychological theory and therapy. He provided the genre in which problems in living were to be understood: human beings were responsible for their behavior. He modeled a solution to such problems that encouraged pastoral assertion. He provided a catalyst to action as the founder of an

anti-psychiatry movement of his own. Mowrer's approach to the field fell on fertile soil.

Adams strongly insisted that he was not a disciple of Mowrer's.[71] He criticized many particulars of Mowrer's positive system.

> His own system, integrity therapy, like Glasser's reality therapy, was totally unbiblical. People got help in the sense that took responsibility. But there had to be something more. Mowrer had no objective standard, and he could offer no real forgiveness. The graduates of his counseling didn't graduate; they became dependent on the group. He didn't give me much positive. During the evenings that summer I'd study Scriptures; I did a major study of conscience, thinking it through biblically. I began to do biblical work which gave me something positive to offer.

Adams particularly disagreed with the pervasive effects of Mowrer's atheism. "Mowrer once said to me that the Bible would be fine if you could take out the vertical dimension." Mowrer had also fiercely attacked Calvinism—even linking it genetically to the pessimism and fatalism of "Freudianism"—because Calvinism spoke of sinners needing salvation by grace rather than salvation by vigorous self-effort.[72] The Calvinist Adams believed that Christ forgave and changed sinners, and that Mowrer's moralism was an old heresy updated.

Adams's criticism of Mowrer included an *ad hominem* strand. He thought that Mowrer's public confessions had an obsessive, self-torturing quality because he did not know the Savior who had died to forgive sinners and who could enable grateful, energetic efforts by his Holy Spirit.

> Mowrer uses words like religion, sin, and guilt, but he drains them of biblical meaning and then fills them with humanistic content. . . . Confession, restitution,

and atonement, remember, are strictly horizontal; they have dimensions only on the level of man to man. Atonement is not through Christ (with Bonhoeffer, Mowrer calls Christian grace "cheap grace"); it is achieved by the suffering of confession and restitution.

> But because he has no Savior, Mowrer is like the priest that stands daily ministering the same sacrifice that can never take away sin. . . . Mowrer, the secular priest, stands daily making atonement. . . . Mowrer's own personal unrest and that of his counselees grows from this fact.[73]

In Adams's view, Mowrer's subsequent suicide (1982) arose from the ineffectiveness of his confessional methods for dealing with the sins of his youth that haunted him.[74] Mowrer would tell his story over and over while working to help people but, in Adams's opinion, could neither find nor grant lasting relief.

But Mowrer had given Adams the contours of a counseling model and had set him in motion. Adams set out to build a system that would be "biblical," the catchword for his movement, just as "integration" became the catchword for his professional opponents. During 1965–66 Adams began to implement what he had discovered from Mowrer and what he was discovering in the Bible. He did counseling in his own church, experimenting with more intentional probing of counselee's lives and more directive methods of addressing the problems discovered.[75]

On June 1, 1966, Jay Adams was appointed assistant professor of Practical Theology at Westminster. He stepped down from pastoring his local church (the instinctive local church pastor would not return to that role until 1990, for the next quarter century becoming a pastor of pastors and of pastors-to-be). He was hired to teach all aspects of pastoral care, counseling, and preaching.

Adams described the content of his first counseling course this way: "For the first couple of years that course was a mess, rough. I spent night and day counseling and studying: studying people, studying counseling books, studying the Bible. I was counseling and I didn't have answers, counseling by the seat of the pants. I'd see problems as they were thrown at me, and I'd study and try to come out with biblical answers. My teaching, like my books later, came out in an ad hoc manner; it was a question of what questions I was confronting." The first rough outline of his nouthetic counseling began to emerge in 1966 in a small segment of the poimenics course (renamed Pastoral Theology): "At first it was little more than 'Sin is the problem and the Bible has the answers,' illustrated with a few case studies." Adams initially was influenced by Mowrer's use of groups as the context to conduct counseling, but he soon became a foe of such groups for their practice of "promiscuous confession."[76] By 1967 Adams's thinking about counseling was jelling into a system. In 1968, the third time he taught his emerging version of pastoral counseling, the counseling segment was expanded into an entire course.

Meanwhile, Adams also began to think in terms of a counseling and training center where other pastors could learn his style of frank pastoral conversation, the approach he came to label "nouthetic."[77] While the seminary could train future pastors, Adams's first loyalty lay with those already in the pastorate. Late in 1965 he had met Gardner McBride, the pastor of a neighboring church in northern New Jersey, while both attended a mental health meeting for pastors held at Marlboro State Hospital (New Jersey). Adams, stimulated by the experience with Mowrer and his fledgling Bible study and counseling practice, was highly critical of the presentation. He discovered that McBride was thinking along similar lines.

They decided to start a counseling center based in McBride's church, White Oak Ridge Community Chapel (Short Hills, N.J.), and incorporated it as the Christian Counseling and Educational Center (CCEC) in 1966.

Adams and McBride started counseling one day a week, simultaneously training other pastors to counsel through participant observation. Adams's counseling sessions frequently involved team counseling in the 1960s.[78] And they were pointedly training sessions. Typically two observers sat in on each case. Adams would involve trainees in the session, inviting them to comment or pray. He was renowned among his students for getting up and walking out in the middle of a session at some point in the training process, leaving a student to carry on as lead counselor.[79] Counselors were pointedly interchangeable, something Adams considered beneficial both for counselees—they would learn in the process to depend on God, not their counselor—and for trainees.

Adams was no advocate of the secrecies and securities that obtain in private, one-on-one counseling. His counseling came close to being a public affair. Sessions might even become crowded. Along with the counselee[s], counselor[s], and two participant observers, he liked to bring in family members, or friends who might prove helpful, as well as the counselee's pastor. He would train that pastor to counsel, too, along the way. "Multiple counseling is to be preferred as the rule rather than the exception. . . . The number of participants who ought to be included seems to be as great as the number of individuals who are intimately involved in the problem."[80] Problems in living were social by definition, failures to love God and neighbor; their solution would be social as well. These were goal-oriented work sessions. Adams did everything he could to break the mystique of the expert counselor on whom a counselee depended.[81] He negotiated and assigned homework (e.g., a log to track

occasions when a problem arose; study of a Bible passage or other appropriate book; an assigned task, such as to look for a job) that was intended to carry the conversation of the session out into daily life; a counselee repentant for adultery might be asked to make a phone call on the spot to break off the relationship; a counselee who had not taken time to complete homework might be sent back to the waiting room to work on it; family members who had been arguing might be asked to seek forgiveness and reconcile on the spot.

At the time of his full-time appointment at Westminster in 1966, Adams and his family moved down to the Philadelphia area. He began attending Trinity Orthodox Presbyterian Church (Hatboro, Pa.), pastored by John Bettler. Bettler (b. January 4, 1940) was a recent Westminster graduate who had been one of Adams's preaching students but had never studied counseling under him in seminary.[82] Bettler had taken poimenics in 1965 under Adams's predecessor. He commented later: "I remember, as a student at Westminster Seminary in the mid-sixties, leaving a class in Apologetics in which Cornelius Van Til railed against the incorporation of unbelieving thought into a consistent Christian world-view and then walking to a class on pastoral care where Rogerian methods were taught and practiced uncritically—and nobody blinked. One year later Jay Adams began teaching that course and the counseling revolution began."[83] With Jay Adams as his parishioner, Bettler would learn to blink—and would play a significant role in the revolution that ensued.

In years to come, Bettler became second only to Adams in influence upon the nouthetic counseling movement. He brought an organizational vision to nouthetic counseling and was instrumental in founding and developing many of its leading institutions. Bettler was the first pastor trained under Adams at CCEC, traveling weekly up to northern New Jersey with Adams during 1967. Both men

retained vivid memories of their conversation in the car after the first day Bettler had observed Adams counsel:

Jay Adams: "We had a couple hours drive each way, and I had spent about ten hours counseling that day with John observing. John was driving me home. I was dead tired. I noticed John started shaking his head, not even saying anything. Then about five or ten minutes later he said, 'You can't talk to people that way.' I was too tired to argue, so I just sat there and didn't say anything. Then about five or ten minutes later he said, 'Well, maybe *you* can talk to people that way, but *I* can't.' I didn't say a word. But eventually John found out you can talk to people in whatever way helps them. Someone who really wants help wants a counselor who can be tough with him in the right way."

John Bettler: "I remember that. And I even remember the woman's face in the case I was referring to. You were sitting behind the desk. A cocounselor was in one corner. I was the trainee in the other corner. Here is this woman in her sixties—and you were talking *loudly*. You were trying to give her encouragement. You were also labeling her sin. And when you gave encouragement, you'd get excited and stand up sometimes! It looked overwhelming to me."

Jay Adams: "But she responded well."

John Bettler: "She did. But the only training I'd had up until then was of a Rogerian strain where you didn't say anything direct, and what you said you said nicely and softly. But you guys came on like gangbusters. There was a period of time after that when I thought of confrontation as being loud. That was a downside, that in order to counsel you

had to be loud and exuberant. It's not that at all. You have to operate within the context of truth and who the counselee is, and also within the context of how God in his providence has made you. If you aren't an exuberant person, counseling won't work if you start shouting."

Jay Adams: "Also, as you sat in on enough cases over that year, you saw *every* kind of emotion exhibited. The circumstances and the person determined the manner of approach. That woman said, 'I haven't got any hope.' She needed hope, and I got a little exuberant at how much good God had for her. 'Look what the Scripture says here!' About all she'd been hearing from people was, 'Yeah, I know, life is tough, then you die.'"[84]

That anecdote signals themes that characterized their relationship over the decades that followed.

Their personal differences were marked. Bettler was as restrained as Adams was boisterous; he was as intensely private as Adams was a loquacious, larger-than-life public presence. Bettler was the skeptic and devil's advocate, looking for exceptions and complications. Adams was the evangelist, urging hearers to uncomplicated faith and action. Where Adams might walk out of a counseling session, turning it over to a trainee, Bettler did not even like observers to sit in.

Their intellectual differences were equally marked. Bettler was preoccupied with questions of what went on inside people to produce behavior—motive, belief, identity, self-image. He was wary of superficial behavioral alteration. Adams largely focused on behavior and was wary of speculating about what could not be seen. Bettler thought that life's hardships affected people significantly and that counselors who failed to attend to such risked harshness; Adams was wary that attending to such things might easily encourage evasion of moral

responsibility and blame shifting. Bettler was concerned to identify potentially useful contributions of psychologists; Adams highlighted their errors. As Adams had been prodded by Mowrer, so Bettler had been prodded by Alfred Adler.

Marked differences in institutional vision existed between them. Bettler's interest in and respect for scholarship and higher education was as habitual as Adams's interest in and respect for local church pastors. Bettler worked to open doors for women to train and to counsel; Adams worked to establish a male-dominated model of counseling training and practice. Bettler had been raised fundamentalist and reacted against it, coming to embrace a version of Reformed theology with a broad vision for social and intellectual engagement. Adams had been a-religious and had embraced separatist Presbyterianism. Bettler reacted strongly against separatist, sectarian, and anti-intellectual tendencies; he enjoyed the stimulus of dialogue with intellectuals to his "left" who differed with him. Adams reacted strongly against those to his "left" theologically and ecclesiastically and was comfortable with pastors from separatist traditions. Largely alluding to Bettler, Adams wrote, "The nouthetic counseling group differs significantly from the psychoanalytic coterie with which Freud surrounded himself. For them to differ with the Master was heresy and it was necessary either to recant of anti-Freudian dogma or be excommunicated. No such relationship exists among nouthetic thinkers, all of whom are thinkers and theologians in their own right. They are yes *and* no men; and I learn continually from their nos."[85]

For all their differences, Adams and Bettler were best friends from the mid-1960s on and were cocreators of the major institutions of the biblical counseling movement. Both were instinctive iconoclasts; both valued reason above emotion and experience; both were effective public speakers; both were ordained pastors in the Orthodox

Presbyterian Church. And both were convinced that the Bible was about counseling and that the psychologies and psychotherapies had gotten things fundamentally wrong. They were "the yin and yang of biblical counseling—and it's clear who's the yang," in the words of a longtime associate.[86] Adams would dedicate his book on laycounseling this way: "To John Bettler, a warm friend and trusted colleague: the hidden force behind nouthetic counseling."[87] Over the next twenty years Bettler would play a leading role in developing the institutional framework for Adams's ideas. He would also play a leading role in bringing competing intellectual and practical emphases into the nouthetic counseling movement. Most of the major fault lines in the movement would map onto the differences between Adams and Bettler.

CCEC was a minuscule operation, operating one day a week out of a church in northern New Jersey, with two counselors and a handful of trainees. But by 1968 Adams and his fellows had hatched bigger plans. They reincorporated as the Christian Counseling and Educational Foundation (CCEF), envisioning a far wider scope of potential activities: counseling services, education and training of counselors, publication and mass media, and diversified institutions of care.

First, they intended to provide pastoral counseling for the gamut of "personal and social difficulties, family and domestic conflicts, marital difficulties," along with vocational guidance and pre- and postmarital counseling. CCEF was to function as an auxiliary to churches in the mid-Atlantic region, a place where experienced pastoral counselors could supplement the work of local church pastors. Second, they intended to "educate ministers and missionaries and any other member of the religious community" in "the use of biblical principles of pastoral counseling." In Adams's mind, the fulfillment of this second purpose would eventually make the first purpose extraneous.

Third, to accomplish their wider goals, CCEF was chartered to produce "publications, manuals, pamphlets, learned journals and treatises, educational material, books and literary articles . . . and [to] utilize radio, television and any other available form of public communications in order to effectively present to the general public" their view of counseling. Lastly, CCEF was chartered to "own and operate nursing and convalescent homes, extended care hospitals, hospitals and homes for the aged" in order to combine medical and religious objectives. Similar counseling purposes obtained in a provision to "own and operate camping and recreational facilities."[88] The last named item arose from Adams's hope—never fulfilled—that entire families might be counseled together during summer camping trips, something he saw as an ideal example of doing "multiple counseling" with all involved parties.[89]

That same year, 1968, CCEF moved most of its operations to the northern suburbs of Philadelphia, maintaining limited counseling services in northern New Jersey but doing most counseling and all of the training out of Bettler's Trinity OPC (Hatboro, Pa.). Within the first year of CCEF's existence, marked philosophical differences arose on the board of trustees. Two of the five original board members were counseling psychologists, and tensions arose between them and Adams. The issue, not surprisingly, turned on professionalism. Increasingly they did not see eye-to-eye about what was coalescing at the heart of Adams's counseling revolution: "Is the pastor 'competent to counsel,' or does graduate training in psychology prepare one to counsel?"[90] The difficulties in establishing cooperation between evangelical psychologists and Adams's nouthetic pastoral counseling played out within the first year of nouthetic counseling's first institution. The board was reconstituted with members favorable to Adams's vision. At the same time, by 1970 all operations shifted to Hatboro.

Bettler, Trinity OPC's pastor between 1967 and 1970, became increasingly involved, first as a trainee at CCEC, then as a counselor at CCEF. Eventually he was groomed to take over as director. With the move to Philadelphia, CCEF began to train students at Westminster Seminary as well as pastors already serving in local churches. The symbiosis between CCEF and Westminster became a significant feature in the institutional landscape of nouthetic counseling.

Meanwhile Adams worked assiduously to produce the first writings from his nouthetic counseling perspective. In 1968 he published his first counseling article in *The Presbyterian Guardian,* a small denominational magazine. "Behind the Study Door" considered a case study of a depressed woman. His opening sentence, "How about your ironing?," as well as the article that followed, sounded a note of "practicality" not often heard in his theological and ecclesiastical circles. His counselee's depression

> had developed from guilt arising out of a long-standing inner feud she had been carrying on between herself and her mother-in-law. This had recently erupted into open hostilities. By neglecting her ironing and other duties (because she rightly felt guilt-depression over her sin) Sharon had turned a bad depression into a severe one.
>
> The depression would lift slightly when she began to reassume her responsibilities as a homemaker and mother, but she would find complete relief only when she finally confessed her sinful ways to God and asked her mother-in-law's forgiveness. Beyond that, Sharon had to set about building a new Christian relationship between herself and her mother-in-law. . . .
>
> Since the problem of resentment extended to many areas of her life, she found it necessary to straighten out some matters in

> her church. These efforts went a long way toward healing a grievous division among the women of the congregation.[91]

This brief article broached themes that became characteristic of Adams's system of directive, interventive, optimistic counseling. He aimed to produce rapid, tangible changes in a counselee's relationships to God and to neighbors. He worked to get people to act on defined right and wrong, true and false. This brief article even included a typical cautionary note about organic causes: "Not all problems have an interpersonal base. Some, of course, develop from organic causes: e.g., brain damage, glandular or other chemical imbalances. There is also a gray area of problems which are of uncertain etiology."[92] In this article, as throughout his subsequent corpus, Adams sought to write about counseling issues in layman's language, addressing the daily problems of church people in a direct manner using specific terminology from the Bible.

Adams had a book in the works through the late 1960s. Part testimonial, part polemic, part Bible study, part introductory counseling textbook, *CtC* was rough hewn even in the final version. But it sounded Adams's call for a revolt by conservative pastors, calling them back to the counseling task that he believed was theirs. Adams thought pastoral jurisdiction over personal problems had been abandoned and forfeited by diffident, inept pastors and had been seized by expansionist mental health professionals. *CtC* intended to remedy both ineptitude and diffidence. In so doing, it simultaneously stepped on the toes of those Adams viewed as "self-styled [or] self-proclaimed 'professionals'": they lacked valid education and ordination for the task of curing souls.[93] Even prior to publication, *CtC* engendered sharp criticism from those whose professional lives were jeopardized by Adams's proposals.

Adams received some financial aid in the final stages of the writing process from the National

Liberty Foundation, a charitable foundation interested at the time in developing an approach to counseling and psychology that would cohere with conservative Protestantism. When Adams completed the rough draft of *CtC,* the foundation sponsored a meeting between leading evangelical psychologists and Adams for the purpose of evaluating Adams's work. On March 20–21, 1969, a dozen men met at the International Airport Motel in Philadelphia. Representatives from the chief institutions practicing and teaching evangelical psychotherapy—Narramore Christian Foundation (Rosemead, Calif.), The Evangelical Counseling Center (Atlanta), Fuller Theological Seminary (Pasadena, Calif.), and Conservative Baptist Theological Seminary (Denver)—presented informal and formal critiques of the rough draft of Adams's book.[94]

Adams was buoyed by the outcome of the meeting. He had been commended for the consistency of his attempt to anchor counseling in the Bible and conservative Protestant orthodoxy. He had also been criticized, at times sharply, by some of the psychotherapists. They charged him with diverse and serious failings. His version of pre-suppositionally biblical counseling tended to be "biblicistic" and failed various particular tests of both Scripture and science. His model was superficial and simplistic in addressing the complexities of both the human psyche and the counseling task. They thought Adams guilty of at least an incipient legalism-moralism that compromised the graciousness of God's acceptance of people. He neglected motivational issues in the interests of stressing behavioral change. His ideal counselor projected an aggressive, impatient, and businesslike stance toward counselees, rather than communicating a caring and patient presence. His discussion failed to comprehend other theoretical positions, and so misrepresented those he attacked. He failed to recognize the extent of Mowrer's heritage implicit in nouthetic counseling. His arguments were framed too polemically, and he had oversold the success of nouthetic counseling by making unsubstantiated claims.[95]

But Adams thought that he could answer each of the objections. He felt that his critics had not been able to shake his central thesis that the Bible could equip Christians to become competent to counsel, that it was intended to do so, and that the church had in this respect neglected its birthright. His assessment of the weekend was that the participants' most sustained objections had been to his blunt polemics against psychiatric psychotherapy:

> To a man, in effect they all said, "Even if it's right, it's too rough. Don't publish it like that; smooth it off. People will be upset. Take the edge off it." You know, that troubled me. I went home and thought and prayed about what they said and I became concerned about that matter. And I thought about their writings, and reread some of them. I concluded, "They're too soft. They don't have *enough* rough edges. Maybe that's why they haven't done anything earthshaking in this field." So I went home and I sharpened it up more![96]

The warrior for counseling turf had been blooded.

This meeting established the initial trajectory of both nouthetic counseling and its critics. Jay Adams's emphases were "sharpened"; he determined to raise his volume level and he went his own way. He pointedly did not rebalance his system, temper his tone of voice, or seek to establish cordial, cooperative relationships with the evangelical psychotherapy community. It would be a decade before he and his critics again sat down to discuss their differences.

The specific criticisms of Adams made at "the airport meeting" would be repeated and elaborated from many quarters during the following decades. Yet through it all, Adams would be viewed ambivalently by the community most at odds with him.

On the one hand, he was attacked as the *enfant terrible* of the conservative Protestant counseling world. His perceived narrowness, shallowness, and polemicism became the foil against which evangelical psychotherapists defined their intellectual, methodological, and institutional program. On the other hand, many of the leading psychologists appreciated Adams as the biblical conscience of the evangelical counseling world, a somewhat curmudgeonly conscience who held conservative Protestant psychotherapists to their alleged commitments. He was even granted public honors some twenty years after *CtC*. At the First International Congress on Christian Counseling in 1988 (Atlanta), a convocation of several thousand evangelical psychotherapists, Adams was one of three men honored as a "father of Christian counseling."[97] Adams's agenda was shockingly and comprehensively wrong, but there was something to what he said.

The relationship would prove markedly asymmetrical. Adams's critics grudgingly appreciated him in a way he certainly did not appreciate them. To Adams, the psychotherapists essentially acted as false teachers leading the church astray, however admirable some might be in their personal faith and life and however well-intended their work. His acceptance speech at Atlanta in 1988 would bluntly criticize his hosts and audience.[98]

Neither Adams nor his critics would budge. The next twenty-five years came close to a stalemate both socially and intellectually. Positions hardened; both sides created stereotypes of the other. The evangelical psychotherapists would become compromisers perpetrating heresy in the church; the nouthetic counselors would become sectarian, anti-intellectual incompetents. This was, after all, a conflict for professional jurisdiction over the problems in living, and a conflict between "psychological" and "biblical" knowledge systems.

The substance of the criticisms first voiced did not disappear. John Bettler would raise most of the same substantive issues in his running, cordial debate with Adams through the years. Not surprisingly, however, Adams's friends would draw reformist rather than dismissive implications from the shortcomings they would come to perceive in the original articulation of nouthetic counseling.

One other evangelical psychotherapist also read the manuscript of *CtC* prior to publication. Gary Collins, who would subsequently become a leader in the "integration" movement, reflected many years later on what he had thought at the time.

I liked some of what I read. My friend[99] stressed that the Bible says much about counseling people with their personal problems. He stressed the importance of the Holy Spirit in counseling and argued that pastors could and should do counseling, instead of referring most of their counselees to psychiatrists or to other mental-health professionals. . . .

But in his writing, my friend insisted that except for biologically based difficulties, all problems result from the counselee's own sin. . . .

I still can remember my reaction to the manuscript. "I am glad for the clear recognition of the role of sin in human problems," I said only to myself, "but the author's approach is so confrontational, so directive, so insensitive, so simplistic and bombastic, that there is never any possibility that this book will ever get published, much less read."

I was wrong.

Jay Adams' *Competent to Counsel* became a best-seller that stirred considerable controversy and did much to stimulate interest in Christian counseling among theologically conservative believers who, to that point, had tended to ignore or resist counseling issues.

I suspect that Dr. Adams intended to be provocative with his book—and he was. Despite some of its debatable conclusions, the book boldly focused attention on the role of sin in causing problems and the author proclaimed that Christian counseling has to consider and deal with sin.[100]

As Collins noted, the book was published, and it *was* read.

Chapter 2 Notes

1. E. Brooks Holifield, *A History of Pastoral Care in America: From Salvation to Self-Realization* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1983), 17f.

2. Ibid., 355f.

3. Jay E. Adams, *Competent to Counsel* (USA: Presbyterian & Reformed, 1970), xi.

4. Sigmund Freud's provocative term simultaneously took the psychotherapeutic task away from clerics and medical doctors. Sigmund Freud, *The Question of Lay Analysis,* ed. and trans., James Strachey (New York: W. W. Norton, 1927, 1959), 93.

5. This sentence obviously makes a sweeping generalization, ignoring countless theoretical details and debates and numerous psychotherapeutic sects. But it does capture the tendencies in the Americanization of Freud: generic rather than purist in theorizing, optimistic and curative rather than rigorously analytical in methodology.

6. Many of the moralistic therapists directly credited Adler. See William Glasser, "Reality Therapy" (p. 306), Albert Ellis, "Rational-Emotive Therapy" (p. 190), and Vincent Foley, "Family Therapy" (p. 463), in Raymond J. Corsini and contributors, *Current Psychotherapies* (Itasca, Ill.: F. E. Peacock, 1973). Harry Stack Sullivan was another earlier psychologist whose theory of personal problems was, like Adler's, markedly social and whose therapeutic interventions were directive. For a comment on Adlerian and Sullivanian themes in transactional analysis, see Joel Kovel, *A Complete Guide to Therapy: From Psychoanalysis to Behavior Modification* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1976), 175.

7. Irene Goldenberg and Herbert Goldenberg, *Family Therapy: An Overview* (Pacific Grove, Calif.: Brooks/Cole Publishing, 1985), 177.

8. Thomas Szasz, *The Myth of Mental Illness: Foundations of a Theory of Personal Conduct* (New York: Harper & Row, 1961).

9. Erving Goffman, *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1961); Erving Goffman, *Stigma* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1963).

10. William Glasser, *Reality Therapy: A New Approach to Psychiatry* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965); Perry London, *The Modes and Morals of Psychotherapy* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964); O. Hobart Mowrer, *The Crisis in Psychiatry and Religion* (Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1961).

11. Holifield, *History of Pastoral Care, infra,* provides a useful summary and an entry point into the extensive secondary literature on these personages and movements.

12. Cf., Rieff's analysis of the salvific elements in Jung's and Adler's psychologies—also derived from liberal Protestantism but in the European context—in comparison with the irreligious rectitude of Freud's analytic stance. Philip Rieff, *The Triumph of the Therapeutic: Uses of Faith after Freud* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987). Adler converted to liberal Protestantism, embracing its hope for social renewal. Jung had grown up in it and spent his life trying to find a personal myth to replace the failed Christian myth.

13. Holifield, *History of Pastoral Care,* 161.

14. Ibid., 16.

15. Andrew Abbott, *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 100.

16. Ibid., 310.

17. Howard Clinebell, *Basic Types of Pastoral Counseling* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1966), 28.

18. Kenneth R. Mitchell, "Shepherds of the Needy," in *Turning Points in Pastoral Care: The Legacy of Anton Boisen and Seward Hiltner,* eds. Leroy Aden and Harold Ellens (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1990), 178f.

19. Anton T. Boisen, *The Exploration of the Inner World: A Study of Mental Disorder and Religious Experience* (New York: Harper, 1936).

20. Albert Outler, *Psychotherapy and the Christian Message* (New York: Harper & Row, 1954), 8.

21. Ibid., 18, 40f.

22. Don S. Browning, *The Moral Context of Pastoral Care* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1976), 11–13. Cf., Don S. Browning, *Religious Thought and the Modern Psychologies: A Critical Conversation in the Theology of Culture* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987); Donald Capps, "The Bible's Role in Pastoral Care and Counseling: Four Basic Principles," in *The Church and Pastoral Care,* eds. Leroy Aden and J. Harold Ellens (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1988), 41–55.

23. William Hunter, "Review of *Clinical Handbook of Pastoral Counseling,*" *Journal of Psychology and Theology* 21, no. 4 (1993): 329.

24. Jay E. Adams, *The Power of Error: Demonstrated in an Actual Counseling Case* (USA: Presbyterian & Reformed, 1978), 2, 21.

25. Thomas Oden noted how the ancient church fathers had "argued for the primary importance of the smallest quantum of behavior modification. This goes contrary to caricatures of Christian conversion and behavioral change that imagine that total transformations should occur in an instant (which later became a special problem of Protestant revivalism)." Thomas C. Oden, *Classical Pastoral Care,* vol. 3, *Pastoral Counsel* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1987), 236. Holifield briefly discussed the rationalistic tendencies of modern fundamentalism in Holifield, *History of Pastoral Care,* 161–64.

26. Holifield, *History of Pastoral Care,* 107–58. Adams would give this observation a polemical thrust. In presenting a case study from Ichabod Spencer, he commented, "[The case study] is a sample of one sort of pastoral counseling that was done by a Presbyterian preacher prior to the near capitulation of the Christian ministry to psychiatry." Jay E. Adams, *The Christian Counselor's Manual* (USA: Presbyterian & Reformed, 1973), 130.

27. Richard Hofstadter, *Anti-intellectualism in American Life* (New York: Random House, 1962); Richard Hofstadter, *The Paranoid Style in American Politics, and Other Essays* (New York: Random House); George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism, 1870–1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980); Martin Marty and R. Scott Appleby, eds., "Fundamentalisms Observed," in *The Fundamentalism Project* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

28. For example, the works of B. B. Warfield and J. Gresham Machen of Princeton Theological Seminary.

29. Other small hospitals were subsequently founded and operated by the Christian Reformed Church in Wyckoff, New Jersey, and Denver, Colorado.

30. Vernon H. Neufeld, *If We Can Love: The Mennonite Mental Health Story* (Newton, Kans.: Faith and Life Press, 1983), 39f. This shift occasioned an ongoing tension between the "Christian" motives of the founders and the "humanistic outlook" of the psychiatrists, a tension that threads through Neufeld's institutional history (e.g., pp. 43, 252–56).

31. Ibid., 26–37.

32. Carl Henry, *The Uneasy Conscience of Modern Fundamentalism* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1947). George Marsden's numerous articles and books have traced the modern history of both fundamentalism and those "reforming fundamentalists" who, decrying the anti-intellectualism and cultural isolationism of their tradition's recent history, became "new evangelicals."

33. Narramore was an educational psychologist (EdD from Columbia University) and published numerous books on marriage, child-rearing, teenagers, and mental health in the late 1950s.

34. Travis narrated his story in Maloney H. Newton, ed., *Psychology and Faith: The Christian Experience of Eighteen Psychologists* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1978), 72–83. Cf., George M. Marsden, *Reforming Fundamentalism: Fuller Seminary and the New Evangelicalism* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1987), 233–39, for a sketch of the founding of the Fuller Theological Seminary Graduate School of Psychology and comments on how vexing the "task of integrating the largely opposed assumptions of modern psychology and evangelical theology" proved.

35. Randy Timpe, "Christian Psychology," in *Baker Encyclopedia of Psychology,* ed. David G. Benner (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1985), 166.

36. See the numerous programmatic articles in the *Journal of Psychology and Theology* for a sampler of the debates and proposals. The following works provide entry points into the literature: John D. Carter and Bruce Narramore, *The Integration of Psychology and Theology* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1979); Gary R. Collins, "Moving Through the Jungle: A Decade of Integration," *Journal of Psychology and Theology* 11, no. 1 (1983): 2–7; James D. Foster and Scot A. Bolsinger, "Prominent Themes in Evangelical Integration Literature," *Journal of Psychology and Theology* 18, no. 1 (1990): 3–12; James D. Foster, Debra A. Horn, and Steve Watson, "The Popularity of Integration Models, 1980–1985," *Journal of Psychology and Theology* 16, no. 1 (1988): 3–14. A landmark project that brought together most of the leading integrationists was David G. Benner, ed., *Baker Encyclopedia of Psychology* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1985).

37. Stanton Jones and Richard Butman, *Modern Psychotherapies: A Comprehensive Christian Appraisal* (Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 1991), 414.

38. Many of the bits of biographical information in this and succeeding paragraphs were gained from extensive interviews with Jay Adams and Betty Jane Adams, his wife, on December 4–5, 1990. It was possible to corroborate many dates and the objective elements in Adams's vita from other sources (and to establish others when memory did not serve). But many of the reminiscences are obviously impossible to verify from other sources. Memory is selective, constructed, and ambiguous, but it is also significant. It reveals the rememberer by its very selectivity (even with prevaricators, which I had no reason to think Adams was). In the course of the interviews I often had the experience, "Aha, now I understand better why Adams wrote *x,* emphasized *y,* or did *z.*" Adams's personal "myth" shed light on his career and intellectual emphases.

I have treated Adams's anecdotes as self-revealing reminiscences, not as purportedly "objective facts" according to some imaginary canon of videographic realism. The pages that follow represent a second-order construction. Both the narrative flow and the transitional, interpretive comments are my own. I have selected and organized material from what I heard according to my own construction of my subject. My interpretive framework is summarized at the head of this paragraph and was stated in somewhat different form at the beginning of this chapter: Adams "had been socialized into the intellectual and practical habits of a conservative Bible exegete, a local church pastor, and a contender for the faith in ecclesiastical wars." The reminiscences that follow "fit" this construction, even as they contributed to its articulation.

39. This friend, Milton Fisher, went on to become a professor at Reformed Episcopal Seminary and edited the missions section of Adams's *Journal of Pastoral Practice* from 1977–82.

40. The Reformed Episcopal Church was a tiny denomination that had separated from the mainline Episcopal Church in the nineteenth century over the issue of theological liberalism. The seminary was noted for its Calvinist, biblicist, and separatist orientation.

41. Jay E. Adams, *The Christian Counselor's Commentary: Hebrews, James, I & II Peter, and Jude* (Woodruff, S.C.: Timeless Texts, 1996), 268.

42. One pastor who had sat under both men commented, "Many times, listening to Jay Adams speak, I overhear Robert Rudolph." Conversation with Paul Tripp, July 29, 1996.

43. The work at RE was completed in 1947, but in the RE system the divinity degree was awarded contingent upon the student acquiring a liberal arts degree at a college.

44. See the preface to Jay E. Adams, *The Christian Counselor's New Testament: A New Translation in Everyday English with*

Notations (USA: Presbyterian & Reformed, 1977) for Adams's philosophy of Bible translation.

45. Adams, *Competent to Counsel,* 1.

46. In his personal life, Adams married Betty Jane Whitlock in 1951. They eventually adopted four children.

47. About five years earlier, evangelist Billy Graham also got his start in ministry working with Youth for Christ.

48. The various alignments, splits, realignments, and mergers of the Presbyterian denominations ("the split Ps") are difficult to follow. The following provides a scorecard of the various splits and mergers relevant to our story. Adams's successive denominational affiliations are italicized. Current denominational alignments are bracketed for reference. I am indebted to George P. Hutchinson, *The History Behind the Reformed Presbyterian Church, Evangelical Synod* (Cherry Hill, N.J.: Mack Publishing, 1974); cf., Gaius J. Slosser, ed., *They Seek a Country: The American Presbyterians, Some Aspects* (New York: MacMillan, 1955).

The "old" *United Presbyterian Church,* into which Adams was ordained, merged with the Presbyterian Church USA ("old" PCUSA) in 1958 to form the "new" United Presbyterian Church USA (UPC), the mainline Presbyterian denomination in the northern United States. [In 1983 the UPC merged with the southern mainline Presbyterian Church United States (PCUS) to form the current Presbyterian Church USA ("new" PCUSA).]

Adams served in the *Bible Presbyterian Church* from 1956–63. It had been founded in 1937. The dominant personality in the BPC had been Carl McIntire, who was squeezed out in 1956, forming his own denomination, the Bible Presbyterian Church (Collingswood Synod). Partly because of the name confusion, the original BPC changed its name to the *Evangelical Presbyterian Church* in 1961. [In 1965 the EPC joined with the Reformed Presbyterian Church to become the Reformed Presbyterian Church, Evangelical Synod (RPCES). In 1982 the RPCES joined the Presbyterian Church in America (PCA), a group of southern Presbyterians disaffected by theological liberalism in the southern PCUS.]

The Bible Presbyterian Church had originally split from the *Orthodox Presbyterian Church* (OPC), which had split from the old PCUSA in 1936 at the peak of the wars between separatistic and liberal Protestantism. The OPC was particularly associated with Westminster Theological Seminary. Adams pastored in the OPC during 1963–66, and taught at Westminster 1963–76 and 1982–89. Both institutions were founded by J. Gresham Machen.

The *Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church,* into which Adams was received when he reentered the pastorate in 1990, was a tiny denomination that had its roots in church splits of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

49. Adams, *Competent to Counsel,* xi.

50. Marsden, *Reforming Fundamentalism,* 6.

51. Hutchinson, *History Behind the Reformed Presbyterian Church,* chapters 5 and 6.

52. By his own description this was Adams's second church, not his third. He viewed his first pastorate as with that "flock" that had been part of both the Mount Prospect and the Viewcrest churches.

53. It appeared that "in Carl McIntire's mind the Bible Presbyterian Church was simply another part of his empire," and "McIntire more and more directed his energies toward preaching American-ism and combating Communism." Hutchinson, *History Behind the Reformed Presbyterian Church,* 269, 267.

54. McIntire preempted the attempt to discipline him by leaving the denomination.

55. Adams, *The Power of Error,* 46–48.

56. Ibid., 20f.

57. Jay E. Adams, "An Open Letter to Former United Presbyterians," *Bible Presbyterian Record* (January 1959), 15. Arguments summarized in Hutchinson, *History Behind the Reformed Presbyterian Church,* 309.

58. Jay E. Adams, *Realized Millennialism: A Study in Biblical Eschatology* (Saint Louis, Mo.: Jay Edward Adams, 1959). The four major eschatological positions differ over what they expect to precede the second coming of Jesus Christ. The first three were common among conservative Presbyterians.

(1) Amillennialists believe that the "millennium" is metaphorical for Christ's present reign as the king of his people, and that when he returns he will bring the day of judgment. Historically, it has been the most common view within Christendom.

(2) Postmillennialists believe that a thousand-year golden age of Christian civilization will precede the return of Christ for the last judgment. Many optimistic seventeenth-century English Puritans, taken with the possibilities of ecclesiastical, political, economic, technological, and scientific progress, were postmillennialists. It has enjoyed a resurgence in America in recent decades with the political growth of the "Christian right."

(3) "Historic" premillennialists believe that Christ will return to set up a visible millennial kingdom before the final judgment. This view was the most common in Adams's BP denomination.

(4) "Dispensational" premillennialists are as pessimistic as postmillennialists are optimistic. They believe in visible decay, not visible progress, and that the Gentile church will be "raptured" before the Messiah establishes a Jewish-Israeli millennium, which will precede the last judgment. Most American fundamentalists have characteristically been "dispensationalists."

The postmillennial and dispensational positions have tended to be held most passionately; Jay Adams was an unusually vigorous and tenacious amillennialist.

59. Hutchinson, *History Behind the Reformed Presbyterian Church,* 310, 329f.

60. See Adams, *Competent to Counsel* and Adams, *The Christian Counselor's Manual, infra.* Many of the reasons that Adams cited for counseling failure turn on the counselor's defective knowledge of counselees and their situations: e.g., Adams, *The Christian Counselor's Manual,* 469–71.

61. Adams subsequently published a digest of this dissertation: Jay E. Adams, *Studies in Preaching,* vol. 2, *Audience Adaptation in the Sermons and Speeches of Paul* (USA: Presbyterian & Reformed, 1976).

62. Published as Jay E. Adams, *Studies in Preaching,* vol. 3, *The Homiletical Innovations of Andrew W. Blackwood* (USA: Presbyterian & Reformed, 1975).

63. Jay E. Adams, "Design for a Theological Seminary," *Journal of Pastoral Practice* 3, no. 2 (1979): 1–10.

64. From interview. Cf., the more extended statement of this in Adams, *Competent to Counsel,* 9.

65. Poimenics means "shepherding," the overall work of the pastor.

66. Mowrer, a professor of psychology at the University of Illinois, had gained renown within experimental psychology for reconciling the functionalist and associationist paradigms in learning theory, an achievement which led to his serving as president of the American Psychological Association in 1953–54. He also had practical interests in counseling and, particularly, counseling by religious professionals, who were presumably predisposed to Mowrer's emphasis on human responsibility.

67. The place of markedly somatic ailments in Adams's system will be discussed later. Like Mowrer he came to believe that most psychiatric patients were not "ill" but were morally troubled. For those with unambiguously somatic problems—tumors, senile dementias, brain injuries, sleep loss, drug and alcohol effects—Adams proposed that pastors work alongside medical personnel.

68. Mowrer, *Crisis in Psychiatry and Religion,* 134. Adams's use of the terms "Freud" and "Freudian" was mediated through Mowrer. These terms stood for (1) generically psychodynamic theories and therapies, not only Freud's psychoanalytic theory, but also the theories of Jung, Rogers, et al., and (2) the "Freudian Ethic" or "Freudian ideology" as a "broad social ideology and personal philosophy" that viewed people as ill and not responsible, rather than as immoral and responsible. Mowrer here borrowed the work of David Bakan (*Sigmund Freud and the Jewish Mystical Tradition,* 1958) and Richard LaPiere (*The Freudian Ethic,* 1959); see ibid., 133–36, 238. Mowrer's "Freud" would serve Adams, as it did Mowrer, as shorthand for all that was wrong with modern counseling and, even, modern life.

69. Ibid., 60.

70. Adams, *Competent to Counsel,* 13. Adams's enthusiasm for the secular moralizers and for their potential to significantly affect the wider mental health system was short-lived. By 1973 (*The Christian Counselor's Manual*) his verbalized approbation for them extended only to their debunking of mainstream psychiatry, not to their positive accomplishments either intellectually or practically.

71. Jay E. Adams, *What About Nouthetic Counseling?* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1976), 84. Numerous critics of Adams would dispute this, noting significant structural resemblances between Adams's theory and Mowrer's. See chapter 8.

72. Mowrer, *Crisis in Psychiatry and Religion,* 159f.

73. Adams, *Christian Counselor's Manual,* 86ff.

74. Mowrer wrote openly of being haunted by adolescent involvement in "an ugly sexual perversion" (O. Hobart Mowrer, *Abnormal Reactions or Actions?: An Autobiographical Answer* [Dubuque: William C. Brown Co., 1966], 18). Adams discussed at length his response to Mowrer's self-revelations: Adams, *Competent to Counsel,* 180ff; and Adams, *Christian Counselor's Manual,* 86–89.

75. The poimenics course was taught by another professor in 1965–66, so Adams had a year to develop his system before he again taught counseling.

76. Jay E. Adams, "Group Therapy—or Slander?," *The Presbyterian Guardian* (February 1971): 25–27; and Adams, *Christian Counselor's Manual*, 86ff.

77. Adams wrote in 1976, "I prefer the words 'biblical' or 'Christian' but reluctantly have used the word 'nouthetic' . . . as a con-venience by which the biblical system of counseling that has been developed in such books as *Competent to Counsel* and *The Christian Counselor's Manual* might be identified more easily. The reason why the title Nouthetic Confrontation is not to be preferred is because while admirably embracing the major biblical concepts of counseling, the use of *nouthesia* is not universal. It appears almost exclusively in Paul. Other terms are employed by other writers." Adams, *What About Nouthetic Counseling?,* 1.

78. Adams advocated team counseling as desirable whenever possible, another mark of his distance from the habits of the psychotherapeutic and his orientation toward conditions that might more easily obtain in local church communities, as they had obtained during his internship with Mowrer. Adams, *Competent to Counsel,* 204–08.

79. In conversation many of Adams's former students recollected the combination of terror and confidence-building that this practice induced in them.

80. Adams, *Competent to Counsel,* 237.

81. Adams, *The Christian Counselor's Manual,* 304–06.

82. Bettler received his BS from Philadelphia College of Bible in 1963, and a BD from Westminster in 1967. He pastored in the Orthodox Presbyterian Church from 1967–70 at Trinity OPC (Hatboro, Pa.) and 1970–73 at Bethel OPC (Wheaton, Ill.). He received his DMin from Chicago Theological Seminary in 1974.

83. John F. Bettler, "CCEF: The Beginning," *Journal of Pastoral Practice* 9, no. 3 (1988): 47.

84. Interview with Adams and Bettler, June 10, 1993.

85. Adams, *What About Nouthetic Counseling?,* 6. In chapter 9 we will look in greater depth at the fault lines within the nouthetic counseling movement. The differences of emphases and lines of conflict or potential conflict mapped strikingly onto the differences between Adams and Bettler.

86. Interview with George Scipione, October 6, 1991.

87. Jay E. Adams, *Ready to Restore: The Layman's Guide to Christian Counseling* (Phillipsburg, N.J.: Presbyterian & Reformed, 1981), 3.

88. The quotations in this paragraph are from the Certificate of Incorporation of the Christian Counseling and Educational Foundation, filed with the State of New Jersey on February 21, 1968. The institutional diversification allowed in the last point of the charter was never implemented. Adams discussed his hopes for family counseling in Adams, *Competent to Counsel,* 244.

89. Ibid., 244.

90. Bettler, "CCEF: The Beginning," 50.

91. Jay E. Adams, "Behind the Study Door, Part 1," *The Presbyterian Guardian* (April, 1968): 39f.

92. Ibid., 39, n. 2.

93. Adams, *What About Nouthetic Counseling?,* 45; Jay E. Adams, *More Than Redemption: A Theology of Christian Counseling* (Phillipsburg, N.J.: Presbyterian & Reformed, 1979), 13.

94. Bruce Narramore and Maurice Wagner represented the Narramore Christian Foundation. William Donaldson, Fred Donehoo, and Paul Walder represented the Evangelical Counseling Center. Donald Tweedie came from Fuller Theological Seminary's Graduate School of Psychology. Vernon Grounds came from Conservative Baptist Theological Seminary.

Henry Brandt, a psychologist with an independent speaking, teaching, and writing ministry, was an unaffiliated commentator. Brandt was the only participant who might be presumed to be immediately sympathetic to Adams. Though he had a PhD in psychology, he was a forerunner of Adams, having adopted a didactic, moralistic, biblicistic, short-term approach to counseling in the early 1950s. See Henry Brandt, "My Journey as a Christian Psychologist," in *What to Do When,* ed. Howard Eyrich (Phillipsburg, N.J.: Presbyterian & Reformed, 1978), 5–36. He had written numerous self-help books, though, unlike Adams, he wrote nothing programmatic, ideological, or polemical, and he was not a pastor. Brandt had been the keynote speaker at CCEF's founding in 1968. He would be involved with CCEF on several other occasions in the 1970s.

95. This summary derives largely from Bruce Narramore's "Critique of *Competent to Counsel*" and Fred Donehoo's "Critique of Jay Adams' *Competent to Counsel*," unpublished manuscripts distributed at meeting. Vernon Grounds also communicated similar objections to Adams's model in personal correspondence (August 28, 1995). Tweedie, Narramore, and Grounds were the most critical; Brandt, Donaldson, and Donehoo the most positive. Chapter 8 will look in detail at specific criticisms of Adams made by these evangelical psychotherapists and other subsequent critics.

96. Jay E. Adams, "On Writing," *The New Testament Student and Bible Translation,* ed. John Skilton (Phillipsburg, N.J.: Presbyterian & Reformed, 1978), 216.

97. The others were pioneering evangelical psychologist Clyde Narramore and H. Norman Wright, an influential marriage counselor.

98. Jay E. Adams, "Jay Adams Response to the Congress on Christian Counseling," *Journal of Pastoral Practice* 10, no. 1 (1989): 2–4.

99. At the time Collins lived near Adams in the northern suburbs of Philadelphia, and they had developed a cordial acquaintance. Adams particularly respected Collins as a Christian gentleman.

100. Gary R. Collins, *The Biblical Basis of Christian Counseling for People Helpers* (Colorado Springs: NavPress, 1993), 96.