

The Evangelist

I first encountered a Colin McCahon painting in the mid 1970s when I was Ecumenical Chaplain at Victoria University of Wellington. A gigantic mural appeared on the wall of the entrance foyer of a new lecture block—now known as the Maclaurin Building. It featured an enormous 3 metre-high 'I AM' in white and black letters, astride a stylised but recognisably New Zealand landscape, with texts reminiscent of the biblical prophets.

It was a painting to walk past, from left to right. The left panel, showing the lowering darkness of a bush fire or an approaching storm, seemed heavy with

the exodus from Egypt (Exodus 3:14). The texts, from the Psalms, included a prayer for self-awareness: 'teach us to order our days rightly, that we may enter the gate of wisdom' (Psalm 90:12),² and an invocation of God's blessing: 'God be gracious to us and bless us, God make his face shine upon us that his ways may be known on earth and his saving power among all the nations' (Psalm 67:1-2).

I remember standing before this vast mural, awed by its impact. It was a profoundly counter-cultural statement—not unlike the 'turn or burn' preaching of the Jesus People movement with which it is contemporary—warning that our secular, materialistic

How the light gets in

The Christian art of Colin McCahon



Gate III, 1970, Colin McCahon, acrylic on canvas, 3050 x 10670 mm, Victoria University of Wellington Art Collection. Courtesy of the Colin McCahon Research & Publication Trust.

foreboding about secular culture, 'this dark night of Western civilisation'. It reminded me of the words of Fairburn, who a generation earlier had also lamented the burning of the bush and the secularity of New Zealand culture:

Smoke out of Europe, death blown on the wind, and a cloak of darkness for the spirit.¹

Toward the right of the painting the landscape brightened. The transition from darkness to light was marked by a series of biblical texts, framed by the giant letters 'I AM', God's numinous personal name, indicating his eternal being, revealed to Moses before

society will destroy itself, unless we humble ourselves, seek wisdom, and pursue 'the Lord, our true goal'. Like an evangelist pressing home the bleakness of the human condition and the majesty and holiness of God to bring about a change of heart, McCahon spread a giant canvas to urge his viewers to leave the broad and popular way that leads to destruction and 'enter through the narrow gate' that leads to life (Matthew 7:13-14).

The path of conversion is represented by the very structure of the painting. It moves from the dark, oppressive scene on the left to a landscape of rolling hills and open sky, a world of space and light on the right. Between is the entrance, the gate of

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wisdom—bounded by the ‘A’ and the ‘M’ of the great ‘I AM’. On the far right McCahon’s text links being ‘born into a pure land’ with the presence of ‘a constant flow of light’. Thus he reminds us that we cannot have fellowship with God unless we walk in the light (1 John 1:5-7), and—by repeating his point twice—that we cannot enter the kingdom of God unless we are born again (John 3:3, 5).

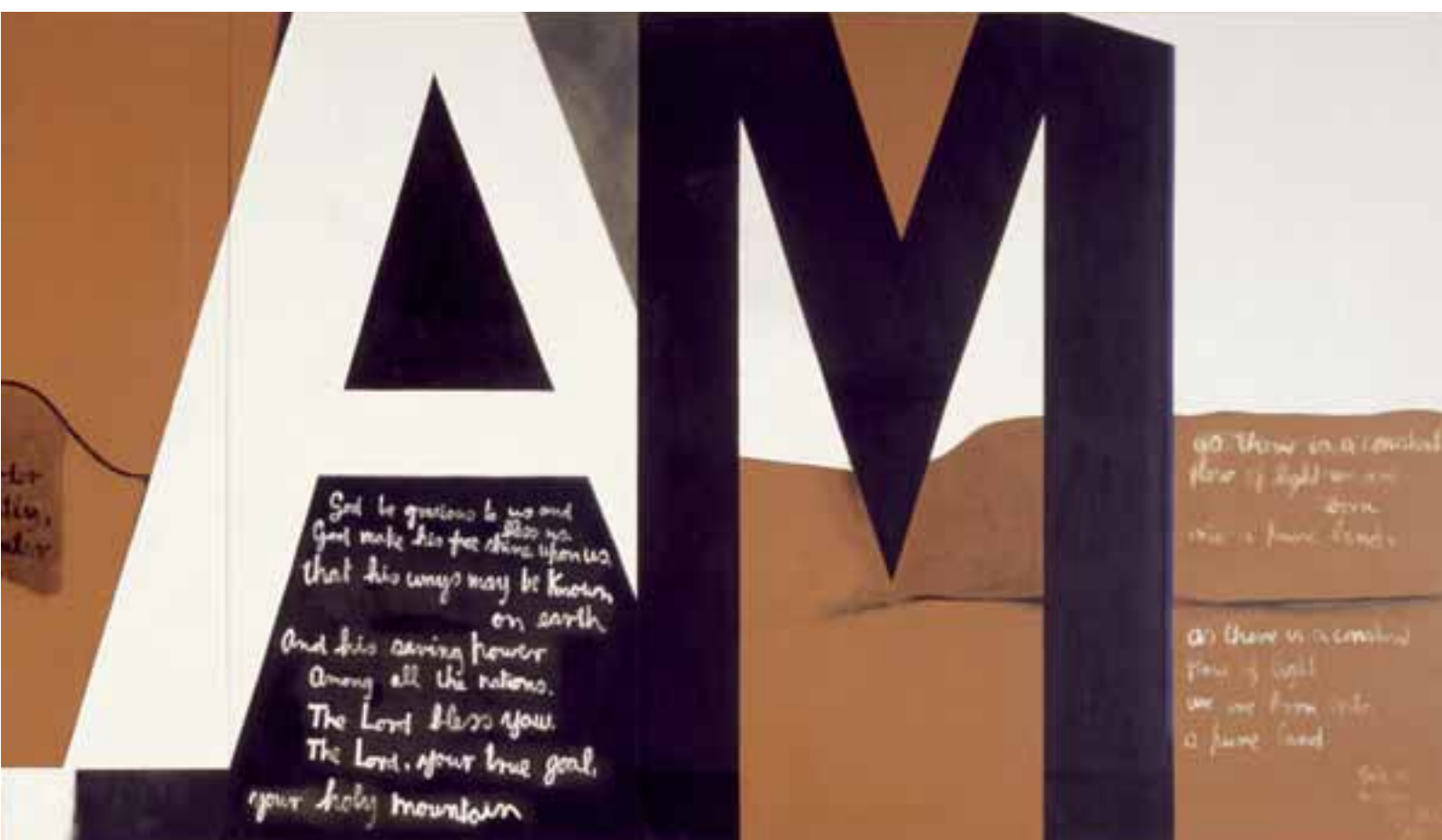
‘When I was young I wanted to be an evangelist,’ McCahon told a friend in the late 1950s, while travelling on a bus to work at the Auckland City Art Gallery.³ Behind such a surprising description of the artist’s calling stands an influential figure. In his youth McCahon worked in the orchards of Motueka, and sometimes visited his artist friend Toss Woollaston. Woollaston’s uncle, Frank Tosswill, was a member of the Oxford Group, a supporter of Moral Rearmament, with its emphasis on evangelical social renewal and

One of his last works, in 1980, was *A Painting for Uncle Frank*. The once-fiery and earth-shaking Mount Taranaki forms a shape reminiscent of the Almighty’s callipers in Blake’s *Ancient of Days*—and of the radiating sunbeams of Uncle Frank’s scroll. Its text is the great vision of the heavenly Jerusalem in Hebrews 12:22–27. Quoting Hebrews 1:7, McCahon changes the word ‘ministers’ into the singular: ‘He who makes his angels winds, and his minister a fiery flame.’

‘Uncle Frank’ kindled a passion to communicate the Christian message through art that burned in McCahon to the end of his career.

The Prophet

Years later I learned that the 1970 mural is called *Gate III*, and that McCahon painted it to warn of the possibility of physical destruction that threatens our civilisation. Its searing lines denounce nuclear



four rigorous ideals of absolute honesty, absolute purity, absolute unselfishness and absolute love. ‘Uncle Frank’ used to carry a large rolled-up scroll, with diagrams and texts to illustrate his sermons. When he came to stay he would take down Toss Woollaston’s paintings from the best part of the wall and hang up his scroll instead.

The scroll was more than two metres long, with the sun rising over Tasman Bay, texts in red forming radiating beams, and the words ‘Almighty God’ painted along the top. Toss Woollaston didn’t like it, but the twenty-one-year-old McCahon was fascinated by the poster-style and combination of image and text.

warmongers in even stronger terms than did Bob Dylan’s ‘A Hard Rain’s Gonna Fall’ (1963) after the Cuban missile crisis. McCahon writes like a graffiti artist scrawling on the wall of a military installation: ‘All ye who kindle a fire who gird / yourselves about with firebrands: / Walk ye in the flames of your fire and among / the brands which ye have kindled.’ (Isaiah 50:11).

But when I first saw *Gate III* in the mid 1970s, I read it above all as an indictment of Western secularism, the ruling spirit of our age. I found it ironic that it should have been hung in New Zealand’s most secular university. McCahon’s statement of a biblical worldview was so unequivocal that I was amazed that



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Gate III by Colin McCahon 'Coming out from under its plastic wraps at Victoria University this morning...' Published in the Evening Post 1978. Courtesy Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. Ref: EP/1978/1078. EP-Arts-Paintings (4/1).

Victoria University should have put on public display a work of art so dissonant with its values.

In the event, the university didn't change its stance, but it did move the painting. As if to maintain its secularity, the university relocated *Gate III* to its new Adam Art Gallery, Te Pataka Toi, when it was established in 1999. McCahon had designed the 3-metre-high and 10.5-metre-long *Gate III* in 1970 as a public work for a public space. In the lecture block foyer where it first stood it made a far more visible prophetic statement than it does now, domesticated in an art gallery where its message can be safely deconstructed, critiqued and compared with the 'manufactured meaning' of other works of modern art. Years earlier McCahon had lamented: 'Once the painter was making signs and symbols for people to live by: now he makes things to hang on walls at exhibitions.'⁴

Even more at variance with McCahon's intentions was the sale by Victoria University of one of his last paintings, *Storm Warning* (1980-81). This is an apocalyptic warning of what things will be like in the latter days, based on 2 Timothy 3:1-3. 'YOU MUST FACE THE FACT', it declares, 'the final age of this world / is to be a time of troubles':

*men will love nothing but
 money and self, they will be*

*arrogant, boastful and abusive;
 with no respect for parents,
 no gratitude, no piety, no natural affections
 they will be implacable in their hatreds.*

McCahon had given *Storm Warning* to Victoria University as a gift in 1981. But it was sold in 1999 for around \$1.2 million to unidentified New Zealand collectors to cover the shortfall in the funding of the Adam Art Gallery. 'It is a public work and I don't want it to disappear into a private collection', wrote McCahon before he made the gift; but the letter came to light after the painting had been sold.

It is disquieting that this painting, given for public display, advice and warning, should have been sold to a private collection for an enormous price, well beyond what local art galleries could afford, risking its permanent loss to New Zealand. McCahon's message in *Storm Warning* couldn't have been clearer, says artist Janet Paul, a friend of McCahon's. 'He was opposing ... materialist thinking. To him the spiritual concept of life ... was really important. I think it's deplorable to sell it for money when it is totally opposed to money being the only currency.'

One of the biblical tests of a true prophet is whether their prophecies come to pass (Deuteronomy 18:21-22). As the artist's son, William McCahon, caustically observed, '*Storm Warning* has fulfilled its prophecy.'⁵

The Artist

In 2002, Marja Bloem, Senior Curator of the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam brought together for the first time a comprehensive exhibition of McCahon's paintings from throughout his entire career. Entitled *Colin McCahon: A Question of Faith*, it was brought to New Zealand with the organisational support of the Auckland Art Gallery, Toi o Tamaki, and made available free to the public of New Zealand by the generosity of two anonymous benefactors. It showed in the Auckland Art Gallery from 29 March until 15 June 2003.

The exhibition brought together 78 works tracing the development of McCahon's art chronologically from 1946 to the early 1980s. Never before had these works been in one place—not even in the artist's studio. In a courageous departure from the secular premise of many earlier exhibitions of his works, *A Question of Faith* recognised the central importance of Christian themes for McCahon's life and art. It was organised around the artist's spiritual quest, showing how he explored questions of faith and doubt, meaning and despair. 'My painting is almost entirely autobiographical', McCahon once wrote, 'it tells you where I am at any given time, where I am living and the direction I am pointing in.'⁶

McCahon's greatest contribution was to contextualise a Judeo-Christian vision in New Zealand art. As Marja Bloem says, 'landscape and religion ... are constant factors in his life and work.'⁷ For the first time international recognition was given to a leading New Zealand artist for his grappling with the great religious and existential questions of our time. Rudi Fuchs, former Director of the Stedelijk Museum says, 'McCahon was the artist who gave New Zealand a powerful visual identity. ... That he went further, to explore and communicate through the medium of painting the universal questions and concerns of humanity, is why we, in other parts of the world,

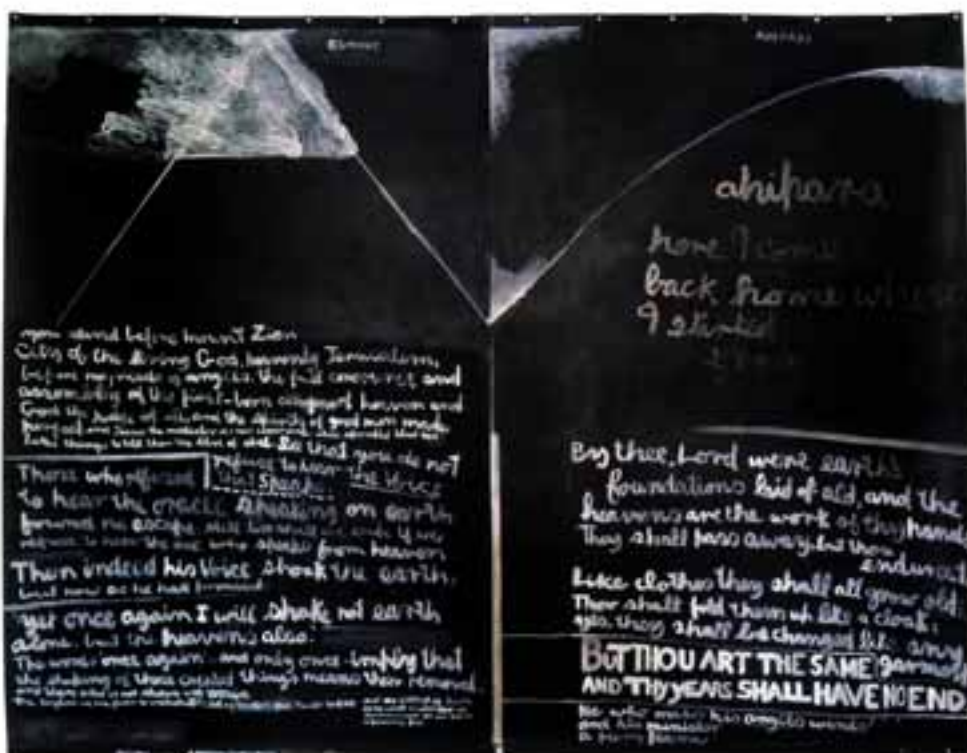
must recognise him as a great modern Master.'⁸ It is a measure of his greatness that he bore witness to religious themes when it was very unfashionable to do so.

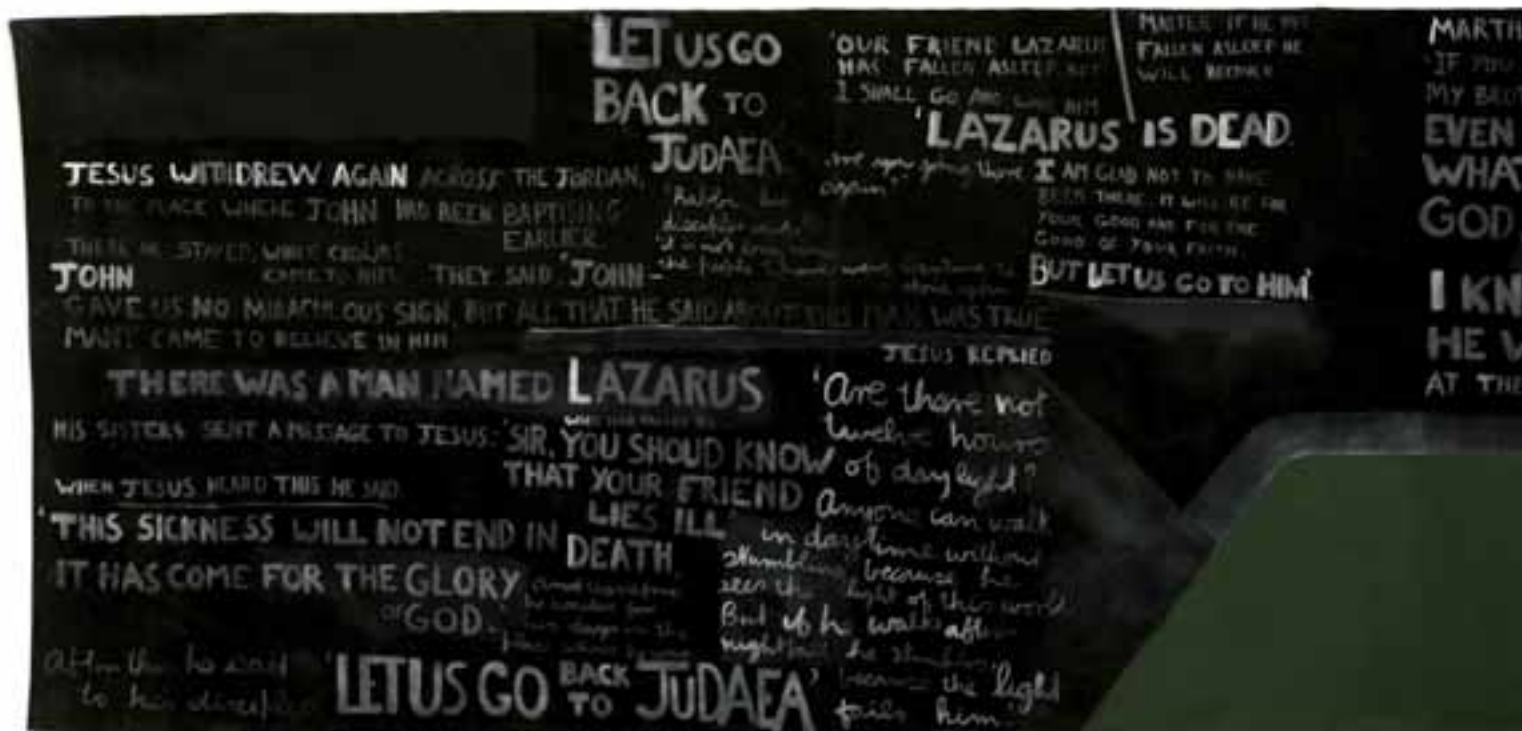
In *The Promised Land* (1948) McCahon shows his love for the natural beauty of New Zealand, and yet a longing for a perfection that lies beyond it. Dressed in his black workman's singlet he places himself in the painting, beside the Takaka Hill, with his red workman's hut to the right. Superimposed on this—a painting within a painting—is a vision of a future paradise represented by the scene beyond the hill: the landscape of Golden Bay, with the hills of Takaka now in the foreground, the view towards Farewell Spit in the background, and the artist (or perhaps an angel) looking down envisioning it. McCahon is affirming more than the goodness of God's creation. Far ahead, beyond the barren hills and toil of present experience, across the golden strand, he glimpses a promised land of fruitfulness and beauty, the almost forgotten Christian dream of an earthly millennium.

In *Beach Walk* (1973), a fourteen-panel painting of Muriwai Beach more than twelve metres long, the Christian theme of life as a pilgrimage combines with the Maori tradition of the journey of the spirits of the dead to the place of their departure at Cape Reinga, the northernmost point of Aotearoa/New Zealand. It was moving to see this painting exhibited in a room large enough to stand back and see it whole and at a distance—to recognise the West Auckland coastline in its elemental expanse, its starkness of sand and sky, its changing moods of cloud and current. 'I do not recommend any of this landscape as a tourist resort,' said McCahon. 'It is wild and beautiful; empty and utterly beautiful.'⁹

McCahon reduced the New Zealand landscape to its characteristic elements and shapes, rather like the drawings in C A Cotton's famous textbook *Geomorphology of New Zealand* (1922), given to him

A painting for Uncle Frank, 1980, Colin McCahon, acrylic on unstretched canvas, 2330 x 3000 mm. Collection Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, purchased 2000. Image reproduced courtesy of the Colin McCahon Research and Publication Trust/Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa.





Above:
Practical religion: the resurrection of Lazarus showing Mount Martha, 1969-70, Colin McCahon, acrylic on unstretched canvas, 2075 x 8070 mm. Collection Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, purchased 1985 with New Zealand Lottery Board funds and assistance from the Molly Morpeth Canaday Fund. Image reproduced courtesy of the Colin McCahon Research and Publication Trust/ Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa.

Opposite:
Jesus said young man, I say to you arise... (Scrolls series), 1969, Colin McCahon, water-based crayon and wash on wallpaper stock, 1597 x 533 mm. Reproduced courtesy of Manawatu Art Gallery Collection, Palmerston North/Colin McCahon Research and Publication Trust.

as a wedding present in 1942 by fellow-artist Patrick Hayman.¹⁰ Whether the folds and escarpments near Oamaru (in *North Otago Landscape*, 1951), the cliffs of the gannet colony at Muriwai (in the *Necessary Protection* series of 1972), or the round curve of his favourite hill at Ahipara in Northland (in the left panel of *Gate III*, in *Venus and Re-entry*, 1970-71, and in *A Painting for Uncle Frank*), McCahon's landscapes, at first glance so generic and stylised, can be recognised as concrete and exact.

Even the use of text in McCahon's art reflects his observation of the New Zealand landscape, as his son William recalls: 'The sign painting of roadside stalls is often talked about by commentators as an indication of the genesis of his style of graphics. But this too was a deflection of intent by Colin in response to persistent questioners. In fact, the source of this idea was the religious graffiti once common throughout New Zealand. Taking the form of Bible texts or slogans such as 'Jesus Saves', these messages were emblazoned in large letters on walls, overhead bridges, and the natural blackboards of rock faces. These amateur sign painters mostly used white house paint and house-painting brushes to make their words quickly and effectively.'¹¹

Behind McCahon's lifelong fascination with painted text lay an early formative experience. When he was a child in the mid 1920s, two new shops were built next door to the family home in Highgate, Dunedin. One had its window painted by a signwriter with the words 'HAIRDRESSER AND TOBACCONIST'. 'I watched the work being done', says McCahon, 'and fell in love with signwriting. The grace of the lettering as it arched across the window in gleaming gold, suspended on its dull red field but leaping free from its own black shadow, pointed to a new and magnificent world of painting. I watched from outside as the artist working inside slowly separated himself from me (and light from dark) to make his new creation.'¹²

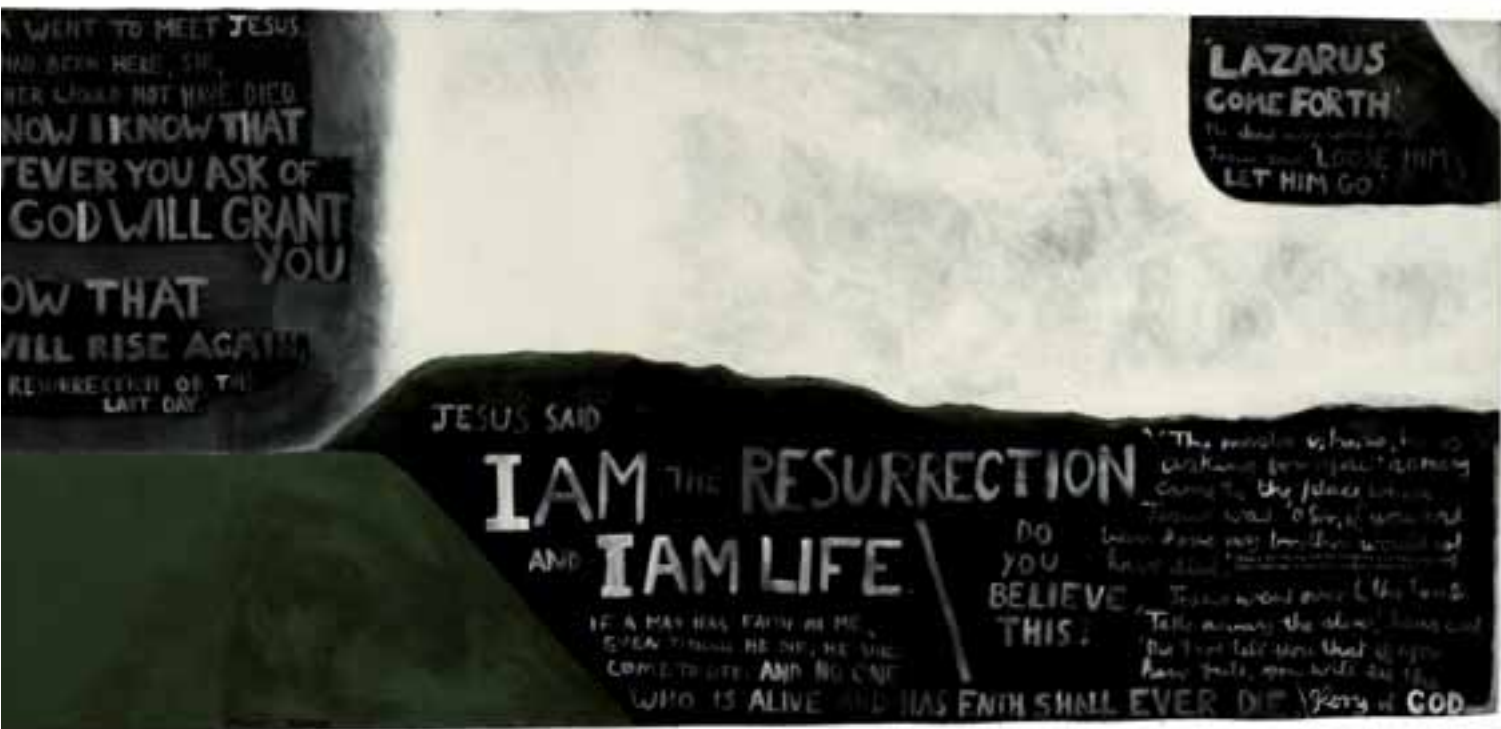
Though he strove to incarnate the Christian message in a recognisably New Zealand context, the religious dimension of McCahon's paintings was frequently minimised or ignored by academic critics and the general public. To counteract this, McCahon became more direct in his presentation. Increasingly he used words in his paintings because he was discouraged that people were misinterpreting them. 'Most of my work has been aimed at relating man to man and man to his world, to an acceptance of the very beautiful and terrible mysteries that we are part of. I aim at very direct statement and ask for a simple and direct response, any other way the message gets lost.'¹³

The Believer

A common misunderstanding of Christian faith portrays the believer as immune from struggle with doubt. McCahon shows that nothing could be further from the truth. As a Christian artist he struggled with doubt on two fronts: on one, because his faith isolated him in a secular society; on the other, because of the intrinsic ambiguity of faith itself.

The reproach of being a Christian artist was recognised by Alexa Johnston, a close friend of McCahon's and author of one of the earliest assessments of the religious significance of his work: 'Colin McCahon's works have in recent years achieved acceptance and acclaim in the New Zealand and Australian art markets. They are high-status commodities. Yet their religious content is seldom discussed, either critically, or I imagine, around the dinner tables of their owners. ... There is a nagging suspicion that McCahon has somehow let us down by his being a great painter, yet insisting on "bringing religion into it".'¹⁴

What was notable, therefore, about the 2002-2003 exhibition *Colin McCahon: A Question of Faith* was that it explicitly acknowledged the central importance of the religious dimension in McCahon's life and art. It is a mark of McCahon's greatness that he explored



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the nature of Christian belief and the challenges it poses in an overwhelmingly secular age. In this he is without parallel among artists in the second half of the twentieth century, and invites comparison with the French Catholic artist, Georges Rouault (1871-1958), in that century's destructive first half.

McCahon's personal awareness of isolation can be seen in such works as *This day a man is* (1970), which includes the words 'Keep thyself as a pilgrim and a guest upon the earth...', a quotation from Thomas A'Kempis' early-fifteenth century devotional classic, *The Imitation of Christ* (I.23). It demonstrates his feeling of being an alien and a stranger in secular society while also locating him in the great heritage of Christian spirituality.

McCahon's interest in Maori spirituality was rekindled when his daughter Victoria married into a Maori family. *The Lark's Song* (1969) is based on a Maori poem by Matire Kereama. It flows with the liquidity of a lark's trill, like Vaughan Williams' 'The Lark Ascending'. Soaring skyward, the lark seems to symbolise McCahon's awareness of being a citizen of another world. The painting concludes with an appeal, in English, to the patron saint of birds and animals: 'Can you hear me St. Francis'.

McCahon felt that secular New Zealanders were not listening to him. He compares himself to St. Francis, who preached instead to the birds! This echoes a characteristic theme in Eastern Orthodox icons of the nativity, which show animals worshipping the incarnate Christ. 'The ox knows its owner, and the donkey its master's crib, but Israel does not know, my people do not understand.' (Isaiah 1:3).

McCahon's keen awareness of the ambiguity of faith, on the other hand, is first explored in the *Elias* series of 1959. This series is based on the conflicting comments of the observers of Jesus' crucifixion as described in the Christian Gospels. McCahon's interplay of the words 'Eli-Elias' ('My God-Elijah'), 'ever-never', reflects the differing viewpoints of the

bystanders at Jesus' crucifixion, and indeed Jesus' own intense faith-struggle, as to whether God could or would save him.

The ambiguity of faith with which McCahon grappled arises from the fact that God hides himself sufficiently to render faith both possible and virtuous—yet that very hiddenness opens up the possibility of doubt. As philosopher J P Moreland points out, 'God maintains a delicate balance between keeping his existence sufficiently evident so that people will know he's there and yet hiding his presence enough so that people who want to choose to ignore him can do it. This way, their choice of destiny is really free.'¹⁵

In February 1970 McCahon painted *A Question of Faith*, which recounts the dialogue of Jesus with Martha following the death of her brother Lazarus (John 11). For this and subsequent text paintings McCahon uses the New English Bible translation to address his contemporaries in everyday speech. 'I got onto reading the New English Bible and re-reading my favourite passages. I rediscovered good old Lazarus ...

incident when Jesus interrupted a funeral procession and restored to life the son of a grieving widow from the village of Nain in Galilee (Luke 7:14-15). The text, red on a caramel background, reads:

*Jesus said
'young man,
I say to you
Arise'
and he who
was dead
sat up
and began to
speak*

Its shape contrasts strikingly with that of *The Dead Christ*, the gruesome painting by Hans Holbein the Younger (1521)—which so affected the Russian writer Dostoevsky when he viewed it in Basel in 1867, becoming the foil for his great representation of faith



one of the most beautiful and puzzling stories in the New Testament. ... It hit me, BANG! at where I was: questions and answers, faith so simple and beautiful and doubts still pushing to somewhere else. It really got me down with joy and pain.'¹⁶

The question whether Jesus can raise the dead is both hinted at and doubted in Martha's reproachful words, 'If you had been here, Sir, my brother would not have died'. These words are repeated from the middle panel of the large eight-by-two-metre *Practical Religion: the Resurrection of Lazarus showing Mount Martha*, which McCahon finished slightly earlier (1969-70). In defiance of secularism, this painting boldly identifies 'practical religion' with our greatest existential need, the raising of the dead!

Practical Religion is contemporaneous with a little-known McCahon painting *Young Man, I Say to you Arise* (20 September 1969), in the Manawatu Art Gallery, Palmerston North. It records the dramatic

and doubt in his later novels. Where the horizontal form of Holbein's painting suggests the shape of a casket and the inexorable power of death, the vertical form of McCahon's painting emphasises Christ's power over death. The Greek word for resurrection, *anastasis*, means 'to stand upright'. In McCahon's painting you can see the young man sit up—the gap between the stanzas representing the hinge between the torso and the legs.

Unremarked by both art critics and theologians, *Practical Religion* and *Young Man, I Say to you Arise* were painted during the years when the nature and reality of the resurrection was being publicly debated throughout New Zealand. They are McCahon's contribution to the debate, contemporaneous with the affirmation of Jesus' resurrection by the Presbyterian Church and by two leading New Zealand theologians.¹⁷

V. The Man

The Old Testament book of Ecclesiastes is the only book of philosophy in the Bible, the one book in the Bible that speaks to our modern experience of meaninglessness, the only book in the Bible in which God is silent. The biblical 'preacher'—who is both a philosopher and a prophet—speaks to the existential crisis of our hedonistic consumer culture like no other figure in ancient literature.

In his final text paintings from Ecclesiastes (1980-82) McCahon is clearly contemplating his mortality, pondering 'the emptiness of all endeavour'. He questions the justice of an existence where 'Good man and sinner fare alike' and 'one and the same fate befalls every one'. He sees 'the tears of the oppressed' and that 'there was no one to Comfort them'. He counts the dead 'happier than the living' because 'all toil and all achievement' is 'emptiness and chasing the wind'. He worries that 'The men of old are not remembered'. His resignation finds expression in the preacher's fatalism, that 'the sun rises and the sun goes down; back it returns to its place ... all streams run into the sea.'

By his sixtieth birthday in 1979, McCahon was a sick man: depressed, drinking heavily, increasingly paranoid about public rejection. All his life he resisted having a television in his house, but in 1983 he turned from his painting to a world portrayed on the flickering screen. In 1984 he fell victim to Korsakov's syndrome and dementia. 'Darkness had set in', says his biographer, 'blotting out his world.'¹⁸

Though the book *Colin McCahon: A Question of Faith* regards it as 'a matter of conjecture' whether in this final period 'McCahon lost totally any belief in a spiritual Being',¹⁹ the exhibition *A Question of Faith* was organised on the premise that 'over the course of time ... McCahon's attitude evolved from a positive outlook, through a period of doubt, to a feeling of utter despair', and culminated ultimately in 'the collapse of his faith'.

This is too simplistic. The works on Ecclesiastes, though some are dated April and May 1982, were essentially complete by mid-1980, and drew on texts selected in 1979.²⁰ Other works chronologically from this last period—the three orange and black text panels *Paul to Hebrews* (February 1980), *A Painting for Uncle Frank* (1980), and even the red and black *Storm Warning* (1980-81)—are far less bleak. In them McCahon shows a firm grip on faith's paradoxes, juxtaposing awe of God and awareness of self, divine revelation and human responsibility, God's eternity and our temporality.

McCahon's increasing infirmity is evident in the *Paul to Hebrews* series, with its spelling mistake ('fourty' instead of 'forty'), and the later insertion of an omitted word ('If even ^{an} animal touches the mountain'). 'Ring the bells that still can ring,' sings Leonard Cohen. 'Forget your perfect offering / There is a crack in everything / That's how the light gets in.'²¹ Despite the artist's weakness, in contrast to our brief lifespan and human frailty, the third panel shines with a vision of God's enduring purpose (Hebrews 1:10-12, quoting Psalm 102:25-27):

*BY thee, Lord, were earth's foundations laid of old,
and the heavens are the work of thy hands.
They shall pass away; but thou endurest:
like clothes they shall all grow old;
thou shalt fold them up like a cloak;
yes, they shall be changed like any garment
But thou art the same,
and thy years shall have no end*

If this be a 'collapse of faith', it shows how far secular society, with its shallow optimism, has moved from the realism of the biblical view of life, to which McCahon bore witness while his powers lasted.

Rob Yule

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- 1 A R D Fairburn, 'Elements', in Allen Curnow, ed., *The Penguin Book of New Zealand Verse*. Harmondsworth, Penguin Books, 1960, p 149
- 2 McCahon treats the biblical text freely, altering 'that we may gain a heart of wisdom' to suit his theme of a gateway to a new realm of existence.
- 3 Murray Bail, 'I Am', in Marja Bloem and Martin Browne, *Colin McCahon: A Question of Faith*. Amsterdam, Stedelijk Museum and Nelson, Craig Potton Publishing, 2002, p 46
- 4 *Colin McCahon: A Survey Exhibition*. Auckland, Auckland City Art Gallery, 1972, p 26
- 5 Colin McCahon, Janet Paul and William McCahon quoted in Philip Matthews, 'The Prophet Motive', *New Zealand Listener* (29 May 1999), pp 36–37
- 6 *Colin McCahon, A Survey Exhibition*, p 26
- 7 'Colin McCahon: A Question of Faith' in Bloem and Browne, p 16
- 8 'Colin McCahon: A Note' in Bloem and Browne, p 12
- 9 *Colin McCahon: Artist*, Gordon Brown (revised edition). Auckland, Reed, 1993, p 109
- 10 *Ibid.*, pp 22–23
- 11 William McCahon, 'A Letter Home' in Bloem and Browne, p 36
- 12 'Beginnings', *Landfall* 80, Vol. 20, No. 4 (December 1966), p 361
- 13 *Manawatu Art Gallery Centenary Collection: Contemporary New Zealand Painting*. Palmerston North, Manawatu Art Gallery, 1971, p 11
- 14 Alexa M Johnston, quoted in the exhibition *Colin McCahon: Works from the collection*. Manawatu Art Gallery, 1966
- 15 Interviewed in Lee Strobel, *The case for faith: A journalist investigates the toughest objections to Christianity*. Grand Rapids, Zondervan, 2000, p 189
- 16 Quoted by Marja Bloem, 'Colin McCahon: A Question of Faith' in Bloem and Browne, p 24
- 17 Helmut H Rex, *Did Jesus rise from the dead?* Auckland, Blackwood & Janet Paul, 1967; and Robert J Blaikie, *'Secular Christianity' and God who acts*. London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1970
- 18 Brown, p 209
- 19 Bloem and Browne, p 230
- 20 Brown, p 190
- 21 Leonard Cohen, 'Anthem' in his bleak album *The Future*. Stranger Music, 1992