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PREFACE

the concerns and values arising from the author's personal life journey, couched in academic language and categories. This is no less true for this volume. Such an acknowledgment alerts the reader to the complex nature of the author's viewpoints, the underlying assumptions and affirmations, and ultimately helps the reader assess the arguments presented in light of the interconnection between lived experience and thought. A reading of the text is, therefore, enhanced by a brief exploration of my personal motivations for and concerns in writing this volume.

My formative years were spent within the Black church tradition, specifically the African Methodist Episcopal denomination. Singing in the choir, participating in the Young People's Department activities, serving as an acolyte, and attending Sunday School formed the lion's share of my weekly interactions outside family and school. For me, at an early age, lay activity was no longer enough; I felt a "call" to Christian ministry, a need to serve the church through ministerial leadership. I started preaching at the age of fourteen, and the AME Church ordained me a deacon after my first year in college.

While in school, I worked as a youth minister in various AME churches and saw firsthand the efforts of Black Christians to make sense of their daily struggles in light of Christian theology and doctrinal structures. I will never forget hearing "church mothers" give testimony regarding the hardships of life and God's mysterious ability to make a way out of no way." The words of Sunday morning prayers have stayed with me: "Lord, you never said it would be easy... and so, if I'm going to wear a crown, I must bear my cross." Experience in Black churches, where people struggle to make sense out of an apparently meaningless world and where I strove to help this process through sermons, prayers, and other ministerial functions, raised questions for me concerning the tension between lived reality and

a "material" and concrete difference? I placed these questions within the framework of theodicy or, more generally, the problem of evil. existential plight? Do Christian explanations of human suffering make make a positive difference in the way the oppressed respond to their ing to suffering humanity? Does theological conversation serve to Christian "truths." Does the Christian message say anything liberat

sion of that dissertation is here presented. context, my cultural venue—the African-American religious traditions—while using the tools of my theological training. A revised verwanted to understand the development of this problem within my gered, and I decided to pursue further research on this evasive theothat shifts "responsibility" for moral evil to human misconduct argued in this thesis that the key to easing the tension between borrow William R. Jones' phrase) created by my earlier perspective. I logical concern, exploring in the process the theological "potholes" (to Within my Ph.D. course work, the importance of this question lin-Christian belief and human suffering is a reworking of the God idea the paradoxical nature of God conceptions and human experience.* I Divinity School. My master's thesis presents some initial thoughts on my exploration as a Master of Divinity degree candidate at Harvard word to Black sufferers. An academic dimension was first added to Americans, I was and continue to be anxious to speak a liberating Undeniably aware of the existential hardship faced by African-

Buch concepts as the Christian view of God—the demonic nature of such concents and the rejection of struggle for "liberation." I needed to explore an alternative response that uncommend it is not a struggle for "liberation." I needed to explore an alternative response and stewards prayed about could not hold, for me, any merit in the value at all. The oppressive circumstances church mothers discussed the idea that the suffering of those I saw on a daily basis had any ondary benefit ordained by God. This bothered me. I could not accept tive suffering: that suffering is intrinsically "bad," but has a sec-God as a proactive force in the world through the concept of redempuation of Black oppression and the basic Black theological stance on arguments which ultimately resolve the paradox between the continwhich emerged in my master's thesis is inherent in Black theodical gious thinkers have historically participated. A theological pothole game" (i.e., redemptive suffering) in which African-American reli-Through this book, I illustrate and evaluate the "theodical

Suffering," Harvard Divinity School, 1989. * "Cross and Crown: African-American Understandings of and Responses to Suffering," Harvard Divinit.

> Holding to this belief, I will stand or fall. the damage done to cherished religious principles and traditions must be accomplished—both psychologically and physically—despite than the maintenance of any religious symbol, sign, canon, or icon. It Black suffering. I believe that human liberation is more important

removal of moral evil in the world. of God and holds humans fully accountable for the existence and Black oral tradition and later, Black literature, denies the existence tle-explored area of Black humanism. Black humanism, as found in I found a similar response to Black theodical questions in the lit-

of this broadened discussion of Black suffering. We owe this much to explore and discuss, openly and freely, the nature and ramifications those who shall follow the theological trails we blaze. Black religious tradition; it is a forgotten component. The task is to reader will also discover that Black humanism is not separate from inequality, and the promotion of full and healthy life options. The promise for securing this liberation—the removal of injustice and must demonstrate a willingness to investigate all avenues showing However, those concerned with human recovery from oppression gious perspectives may be uncomfortable for many of my readers. I realize that an invitation to dialogue with "nontraditional" reli-

allow such an attitude to go unchallenged is disrespectful. and significance of Black suffering by finding a benefit within it. To ment away from patterns of religious thought that lessen the impact the evil they and we struggle(d) with. It demands a determined moveence necessitates a serious examination of all possible resolutions to nition of and reverence for my ancestors' trials. Moreover, such reverdeal of respect and love; and thereby, my efforts are marked by recogcomfort of the academy possible. Accordingly, I work out of a great of activity and survival made the luxury of writing within the relative efforts of those who came before me, and I realize that their patterns Finally, I stress that I appreciate the theological and theodical

response to my many questions and requests. Emilie M. Townes and through many of these ideas and I greatly appreciate his timely ing the final stages of production. William R. Jones helped me to think teaching, and Watersign Resources was a pleasure to work with durnegotiated the demands and pressures inherent in the first year of careful reading of the text, support, encouragement, and patience as I port of many individuals. I thank my editor Cynthia Eller for her tions, could not have been completed without the assistance and sup-This project, although an extension of my wrestlings and ques-

James H. Cone read the full manuscript and provided many helpful suggestions and comments. Stephen Angell graciously offered access to his files on Bishop Henry McNeal Turner and responded with kindness to my many questions and concerns. Dennis Dickerson, Lewis Baldwin, and Cheryl Townsend Gilkes helped in numerous ways.

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The encouragement and guidance of Gordon D. Kaufman, David D. Hall, Kwame Anthony Appiah, and other members of Harvard's faculty were invaluable. Nisé Nekheba provided numerous hours of editorial assistance and encouraging words. Other persons, libraries, and organizations who assisted with the preparation of the dissertation and its later revised form are not mentioned here by name. However, they remain important, and I continue to appreciate their contribution to this project.

My family, immediate (Raymond, Joyce, and Linda) and extended (Frederick and Barbara Lucas), provided much needed encouragement and I will remain grateful to them. My mother, the Reverend Anne H. Pinn, to whom this volume is dedicated, is responsible for this project in countless ways: Thank you.

I owe a debt of gratitude to all those mentioned here. They helped me, in countless ways, to improve and refine the thoughts contained in the following pages. I, however, am alone responsible for any oversights or errors.

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INTRODUCTION

between the doing of theology and pressing life issues. rests upon constructive theological appeals to context and strong ties light of the above definition of terms, my methodological framework include, but make possible the pursuit of, a full set of life options. In survival is a prerequisite; it implies the necessities for life that do not worth. Liberation is distinguishable from the goal of survival in that extended life options and a better-developed sense of healthy human toward this goal of liberation entails, for example, the attainment of moral evil (i.e., human responsibility for moral evil). Movement life without the assumption of God or God-ordained and permitted of my understanding of suffering and "theodicy," will mean a vision of out negating the essential character of the Divine. Liberation, because just, and good, and the presence of suffering (as defined above), withbetween traditional Christian understandings of God as powerful, interchangeably connote attempts at resolving the contradiction chological and physical damage. The problem of evil and "theodicy" evil denotes oppression, injustice, inequality, and the resulting psyably (with reference to African-Americans) to denote moral evil. Moral suffering-understood as an aspect of the problem of evil or "theodicy." Suffering and unmerited suffering are used interchangeand world views. One such threat arises regarding the issue of human questions often threaten to topple the relevance of religious systems ging tensions, and paradoxes. Because of the intimate connection between faith structures and a priori theological assumptions, such mid world conditions and mounting calamities, the religious-minded are forced to confront certain questions, nag-

The examination of African-American responses to the problem of evil begins with slavery, where the religious question of human

The term theodicy is used with quotation marks. This is to show from the beginning of this book the uncertain nature of this term as a proper category of investigation.

Introduction

abolish all evil; and if God is all-powerful, God must be able to abolexperience of evil: "... if God is perfectly loving, God must wish to rhetoric. They faced the classic difficulty of reconciling God with the Others questioned the religious doctrine given to them and searched done in the name of God. Some slaves accepted their lot in life. dehumanus, rapes, beatings, and other actions that linked apart of family units, rapes, beatings, and other actions that linked suffering mrst care and African-Americans have faced the brutalities of in the early 1600s, African-Americans have faced the brutalities of in the early 1600s, through the destruction of their cultures the contraction of the c suffering first emerges for Black Americans. Brought here as chattel for an explanation of their plight beyond the plantation ministers this, the Africans who encountered Christianity learned, was rightly apart of laura, the control of Black bodies with the increase of plantation profits. All dehumanization through the destruction of their culture, the ripping made this questioning inescapable. churches, and into the late twentieth century. Continued oppression continued during the movement from "hush harbors" to early Black dictory messages of existential hardship and the Christian gospel and perfectly loving."1 The effort to understand God amid the contraish all evil. But evil exists; therefore God cannot be both omnipotent

ultimately punishes this sin and by that restores a proper balance to good, denoting the misuse of free will (i.e., "The Fall"). Furthermore, deciding to turn away from God. Therefore, evil is a privation of the world results from perfect beings (i.e., angels and humans) freely essence, Augustine argues that evil (both moral and natural) in the the first resolution is found in Augustine's "free-will defense." In ing God's goodness and /or righteousness. A traditional example of address it, there is a fourth possible resolution that entails question-(3) a questioning/denial of God's existence.2 Although Hick does not nature / purpose of evil; or, (2) the postulating of a "limited" God; or, to the problem of evil can take various forms: (1) a rethinking of the the world.4 In essence, evil in the world is either the result of sin or God remains unblemished by this privation of the good because God the result of punishment. As John Hick illustrates in Philosophy of Religion, the resolution

allows that humans exist at an "epistemic distance from God" which and by that develop into the "image" of God. Evil is a necessary part of this world have been supported in the support of the allows them to freely make choices. 6 God created humanity as imperfect haines with the state of maintaining God's perfection. However, unlike Augustine, Irenaeus of this world because human development takes place, in part, place of "soul making" where humans work to refine their character fect beings. With this in mind, Irenaeus argues that the earth is a place of "soul manager" The Irenaean "theodicy" also rethinks the nature of evil while

> unquestioned because God did not intend the world to be free of evil.9 through trials and tribulations. Furthermore, God's perfection goes

resulting from the unfolding of the world will outweigh the evil. 10 (understood aesthetically as discord and triviality); however, the good Furthermore, the developing world contains both good and evil process that includes the deity."8 In short, God is not all-powerful. establishing its structure, but rather the universe is an uncreated the universe, for God has not created the universe ex nihilo, thereby because "God is subject to the limitations imposed by the basic laws of icy." In this system, God must act in the world through "persuasion" tion to the problem of evil mindful of such dilemmas is process "theodthe ultimate accountability of God for this action. An alternate resolu-"Fall" argued by Augustine does not put to rest questions concerning of Africans to the New World as slaves). In addition, the spontaneous such as the Holocaust and the Middle Passage (i.e., the transporting whether Irenaeus' rethinking of evil is adequate to explain events by Augustine and Irenaeus faulty.7 For example, some question Some thinkers find the resolutions to the problem of evil offered

through a questioning/denial of God's existence. As Hick notes: evil inadequate have the option of resolving the problem of evil Thinkers who find the rethinking of God's power or the nature of

be adequately accounted for without postulating a God....11 God. The skeptic believes, however, that these experiences can as a result of which they have become convinced of the reality of cerned to deny that religious people have had certain experiences The responsible skeptic, whether agnostic or atheist, is not con-

moral evil) to bring about good. Ministers and laypersons within God works, in the Christ event, through unmerited suffering (or God for the Christian's ultimate benefit (i.e., some form of heaven). dox and promote it as a temporary evil known to and manipulated by position number one, many spirituals understand suffering as a paraevil; and (3) Black suffering may result from God being a racist. Using (2) God and humans are coworkers in the struggle to remove moral suffering is intrinsically evil, yet can have redemptive consequences; olutions in Black theological thought suggesting that: (1) unmerited attempts to rethink God's goodness/righteousness. One sees these resabove, i.e., rethinking evil's nature, rethinking God's power, and problem of evil in a manner reminiscent of three propositions noted African-Americans have engaged in discourse concerning the

efforts of God and humans. ing as inherently evil, yet usable by God to prepare Black people for their ultimate freedom. This freedom was secured through the joint Black churches combined positions one and two by presenting suffer

now allows for the ultimate fulfillment of a divine teleological design. tion of the two. One thing seems apparent: suffering in the here and American society, the reorganization of African society, or a combina-Americans, so to speak, for divine plans such as the betterment of in divine mystery). In this way, suffering strengthens Africansome good which God will make clear in the future (benefits shrouded of character flaws, the obtainment of invaluable skills and talents, or Benefits may entail needed pedagogical lessons such as the correction God manipulates this moral evil and causes good consequences. enced by African-Americans as inherently evil yet holding secondary suffering. These terms are synonymous and define oppression experia theodical approach centered on the notion of redemptive or fruitful Americans display the presence of destructive "will to power." However, benefit. That is, the existential hardships endured by African-Spirituals and church leaders, in many instances, have developed

Henry McNeal Transport of Africa and/or the United States. Bishop which suffering prepares African-Americans for the work of racial uplift and the redemptive suffering prepares of the work of racial uplift and the redemptive suffering prepares of the work of racial uplift and the redemptive suffering prepares of the work of racial uplift and the redemptive suffering prepares of the work of racial uplift and the redemptive suffering prepares of the work of racial uplift and the redemptive suffering prepares of the work of t Henry McNeal Turner's argument for slavery as an evil allowed by which suffaring an updated redemptive suffering argument in teenth- and to building upon the spirituals as a base, nine and twentieth centuries resulted in the continuing relevance of the of suffering as redemptive and a prerequisite for salvation. The continued and a presequisite for salvation. earliest recorded account of African-American consciousness of other important responses which came later. The spirituals reflect the several sections—beginning with the spirituals and moving through able Black responses to the problem of evil is presented in the first this question provide: century church leaders and laypersons tackled and twomer. als, such as "De Ol' Sheep Done Know de Road," open the discussion human suffering as a religious paradox. In this manner, many spirituseveral objectives. First, a comprehensive survey of currently availpresent, is critically examined in a manner allowing for fulfillment of American thought concerning human suffering, from slavery to the published an extended documentation and analysis of its historical progression. Why Lord? seeks to cover some of this ground. Africanin nascent and current Black theology, no one, to my knowledge, has Although this important aspect of theological inquiry is present

> science and foster the end of societal discrimination. served (i.e., racially motivated) suffering will afflict the American conchurch tradition, King argues that the nonviolent acceptance of undepersonalism, social gospel theology, neo-orthodox thought, and Black gospel and civil government demonstrates this point. A recent incarunmerited suffering. Using resources such as Gandhian philosophy, nation of this theological position is Martin L. King, Jr.'s philosophy of God to introduce Africans to the beneficial influence of the Christian

remove the trappings of redemptive suffering. oppression. However, I shall argue that Jones and Williams fail to vanishes by denying the relevance of critiquing God for continued materials for survival God provides. In this way, the problem of evil tools for survival. Hence, humans accomplish liberation using the argues that God's role in history entails providing humans with the similar move. Reflecting upon the biblical account of Hagar, she a humanocentric theism, which removes God from responsibility for tive manipulation and shaping of historical events. Williams makes a human history amounts to positive persuasion as opposed to proacwith God to cause liberation; this is because God's power within evil and for liberation from evil. He argues that humans must work God's goodness ("Is God a white racist?") and concludes by arguing for ated religious assertions. He begins by raising questions concerning full treatment, while avoiding "theological potholes" and unsubstantithe Black theological enterprise, and he seeks to give this question a nature of Black suffering as a "source" for Black theology. Jones in Jones and Delores S. Williams because of their attempt to rethink the particular argues the centrality of suffering (therefore "theodicy") to options and activities. I critically reflect on the work of William R. lematizing of human suffering as an organizing principle for life The second objective of this study involves a defining and prob-

in effect, nullify each other. One cannot embrace suffering as redemptive metrically opposed ideas; they suggest ways of being in the world that, transformation activity. Redemptive suffering and liberation are diavalue in Black suffering. In essence such arguments go against social of redemptive suffering arguments. These arguments are unacceptable this section I argue that the history of Black religious thought on sufferbecause they counteract efforts at liberation by finding something of ing-Black "theodicy"-makes clear the dominance and unacceptability theodical thought. 12 The final section of the book takes this task up. In of redemptive suffering, understanding it as a major strand of Black As part of the second objective, I assess the underexplored category

(as defined earlier) and effectively speak of liberation. The detrimental nature of arguments for redemptive suffering requires constructive work toward a more appropriate response to Black suffering.

civil rights era; the third entails globalization through crosscultural the problem of evil examined by Black theology. The goal is to encourquestioning/denial of God's existence—namely, Black humanism. struction of a resolution to the problem of evil positioned outside nontheistic forms of expression. Why Lord? provides the initial coning, making use of a revitalized canon of Black religion, including tury; the second is the intellectualizing of Black theology during the (The first phase entails the initial period, before the twentieth ceninquiry and outline a fifth phase of Black theology's development. Black opinion. Therefore, it is necessary to extend Black theological responses to the problem of evil and to allow for the full range of age Black theologians to reflect upon a fuller spectrum of Black third of the previously discussed resolutions to the problem of evilharmful redemptive suffering arguments. Here I will outline the the fostering of a more complex conversation regarding Black sufferfifth phase as the problematizing of Black theodical arguments and question the sexism and heterosexism of Black theology.) I define this dialogue; the fourth is the inclusion of excluded voices calling into The final section of the book expands the scope of resolutions to

A typology of humanism, including sented. The first category is that of vargues for questioning God's power in humans must not depend upon God for God to achieve this goal. Weak human church tradition and does not avoid the tive suffering; even a limited God can at ship. The other category—strong human resolution to the problem of evil that desuffering argumentation because it does logical categories above the reality of su

ity. Everything else stands or falls based upon its correspondence to what is "known" about human life. The words of James H. Cone receive new life from strong humanism: Truth is experienced.

Is Black humanism a religious system? Undoubtedly, some will argue that strong humanism rests outside "Black traditional" thought and is therefore of limited use by the Black religious community. This argument is incorrect. As the last chapter explains, strong humanism is in keeping with Black tradition (although it is not

and clarifying proper human conduct, strong humanism meets the of chaos. By providing a functional worldview, explaining "reality," basic definition of a religion. As Clifford Geertz asserts: other religious systems, keeps humanity from collasping into a state functional guidelines for reality. In this way, strong humanism, like ment of any religious system in that it defines, explains, and provides Black community. Strong humanism fulfills a fundamental requirehuman conduct and connects this conduct to the larger reality of a religious system because it provides a framework that guides ethical patterns of conduct and activity. That is, strong humanism is "ultimate orientation" and the framework for values, morality, and both theism and humanism are religious to the extent they provide thought. Using Charles Long's definition of religion in Significations, typically exists regarding theistic and humanistic forms of Black ism. Implied here is a rejection of the secular/sacred dichotomy that expression—which includes the full spectrum of theism and human-Christian), when one recognizes the breadth of Black religious

...a religion is: (1) a system of symbols which acts to (2) establish powerful, pervasive and long-lasting moods and motivations in [humans] by (3) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and (4) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that (5) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic.¹³

To the extent strong humanism projects an order larger than the individual (i.e., "cosmic order"), it does so through reference to the Black community and the need to connect with and operate for the good of this community. Note that I am not making a global statement about humanism's standing as a religion: I am strictly concerned with the religious connotations of humanism within African-American tradition.

The investigation of strong humanism cannot be addressed using "theodicy" as a methodological tool. "Theodicy" requires a compromise with suffering because it assumes the goodness of God and requires the finding of something useful in human suffering. Theodical games do not allow for a way out of the theological trap of redemptive suffering. And so, I outline nitty-gritty hermeneutics—present within Black cultural expressiveness such as the blues—which offers a more viable methodology. Nitty-gritty hermeneutics is an effective tool since it holds no allegiance to Christian doctrine or theological sensibilities. It is not contaminated with nostalgic feelings toward traditional ways