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Barthianism and the Divine Image of Man.

WHATEVER may be the merits or demerits of Barthianism, it has recalled us to Biblical theology—to this as distinct from the vague and various religious philosophisings which had usurped its place. Of this the doctrine of the Divine image in man provides a fair illustration. Under the influence of Hegelianism and humanistic philosophies, the Protestant liberalism of a past generation interpreted this doctrine in terms of the divinity of Humanity, and the vogue which this interpretation enjoyed would hardly have been possible but for a certain decline in Biblical theology. Now that idealistic monism and humanism are themselves suffering decline, the deification of Humanity and the humanisation of Divinity have ceased to be the preoccupation of our popular religious instructors. Indeed, the tendency has set in a different direction, and there is, in this regard, a not unreasonable feeling that Barthianism has carried its protest against the older liberalism too far. Under Barth, man, instead of being deified is, it is felt, in some danger of being dehumanised, and Berdyaev does not hesitate to class Barthian theology among the dehumanising influences in present-day thought. But in any case, it is in the field of Biblical theology that Barth gives battle, and there the controversy must be waged.

Those who speak to-day for a moderate evangelical liberalism, or a liberal evangelicalism, contend for a fuller recognition of man's competence as man, not indeed his competence for righteousness, but his competence to make his own human response to the righteousness and grace of God. They contend, that is to say, for a fuller recognition of this than Barthianism is disposed to concede. And they do this out of an evangelical concern that the Faith should be presented to the common man in terms that do not needlessly perplex and discourage him or contradict his experience and common-sense. We may cite this protest in the form in which it has been cast by one of our own greatly revered teachers. (The italics do not belong to the original).

In giving His Spirit . . . God comes very near to men; and as spiritual things are only spiritually discerned, *He reckons on finding that in men which makes them able to receive and appreciate His grace.* We may agree with the Barthians that this, too, is God's gift, *for God has indeed made men in His own image and likeness.* *It is this* which makes it possible

for men to hear His word and to respond, for, as Barth quaintly puts it, man is man and not cat.¹ And again: "If and when God speaks, it is not to sticks and stones but to human beings who are capable, however imperfectly, of hearing His word. Whether they obey it or forbear is their own lookout." And once more: "That we should experience a change of heart . . . is the *natural response* to grace freely given and received." The "receiving" is itself, presumably, part of this "natural" response, as also is the consequent "obeying"; and the response is "natural" because God has made man in the Divine image and likeness.

Now if those of us who are not professors of theology are to share in this discussion at all, we should do so with great deference and humility. Nevertheless, perhaps the discussion need not be confined to the experts, for it lies close to the life and thought of the ordinary Christian man, and something may be said from the layman's standpoint. Certainly an argument that rests upon the doctrine of the Divine image in man is not one with which the theological layman is likely to be wholly unfamiliar, so unfamiliar that he is unable to recognise the allusion. On the other hand it does not follow that the allusion will not mislead him. For admittedly, there are popular notions about man's being in the image and likeness of God which are by no means necessarily valid: for example, Browning's dictum, so pat as a pulpit quotation—

Take all in a word, the truth in God's breast
Lies trace for trace upon ours impressed:
Though He is so bright and we so dim,
We are made in His image to witness Him.

This certainly looks like the expression of a truism of the Faith, one of the first principles of Christian anthropology; but the Protestant theologian with qualms about Thomism and *analogia entis* might demur. In more generous form we have the statement of man's "natural" ability in Emersonian terms:

So nigh is grandeur to our dust,
So near is God to man,
When Duty whispers low, *Thou must,*
The Youth replies, *I can.*

And less familiarly:

In thousand far-transplanted grafts.
The parent fruit survives;
So, in the new-born millions,
The perfect Adam lives.

Wherefore—"Trust thyself; every heart responds to that iron"

¹ W. B. Selbie: *Christian World*, April 8, 1943.

string"! But again, the Protestant theologian might warn his lay brethren that Scriptural allusions do not necessarily certify the doctrines which they are made to adorn, and that in theology Emerson needs to be taken with evangelic salt. The new radicalism of Barth obviously cuts across all such interpretations and carries us back to the Calvinistic doctrine of man's inability: but this, of course, is precisely the matter under discussion. Barth so emphasises the Divine initiative in redemption as to deny any natural capacity in man effectually to respond to it; so that both initiative and response are of God. But surely, it is urged, this is to overrun the scent, in respect of both Scripture and experience, and amounts to a denial of that Divine image in man to which the Scriptures bear witness. It is in the field of Biblical theology that this question must be engaged.

I.

It is pertinent to begin, then, with the obvious fact that the *locus classicus* for the doctrine of the Divine image in man is the Creation passage in Genesis which contains the declaration that "God created man in His own image" or, as the Hebrew parallelism runs, in His own image and likeness. And it is to be noted that in the same passage the physical creation is described in the words "God saw everything that He had made, and behold it was very good": that is to say, the passage is descriptive of the world and man before the Fall. And here, of course, we are concerned only with the Scripture witness; what have been the various interpretative or critical reactions to it is another story. In the main, nineteenth century liberalism, while accepting the evolutionary conception of man and lightheartedly interpreting the Fall as a "fall upward" (associated with the development of the moral sense), retained the witness to the Divine image in man as holding true of the human race throughout the long ages of progress; increasingly true, perhaps; for the Divine image, nascent in the primitive tribes newly emerged from the subhuman, must itself be subject to the evolutionary process.

The immediate consideration is, however, that, so far as the classic passage in Genesis is concerned, the declaration about the Divine image refers specifically to man's sinless state in a world newly created and pronounced "very good." And the plain sense of later Scripture is that, by reason of human sin, that image and likeness of God in man has been lost or has suffered obscurity beyond man's own power to restore it. It is the "new man" in Christ (or, as Moffatt renders it, the new nature), that is *renewed* after the image, and for the knowledge, of the Creator (Col. iii. 10), so that as we have borne the image of the earthly, material, Adamic man, we are also to bear the image of the

heavenly Man (1 Cor. xv. 49), Himself the image of God (Col. i. 15), and thus to be *transformed* into that image through the operation of the Divine Spirit (2 Cor. iii. 18). On the other hand, the fallen sons of Adam, their ignorant minds grown dark (Rom. i. 21 Moffatt), have set themselves to make God in their own image (ver. 23), worshipping and serving the creature rather than the Creator.

The point is, that no Christian teaching that professes to ground its dogma upon the sense of Holy Scripture can consistently generalise the term "image of God" as if it were an unchallengeable truism of the Faith that man to-day bears that image in the original sense of the Scriptural pronouncement. It is not to say *more* than this; certainly not to say that man now bears no mark of the Divine image; it is simply to say that the Scripture teaching that man was created in the Divine likeness does not certify the conclusion that man retains that likeness with all its original implications, whatever those implications may be. It is to say that claims about man's "natural" ability to respond to the Divine initiative, to hear the Word, receive it and obey it, cannot be established by oracular statement and a gesture towards the Genesis expression. To do so, whatever might be its effect upon theologians, would be, in the end, to bewilder the common man—the common man of Protestantism, still retaining a Bible somewhere in the back room, still clinging to an ambiguous belief in it, and still capable under stress, even of reading it with an appropriate seriousness and attention.

II.

We come, then, to the question, What does the expression "in the image of God" mean? What are the implications of the term? And here again, it appears that we who are theological laymen ought to be warned against any too easy and assured citation of it, as if the expression itself had a precise and uncontroverted acceptance. It has been interpreted as meaning the *spirit* of man, as meaning his *rationality*, or again as meaning that mysterious gift by which man can both stand within the natural order *and* lift himself above it, can be himself as the knowing subject *and* transcend himself as the known object. Justin Martyr interpreted the Divine image as meaning rationality and moral freedom; Origen identified it with a pre-existent spirit sent to earth to work out what in Buddhism would be called its Karma. In a characteristic passage Chrysostom compares man with the lower creation, and inquires why he should be regarded as superior to it:

Dost thou build splendid palaces? Many jackdaws dwell in

houses more splendid . . . But art thou proud of thy voice? Thou canst by no means sing better than the swan or the nightingale. Is it for thy varied knowledge of the arts? But what is wiser in this than the bee? What embroiderer, what painter, what geometrician, can imitate her works? Is it for the fineness of thy apparel? But here the spiders beat thee. Is it for the swiftness of thy feet? Again the first prize is with the unreasoning animals. Hast thou travelled much? Not more than the birds . . . But art thou clear-sighted? Not as the gazelle, not as the eagle. Art thou quick of hearing? The ass is more so.

And so on, to show that what marks man out is the endowment of a mind that "in virtue and piety" can raise itself above man himself.

Augustine (*City of God*, Bk. XVI. ii) makes the Divine image centre in man's "good" will, the will of creaturely obedience, while the Fall meant the exchange of the good will for an evil will which set up a false autonomy and became an end in, and to, itself. Elsewhere (*Of the Work of Monks*) he places the image of God in the mind:

For where this image is [the Apostle] . . . doth himself declare, where he saith . . . 'put ye on the new [man] which is renewed according to the image of Him that created him.' Who can doubt that this renewing takes place in the mind? . . . For giving the same admonition he saith . . . 'be ye renewed in the spirit of your mind'.

In his dissertation *On the Creed* he is explicit: "God made man after His own image and likeness in the mind; for in that is the image of God." The mind, that is to say, is the *locus* of the Divine image; it is not the image itself; the image is there only in-so-far as the mind is turned Godward. Calvin places the Divine image in the integrity of man's whole being, body, soul and spirit, agreeing here with the Hebraic rather than the Greek conception; so that when man's integrity was lost the Divine image was lost; and Luther understands the same: "Of this image all we now possess are the words"—the mere term itself.

Calvin again, disagreeing here with Augustine, in his comment upon "the light that lighteth every man" in the Johannine Prologue, asserts a universal, natural enlightenment of the human mind by Christ.

From this *light* [of Christ] the rays are diffused over all mankind . . . For we know that men have this peculiar excellence which raises them above other animals, that they are endued with reason and intelligence, and that they carry

the distinction between right and wrong engraven on their conscience. There is no man, therefore, whom some perception of the eternal *light* doth not reach. But as there are fanatics who rashly strain and torture this passage . . . let us remember that the only subject here treated is the common light of nature . . . for never will any man, by all the acuteness and sagacity of his own mind, penetrate into the Kingdom of God.

The light of nature diffused over mankind, though it is a Divine illumination, shining "amidst the thick darkness and shocking ignorance, and gulf of errors", is not itself an *enabling* light; it is not identical with that Divine likeness in which man in his first integrity was able to respond to God and commune with Him.

So that (not to pursue the matter further) it is evident that even the significance of the term "image of God" has by no means been understood by all Christian authorities in the same way; and he would be a bold man who would claim that a reference to the Divine image in man should be sufficient to attest any one particular theory of man's natural ability or disability in relation to the things of God. Against any such claim the plain man, turned theologian in spite of himself, deserves to be warned and advised to consult the appropriate books of, say, Wheeler, Robinson and Reinhold Niebuhr.

III.

To say all this is to welcome the fact that the irruption of Barthianism has recalled us once more to Biblical theology, with all that this means and promises—among other things a closer examination of the roots of our popular anthropologies, Christian and otherwise. It is certainly not to claim sacrosanctity and infallibility for the Barthian oracle. Barth himself may well pray to be saved from the Barthians, some of whom find it easier to plagiarise his paradoxes and appropriate his head-lines than to discipline themselves to a patient examination of his thought. And indeed, Barth's thought is difficult to follow and harmonise. In a sermon included in a collection published under his and Thurneysen's names (*Come, Holy Spirit*, p. 184) we have this statement:

We are bearing the indestructible mark of God's image, even if we have forsaken God and have taken to gods and idols. God's image in man is the remembrance of the things that are above. They will not let go of us, but make life a long and restless search and discovery of ever new wants and quests. . . . We no longer know what were the things

that are above; we no longer understand ourselves. But ravished and extinguished, forgotten, and all but lost (and is there a man that will deny that we are speaking of him?), because it is God's image that we carry, we cannot be rid of them. The witness of Christ says that we are indissolubly bound from all eternity to this remembrance, in spite of every contrary experience. . . .

We may take it that this, put, as it is, into plain words (for Barth is here preaching to plain men), is a side-glance at a profound passage of Augustine in the *Confessions*. In this passage (*Confessions*, X. 19, 20) Augustine's neo-Platonism comes out in a doctrine of Recollection. God is primarily in the soul as its source and origin: He may be forgotten, and faith is a sort of remembering. "It is not as if we believed something new, but having remembered it we approve what has been said."

We have not entirely forgotten what we remember that we have forgotten. . . . How, then, do I seek Thee, O Lord? For when I seek Thee I seek a happy life. . . . How do I seek it? Is it by remembrance, as though I had forgotten it, knowing too that I had forgotten it? . . . Is not a happy life the thing that all desire? . . . How they come to know it I cannot tell, but they know it by some kind of knowledge unknown to me, who am in much doubt whether it be in the memory.

Kierkegaard interprets this by means of his strange category of "Repetition" or "remembering forward",—what might be called *Preminiscence*; and in fact, in his *Holy Ghost and the Christian Life* (p. 12), Barth cites this very passage and comments upon it, but with only a critical and partial approval.

How [thinks Augustine] could we come to know anything that somehow we had not previously known? How should God become enjoyable and worthy of our love, as the Supreme Good, unless we had some notion of the blessed life as well, even as we have other notions "in the more hidden cells of memory?" (Put into Kant's terminology "The capacity for transcendental apperception.").

Barth is concerned to qualify this. "The great opponent of Pelagianism", he says, "did not realise that righteousness by works as such was contained in this idea"—righteousness by an effort of spiritual memory, by an energetic, self-transcending, heavenward-soaring intellection. It is not, he continues, the knowledge of *God* that can be obtained, Platonic fashion, by reminiscence. "The sayings 'God has made us for Himself' and 'man made in the image of God,' are not to be taken as

meaning an abiding and sure fact of revelation that we have once and for all made our own." The fundamental disparity, the discontinuity, between God and man precludes the idea of God as an object of reminiscence: much more (as Augustine recognised) does it preclude the idea of a mystical identity as between the spirit of man and the Divine Spirit.

We must understand, then, that when Barth says that God's image in man is "the remembrance of the things that are above," his thought is upon the word in Ecclesiastes, which, in his sermons, he repetitively emphasises: "God hath set eternity in their heart," without which "no man can find out the work that God maketh." It is not a "potency of obedience," not a supernatural, super-added endowment of man's essential nature; it is that sense of Divine things of which we can never wholly rid ourselves, and which discovers to us those needs which only God can satisfy. In that sense, though the image of God may be obscured, the mark of it is indestructible.

In the first volume of his *Dogmatic* ("Doctrine of the Word of God" p. 273 f.) Barth is more definitive—and more controversial. He admits that apprehension of the Word of God could not take place without there being something in common, some point of contact, between God who speaks, and man who hears.

This point of contact is what theological anthropology, in correspondence with Gen. i. 27. calls the "image of God" in man. But . . . in this context we cannot possibly . . . mean by that the humanity and personality remaining over to sinful man from the creation: for the humanity and personality of sinful man simply cannot signify conformity with God, a point of contact with the Word of God. In this sense, as a possibility for God proper to man *qua* creature, the "image of God" is not only, as we say, with the exception of some remnants, ruined, but annihilated. What is preserved of the image of God even in sinful man is *recta natura*, to which as such a *rectitudo* cannot be ascribed. . . .

By "right nature", as distinct from rectitude of nature, we may presumably understand that, as a man with only one foot is still by nature a biped, or a man born blind is nevertheless by nature one who has eyes, so a sinful man, alienated from God, and incapable of a true response to God, is still by nature a being created for God. This, we may here understand Barth to mean, is what is preserved of the Divine image in man. Sin may corrupt man; it cannot cancel the aboriginal fact of his nature.

The fact also remains that apprehension of the Divine Word implies a point of contact, a something in common, between God

and man: but this, as Barth would argue, is not something reciprocally supplied by God and man out of their two natures; it is created by God Himself. Thus in-so-far as the image of God in man means a capacity for God, an ability to respond to Him and obey Him, it has to be restored in Christ. It exists for faith and in faith, and not out of faith; and faith itself is not a human faculty, but a supernatural gift. But in faith all does come back—the image of God, the “common ground”, the “point of contact”, even the “analogy of being”

IV.

At this point we shall do well to halt. The spirit easily becomes alienated from its proper interest, and the believer turns grammarian: and this surely belongs to the iniquity that besets us in our dealing with holy things. But let this be said: Those of us who have been trained from our childhood in the Calvinism of our evangelical fathers, and whose earliest and perhaps deepest and most lasting impressions have been associated with that instruction, are probably, whatever may have been the wanderings of our later years, unfitted for the task of criticism—of forming a critical estimate of Barthian doctrine, or at least of sympathising with those who react against Barth's insistence that even man's power of response to God is “of God”.

Of course, the age-long dispute about Divine sovereignty and human free-will must remain unsettled, and neither Barth nor his critics must be blamed for not disposing of it. There will always be those who emphasise human freedom over against those who emphasise sovereign grace, and in the Scriptures both emphases are supported without being resolved. But those of us who, in our most impressionable years, received the teaching that the mystery of regeneration begins *behind and beneath the consciousness* of man—that if we have turned to God it is because *He* has turned us—that if we are concerned to work out our own salvation it is because *He* works in us both to will and to work—those of us who have been so taught, and have so believed, and have had that belief confirmed within us, will not quarrel with Barth for emphasizing that side of the mystery, nor complain because, even so, the mystery remains a mystery.

Most truly, as Barth has said, when God speaks it is not to sticks and stones, but to men. But is it as axiomatic as it seems to be that men, as made in the Divine image, are capable, by reason of their own natural ability, to hear, respond, and obey? It is certainly not a statement to be made with finality by virtue of a mere reference to the Divine image. Nor is it necessarily something that is “rooted in the experience of the common man”—to the exclusion of the contrary view. If preachers

may be classed as common men, can we say that the evangelical preacher's experience when he faces his congregation must be that all his hearers, being not sticks and stones but men, are capable in themselves of hearing, really *hearing*, the Divine Word, apart from the direct operation of the Divine Spirit upon their incapable deaf ears? Was this the experience of Spurgeon, Whitefield, Luther? The preaching of the Gospel, said Luther, is like a moving rainstorm; when it strikes, it strikes. And what of the experience of the common man in the pew—the common man who hears and responds? Is he always content to say, "I myself, my own self, heard the Word, because in my own nature I was capable of hearing, and I myself, my own self, responded because by nature I was capable of responding"? This may all be possible, but there are deeper depths than these, and they have been sounded in the experience of common men. That they remain depths in which at last all thought is drowned does not make them a theological or psychological fantasy.

But when all this has been said, it remains to be recognised that Barthianism, vulnerable, and often extreme and ill-balanced as it is, does continually need, and prospers under, the corrective protest of those who are concerned for the fundamentals of human freedom and responsibility; this no less, and perhaps no more, than Christian humanism needs such a protest and corrective as Barth has been raised up to supply.

GWILYM O. GRIFFITH.

Pascal's Serious Call to the Careless Worldling.

IT may be well to begin this article with some indication why it is worth our while to give serious attention to the thoughts on religion of a lay-writer of the seventeenth century—thoughts, too, which for the most part are merely rough jottings of miscellaneous notes, made in preparation for a work which this writer, seriously invalidated by overstrain almost before he was out of his 'teens, never lived to complete: he died, prematurely worn out, at thirty-nine. Our justification lies in the fact that Pascal was one of the greatest geniuses produced, not merely by the clever French nation, but by the whole human race: and that this genius was chiefly concentrated on the study and practice of the Christian religion, during the period in which these thoughts were penned.

THE GENIUS OF PASCAL.

Like many other geniuses, he manifested an astounding precocity. His education he owed entirely to his father, a government officer of finance, who was himself a distinguished mathematician, and in touch with the leading scientific men of his day. In particular, Pascal says that he had been "educated by a singular method, and with more than paternal cares" in the maxim, only to draw conclusions when they were sufficiently evidenced, and to deny, or suspend judgment on, them when they were not. Consequently, the son insisted on knowing the reason for everything, and if dissatisfied with those commonly given, he would not rest till he had found one that satisfied him. One day, in his eleventh year, he noticed that the sound produced by striking a plate with a knife ceased at once if a hand was laid on the plate. This started him on enquiries which issued in the composition of a little treatise on sound. It is further alleged, by his sister-biographer, that he discovered for himself geometry as far as Euclid 1. 32. Thereupon his father allowed him to read Euclid's *Elements* as a recreation: and he also frequented the discussions of the scientific circles in Paris. The outcome of these "recreations" was a treatise on Conic Sections, wherein he set forth a theorem "from which all the properties of conics can be deduced".¹ At the age of twenty he set about devising a calculating machine, to assist his father in the elaborate financial calculations which kept him at work till late in the night. It involved years of labour, with the making of no less than fifty

¹ *Chevalier, Pascal*, p. 55.

models. Again, with the object of disproving the then current notion that nature abhors a vacuum, he made exhaustive experiments that prepared the way for the barometer and the pneumatic pump. From these he advanced to a general investigation of the equilibrium of liquids, which similarly revealed the principle of the hydraulic press. He was further the inventor of the so-called arithmetical triangle, which serves, among other things, the calculation of arithmetical combinations, and is applicable to the theory of probabilities. He was also the founder of the various branches of the higher Calculus. I can mention here only one other scientific achievement. One night, when an excruciating neuralgia put sleep out of the question, he sought to divert himself by attacking the problem of the cycloid, i.e. the curve traced by a given point on the radius of a circle during one revolution of the circle on a horizontal line. When a friend called in the morning to enquire after him, he learned that the neuralgia was forgotten, and the properties of the curve fully made out!

Before going further, we may note some consequences significant for his subsequent thoughts on religion. But first it should be said that his father had drummed into him the maxim that his enquiries should be confined to the realm of nature—"nothing that is the object of faith can be the object of reason". Hence he remained uninfluenced by the talk of free-thinking companions, and in later life never applied himself to *speculations* in theology, but directed the whole strength of his mind to know and practise the Christian *life* in its perfection. Now for our consequences.

(1) He refused all before-hand theorising about matters in the region of science, and insisted on their ascertainment by investigation of the *facts*—where possible, by experiment. Thus he kept an open mind, and was prepared to admit the actualness of things seemingly incomprehensible, if only the available evidence pointed that way.

(2) He was led by his mathematical investigations to recognise the existence, though beyond the reach of our sense-perceptions, of both the infinitely great, and the infinitely little.

(3) He realised, also, the "discontinuity" of things in the universe: you cannot increase a magnitude of a certain order by adding to it magnitudes of an inferior order, *e.g.* points to lines, or surfaces to solids. This furnished an analogy for his doctrine of the three diverse orders in the human sphere, of body, mind and spirit. "The infinite distance between bodies and minds typifies the infinitely more infinite distance between minds and love, for this is supernatural. From all bodies together you could not elicit a tiny thought of them . . . from all bodies and minds

together you could not extract a movement of true love" (793.)²

Pascal was (finally) a supreme literary genius. More than any other single writer, he is the former of modern French prose, unique for its precision, lucidity, and grace. The best known example is his immortal *Letters to a Provincial*, in which his urbane but penetrating wit made an exposure of the foibles of the Jesuits which they have never effectually countered.

All these stupendous powers of thought and expression were devoted to the defence and exposition of the Christian faith. To show how this came about, we will next trace in outline the chief stages of his religious pilgrimage.

PASCAL'S RELIGIOUS GROWTH.

The religion of his family was at first the conventional Catholicism of their day and nation, which put no restraint on their sharing in the pursuits and diversions of society. But in 1646, his father was treated for an accidental injury to his leg by two local gentlemen who were adherents of the Jansenist party, a puritanic reform-movement within the Catholic Church, which sought to return to the simpler ideals of the church of the Fathers, more particularly to the theology of Augustine, and to a stricter manner of life. The whole Pascal family were speedily won to it. This is sometimes spoken of as Pascal's "first conversion." But it was clearly much more a matter of his intellect than his heart. It involved a mental assent to the dogmas of Jansenism,³ and an increased occupation with external observances of religion. But as yet there was no surrender of the whole man to the obedience of Christ. This sufficiently appears from its being followed some years later by his so-called "worldly" period.

By their father's death (1651), Pascal's sister Jacqueline was set free to fulfil a long cherished wish of becoming a nun at Port Royal. But Pascal, who had formerly encouraged, now opposed it, needing the help of his sister's dowry for his now expensive mode of life⁴. He was moving in a fashionable circle whose ideal was the *honnête homme*, the polished man of the world, who cultivated complaisant manners, genteel accomplishments, agreeable conversation, and grace and elegance even in his vices. This intercourse served to convince Pascal that the study of man was of greater practical importance for the ends of life than were the abstract sciences. He himself still avoided the graver vices,

² The numbers of the Fragments quoted are those of the now classical arrangement of L. Brunschwig (Hachette).

³ Much like Calvinism, though Jansenists were at pains to repudiate the accusation.

⁴ Ultimately he gave way to her.

and to the end of his life his ideals of conduct were largely influenced by those of *honnêteté*.

Before long, however, he became deeply disgusted with these unsatisfying vanities, withdrew from them, and devoted himself earnestly to religious exercises, but felt himself far from God. At length one night he had the intense experience which resulted in his second and definitive conversion. What took place on Nov. 23, 1654, between 10.30 and 12.30, we learn only from the rough jottings made by Pascal himself at the time, and worn on his person for the rest of his life—the so-called Memorial.⁵ I extract the more noteworthy features.

1. It is headed, "FEU" (fire). Whether this points to a visionary element in the experience cannot be determined. Was there something that recalled to his mind the Burning Bush, or the "tongues of fire" at Pentecost? Or was it no more than the Psalmist's "While I was musing, the fire burned"?

2. "God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, not of the philosophers or savants"—words that proclaim the spiritual sterility of his scientific and worldly past.

3. "Certainty, feeling, joy, peace"—he has now immediate and rejoicing conviction of God, in contrast to the doubting and miserable isolation of his recent past.

4. "God of Jesus Christ . . . only found by the ways taught in the Gospel"⁶ . . . of cardinal importance. It is through Christ alone that we arrive at the true and saving knowledge of God, as our personal God and Saviour.

5. "Oblivion of the world and all else outside of God"—marks his final breach with worldly life.

6. "I had separated from Him. . . . My God, wilt Thou leave me? O that I be not separated from Him for ever!" Here is conviction of *sin* through Christ. He is clear that by participation in worldly life he had drawn a gulf between himself and God.

7. "Renunciation total and sweet". Pascal can and does now fully renounce the old life, and surrender his whole man entirely to God. We note the conviction that living faith is unattainable by any thought of our reason, or effort of our will, and must be the gift of divine grace. We shall find these convictions underlying all the teaching of his *Apology*, even if the conception of such a book did not take possession of his mind from that hour. In it he draws upon the *whole* of his previous experience, scientific and worldly, as well as religious.

⁵ Brunshwicg, p. 142.

⁶ Below, he quotes John xvii. 3.

THE APOLOGY.

Sooner or later, this work became his primary occupation. It was natural that he should feel a great desire to win his former companions, whether avowed atheists or polite sceptics; but especially the careless worldling, too indifferent to give a serious thought to religion at all: him Pascal recognised as the most difficult case.

In the first place, he says, we have to get rid of men's *aversion* to religion. Begin then, by showing that it (1) is not contrary to reason, (2) deserves respect for its understanding of human nature: then make men wish it true, and finally show them that it is true (187). Bear in mind, however, that in most men, the will has more to do with their opinions than the reason (99). Their will is inclined to happiness and things that promise it, and when it comes into collision with the reason, commonly has the best of it. We must, therefore, first study man, and not merely human nature in the abstract, but actual individuals. For these differ almost infinitely, not only one from another, but from themselves in different moods. This is a difficult task, in which the merely scientific intellect will be nonplussed. It can draw inferences correctly from comparatively few principles. Man's spirit, on the other hand, can only be inferred from its outward manifestations in speech or conduct: and the underlying principles of these are almost indefinitely numerous. Further, the same manifestation may go back to different principles in different people. Hence the investigator needs *finesse*—almost a divining sense.

We shall best make truth acceptable to people if we can make the reasons we give for it appear to be their own (10). There will be *some* element of truth in their own view of the subject. Begin by recognising this, and then show them the aspect of their view which is false (9). Remember, too, that you cannot use such arguments as have weight only with those who are already believers (authority of Scripture, Church, etc.). You must deal in the arguments of common-sense and natural feeling, e.g. the folly of carelessness where eternal interests are at stake (195).

By request of some Jansenist friends, Pascal gave a sketch of the plan of his proposed work. Of this we have two rather differing accounts, one, at least, from a hearer of the discourse. He gave it some years before his death, and probably the plan changed in his own mind as he developed his thoughts in detail. He himself says (61) that strictly systematic order cannot be kept in such matters. "The mind proceeds by demonstration from principle, but the heart has another order of its own, the order

of love" (283). This depends chiefly on digression wherever needed to make sure of carrying the hearer with you.

But there is a fragment from Pascal's own hand which runs thus:—Part I. Wretchedness of man without God. Part II. Happiness of man with God—Alternatively: Part I. That nature is corrupted: proved from nature itself. Part II. That there is a Restorer: proved by Scripture (60). Another fragment (527) confirms the supposition that these would be the main branches of the work, and also adds a third. "Knowledge of God without that of man's misery makes for pride. Knowledge of his misery without that of God makes for despair. Knowledge of Jesus Christ supplies the mediating principle, because therein we find both God and our misery".

MAN'S WRETCHEDNESS.

Nature, as a whole, presents to man the spectacle of a boundless universe, to which neither his senses nor thought can set a limit—the Infinitely Great. But in the tiniest insect there is also a whole universe, made up of ever minuter invisible parts the Infinitely Little—Man himself is a sort of middle term between the two—the Infinite and nothing. Yet of both extremes he is necessarily ignorant, and cannot learn either the source or the ultimate goal of things. It is true that by nature he is capable of knowledge (430). He is visibly made for thinking—therein lies all his worth and merit (146). A mere atom in the universe, he is yet greater than it, for while it can easily crush him (176), he knows that he dies, and the universe knows nothing of it (347). But though great by nature, man's thought is mean by its defects (365). We can't help desiring truth as well as happiness (437), but we are capable neither of happiness nor certainty. There is no truth in man, unless it be his knowledge of natural things. But our natural science has its obvious limitations, *e.g.* it has to assume the principles on which it reasons, such as the reality of space, time, number.⁷ Again, how can man, who is only a part, expect to comprehend the whole? or indeed, even a part—for every part is ultimately linked up with the whole (72). Besides, man is a compound, of body and soul, and therefore cannot know things that are simple, whether body or soul (72). Next, then, let him scrutinise himself (66). Pascal has indeed no systematic or scientific study of man's nature, but he deals at length, and in considerable detail with its frailties.

On *reason* he is severe. It misleads us, partly because it operates with so many principles that it is difficult to keep them all present to the mind at once (252). Its proper field is the realm

⁷ And cf. 21, 40.

of nature. The truths of religion it can introduce only to the mind. God's grace alone implants them in the heart (185). A friend having told Pascal that he disliked things instinctively, and the reasons came to him afterwards, Pascal comments, "I think we find the reasons only because we dislike a thing" (473) *i.e.* in present day phrase, we "rationalise" our desires. Reason, in fact, is pliable in any direction (274, 561). In short, "this corrupt reason has corrupted everything" (294)—"How I love to see this proud reason humiliated and suppliant!" (388). "The last move of reason is to recognise that there are an infinity of things that surpass it" (267). "There is nothing so conformable to reason as this disavowal of reason" (262).

Pascal proposed to have a chapter on powers that deceive us. The most powerful cause of our errors is the war which exists between reason and the senses, which continually mislead each other. The senses abuse the reason by false appearances. The passions, again, disturb the senses and give them false impressions (82, 83). Our mind is distracted from efficient working by the slightest noise in its neighbourhood (366). And memory, which is involved in all the operations of reason, is at the mercy of chance (370).

IMAGINATION, "that mistress of error and falsity," can even suspend the action of the senses (82). It is the more deceptive because it does not always deceive, but presents true and false in the same character. This arrogant power delights in dominating our reason. It has established a second nature in man. It fills those who entertain it with a satisfaction far more complete than reason can give. Even a magistrate will not listen with his wonted respect to the preacher, if the latter appears in the pulpit unshaved and dishevelled.⁸ Imagination magnifies petty things, and the present moment, to the disparagement of great things—God and eternity (195, 84). It seems, indeed, given us expressly to lead into necessary error. And we never grow out of this weakness (88), however much we change with time (122f.)⁹

CUSTOM is another distorting agent. We are creatures of habit. What we call principles of our nature are really only principles of habit. Habit is indeed "second nature", replacing the first. Perhaps nature itself is only a *first* custom (93). There's nothing you can't render matter of nature, and nothing natural you can't undo again (94). We regard as correct what we are accustomed to hear praised, and even our calling in life is apt to be determined by local custom (97). We are also biased by *selflove*. It is the

⁸ Pascal gives numerous other illustrations, some of which we should refer primarily to other causes—mental association, taste, nerves or *suggestion* (cf. 536).

⁹ Other principles of error are ingrained prejudice, charm of novelty, sickness and self interest.

nature of our "me" to love only itself (100). It is hateful, being wrong in making itself the centre of all, and noxious to others in wanting to subject them to itself (455). Though full of faults and wretchedness, it covets to be the object of other's love and esteem. Hence we try to conceal our real self from ourselves as well as others (404, 400), and labour incessantly to adorn and preserve our imaginary self (147). One evidence of self-love is the fact that we have to be so "round about" in reproving other's faults, and that no one speaks to our face as he does behind our back (100). If all knew what they say one of another, there would not be four friends left in the world (101). Out of self-love, again, we contrive always to be proud of ourselves, and so provide a counterweight to all our woes (407, 405). Commonly we desire knowledge only to get ourselves talked about (152). Though it is only the acts done in secret that are truly estimable (159), yet all men, from cooks to philosophers, desire admirers; "even I who write this may have the same envy" (150). People are ready even to die for fame (156). DIVERSION is merely an escape from misery. Most intolerable to man is it to be in a state of inactivity: he broods on his troubles, present or future, and is plunged into *ennui* or even despair. (139). We are even so wretched that we are *ennui'd* by natural constitution, yet so vain that even a game of ball is sufficient to divert us. It is to be noted that the diversion consists not in the prize, but the excitement of the chase—the gamble, not the money won. At the same time, there survives in us a secret instinct that happiness is to be found only in repose; so we seek repose in agitation. But all our diversions have fatal defects; they come from without us, and hence are liable to be disturbed by a thousand chances (170). And finally, there awaits us death. "The last act is a scene of blood, however fair be the comedy in all the rest; a little earth is thrown at last on our head, and that's all of it for ever" (210).

All these foibles issue in many *contrarities*. Man is by turns credulous and incredulous, timid and rash (125), dependent, with a craving for independence, etc. Everyone has fancies of what is good that are contrary to his own good (106). The world is vain, but unconscious of its vanity (161); weak, but not amazed at its weakness (374). People take pride in their professions of humility (377). In health we worry through apprehension of deprivations that we don't feel when the sickness comes (109)¹⁰. Yet all these contrarities, says Pascal, are what have soonest brought me to the true religion (424). To be true, it must explain to us these astonishing contrarities (430). A. J. D. FARRER.

¹⁰ Other examples, 104, 136, 172, 109, *fin*.

To be continued.

A Scottish Baptist Centenary.

NO year since the Reformation is so interesting in Scottish Ecclesiastical history as the year 1843. The most stirring event, of course, was the Disruption, when, at the end of a ten years' conflict on the subject of patronage, over 400 ministers and a vast company of elders walked out of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland to assert the right of the Church to appoint its own ministers. This spectacle of 476 ministers sacrificing their livings for the sake of a principle became the topic which dominated over all other events in that day, and compelled the admiration of Christian people throughout the world.

This was on the 18th May. On the same day, at Kilmarnock, the Evangelical Union was constituted, the Rev. James Morison and his colleagues having been expelled from the Secession Church. In this instance the cause of the division was doctrinal. The Morisonians, as they were called, held to the belief in a Gospel of universal effectiveness as opposed to the widely accepted Calvinism. It is also worthy of note that the expelled brethren abandoned the presbyterian form of Church Government and adopted a congregational polity.

To these two centenaries there is to be added one of interest to Baptists. In the Kirkgate Chapel at Cupar, Fife, on July 5th and 6th the first Baptist Union of Scotland met for the first time to review the situation as it faced the denomination in Scotland, and to formulate plans for the further advancement of the cause.

There was ample justification for such a review. The work of the Haldanes was now almost completed. Robert had died on 12th December, 1842, in his 79th year, and was laid to rest in Glasgow Cathedral. His brother James continued his beneficent work till 1851, when he passed away at the age of 83. Under the guidance, and by the most generous financial help of the Haldane brothers, the cause of evangelical religion had been given a new lease of life in Scotland, and there were evangelical groups in every corner of the land, where, when they had begun their labours fifty years before, there was little else but Moderatism and Socinianism. The Haldanes fought the question of the right of Christian men to express themselves whether they were ordained or not. They were ardent supporters of Missions, Robert having been greatly influenced by the despatches of Carey from India. Being thwarted in their desire to become missionaries themselves, the brothers threw their wealth and energies into the revival of religion in their homeland, and

created an amazing organisation for equipping Scotland with a great team of evangelists. Until 1808 the Congregationalists received the main benefit of their labours. Thereafter, the Baptists were placed heavily in their debt.

There was, of course, previous to, and concurrent with, the Haldane movement, the Scotch Baptist Church witnessing to the principle of believers' baptism, and emphasizing the need of New Testament study, but by 1843 the force of this movement was almost spent.

In 1843 there were about 90 Baptist groups in Scotland, with some 5,500 members, these being in the main gathered in fairly small churches. About 30 of them had a membership of under 50, and some were very small indeed.

As a denomination, then, we were showing little signs of progressiveness. The curse of an extreme independency militated against co-operative effort and may be fairly judged to be one of the important factors which influenced adversely the progress of the denomination. The Congregationalists had shown a better organising ability, the Congregational Union having been founded in 1812.

Two societies had been founded among the Baptists. There was the Baptist Home Missionary Society created, in 1827, out of two existing societies and employing agents ranging in numbers from 20 to 30. James Haldane acted as secretary and principal supporter, and the Society did excellent itinerating work in the Highlands and Lowlands.

In 1835 a Scotch Baptist Association was formed, "It having been long felt", as the Minute Book of the Society puts it, "by many individuals and Churches of the Baptist denomination of Christians in Scotland that it was of much importance that this section of the Church of Christ should be more united and consequently more efficient." Fourteen Churches joined the Association and seven others gave a qualified approval. But from the beginning this Association was hindered by the lack of enthusiasm on the part of the larger churches, and its continuance was always difficult. The Minutes disclose a rather hand to mouth existence.

The dawn of a better day came in 1842 when Francis Johnston was called to Cupar from Carlisle, and put all his fine ability and rare enthusiasm into the work of reviving Baptist life in Scotland. Johnston was a man of singular gifts. He had erudition and preaching power. No one could doubt his gifts of leadership. Hence the Association decided in 1842 to change its name to that of "The Baptist Union of Scotland" and requested Johnston to prepare a paper on "the best method of promoting the interest of the Baptist Denomination in Scotland"

against the next meeting, which was arranged to be held at Cupar. At this stage there were seventeen Churches affiliated to the Association, the larger Churches being still outside.

The circular letter which Francis Johnston prepared was a rousing document, penetrating in its analysis of the existing situation, and setting forth detailed plans for further expansion. It was most comprehensive in its outlook, dealing with the creation of central funds, the advocacy of evangelism and evangelists, and the training of suitable men for the ministry. As the late Mr. Percival Waugh put it "our later conceptions of denominational requirements have gone little beyond Francis Johnston's recital of them for his day."

The Minutes of the meeting at Cupar record that, as a result of this new rallying call, "The oneness of heart and soul manifested by the brethren was truly delightful, and augurs well for the increased vigour, unity and prosperity of the Baptists in Scotland. We only wish that more of our brethren, especially from the stronger churches, had been present; but we hope that the appeals of the Circular letter, and the practical plans adopted by the Union, will, under the divine blessing, bring this about another year."

But Tobias and Sanballat were busy at their work of sabotage. Despite every appeal and entreaty little came of the hopes entertained in the Minutes. The succeeding years reveal the same uphill fight for co-operation and joint progressive effort. Three reasons at least, may be assigned for this frustration.

The first was that the Home Missionary Society was suspicious. James Haldane was against such a Union of Churches as unscriptural, and his influence was still important. And his strong views on toleration made him hesitant to promote Baptist causes as such. There was no doubt about his opinions on the significance of believer's baptism, but he was happier in general evangelistic work than in the promotion of internal organisation and strength.

The second reason that may be offered is most important in the light of the theological opinions then prevalent. The Union in its publications opposed Calvinism and preached the three Universals "The Love of God to all—the Death of Christ for all—the work of the Spirit on all." This was the position which Dr. James Morison had advocated, and for which he was expelled from the Secession Church. There were some in the Union who felt this was too strong a statement of doctrine, but there is no doubt that, because these beliefs were associated with men like Johnston and Dr. Landels, the Union was associated with heresy. The way of reformers is hard.

Then, thirdly, there was the inevitable financial situation,

which on account of the small membership of the Union was always a sore trial to the principal brethren. In 1843 a Minute states "No regular effort having been made last year to obtain funds, they are as yet small, amounting only to £34 4s. 6d., out of which £10 have been voted to St. Andrews." Little could be done with such a sum. It was pitifully inadequate in the light of the proposals for advancement. But the next year showed an improvement. The treasurer was able to show £200 in the accounts.

Yet, notwithstanding the setbacks, disappointments, and frank opposition, what were the accomplishments of this first Baptist Union?

(1) The Churches in the Union were inspired to undertake greater efforts within themselves.

(2) In due course a Theological College was begun. First at the manse in Cupar, and then at Edinburgh, to which city Francis Johnston removed in 1845. The training course provided was magnificent in the light of the difficulties, and certainly better than anything that had been attempted hitherto.

(3) Periodicals were created and widely circulated. Tracts were printed to the utmost extent of the funds, and freely distributed.

(4) Churches were aided with grants to sustain a pastor. This venture of faith can scarcely be better expressed than in the resolution in the Minutes of 1844; that "should any two pastors approved by the Union, undertake, conjointly, itinerating tours in the large towns of Scotland, the Union be prepared to defray their expenses." Surely an expression of sublime confidence!

(5) Whole time evangelists were chosen and employed for the work of helping existing causes and launching new churches. By 1845 we find the Minute "The salaries of the Evangelists having been taken into account, resolved, that in the meantime, brethren Henderson and MacKay be remunerated at the rate of £100 per annum exclusive of personal travelling expenses."

Of the Churches actually launched as a result of the Union's efforts, there were two in Glasgow, and others in Edinburgh, Galashiels, Hawick and Leith. In addition, St. Andrews, Airdrie and Dunfermline can also be put down to the credit of this virile attempt to do ambitious things for the Baptist cause in Scotland.

But efforts on such a scale could not go on for ever on the resources available. The forces arrayed against the Union were too strong for it. The time was not come when the need of co-operation was so strong and widely felt that a Union was deemed a necessity. Theological differences were still decisive forces of a most formidable nature.

When Francis Johnston removed to Cambridge in January

1856, the Union lost its dominating personality, and gradually diminished in strength until it disappeared as an effective instrument in Baptist life.

Whatever else may be said for or against this admirable movement this much, at least, can be credited to its activities, that without a Haldane to support it with prestige and finance it did more for the Baptist denomination in Scotland than any of the stronger churches who stood aloof from it. How different things might have been in our land if co-operation had been seen to be essential before the formation of our present Baptist Union in 1869. And what inspiration this small but ambitious body provides for us to-day with our larger resources, greater facilities, and a more united front.

ROBERT B. HANNEN.

Two Baptist Books.

BOOKS, like human beings, may be classified by their religious allegiance. I lately bought two Baptist books which stand side by side on my shelf. Both are good Baptists, but the contrast in their appearances is intriguing. One is roughly bound in coarse brown leather, a slim volume designed to be hidden away furtively in the pocket; the other is in handsome red morocco stamped with gold—a book that would lend distinction to any shelf. The first is the apology of a Baptist suffering persecution for his conscience's sake; the second life-story of a national hero whose nobility of character did honour to his Baptist profession.

The small book, entitled *The Prisoner against the Prelate*, was written by Thomas Grantham, the energetic leader of the Lincolnshire Baptists in the time of Charles II.

Lincoln Cathedral, to us a splendid assertion of the importance of things spiritual in an age of materialism, was to Grantham a symbol of prelatival tyranny. So seriously were values reversed in his time, that the godly Baptists were lodged in gaol as a reward for their faithfulness. So Grantham, writing in doggerel verse, recounts a dialogue between the Common Gaol, representing the Baptists, and the Cathedral, representing the Anglicans. He is a doughty fighter, and attacks not only the Prelatists, but their paedobaptist allies the Papists and Presbyterians also. He carries the war into the enemy's camp. Does he rely on tradition? Then let him name one of the early fathers who was baptised in infancy, though many were children of godly parents. Take Augustine for instance . . .

Now who possession
Can claim so rightly of this holy man
(For one of their Church) as the Baptists can?

He attacks the national basis of the Anglican Church, and complains that she lacks the ornament of godly discipline. She rejects Rome, and yet has no baptism or Church-power but what she derives from Rome. Thus he concludes that she is "unbaptised and vain." Having demolished the Cathedral's claims, he proceeds to a Baptist Confession of faith in twenty-five articles—

As 'twas presented to the King's own view
Signed with forty hands, of such as own
The said confession, which hath now been shown
In most parts of this miserable nation
Whose Church doth change as th' powers have translation.

To each article is appended "the Witness of Antiquity" in

which Ambrose, Athanasius, Eusebius, Bernard, Jerome and others are quoted in favour of the propositions put forward.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of Grantham's book is the account it gives of his own church. Of the gaol worship he writes :—

I found the prisoners with erected face
To heaven, with their knees prostrate before
The Mighty God whom they did there adore
With pray'r and praises (which I understood)
And so far fervent that I gained some good
By this Devotion; . . .

The duty of churchmanship is thus set forth :—

. . . In Christ's blessed way
Men ought, without a tossing to and fro,
Continue steadfast; and these things must do,
Meet in a Church—Society together,
In the Apostles' Doctrine to consider
And call to mind in Pray'r, with breaking Bread,
Their Saviour, till He come to raise the dead.

Those whom Christ appoints as Pastors are first to be baptised members of the Church who have grown in grace and good qualifications, and have been thoroughly tried in the exercise of their gifts.

Such men the Church may chuse and them ordain
(To minister as Pastors in Christ's name)
By laying on of hands with holy prayers,
Assigning them to their respective cares,
To gather Churches, or to feed and guide them.

Deacons are also to be deputed with laying on of hands for the sacred function of the care of the Church's poor.

Grantham's farewell to the author of his persecution is this cry of defiance :—

Adieu Cathedral! Go take thy fill
Of Organ-Musick; and, sith 'tis God's will,
I'lle back to that unpleasant Cell of mine,
Where some truth's known which else would never shine
In its bright splendour: Also there our God
Doth show Himself a Father by His Rod.

The second book, which in all respects contrasts with Grantham's is J. C. Marshman's *Memoirs of Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B.* It tells of the various campaigns of this distinguished soldier who, after some forty years of little rewarded service in India, reached the pinnacle of fame by his heroic part in the relief of Lucknow, and died a national hero. Havelock was an enthusiastic soldier. He chose a military career for himself, and he chose it for his sons. The book is mainly concerned with his military prowess which is worth our consideration at a time when many of us are undertaking the unwonted responsibilities

of service life. Nevertheless, its main interest for me is in the sidelights thrown upon Havelock's character as a Christian and a Baptist. He went to India as a sincere and evangelical Anglican. Stationed in the neighbourhood of Serampore, his interest in vital Christianity led him into frequent association with Dr. Carey and his fellow missionaries. In 1829 he married Marshman's youngest daughter, Hannah. Naturally, Havelock became interested in the question of Baptism, but he found this the only topic his Serampore friends were unwilling to discuss. They considered it their mission to evangelise the heathen, not to bring Christians to the adoption of their own denominational views; however conscientiously held as a component part of gospel truth. Despite their diffidence, Havelock reached conviction of the rightness of the Baptist position, and received Baptism from John Mack in Serampore Chapel. Serampore remained a pole of attraction to him through all his long years in India. A letter to Mrs. Havelock, written in 1854, gives an account of what was probably his last visit. All the missionaries of his own generation had passed on.

"I went to the Chapel," he wrote, "and saw the monumental slab to your dear mother's memory on the same wall with that of Carey, Marshman, Ward and Mack. I read two chapters in the Bible at the table before the pulpit and prayed alone."

These words conjure up a touching picture of the old soldier standing erect before the Bible in the empty chapel with the ghostly memories of past days crowding upon him.

Havelock always tried to secure religious instruction for his men, conducting worship himself when occasion demanded. Once the opposition of his brother officers to such proceedings drew from Col. Sir Robert Sale, their Commanding Officer, the famous saying—"I know nothing about Baptists, but I know that I wish the whole regiment were Baptists, for their names are never on the defaulters' roll."

On one occasion, at least, Havelock presented a memorial to the Commander in Chief, requesting that dissenting soldiers might be exempted from compulsory attendance at the Church of England services so that they might be free to enjoy their own worship at the most convenient times. He was no bigot for, he says, he joined with delight and spiritual comfort in the prayers of the Liturgy.

His bid for spiritual freedom met with no response, but he made the best of the situation, and always tried to secure good Anglican Chaplains for his men. When besieged at Jelalabad in 1842, he wrote asking for "Eight eighteen pounders, four mortars

and a Chaplain," adding that the last "must be one who would not disdain to offer his exhortations in any kind of hut, house or tent or in the open air rather than lose his opportunity." Divine Service parades; being part of the military system, must not be neglected, but "great good is to be expected from voluntary attendance of soldiers on effective preaching."

During his last campaign he received a telegram asking whether, as no Anglican Chaplain was available, a good, moderate Papist would be acceptable. He replied "Send him up immediately." On the arrival of his new Chaplain he was delighted to meet, not a Papist—the telegraph clerk had erred—but a fellow Baptist, the Rev. John Gregson.

Both Grantham and Havelock were intensely religious men. Grantham's religion made him a rebel against established authority; Havelock's made him a very notable servant of the same. In one chance circumstance of their lives the two were alike—each found his most enduring friend in an Anglican Clergyman: Grantham in the Rev. John Connould, with whom he shares a grave within St. Stephen's Church, Norwich, and Havelock in Archdeacon Hare, an old schoolfellow of the Charterhouse.

Both men were strongly influenced by the conditions of the times in which they lived; yet in all ages there is a place for both types. Their contrasted characters illustrate the rich variety of our Baptist heritage.

C. B. JEWSON.

The Bibles and Related Books in the B.M.S. Library:

WHAT master-printer gazed with pride at its stout pages, what panting apprentice lugged the huge volume up the cobbled streets or peeped inside to find it "all Greek" to him; what eager scholar left his meal untouched to compare in his new New Testament the Syriac in Hebrew text with the better-known Greek, Latin and Hebrew? These are matters beyond our information to guess, but this we know, that this, our oldest volume in the four mentioned tongues, was published by Henry Stephens in the year 1569, and dedicated to Elizabeth, most serene Queen of England, Ireland and France. How has it been so well preserved; has it lain on shelf of College Library or in private hands? These we can only surmise, but whoever has cared for the book, it has come down to us safe, even from the ravages of savage men.

A 1611 Bible proves to be one of the last editions of a pre-authorized version, the general title-page is missing, and the book has undoubtedly been re-bound: the New Testament title-page bears the inscription "Englished by T. Thomson".

Nor know we much more of the early history of this Pentateuch that Henry Ainsworth issued with annotations in 1618-9, founding his text on a pre-James version he "confers the holy Scriptures" by comparing the Greek and Chaldee versions with testimonies of Hebrew writers, such as form the Apocrypha and Josephus, Philo and the like.

We are on surer ground in this, our fourth volume, a complete Bible of 1630, in which Thos. Snolgrove of "Hackbury" has written his name with even more sense of possession than later John Ashlin in 1821 carefully inscribed his in a new copy of that date. The title-page of the former book is missing, but the work proves to be a copy of the authorized version in old lettering with the Apocrypha, issued by the University of Cambridge, and including the Book of the Psalms with tunes in "English meeter" by Sternhold, Hopkins and others, a Concordance in which "with no small labour" but "in little roome" John Downname commends himself to the Gentle Reader as "Thine in all Christian service", but Clement Cotton "with the assistance of a constable or other officer may make search in any house, shop or warehouse where they shall suspect any infringing concordance or printing presse to be, and may deface the same"! The volume concludes with a description of Canaan and the bordering countries with a curious map.

The year 1642 has given us a *Novum Testamentum Jesu Christi, Domini Nostri*, as produced by Theodore Beza, by comparison of several interpretations, and to this he added annotations together with further work by Joachim Camerarius.

The latter half of the 17th century has passed on to us (a) a *Clavis Bibliorum* or "Key of the Bible unlocking the richest Treasury of the Holy Scriptures", issued by Francis Roberts at Wrington: is this the little Somerset village from whose kindly peace such a volume could most fitly steal? (b) a *Synopsis Criticorum aliorumque*, Vol. IV. and last, the work of Matthew Polus, a Londoner, and issued at the sign of the Angel near Fleet Street. (c) a *Biblia Sacra* of 1669, containing the Old Testament as translated by Immanuel Tremellius and Francis Junius, and the New from the Greek, but unlike the copy cited in Darlow-Moule, ours includes the Apocrypha. (d) and (e) two polyglots, one of 1669 of Joshua to Esther, and Esdras to Maccabees in Hebrew, Chaldean, Syriac with the Samaritan, Æthiopic and Arabic conjoined, and Persian separate, with grammar by Edmund Castell; unfortunately, vol. III of the four is missing. An odd volume is II of a Polyglot Bible in Hebrew, Latin Vulgate, Targum Jonathan, Chaldean and Greek, with Syriac and Arabic, each with a Latin interpretation, and the century finishes with (f) a *Theoretico-Practico Theologia*, tomus primus, by Peter van Maestricht in 1699.

In increasing number the 18th century has left us:—

- 1701 The Compleat Works of that eminent minister of God's Word, Mr. Isaac Ambrose, dedicated to the Worshipful, the Mayor, the Aldermen, and other Inhabitants of the town of Preston in Amounderness; I like Mr. Ambrose's signature, "Yours to be commanded in all Christian service".
- 1720 A Cambridge Concordance to the Holy Scriptures and Apocrypha with various readings "very accurately corrected".
- 1724 *S.S. Patrum qui in temporibus Apostolicis floruerunt*, Barnabus, Polycarp, Hermas, Ignatius, Clement; with their true and attributed works, Vol. I & II, which first saw the light at Amsterdam.
- 1733 gives us Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John by Sir Isaac Newton.
- 1735 followed two years later by a monumental work of fourteen parts in nine huge volumes in *Latynsche Taale* on the Nature Knowledge of the Old Testament, with splendid full-page illustrations, also coming to us from Amsterdam.
- 1750 The middle of the century leaves us two Roman Catholic

works : (a) four volumes of the revised Douai Old Testament with Apocrypha, and (b) the revised Rheims New Testament as translated by the English College at Rheims in 1582, newly revised and corrected according to the Clementin Edition of the Scriptures with the approbation of nine learned doctors and professors.

1753 a Hebrew Concordance adapted to the English Bible by John Taylor of Norwich, two volumes.

1762 Eight years later a new step is taken in a Hebrew-English Lexicon of the Old Testament.

1772 gives us two works, an Oxford Bible, and the eighth edition of Matthew Henry's Exposition of Old and New Testaments. The end of the eighteenth century gave us :—(a) a Biblia Sacra, vulgata editionis, blessed by Sixtus V and Clement VIII, and printed at the Colonia Agrippina, and another Holy Bible in the English tongue.

Of the nineteenth century books a mere list must suffice :—

1804 Holy Bible with Apocrypha, an "argument" to each book and notes "theological, practical, critical and explanatory" : published at Kidderminster and not listed by Darlow-Moule.

1806 the third edition, two volumes of The Self-interpreting Bible of Haddington, and a copy of the sixth edition, two volumes, of the same work (1815), followed by an illustrated edition with numerous coloured pictures "in oil".

1810 gave us Scott's Bible containing Old and New Testaments with explanatory notes and marginal references in five volumes, followed seventeen years later by a Comprehensive Bible with parallel passages from Scott, Comies, Brown's self-interpreting, Clarke's Commentary, and the English Version of Bagster's Polyglot.

As the culmination of this trend we may take the

1843 Bible with 20,000 emendations, compiled from over 300 authorities of many tongues, but the modest anonymous compiler denies that all the credit of this task is due to him. The emendations are often quite inconspicuous, a word or so making the sense clearer. Much of the literature part of the Old Testament is arranged in poetic form, and the book could be used as a pulpit Bible without the jarring effect which modern forms have on many of the lovers of the "authorised" version : the verses are grouped in paragraphs, and the unfortunate chapter divisions are obscured ; "charity" becomes "love", and "we see through a glass obscurely" ; the book is the work of thirty years.

Bibles of 1813, 21, 23, 56, and 1869.

Pictorial Bibles of 1855 and one with splendid reproductions of Dore's illustrations and a Paragraph Bible of 1845 call for no special comment.

The American versions are one issued at Philadelphia in 1842 which contains the English (Authorised) version "carefully revised and amended by seven Biblical scholars" (of no stated standard), and a three-version edition of parts of the Bible with Authorised, Greek, and a revised in parallel columns, issued at New York in 1858.

This brings us to the Revised New Testament of 1881, and a Scotch version of 1882, with the Metrical Psalms.

In the more recent editions we are singularly deficient, and it remains for our generation to maintain the succession with copies of, at least, Moffatt, Weymouth and the Basic English; we have been promised a gift of Welsh Bibles. So shall this splendid series of treasured versions of the Book at the centre of all our purpose be maintained with a continuity which is surpassed rarely in any of our small libraries.

E. H. SELWOOD.

Notes on the Early Editions of "Grace Abounding."

JOHN BUNYAN'S *Grace Abounding* has been produced in so many editions that it would be an unenviable task to deal with them beyond the eighteenth century. Even in the year 1804 a 50th edition appeared. It has always been the "runner up" of *The Pilgrim's Progress*; and justly so, for both works are autobiographical and complementary one to the other, each in its own way depicting the author's spiritual growth and experiences.¹ After Bunyan had written *Grace Abounding* (and the Account of his Imprisonment) he set aside some other book upon which he was engaged—unquestionably *The Heavenly Footman*—the forecast of the Pilgrim story which henceforward absorbed his attention; for, evidently satisfied as to its inferiority, Bunyan allowed *The Heavenly Footman* to remain in manuscript until Charles Doe acquired and printed it in 1698, ten years after its author's death.

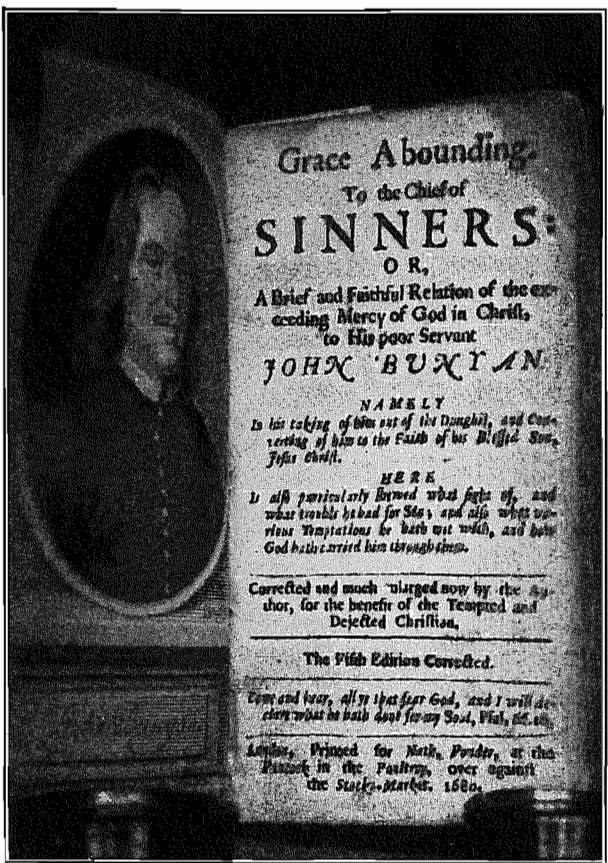
Grace Abounding was first published in 1666, although Bunyan certainly wrote it in the early days of his first imprisonment, that is, between 1660 and 1666—in which latter year he had a brief respite from prison, after which he was reincarcerated for a further six years, until 1672. During this second period *The* called for".² And yet, up to the present time (1943) only three books in those years are known to have come from his pen. In the first six years he wrote, and had printed, six books and two broadsheets.

Bunyan having thus employed the earlier part of his imprisonment by recalling his life experiences and recounting his own Trial, it is not surprising that his sympathisers eagerly bought up the copies of the first edition of *Grace Abounding*: perhaps to an extent which justifies the unverified statement that it "at once became popular, and the year of its issue saw several editions called for".² And yet, up to the present time (1943) only three copies of the "first" are extant: two in America, and one—not quite perfect—in the British Museum.³ Before this last named

¹ Professor J. W. Mackail acknowledges *Grace Abounding* to be "the greatest of all spiritual autobiographies."—"The Pilgrim's Progress; A Lecture delivered at the Royal Institution . . . London: Longmans, 1924."

² Canon Venables, in "Bunyan: *The Pilgrim's Progress, Grace Abounding, etc.*"—Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879, p. li.

³ P.M. C 37. d. 53. According to George Offor, this copy at one time belonged to a Mr. Sherring. Offor notes the pp. missing. (B.M., P.M. 4411. cc. 22).



Grace Abounding
To the Chief of
SINNERS:
O R,

A Brief and Faithful Relation of the exceeding Mercy of God in Christ, to His poor Servant

JOHN BUNYAN.

N A M E L Y

In his taking of him out of the Dungeon, and Converting of him to the Faith of his Blessed Son, Jesus Christ.

H E R E

Is also particularly Express'd what signs of, and what troubles he had for Sin, and also what various Temptations he hath met with, and how God hath tried him through them.

Corrected and much enlarged now by the Author, for the benefit of the Tempted and Dejected Christian.

The Fifth Edition Corrected.

Come and hear, all ye that fear God, and I will declare what he hath done for my Soul, Psalm, lxxviii.

London, Printed for Nath. Ponder, at the Picture in the Parson, over against the Stocks-Market. 1680.

copy was found by the late Henry Stevens, in 1883, none of the first edition had come to light.

As the original issue of *Grace Abounding* sold so readily, its scarcity is somewhat amazing. But that some of its copies and unbound sheets might have perished in the Great Fire of 1666 is not improbable, for it is stated that Bunyan's shared the fate of innumerable other books.⁴

After the first, which was octavo, most of the early editions of *Grace Abounding* were duodecimo. The "first" came from the press of George Larkin. That someone else was responsible for the subsequent edition (or editions) is highly probable, for Larkin—a young man of four and twenty, and only just established in business as a publisher "and perhaps printer",⁵—had (in 1668) run amok of the law, from the difficulties of which he was not entirely extricated until 1683. As the Term Catalogues do not begin before 1668, no second edition of *Grace Abounding* is therein recorded, nor is an existing copy known. It is therefore not possible to conjecture its publisher's name. A third edition, however, is represented by a single copy now in the Pierpont Morgan Library at New York. This was registered in the Trinity Term Catalogue for 1679, under the caption "Reprinted". This might mean either an entirely fresh issue, or the repetition of an earlier "third." It would be helpful to establish the certainty of the case, because the copy here mentioned does not contain expected paragraphs which, from its date, should be included, because to Bunyan's original text are added, in the Pierpont Morgan copy of this "third", no less than fifty-six extra paragraphs or sections; and to the fifth edition (1680) still further sections are inserted, making a total of sixty-seven. These extra paragraphs to the first edition are 12 and 13; 33 and 34; 130 and 131. Those from 310 to 317 are devoted to the author's claims for personal chastity, as Bunyan had, in 1674, experienced an ordeal of persecution over an episode in connexion with a Church member, Agnes Beaumont.⁶ It was a clear case of calumny, mainly brought about through malevolent religious intolerance and jealousy on the part of a parish priest; so it therefore seems incredible that Bunyan should have allowed the infamous charge to remain unchallenged for five years;—and yet the sections of *Grace Abounding* justifying his innocence are not found in the extant, undated, third edition of 1679. The second edition, if issued (as has been assumed) prior to 1674, could not have included these

⁴ See *The McAlpin Coll. of Brit. Hist. and Theology*. Vol. VII., No. 2, Jan. 1924.

⁵ Plomer's *Booksellers and Printers, 1668-1725*. (Bibliog. Soc. 1922).

⁶ See *The Narrative of the Persecution of Agnes Beaumont*, ed. by G. B. Harrison. London: Constable, n.d.

latest added paragraphs; but they may reasonably have appeared in the missing fourth edition whose date and publisher are unknown. This then leads to the conjecture that the 1679 third edition was but a reprint of its earlier form, issued (or re-issued) by Francis Smith.

As the text of *Grace Abounding* is comprised of numbered sections or paragraphs, it is interesting to note that the first (1666) edition has one (127) repeated, and one (161) lacking. The final paragraph is 272. The third edition (1679) contains 322 paragraphs, with an additional six as "Conclusion"; whereas in the fifth (1680) the number of section 73 is skipped over; so the total of the sections in the fifth—as well as in the sixth, seventh, and eighth editions,—instead of being 340, as numbered, should be 339. The wonder is that the incorrect numberings were not rectified in these later printings. They appear correct in the eighteenth century and subsequent issues.

The early editions of *Grace Abounding* are far more scarce and not so easily definable as are those of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, there being, as already stated, only three copies of the First, one of the Third, none of the Second and Fourth, and but two of the (1680) Fifth. So from the first edition onwards difficulties arise as to what—if any—intermediate printings there were. Doe reckoned, in 1698, that the book had been printed seven times⁷: an appropriate estimate, as two of the eighth editions are—one, undated, (?1693), and the other, dated, 1695.

The earliest of editions of *Grace Abounding* as at present established, may be thus classified: 1st, 1666; 2nd (queried by the B.M. 1672); 3rd ("Reprinted" 1679); 4th (queried by the B.M. 1680); 5th, 1680; another 5th, 1685, and apparently a further 5th, 1686; 6th 1688 (the year of John Bunyan's death) an unnumbered edition, 1691; 7th, four issues, two printed for Robert Ponder, 1692, another 1695, and a fourth (Robert Ponder) 1698⁸; 8th n.d. (?1693), 1695, and 1701; 9th (with crude portrait of the author) 1716; followed by three 10ths in 1726, 1759, and 1764. Between these 10ths is an unnumbered edition dated 1734.⁹ The 11th of 1761 overlaps the 12th (with portrait of "John Bunnyan") of 1749, whilst another 12th (with the "sleeping" portrait) is dated 1771. These were followed by two 13ths, one in 1776, and the other in 1778. Unspecified editions

⁷ A Chronological List of Bunyan's Works, "Printed by Charles Doe," as an Appendix to *The Heavenly Footman*, 1698. (See Brown's *John Bunyan: His Life, Times and Works*, 1928 edn., p. 469.)

⁸ The only known copy of this edn. is in the collection of the late Sir Leicester Harmsworth, Bart.

⁹ The second edition of Doe's Folio (1692) contains *Grace Abounding* and was issued in 1736-7. The work appears also in the Third Folio, of 1767-8. It was not included in the 1692 issue.

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J O H N B U N Y A N.

Wherein is particularly shewed, The manner of his Conversion, his fight and trouble for Sin, his dreadful Temptations, & also how he departed of Gods Mercy, and how the Lord at length through Christ, did deliver him from all the guilt and terrour that lay upon him.

All which was written by his own hand, and now
published for the support of the weak and
tempted People of God.

The Third Edition, Corrected and much enlarged
by the Author.

*Come and hear, all ye that fear God, and I will declare
what he hath done for my soul, Psal. 66. 16.*

London, Printed for F. Smith at the Elephant and
Castle near the Royal Exchange in Cornhill,
At its Bound.

bear the following dates: 1762, 1771, 1775, 1778, (?1780), and 1785. A 14th edition was issued in 1791, but no 15th has as yet been recorded. The 16th is queried as 1799. Two Leeds editions were published, one in 1792, and the other in 1798. With these exceptions, all the above enumerated editions were issued from London. They were interspersed by a few from Scotland and Ireland: one a "6th", printed by Robert Sanders of Glasgow, in 1697, and an "8th" from Edinburgh in 1707. There were also editions from Glasgow in 1735, 1745, (1750), 1755 and 1758, followed by a "14th" in 1791, and, in the same year, by another "Printed for the Booksellers". One edition came from Berwick in 1760, and one from Belfast (c. 1731).

The scanty information at present available gives the earliest known American editions as having been printed at Boston in 1717, from whence issued also a "10th" in 1729, and a "13th" in 1732. These were followed by unnumbered editions in 1735, 1739, and 1791; whilst two were published in New York in 1794 and 1797. The numberings of the Boston issues are difficult to understand, unless other American editions have yet to be discovered; or else perhaps that an attempt was made to follow up the English numberings.

The first "foreign" edition of *Grace Abounding* was printed in Amsterdam in 1689. French, Welsh, and other translations began to appear in the early part of the nineteenth century.

Many of the eighteenth century productions of *Grace Abounding* were slovenly printed as chapbooks, and too often there were deletions either through careless editing or by deliberate intention. In fact, the text of the book became grossly mutilated as the editions proceeded: especially noticeable are the typographical and punctuation discrepancies; most of which have since been remedied.

The accompanying reproductions of the title pages of the three earliest known editions of *Grace Abounding* form an interesting study. That of the First (1666) does not comply with Moxon's statement that "A good *Compositer* is ambitious . . . to make his Work shew graceful to the Eye"¹⁰ The undue emphasis of certain words thereon is noticeably changed in the Third and Fifth editions. Larkin, as before suggested, was an apparent novice in the art of printing. Speed of production could not alone account for his crude set out.¹¹ Francis Smith's title page of the Third edition is more distinctive; but the "fifth" (1680)—the first known edition to bear the imprint of Nathaniel Ponder

¹⁰ Moxon, sec. xxii, numb. xv, par. 5. (*The Library*, Vol. XXII, No. 1, 1941, p. 57.)

¹¹ Bunyan's title pages were invariably well displayed, despite the XVIIth century verbiage.

is a still more satisfying display; and the book is, of all the available early editions, the choicest, being a dainty little volume, carefully printed, with an engraved portrait of Bunyan by John Sturt. The last seven paragraphs, forming the "Conclusion", are condensed in smaller types to bring the text within the allotted number of sheets. The sixth edition (1688), also with a portrait, is a creditable production. This, too, was issued by Nathaniel Ponder, as was also the unnumbered edition in 1691. Lamentable deterioration in production is found in the two "sevenths" of 1692, which bear the name of Robert Ponder—assumably Nathaniel's son. The author, John Bunyan, had passed to his rest: Nathaniel Ponder was in straitened circumstances, and the book was still in demand. These 1692 "sevenths" began the downward grade. Typographically, these two editions are page for page almost identical, but what is evidently the second issue shows some variations in word spacing, and italics displace roman capitals, indicating hasty printing with letters borrowed from other formes. The exact resemblance of nearly every page denotes that only in parts was there a resetting of type. The continuation of John Bunyan's "life", which supplements the seventh edition, is of unidentified authorship.

Nathaniel Ponder's own name ceases its connexion with *Grace Abounding* with an edition (?1695) which is stated to be "Printed for N. Ponder, and are to be sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster". By this time he had fallen on evil days, and he died in 1699. There was one other edition, evasively described as "Printed for W. P.[onder] and are to be sold by Nat. Ponder"—at his bookstall in London Yard.

Grace Abounding is a worthy English classic. It has been appropriately described as "primarily emotional: really a bit of a man's innermost heart."¹² In a word, *Grace Abounding*, from its spiritual, as well as from its literary aspect, is succinctly summed up by one of its commentators—"Austere words lie closest to stern realities".

FRANK MOTT HARRISON.

¹² John C. Foster, in *Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society*, Vol. IV, 1914-15.

GRACE

Abounding to the chief of Sinners :

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Of the Exceeding Mercy of God in Christ,
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JOHN BUNTAN.

Wherein is particularly shewed, The manner of his Conversion, his fight and trouble for Sin, his Dreadful Temptations, also how he despaired of Gods mercy, and how the Lord at length thorow Christ did deliver him from all the guilt and terrour that lay upon him.

Whereunto is added,

A brief Relation of his Call to the Work of the Ministry, of his Temptations therein, as also what he hath met with in Prison.

All which was written by his own hand there, and now published for the support of the weak and tempted People of God.

Come and hear, all ye that fear God; and I will declare what he hath done for my soul, Psal. 66. 16.

L O N D O N :

Printed by George Larkin. 1666.

Early Days at Worstead.

JAMES PUNTIS, in his *Brief Memoirs of John Rix Blakely*, gives the following account of the origin of the Worstead Church. "It originated in the secession of some of the members of the General Baptist Church then existing at Smallburgh, a village four miles from Worstead. . . . It is evident that the separation took place in a most amicable manner from the occasional notices which occur in the Church Book . . . of a friendly connection with the parent church. . . . There is reason to believe that the persons who seceded were a considerable majority of the Church at Smallburgh, as the number . . . appears to have been about one hundred and twenty."

The original Worstead Church Book, commenced in 1717, was later copied by J. R. Blakely. This second book has entries in it made by James Puntis, so that evidently his information was derived in part from that copy which proved misleading.

There is no known confirmation of the statement concerning the secession from Smallburgh, though it is possibly correct, but the original Church Book shows that the list of 120 names to which James Puntis refers contains those of members received as late as 1740, and the actual number of original members cannot be ascertained, and may possibly have been no more than thirty. Nor is it possible from the Church Book to draw any conclusion as to whether the presumed separation in 1717 was made in a friendly manner or not, as the only point of contact recorded shows that a Worstead Church Meeting was held at Smallburgh nearly sixteen years later.

The first Church Book begins with a statement of Faith, and an account of a Church Meeting on December 4th, 1717. The statement is interesting, and may show some connection with the Smallburgh Church. Three points are enumerated: (1) Personal Election; (2) Final Perseverance of the Saints; and (3) the doctrine of Christ as set forth in Hebrews chapter vi. verses 1 and 2, that is, repentance from dead works, faith towards God, the doctrine of baptisms, of laying on of hands, of the resurrection of the dead, and of eternal judgment. Thomas Grantham, who founded the General Baptist Churches at Norwich, Great Yarmouth, King's Lynn, and Smallburgh, laid great stress on the six points of doctrine enumerated in these verses, and probably his influence is indirectly represented in the Worstead statement. It is thought, however, that the Worstead

Church was from the start a Particular Baptist Church, accepting Calvinistic teaching as the General Baptists accepted Arminian teaching, and that the separation from the Smallburgh Church was on account of this doctrinal difference.

Richard Culley's name heads the list of members who subscribed to the articles of faith. On the same day (December 4th, 1717) the book records that "Brother Richard Culley was chosen as Elder over the Church meeting in Worstead by general consent of the whole Church, resolving through grace to serve them in the office of an elder, even till death." Five deacons were appointed, and they, with Richard Culley, were ordained by the laying on of hands. Four other members were chosen deacons "on probation."

Little is known of Richard Culley's ministry. A late entry in the Church Book records the baptism of Isaac Temple in 1830, and this is followed by an account of the baptism of his grandmother in 1727. It states that Mrs. Temple was so ill with a cancer in her breast that the surgeon, Mr. Faircloth of North Walsham, despaired of her recovery. Mr. Culley, seeing her situation, hesitated to baptise her, fearing it might be reported he was the occasion of her death. The surgeon said that there was no hope of her recovery, and told Mr. Culley he would take the responsibility of the action upon himself. Mrs. Temple persisted in her resolution to be baptised, and the ice had to be broken for her. To the great surprise of herself and her friends she recovered of her disorder, and lived three years after she was baptised, and then died of the smallpox.

The first Meeting House was built by Richard Culley, and originally may have been a barn. There exists a copy of an undated "agreement amongst the Brethren at Worstead . . . over which our beloved brother, Richard Culley, is Pastor, concerning building a convenient Meeting House." £45 11s. was promised, including £5 from Richard Culley, and 5s. from his son, John. It is believed that the Meeting House was re-built in 1730, and that this agreement was made just prior to that date; but, if so, Richard Culley did not see its completion, as he died in 1729. The new Meeting House, like its predecessor, was a small, thatched building.

A tombstone in the old burial ground has this inscription: "Here lieth the remains of Sarah, the widow of Samuel Chapman, who departed this life on March 7th, 1760. Aged 45. She was the only daughter of Mr. Richard Culley, who purchased this burying ground and erected the Meeting House, and faithfully preached the gospel therein as long as he lived. His son Titus succeeded him." The meaning of the last statement is uncertain.

In 1732 a number of members, including John Culley, entered into an agreement for the support of the ministry. In the same year Thomas Bennet was received into membership. As he signed the minutes he was probably the second pastor of the Church. He was possibly the Thomas Bennet who was sent into the ministry in 1724 by the Church at Great Ellingham, when John Miller was pastor.

In 1733 one of the Church Meetings was held at Smallburgh. Why, we do not know, but it is evident that any ill-feeling which may have existed when the separation took place in 1717, had passed. Thomas Bennet did not remain long at Worstead, as he is not mentioned after November 1734. Possibly he went on to Birmingham to become the first pastor of the Cannon Street Church which was founded about 1738.

The Worstead Church was destitute of a pastor in 1736, and held it "necessary for a pastor of a sister church to break bread among us."

The year 1737 is noteworthy in the Church's history, for in December of that year both Titus Culley and Edward Trivett were baptised. If Titus Culley exercised any oversight of the Church, as the inscription on his sister's tombstone suggests, it must have been between 1737 and 1742, but we have no information. Possibly he did, as about that time he removed from Swanton Abbot to North Walsham where he would not be far from the Worstead church.

It was *Edward Trivett* who was destined to exercise a truly great ministry. Born in December 1712, he had possibly known the Church from boyhood. The name of Martha Trivett, who may have been his mother, is found on the list of members at the Church's beginning in 1717. On February 10th, 1734-5 he married Sarah Whall in Dilham Church, and settled down in that village, where his eldest son, Robert, was born on Christmas Day, 1735. With his baptism, at the age of twenty-five, Edward Trivett's close association with the Church at Worstead began, and shortly afterwards he must have moved to Worstead, for his second child, Sarah, was born there on October 4th, 1740.

Edward Trivett's ministry probably began early in 1742, as on July 24th of that year he records his first baptism. "This day as helpt by the Lord baptised Mary Watts, being the first time I ever was employed in such work. May God bless my poor labours and small beginning with abundant success to the glory of His own Name, and good of poor souls is what I beg for Christ's sake." A prayer which was wonderfully answered.

The date of Edward Trivett's ordination is unknown, but Simmons, of Beccles, gave the charge to the pastor from Acts xx. 28; and John Stearn, of Norwich, addressed the people from

1 Thessalonians v. 12-13. As John Stearn did not settle in Norwich before 1743, it cannot have been before then.

Reference has been made to the influence of Thomas Grantham. In his view all Churches should be modelled on the lines of the Jerusalem Church, with three orders of ministry—messengers or apostles, elders, and deacons,—and he regarded himself as an apostle to plant and settle new churches. Though Edward Trivett was a very different man from Thomas Grantham, both in character and outlook, yet it would appear that in this regard the mantle of the General Baptist Apostle must have fallen on the Worstead minister, for though nominally an elder, his influence in many churches was far greater than that of Thomas Grantham. Fifty years after his settlement in Worstead a list of Particular Baptist Ministers in the British Isles was published in America. The eleven ministers in Norfolk included Edward Trivett himself, and five whom he had ordained; besides which a number in other counties had also been ordained by him. Several of the churches had been directly founded by his effort.

It is a pity we know so little about this notable ministry. The Church Book records the names of 391 who were baptised or received into the Church—a fine record for 50 years in such an isolated country spot. It also records the names of Deacons, who, after a period of probation, were ordained by the laying on of hands, and a list of those who were sent out to preach the Gospel by Edward Trivett. The list includes the names of *William Cole*—the first minister of the new Church founded at Great Yarmouth by Edward Trivett in 1762. William Cole remained there until 1768, when he went on to Long Buckby in Northamptonshire, and was pastor there until 1794; *Alexander Sparkhall*, who ministered at Ingham from 1764 to 1774, and then took up the work at Great Gransden, in Hunts; *Timothy Keymer*, a woolcomber from Worstead, who was at Great Gransden from 1755 until he died in 1771; *Thomas Purdy*, who married Edward Trivett's eldest daughter, Sarah, and was minister at Rye, in Sussex, from 1765. He was regarded as the leader of the Calvinists in that area, and took a chief part in founding a new Association of Particular Baptist Churches for Kent and Sussex in 1779. He died at Rye in 1817; *Jabez Brown*, who succeeded William Cole at Yarmouth in 1768, and was later at Stowmarket, Suffolk, from 1797 to 1825; *Zenas Trivett*, Edward's youngest son, whose forty year ministry at Langham, Essex, from 1778 to 1819 was the brightest period in the whole chequered history of that Church, which has since become extinct. Zenas Trivett published several booklets, ordained several ministers,—one at least from Langham Church—and was directly concerned in forming other churches. Late in life he returned to the member-

ship at Worstead, and took a great interest in the work at Bacton, being largely responsible for "settling" the Church there; *Robert Gaze* was sent out to preach at the same time as Zenas Trivett, but nothing is known of his later life; *John Webster Morris*, who was at Clipstone, Northamptonshire, in 1785, and was one of the men who founded the Baptist Missionary Society, and served it in its early days. He was the biographer of Robert Hall and Andrew Fuller and devoted the later years of his life to writing and publishing; *Robert Denham*, the minister at East Dereham from 1789 to 1796. This Church had been founded in 1784 largely through the influence of Edward Trivett; *Charles Farmery*, who himself founded the Church at Diss, and whose ministry there lasting from 1788 to 1800, was wonderfully blessed of God. In little over ten years he baptised 287 persons, formed five new churches, certified eleven places for village preaching, and sent seven men into the ministry—a truly remarkable record. The last to be sent out by Edward Trivett was *John Ewing*, who was at Great Ellingham from 1790 to 1805, but *Francis Brown*, whom he had baptised, was sent out by the Church after his death, and became pastor at Hailsham, Sussex, in 1795, and, in addition, *Thomas Smith*, who had been converted through the preaching of Thomas Purdy was ordained by Edward Trivett in 1765 as pastor of a new church at Shelfanger. It will be seen that directly and indirectly Edward Trivett exercised a considerable influence in many churches. It was largely through his effort that the first Norfolk and Suffolk Baptist Association was formed in 1769. The original members were Worstead, Claxton, Shelfanger, and Yarmouth, in Norfolk, and Wattisham and Woolverstone, in Suffolk. Worstead often entertained this Association, and continued for a long time to occupy a leading place in its work. It was not very successful at first, but later did much valuable service for the Churches.

In 1770 Edward Trivett published a book in Norwich, entitled, *Baptists vindicated from some groundless and false charges*.

A note in the *Baptist Record* of 1790, refers to Edward Trivett as "the worthy, laborious, useful, and aged servant of God." He died on June 23rd, 1792, at the age of eighty, having been a member of the Church for 55 years, and pastor for over 50 years. "His labours were eminently successful . . . and he went down to the grave full of days and honours." He was buried in the old Chapel Yard.

Edward Trivett had seven children, and it is noteworthy that members, both of his family, and that of Richard Culley, continued to take a real interest in the Church after the death of their fathers. Zenas Trivett's death on October 4th, 1831, is

recorded in the register with the following remarks: "The last of the family of Edward Trivett. For many years a faithful preacher of the gospel. The last of the Sabbatarians at Worstead." What connection there was between Worstead and Seventh-day Baptists is unknown, but it is interesting that Edward Trivett's successor came from a Seventh-day Baptist Church. This was *James Freeman Beard* from Woodbridge, in Suffolk. After Edward Trivett's death the Revs. Wilks, Kinghorn, and Gibbs, of Norwich, paid occasional visits—the city ministers thus encouraging their brethren in the country. Jabez Brown, of Yarmouth, also exercised a certain oversight of the Church, and received Mr. and Mrs. Beard into membership on October 9th, 1793. Mr. Beard was ordained in April of the following year, when John Hitchcock of Wattisham gave the charge to the pastor from 1 Timothy iv. 16, and Jabez Brown addressed the people from Ephesians ii. 19.

James Freeman Beard conducted his first baptismal service at Worstead on January 8th, 1794. Concerning it he wrote: "This day having obtained help from the Lord, I baptised Frances Ramsdel and Hannah Barber, being the first time I ever administered this ordinance. May the Lord of the harvest accept the first fruits, and send us a plentiful harvest to the glory of His own name, and the present and eternal welfare of precious souls, is the prayer of the most unworthy." His ministry was greatly blessed, and in 1798 the Church reported 188 members to the Association meeting at East Dereham. Owing to distance, the Church withdrew from the Association the next year, but its interest in the work of other churches did not decrease.

One who was greatly influenced by Mr. Beard's ministry was Sophia Cubitt, a daughter of William Cubitt, a farmer of Neatishead, and a half-sister of William Cubitt who started the Baptist work there. She has left us an interesting account of the baptism of her two older sisters, Charlotte and Maria, and herself at Worstead. "On Wednesday, 8th March, 1797, my two sisters and I were baptised in a brook just by the meeting. As it was a fast day, a large congregation were present; and as the church meetings were open to the congregation, we had to speak our experience before a great many people. I heard that a person was converted by hearing one of the experiences that day, praise God." The girl was then about 18 years old. She had probably never before spoken in public, and the congregation would have numbered over 400 persons. Of her sisters' witness Sophia wrote: "Charlotte spoke nicely, and Maria better than I." The value of these open confessions of faith in Christ can be partly estimated by the fact that sixty years later there were some living who remembered Charlotte's testimony, and described it as

astonishing in its fulness and clearness. The account continues : " A large concourse attended our baptism, and a clergyman who lived near, happening to pass at the time, was heard to say, ' Poor deluded young women ! ' But we rejoiced to be counted worthy to suffer shame for His name, who said, ' Suffer it to be so now, for thus it becometh us to fulfil all righteousness.' On the Lord's day following, we were received into the Church." Sophia later married Samuel Cooke, whose first wife had been her sister Maria. He was a miller of Stalham, and a Deacon of the Church at Ingham, which Church she joined.

J. F. Beard continued in the pastorate until the year 1811. During his ministry about 127 persons were baptised, and in 1800 the Church sent out *Thomas Gibbs* to preach the gospel. It is not known where he went. Possibly he died young, as a *Thomas Gibbs* died in 1802 at Smallburgh, at the age of twenty-four, having been eleven years a member of the Church. Mr. Beard removed to Ipswich, thence to Scarborough, where he died.

It would appear that two years passed before the vacancy was filled. In 1811 the Registers were signed by John Webster Morris, who was apparently helping the Church during the interim. That same year Joseph Kinghorn, of Norwich, in a letter to John Sutcliff, of Olney, referred to Worstead as a " highly Calvinistic Church with membership 150 (hearers about 400). Salary 60 guineas, and a house with $\frac{3}{4}$ acre of land."

In the year 1813 *Richard Clark*, of Shaldon, in Devonshire, was recognised as Pastor. Mr. Clark had been pastor there for four years, before which he had been in business in Plymouth, and " reaped from it a considerable harvest of this world's good."

His Worstead ordination was on 18th May, 1813, when Johnson of Fakenham gave the charge to the minister from 1 Coriinthians iv. 2, and Mark Wilks, of Norwich, addressed the Church from 1 Thessalonians v. 13. Curiously enough, just as his two immediate predecessors had recorded conducting their first baptisms, at Worstead, so on August 21st, 1814, Richard Clark wrote : " Mary Cushion was baptised,—the first person I ever baptised. Oh Lord, accept the feeble effort of Thy poor unworthy worm, and give me grace that I may be found faithful who am less than the least."

While pastor at Worstead, Mr. Clark did much to consolidate the Baptist work in the neighbourhood. He was a good man and a faithful minister, beloved by young and old alike. Upwards of sixty persons were baptised by him. A Sunday School was started in 1815, and evangelistic work carried on at North Walsham, Worstead, Town, East Ruston, and Dilham. Six Worstead members joined with seven from Neatishead to form a new Church at Ludham in 1821, and six members formed the Church

at Bacton in 1822, among them Samuel Nash, who built the chapel, and *William Baker*, who became the first pastor, having been sent out to preach by Richard Clark in 1817. Two other members later became ministers, *Jeremiah Hubbard*, at Shelfanger, and *John Sadler*, at Ludham.

In 1820 six almshouses were built near the chapel and endowed by Samuel Chapman, of Norwich, who is believed to have been the son of Sarah Chapman, the daughter of Richard Culley, the first pastor.

The East Norfolk Association of Particular Baptist Churches, later the Norfolk Association, was formed during Mr. Clark's ministry. In July 1827, the Worstead Church in a letter from John Bane, of Aylsham, was given "the sketch of a plan for the formation of an Association of Baptist Churches for the more effectual diffusion of religious knowledge in the eastern part of the County of Norfolk." This plan the Church considered sympathetically, but apparently it did not join the Association immediately, though it was in membership when the first Annual Report was published in 1834, and has ever since taken an active part in its work.

Richard Clark's disinterestedness was remarkable. Content to receive but a small salary, he gave generously. In 1829 the old meeting house, which had been in use for nearly a century, and had been twice enlarged, had become dilapidated and unsafe. The Church decided to build a new one. Mr. Clark gave £250. Two friends gave clay, and bricks for the building were made on the site. The total cost was £882 10s. The foundation stone was laid on June 22, 1829, when Zenas Trivett, now seventy-six years of age, preached, and the building was opened for public worship on October 6th, when sermons were preached by James Puntis from Isaiah lx. 7, and Joseph Kinghorn from Colossians ii. 6. As the ordinary congregations came from far and near, a stable, seventy-five feet long, for forty horses, was also built.

Mr. Clark built the school-house which he bequeathed to the Church. He also left £100 which was used for enlarging the vestry and building a schoolroom above it. In 1832, Mr. Clark was forced through ill-health to resign the pastorate, and on Sunday, January 1st, 1834, he attended a Prayer Meeting in the chapel, and spoke from the words: "See that ye fall not out by the way." The following Tuesday he was taken suddenly ill, and in the afternoon died in the arms of Mr. Blakely, his successor. He was sixty-nine years of age, and was buried at the entrance of the old ground.

John Rix Blakely was born in the lap of luxury at Goswold Hall, Thrandeston, near Eye, Suffolk. He was the eldest of a family of six, all of whom, when quite young, went to the Parish

Church to learn passages of scripture and the catechism, which made little impression on John. His parents were of good family, and much respected by dependants and neighbours alike, for their benevolence and kindness. When only eleven years old John became a midshipman on board the *Inflexible*, under Admiral Page, and on his first trip soldiers were taken to Lisbon, and stores to Genoa. On returning home his father thought his health would not stand sea-faring life, and sent him to a school in Ipswich. Later he joined the army and served in Italy, Holland and Ireland. While in the army he lived a reckless, sinful life, but when in Ireland, a friend took him to a Methodist Chapel where he was much impressed, and later during a serious illness was converted. From that time he lived a true and useful life, at first witnessing in the army, and getting himself into trouble for it.

On his father's death in 1810, he gave up his commission and returned home. The next year he and his mother went to live at Knapton, and being near North Walsham, he joined the Congregational Church there, and formed a life-long friendship with the pastor, James Browne.

Mr. Blakely was a great student, and becoming unsettled upon the question of baptism, decided to learn Greek that he might read the New Testament in the original. He went to Norwich and, with the assistance of Joseph Kinghorn, learnt enough, both of Greek and Hebrew, to be able to study the Bible more efficiently. His studies led him to ask Mr. Kinghorn for baptism, and he joined the Church at St. Mary's in April, 1814. On his return home his membership was transferred to Worstead, and in October, 1818, he married Naomi Barcham, daughter of John Barcham, a farmer and valued deacon of the church, and went to live at Worstead.

Mr. Blakely was a schoolmaster, and after his mother's death in April, 1822, was able to give much time to religious work. He taught in the Sunday School, and in the villages spoke to many about spiritual things, at first restricting himself to reading other people's sermons, but later seeking to tell out of a full heart his knowledge of the love of God in Christ Jesus. On September 8th, 1822, the Church, "without a dissenting voice" called him to the work of the ministry. He continued to work in the villages and neighbouring churches with much acceptance, and, Mr. Clark being in poor health, often assisted him by preaching and conducting baptisms. Twenty years after he had left the army he baptised two old soldiers, and his special entries in the Church Book show his continued interest in army life. "1830, July 18th, Isaac Temple of North Walsham . . . between seventy-eight and seventy-nine years of age, had been

near fifty years a hearer of the Word at Worstead, he served as a Marine Soldier on board the *Victory*, Admiral Keppel, was within a cable's length of the *Royal George* when she sunk at her anchors in Portsmouth Harbour." "1830, September 19th, . . . John Burrows, a soldier, who had served some years in the 16th Dragoon in the war in Spain and was severely wounded in a skirmish with the enemy."

In July, 1832, Mr. Blakely was appointed to take the oversight of the Church for a year. At the end of this probation he was unanimously chosen pastor, and ordained on November 5th, 1833, when James Puntis, of Norwich delivered the charge to the minister from 1 Thessalonians ii. 4, and William Spurgeon, of Neatishead, addressed the Church from 1 Thessalonians v. 12-13. His pastorate was very brief. He died on November 19th, 1837, being only forty-eight years of age, and having been seventeen years a member, and four years the pastor of the Church. He was buried by his old friend and first pastor, James Browne, in the graveyard surrounding the chapel where also lie his son, Edward, who died only four months before his father, his wife, Naomi, and his daughter, Jane Blakely Smith. He is commemorated by a tablet in the Church, bearing the words: "Piety, Faithfulness, Liberality, and Zeal, eminently distinguished his character."

MAURICE F. HEWETT.

Baptized—Dipped for Dead.

1560 TEXT, 1614 COMMENT, 1640 PRACTICE.

LEONARD BUSER, a citizen of London, in 1614 wrote and published a plea for religious liberty, which he entitled *Religious Peace*. It was presented to King James and the high court of Parliament then sitting, in the hope that a scheme for a peaceable reconciling of those who differed in opinion might result. His hopes were by no means fulfilled; Thomas Helwys who had issued two years earlier a similar plea, perhaps personally presenting a copy to the king, was languishing in Newgate prison, and died within a year, while a bishop was considering whether the public would tolerate burning of more heretics. Laud rose to power and steadily persecuted those who differed from his ideals of uniformity, till the Long Parliament of 1640 swept him from power and into prison. Next year Buser wrote from Delft to a Dutch friend for help, as he was now nearly seventy years old. By 1647 he was back in England, where a measure of religious liberty was now secured, and for two years was engaged in discussing the Second Coming of Christ with James Toppe, a Baptist of Tiverton.

Meantime, Henry Burton had seen the pertinence of the pamphlet to this generation, had secured the licence still necessary for printing, and by April 25 a second edition was on the market; at least six copies are still to be consulted. This time the plea was made against the Presbyterians, who were equally intolerant, and maintained even restrictions on publication, which were challenged by Milton, who refused to ask leave before publishing. Exactly two hundred years later, the Hanserd Knollys Society edited this second edition again, with copious notes; this reprint had its text modernised in spelling and punctuation.

The plea of Buser has been well summarised by Dr. W. K. Jordan of Harvard, in his second volume of *The development of religious toleration in England*. St. John had already recognised that "in this polemic we have a pioneer in an unfrequented region of thought, presenting boldly, though in the face of danger, and with clearness and force, a most noble conception". Jordan adds that "Buser and Helwys had, at the moment when the Baptist sect was founded in England, firmly laid the permanent basis of the thought of their communion on these important questions". "He leaned most heavily upon the New Testament, and shared the normal Baptist tendency to regard the Old Testament as of secondary importance. . . . Here we have no abject pleading by

a sectary for the bare toleration of his own group, but a thoughtful and noble demand for religious liberty for all men, because they are men ordained by God to share in the general redemption through the efficacy of Christ's sacrifice."

Such was the express purpose of the book. But there is one sentence on page 59 of the Hanserd Knollys edition which seems surprising at the date 1614, and raised qualms as to whether it was inserted in the 1646 reprint. As Dr. Jordan had discovered that a unique copy of the original was lodged in the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery at San Marino in California, application has been made, and Herman R. Mead, the Bibliographer there, has favoured our society with a minute account. The original has one preliminary leaf, thirty numbered pages and three unnumbered, with signatures A-D4, E2. Two cancel slips are pasted in, whose readings are reproduced in the edition of 1646, and therefore of 1846. Also there are manuscript corrections (by Busher?) which are followed in the 1846 edition at the footnote on page 52. More important is the side-note at the very foot of page 59, with the reference to the verse quoted in the text "We are buried then with Him by baptism, &c." This is the Genevan version of "Rom. vi. 4" as is penned at the side.

Busher was concerned entirely with toleration, and does not diverge to discuss baptism. In the Netherlands he was aware of the Mennonites, who retained baptism, in the form practised by Catholics, sprinkling. So it is interesting to find that the solitary paragraph which touches the subject contains two sentences showing his teaching: "Christ commanded His disciples to teach all nations and baptise them; that is, to preach the word of salvation to every creature of all sorts of nations, that are worthy and willing to receive it. And such as shall willingly and gladly receive it, he hath commanded to be baptised in the water; that is, dipped for dead in the water." The point that may excite doubt is the last eight words, defining baptism as dipping. It now proves that these words were in the original text of 1614. It does not prove that Busher or any one known to him, did actually practise dipping. The modern Book of Common Prayer still directs the Priest at baptism "if they shall certify him that the child may well endure it; he shall dip it in the Water discreetly and warily." Yet in practice this is scarcely ever done. Therefore we must not imagine that Busher knew any one, or any body of people, who did actually practise dipping in 1614. It may be well to repeat that John Smyth, Thomas Helwys and their friends at Amsterdam, had not yet noticed the point, having concentrated on the vastly more important question that baptism was enjoined on believers, and on them only. Yet within three years of Busher's book, the Collegiants who lived on the lowest Rhine,

and had discarded the guidance of all ministers, studying the Bible for themselves, did pay attention to this point of ritual, and did restore dipping. In the next generation, while Busher still lived, English Baptists sent to the Netherlands to seek friends, and hearing of these Collegiants, Richard Blunt went with letters of commendation to Leijden, where he was immersed by the Collegiant leader, John Batten, in May 1640. No previous case for an English Baptist has been recorded; and in 1664 a manuscript, printed and annotated in the first volume of our Transactions, tells the incident as if it were actual practice as distinct from mere antiquarian theory.

W. T. WHITLEY.

Reviews.

The Forward Books, (The Independent Press, 2s. each).

(1) *The Living God*, by John Marsh; (2) *Congregationalism and the Church Catholic*, by Nathaniel Micklem; (3) *The Open Bible*, by R. K. Orchard; (4) *The Ministry*, by John Huxtable.

The issue of this new series by the Independent Press shows a concern and a courage. The concern is due to the state of the churches affiliated with the Congregational Union. Dr. Micklem says that if the Moderators were "to speak candidly and freely about the state of the Congregational churches to-day", they would "paint a picture not to be viewed without consternation". He says further, "We have fallen from the Gospel. That is the primary source of our weakness. Its secondary source is that we have fallen from our principles of churchmanship . . . and further, there is a radical malaise in our denominational life. The root of our trouble, very simply put, is this: we have asserted the independence of the local congregation as the sole Congregational principle; therefore, we have missed and overlooked a vital part of our religious inheritance, and having no religious or theological principle to guide our denominational development in the relation of churches to each other, we have been thrown back upon mere expediency." That is a very serious statement, though Dr. Micklem modifies it by saying that he brings no general charge. The situation, says Dr. Micklem, can only be saved "through penitence, and penitence through a painful frankness."

So this series is being issued. In addition to those mentioned above, others are being prepared on *The Nonconformist Conscience*, *The Holy Spirit*, *Church Meeting and Democracy*, while others still are being planned on *Worship and the Sacraments*, *The Reformation*, *Christianity and Science*, *The Life of Prayer*, etc. It will be seen that, eventually, much ground will be covered, and, if those to be published are up to the level of these already in our hands, a great service will have been rendered to the Congregational Churches, and beyond them.

The Rev. John Marsh of Mansfield College, Oxford, is the General Editor, and, in the introduction to the first in the series, *The Living God*, he says that the intention is "to make clear the wealth of their inheritance to the churches we love and serve, and to indicate its significance for the present day." He also says, "We have written tracts, not treatises." And they must be accepted as such. For the notes of a tract are that it is written by a convinced person, that it is written in order to persuade, and

that it is written for the times. Mr. Marsh continues, "The 'New Order' will extinguish us unless we become properly centralized, yet unless our centralization is spiritual in its foundations and in its authority, as our fathers pleaded, we may continue to exist, but not as a true church."

All this has value and meaning for us Baptists also. From our standpoint some of the statements need modifying, others need controverting, and there are serious omissions. We would probably refer oftener to the redeemed community or regenerated church membership. Our ministers could not claim that they were "unchecked by any traditional liturgy," and while it is true that we also are "committed to no explicit articles of faith" our distinctive ordinance serves, not only as a check, but also as a declaration of those things which in our hearts we do not doubt.

In these days many of our Baptist ministers are troubled. They are not clear as to what is the relationship between the local church and the Church Catholic. Neither are they clear as to the place of the ministry except that they are certain it is an order within the Church, and not over the Church. There is a dearth of literature amongst us. We need someone to do for us what John Owen did in his day, and what Joseph Angus did in his generation, and likewise Dale still later.

Meanwhile, here are books that will enlighten and fortify and stir us all; and we are thankful to the writers and to the Independent Press.

B. GREY GRIFFITH.

Bunyan Calling. A Voice from the Seventeenth Century, by M. P. Willcocks. (George Allen and Unwin, 236 pp. 12s. 6d.).

This is a provoking book—provoking in two senses. It is often erratic and inconsequential in style. There are in it a number of signs of carelessness. It is fundamentally marred by the writer's lack of understanding of Bunyan's religion. Yet when all this has been said, there is much in it that is fresh and stimulating, and one realises how vigorously and effectively the man himself, and his career, might be made to speak to our own day. The book is sufficiently modern in style and language to include the word "quisling" in its account of the siege of Mansoul by Diabolus (p. 225).

Miss Willcocks is a practised novelist and essayist who has already written studies of Mary, Queen of Scots, and Madame Roland, of French Revolutionary fame. She has clearly read Bunyan's writings extensively, and the bibliography at the end of this new work shows that she has had before her the right sources for a study of Bunyan, though it seems likely that they

have been used in rather haphazard fashion. (It is surely unusual and undesirable, even in a brief list of books, to put the distinguished authors of *The Village Labourer* down as "Hammonds", particularly when a few lines above we are referred to the work of "Dr. John Brown".)

After an introductory chapter entitled "Storm over England," eight chapters are given to an outline and interpretation of Bunyan's career. Chapter X consists of a re-telling of the strange experience of Agnes Beaumont, based on her own narrative, and the Minute Book of the Bunyan Meeting. Here, as when she is describing Bunyan before Sir Francis Wingate, or Elizabeth Bunyan before the Bedford justices, Miss Willcocks shows considerable narrative and dramatic power. There follow four chapters which summarise successively *The Pilgrim's Progress*, parts 1 and 2 (to the latter, Miss Willcocks is very antipathetic), *The Life and Death of Mr. Badman*, and the *Holy War* (interpreted as a threefold allegory, religious, political and social). Chapter XV deals rather summarily with Bunyan's closing years, and the book ends somewhat abruptly.

Miss Willcocks' strength lies in her descriptive power, and in her attempt to relate Bunyan to the social and economic background of the seventeenth century. When she comes to his deeper and more personal experiences, she either dismisses them or attempts a crude psychologising. A score of passages might be cited. Perhaps the most glaring are those in which the phrases from *Grace Abounding* "a narrow gap, like a little doorway in the wall" and "to sell and part with Christ" are interpreted, the first as "a birth memory of the child's struggle to escape the womb" (p. 66), and the second as a reference to the selling of the Bunyans' land, and the evils of the enclosure system (pp. 71f.). Miss Willcocks' own general position is clearly stated:—"The form of Bunyan's creed troubles us very little to-day; it was a narrow faith, born out of humanity's instinct for self torture. Anyway, as a living force, it is gone" (p. 186). And again: "It is not his creed, which has lost its meaning for us, nor his stand against tyranny, his assertion of the right of the individual to speak as he thinks, which we value most in Bunyan. . . . It is for his large, his generous humanity that we bless him: and above all, that he tried to keep nothing secret from us, not even the feelings which most men hide" (p. 125-6). And again: "Now men's minds turn, not as Bunyan's did, to heaven, but to the world of creative art, where, beyond the roar of planes and guns, and beyond the voices on the air, there is still peace" (p. 76). This may seem to us very superficial and inadequate, but at least there is no false pretence about it. It is indeed the more worthy of note that Miss Willcocks has clearly felt Bunyan's greatness,

and that, in spite of the limitations of her approach to him, she has noticed a number of things which others have missed, and has succeeded in making him live.

The book is better printed and bound than many war-time productions, and there are four excellent illustrations. Among the errors, the following may be noted: "William Gifford" (p. 66), "Jacob" for "Joseph" (p. 209), "Bunyan" for "Badman" (p. 215), the quotation marks in the middle of p. 220 which suggest that Bunyan himself identified Charles II. with Diabolus, and the strange form "Diablonians" for Bunyan's "Diabolonians" throughout chapter XIV. Disappointing as it is in so many respects, this book will do no harm to the reputation of its subject. Though the sound of the voice is somewhat distorted, no reader can be in doubt that a great man is calling to us from the seventeenth century.

ERNEST A. PAYNE.

Studies in History and Religion: Presented to Dr. H. Wheeler Robinson, M.A., on his seventieth birthday. Edited by Ernest A. Payne, Senior Tutor in Regent's Park College, Oxford. (Lutterworth Press, 21s.)

If imitation be the sincerest form of flattery, Mansfield College may indeed feel pleased. Dr. H. Wheeler Robinson's pupils at Rawdon and Regent's Park Colleges have done for him, on his seventieth birthday, what Dr. A. M. Fairbairn's did for him on his; and their editor, in search of a title for their *Festschrift*, has modified the title of one of Dr. Fairbairn's works. War conditions have made the present volume less imposing than *Mansfield College Essays* (1909), but the resemblances are close. Both volumes contain a bibliography of the revered teacher's writings, and a reproduction of his portrait in oils. The portrait of Dr. Robinson by James Gunn is, in many ways, excellent, but it makes him look rather forbidding. It is a pity that the artist did not catch him when a smile was putting a different light into his eyes.

Fourteen essays by as many different writers, on subjects of their own choosing, present a reviewer with a harassing problem. Either he must fasten on one or two, or be content to indicate what each essay is about, adding a few remarks about their general competence. He will almost be expected to say that there is a certain unevenness among so many contributors. It may be said at once that the general standard of competence of the contributors to this volume is high. In one or two essays, however, the style cannot be said to be either interesting or crystal clear. The late Principal Denney used to say that want of style

prevented almost all Scottish theological books from reaching the first rank. Denney, like Dale, drilled himself in Burke, and by constant labour arrived at a style which was the perfection of lucidity. The following sentences by one of the essayists obviously need re-casting: "This acceptance on authority is disguised by the assumption that if I had been in the other man's place then I would have seen what he saw, because I trust him, and so, while superficially I am accepting the authority of another, the knowledge so obtained is as good as if it were the product of my own investigation or experiment" (pp. 174f.). "He may claim that it is no longer a matter of authority, of second-hand beliefs, yet the fact that very similar experiences of conversion do come to men with very diverse authoritarian backgrounds, and the fact that they claim the truth of these diverse beliefs received from those backgrounds to be verified by their experience, clearly shows that the form of the experience, the 'truths' of their revelation, are mainly grounded on authority" (pp. 175f.).

In our judgment (which we notice coincides with that of *The Expository Times*) the most interesting and valuable of the essays is that of Mr. L. H. Marshall. His thesis is that the exponents of *Formgeschichte* have been led into arbitrary and even absurd conclusions by the relentless application of their method. Mr. Marshall writes forcibly and lucidly, and makes his points against the Form-critics in a novel, though common-sense way. The only other essay on a New Testament subject is Mr. L. H. Jenkins' careful and elaborate study of a Marcan doublet. These two essays are a sufficient proof that the complaint that Baptists have no New Testament scholars is often greatly exaggerated.

Four essays are concerned with the Old Testament. Mr. G. Henton Davies maintains that the ideas of the presence of God in Israel provide us with a living approach to Old Testament religion, and one which has hitherto been comparatively neglected. This essay is a good illustration of the present tendency among theologians to regard the Bible, not only as ancient history, but also as an actual revelation. Evidently Mr. Davies has been working on similar lines to Dr. W. J. Phythian-Adams, whose book on this subject, announced by the Cambridge University Press, the reviewer has not yet seen. Mr. L. H. Brockington's essay on the prophetic claim "The Lord shewed me", follows and elaborates the ideas laid down by Dr. Wheeler Robinson in his essay on "Prophetic Symbolism" in *Old Testament Essays* (1927).

Mr. J. N. Schofield shows his independence of his teacher by advancing arguments in support of the "heretical" view of the date of Deuteronomy; and Mr. J. B. Middlebrook writes on "The

Old Testament Pattern of History". Mr. Middlebrook writes well and interestingly. He knows how to make theology readable. He is not afraid to introduce a touch of rhetoric; and the preacher in him leads him to apply what he has to say to the needs of the present time.

Two essays deal with doctrinal problems. Principal R. L. Child writes on a well-worn theme: the relation between grace and freedom in the teaching of the Apostle Paul. His conclusion is that freedom, for Paul, is at one and the same time a moral achievement and the gift of God. It came to us with a slight shock to find, in the discussion of a difficult point in Pauline theology, a quotation from Charles Morgan's latest novel, *The Voyage*. Parisian night-life and the Apostle Paul seem far enough apart; but the quotation is thoroughly apposite. Mr. A. W. Argyle's essay on "The Influence of the Logos Doctrine in Christian Thought" sketches the history of the Logos concept in the Pre-Christian writers, the Fourth Gospel, the Church Fathers, and the Cambridge Platonists; and notes the Barthian reaction against it. This essay reads rather like a series of summaries, and the conclusion, in which the doctrine is evaluated, is all too brief. At one time the Logos doctrine had considerable apologetic value, never better seen than in the Fourth Gospel. On the other hand, it was grounded in a deistic conception of the universe, and entangled Christian doctrine in not a few needless difficulties. To-day we can do most of the work done by the Logos doctrine by using the much simpler conception of divine immanence.

Three essays deal with problems in the Philosophy of Religion. Dr. R. F. Aldwinckle, writing on "The Christian Conception of God", reacts strongly against Barthianism, and develops the thesis that God and man are essentially and spiritually akin. In his essay on "The Problem of Truth in Religion: Prolegomenon to an Indian Christian Theology", Mr. E. L. Wenger, of Serampore College, tackles the epistemological problem, and he, too, has a lance to break with the Barthians. He suggests that Christian thinkers may obtain some help from Indian Logic, which recognises authority as a real source of knowledge. He is careful to say that Christianity cannot embarrass itself with the unyielding monism of Advaitism. The very reservations he is constrained to make compel one to say *timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*. Dr. F. Townley Lord's essay on "Man in the Scheme of Things" deals with a subject which he has made his own, and is written with his usual ease and clarity of style. It is not merely of academic interest, for it elaborates the notion that the Christian conception of man is the doctrinal storm-centre of our time.

Strangely enough, Principal Arthur Dakin is the only

essayist to deal with ethical problems which are now so much to the fore. With characteristic energy he maintains that the Evangelical type of Christian experience should have its characteristic ethic, just as it has its characteristic theology. It should be an ethic of freedom which has nothing to do with codes of obedience. He who has Jesus Christ as the Lord and Master of his life needs no other guide. Dr. Dakin contends that the evangelical interpretation of Christianity offers men the very life-force for which they are groping to-day. He thinks that it has been "the departure from the evangelical stand-point in ethics more than in dogma that has led to the present bewilderment and sense of frustration. Let ethical exhortation in the Church return to this spiritual level and Christian living recapture this evangelical atmosphere, and we may well see defeatism turned into assurance of victory, and depression give place to the campaigning spirit." This challenging essay is sure to be attractive to all evangelicals. Nevertheless, it arouses doubts. The maxim "Love God and do what you like" embodies a truth, but it has its dangers too. After all, the Apostle Paul found it necessary to "mortify" his body. The truth seems to be that both Evangelicals and Catholics have something to learn from each other in this as in other matters, though naturally enough the former will never accept the casuistical systems of the latter.

Mr. A. J. D. Farrer, who was formerly Dr. Robinson's colleague on the tutorial staff of Regent's Park College, provides an excellent essay on "The Mediæval Waldenses and the Early English Baptists". After a careful examination of details, he has no difficulty in showing that the Waldenses, unlike the Early Baptists, were more Catholic than Protestant, even though they were reformers before the reformation.

Mr. E. A. Payne's essay on "The Development of Nonconformist Theological Education in the Nineteenth Century with special reference to Regent's Park College" is a piece of work of the type in which he excels. His essay incorporates a great deal of research into Reports and other sources of information, and his findings are set forth in an attractive fashion. He knows how to make dry bones live, and to bring out the movements of thought underlying happenings which looked insignificant when they occurred.

Studies in History and Religion is not everyman's book. Some laymen, if they read it, may wonder why theologians make the Christian faith so abstruse and, at times, even a little dull. Nevertheless, the volume is a worthy offering to a great and influential teacher, whose work in establishing a Baptist College at Oxford will abide. It reveals, not only the wide range of

Dr. Robinson's own scholarship, but is also an indication of the scholarship which our denomination has at its disposal.

A. C. UNDERWOOD.

Church-Life and Church-Order, by J. Vernon Bartlet.
(Blackwell, 15s.)

This is a volume commemorating the life and work of James Vernon Bartlet, who for so long influenced the students of Mansfield College, Oxford. It is very right that some such volume should appear, for Bartlet was an Oxford figure, a distinguished and well-known Congregationalist, and a scholar whose scholarship was recognised throughout the whole English theological world. A man of distinctive and somewhat eccentric habit, he will long be remembered in Mansfield circles, where his sayings and the stories attaching to him will for long run through the College halls.

It seems very natural, also, that one of his pupils, C. J. Cadoux, should have undertaken the task of editing this memorial volume, and writing the memoir with which it opens. Cadoux himself, now also a tutor at Mansfield, is also a recognised scholar in the same field that Bartlet had made his own. The memoir is well done with all the carefulness we expect from its author, who openly allows the pupil's *pietas* for his loved tutor to appear. All who knew Bartlet will find pleasure in reading it, and from it will catch again glimpses of the well-known figure, and echoes of both his habits of mind and his language.

After the memoir comes the treatise which Bartlet had left behind in a somewhat partial and confused state. Dr. Cadoux has gathered together all the material, and in spite of difficulties, has arranged it well to make a connected narrative. After his manner he has added copious notes, all of value.

The treatise itself on Church-Life and Church-Order in the first four centuries, is a very important contribution to a much debated subject; it can hardly be neglected by anyone working on the theme in the future. As we should anticipate, coming from Bartlet it takes the form of a very careful analysis of the relevant documents with the drawing of such conclusions as the documents warrant. Here, as elsewhere, Bartlet draws his conclusions carefully, not to say cautiously, and few will question their rightness provided there is acceptance of the estimate of the various documents. The discussion of the documents, their nature, date etc., is a valuable contribution to early Church History.

The point of view from which the work is written is that Church-Order is closely connected with Church-Life, that Church-Life is indeed the guiding clue to the Order. Later, Order comes to be cultivated for its own sake till a stereotyped Order existing

in its own right comes in its turn to condition Church-Life. But in the beginning the process was the opposite—the Order springs out of the theology and, the necessities of the situation, which therefore give the clue to its right interpretation.

This is an exceedingly valuable idea, and it raises the abiding problem connected with Church-Order. Is the life prior or the Order? Is Church-Order something which must remain always fixed, or can it, and ought it, to change with changing conditions? Is there one Church-Order rooted in Christian theology which must abide so long as the theology is sound, and which ought to be kept, if only to keep a check on the theology? Or is it that Order of every kind is an expedient in every age for expressing and preserving the life?

Bartlet does not concern himself with these questions. His work is purely historical, but his historical investigations on the first four centuries give valuable light on them. Also, incidentally, his work throws light on the development of the Church during the period.

In the earlier documents as, for example, the New Testament, the Didache and the Didascalia, Bartlet believes to find evidence of a Church-Order closely related to Church usage, while in later documents there is a tendency to treat Church-Order more in abstraction from the concrete vital aspects of Church life (p. 100), a tendency, that is, to emphasise the idea of a theory of an original constitution or binding Order imposed by divine authority upon the Church (p. 156). This latter naturally led to a new system of law for the Church, liturgies and usages binding etc., and also eventually to the idea of an imposed uniformity. Thus the Church-Order which "had grown up gradually by the free plastic movement of the Church's common mind under the consciousness of a guiding spirit of divine life within it" finally came to claim a "sacrosanct fixity". For a long time, however, in the early centuries the freer movement represented by the prophetic ministry continued to operate and influence the Order of the Church. Bartlet here makes a point, namely that one of the forces making for the ultimate disappearance of the prophetic ministry was the early rise of bishops like Ignatius, who themselves incorporated the prophetic function in their own persons. Another factor making in the same direction was the natural desire on the part of authority to avoid the risk of "factious sectional eucharistic groups arising within a local Church" (p. 159). Such hole and corner meetings he holds formed the background of both Clement of Rome and Ignatius.

Thus the prophetic ministry and all it stood for was finally eliminated from the Church life, though Bartlet maintains

it was an abiding element in the mind of the Church's founder (p. 64). The spirit of it lingered on in monasticism, but that was of necessity outside the organised Church. Bartlet's conclusion is—"Owing to fear of abuses, which meant only half-faith, the use of the full potential life of grace, latent in the Spirit's power in unordained members of Christ's body, was discouraged and gradually atrophied" (p. 168). He himself would seek a form of catholicism "which includes, and no longer excludes, the great ideas connected with the freedom of the Spirit, which are rooted in primitive Christianity, and which the Protestant Reformation has helped us in modern times to recover".

Obviously the treatise is such as any Nonconformist seeking guidance on this question of Church-Order and the idea of Catholicity, or for that matter, on the life of the primitive Church, would do well to read.

A. DAKIN.

Submission in Suffering, by H. H. Rowley. (University of Wales Press Board, 2s. 6d.).

This short book by Professor Rowley of Bangor deals with one special aspect of a very difficult subject. Pain as a fact has been in the world from the very beginning, and pain as a problem has been the despair of thinkers all down the ages. Poets and philosophers in every generation and in every land have dealt with it, but no finally satisfying solution of the mystery seems to be forthcoming, "We have but faith", says Tennyson, "we cannot know, for knowledge is of things we see". But though "we cannot know", we must somehow try to make terms with the situation as it is, and the various religions and philosophies provide the solution that the world's great teachers suggest.

Professor Rowley definitely limits himself to a survey of the problem of "innocent suffering, or suffering that appears to be innocent", and the consequent reactions of the problem on the religious mind as we see it in the chief religions of Asia. He has a bibliography of five closely printed pages, and it is clear that he has carefully worked over the ground. He deals with China, India, Babylonia, Islam, and of course, Judaism and Christianity.

It is plain that suffering, even in the devout, does not produce the same reaction. Some people, for instance, connect suffering and sin so closely together that the one at once suggests the other, and the question of suffering immediately becomes "Who did sin, this man or his parents" to produce this result we see? Others, again, see in suffering, the refiner's furnace, in which God refines by chastening the soul that He loves. Still others regard it as the price that even God has to pay for redemption, and the good man's suffering is his share in the travail that brings

the new creation to birth. But most, especially in the contemplative lands of the East, regard suffering as an evil which must be accepted. Islam says it is from Allah, and that for the vast majority means it is man's fate, though the mystics in Islam would see a good deal more. Hinduism and Buddhism regard suffering as an evil, necessary in our present existence, something to be accepted now in the hope that it may, in another life, or after a series of lives, be escaped from by the coming of nescience, the existence that is no-existence. There are differences in the Indian religions as to the form this escapism takes, and one of the most valuable parts of Professor Rowley's book is his discussion of this point.

A book like this can be appreciated properly only by experts who know the ground. But it can suggest much to the average man that is worth considering, and in a world such as ours is to-day, when the problem of suffering is everywhere so acute, we must always be grateful for the guidance that experts can give.

HENRY COOK.

The Christian Philosophy of History, by S. J. Case.
(University of Chicago Press, and Cambridge Press, 12s.).

This comparatively short book is full of good things, and much erudition has gone into its making. A large part of it is a fascinating study of man's age-long endeavour to penetrate the meaning of history. Professor Case reviews Hebrew and Christian varieties of the providential view of history, with their constant re-adaptation to circumstances, yielding now an apocalyptic hope for the future, now the faith that in the marriage of church and state the divine control is exercised through both alike, and now the belief that the Church alone has the clue to history in its mediation of the divine control. He treats of the attempt to dispense with the meaning of the facts, and to get down scientifically to the actual facts of history, but observes that "to know the facts of the past would seem to be only a scholarly luxury unless this information contributes to effective living in the present" (p. 87). He examines many modern works which find the governing factors of history to lie in geography or in economics, or which view all history through evolutionary spectacles, and find progress to mark all its course, or pessimistic works which condemn the endless futility of all history. He examines Kierkegaard's philosophy of crisis with its historical dualism, and the views which have been based on this, and which regard temporal history as only the story of conflict and tragedy, to be brought to a happy end solely by a divine intervention that inaugurates a new world order. Such a view leads to an utter passivity on man's part, which is quite unshared by Professor

Case. In contrast to the view that "not only is God doing nothing to improve world history, but man himself should realise that he is incapable of effecting advancement" (p. 120), the author observes that "he is blind indeed who cannot see that the heavens declare the glory of God, who cannot perceive that man bears the ineffaceable image of his Divine Maker, and who fails to appreciate the progress of the last twenty centuries in creating a human society that approaches a little nearer to the ideal Kingdom of God" (p. 123).

In all this Professor Case displays great skill in presenting briefly and clearly a large variety of attitudes, and the considerable literature recorded in his footnotes will enable the interested reader to pursue the subject further, and will give him confidence that the author has missed little of importance within his field. He writes well, and frequently his pithy observations on the theories he summarises are both memorable and illuminating.

In the later chapters of the book Professor Case unfolds his own philosophy of history. He emphasises the factors of continuity and of novelty in history, for he finds past, present, and future to be bound together in the unity of a single living whole. "Past and present are only artificial expressions used to denote different stages of one continuous process of time" (p. 162). The present is born of the past, yet not wholly determined by the past, for the essence of life is ever new adaptation. This view is then applied to the Church. Its varied forms are all valid as adaptations to particular circumstances and cultures, and have no other validity. The idea that there is any single form of Christianity which is authentic is scouted. "Each is authentic in the sense that at some time, and for certain groups in specific situations, it served the purpose for which it was designed" (p. 172). That there must be changes in the Church is the inevitable condition of its continued life, but "attempts to restore uniformity, except as they follow unifying processes in contemporary culture, are sure to prove artificial, if not actually dangerous" (p. 167).

On the larger question of the divine control of history, Professor Case maintains that God exercises no direct control, but is active in men. To the reviewer, however, he would seem to assign a much larger place to man than to God, and in practice to condemn God to the position of a spectator watching men work things out. "The Kingdom of God cometh not with observation, but by dint of strenuous endeavour on the part of men who serve Him from generation to generation throughout the evolving centuries" (p. 218). This seems quite inadequate, and to rest on a somewhat shallow philosophy, which is disappointing as the

goal of so good and so suggestive a book. This appears clearly on p. 181, where we read: "In the processes of history, one generation's mistakes saddle troubles upon the children, while the sinning ancestors escape scot-free. . . . Can we believe that God is so arbitrary a monarch, or so vindictive a feudal noble, that He could find satisfaction in executing punishment upon guiltless sons and daughters of sinful parents who are peaceably reposing in their tombs? Calamity is not a divine judgment, but is a natural consequence of failure to embrace opportunity".

Here it may be observed that the divine justice is not really saved by ascribing to the operation of "natural" laws what is felt to be unworthy of God, unless God is held to be not responsible for the "natural" laws. It may also be observed that these natural laws are really the expression of the divine benevolence, and are in no sense unworthy of God. To seize on the entail of suffering which one generation may bring on another, to impugn either the justice of God or the fairness of the operation of natural laws, seems to the reviewer unworthy of men who receive a vast entail of blessing by the operation of the same natural laws in the mercy of God. To those who recall the vast inheritance of knowledge and culture and freedom into which they have entered, won at the cost of high sacrifice by those who have gone before, and theirs without toil, save the toil of entering into it and preserving it, it seems unworthy to cavil because their fathers made some mistakes and left some problems for them to solve. Moreover, it is rarely true that it is the sour grapes which the fathers ate which are the sole cause of the children's teeth being set on edge. Professor Case instances the "sinners" who framed the Treaty of Versailles, who have escaped the consequences of their "crime", while their descendants are drafted for war. To the reviewer it seems an undue simplification of history to leap from 1919 to 1939, as though for twenty years an impotent world merely sat in a historical vacuum to watch the seeds of Versailles mature an inevitable harvest. He prefers to recognise both continuity and initiative in history, and to ascribe to both their share in creating events. He also prefers to view the operation of natural laws in their whole working, and to find the hand of God in them; to find the hand of God, too, active in history, both active in men who are responsive to His will, and actively co-operating with them. For He is not wholly immanent in men, and is not limited in His activity to His immanence in men. He can set a term beyond which men's folly and iniquity may not pass, yet in His wisdom He sets this term without infringing the freedom with which He has endowed men.

While, therefore, the reviewer finds Professor Case's

philosophy of history to be far from satisfying, he regards his book as one of high excellence, which may be commended without reserve for its masterly review of the history of the philosophy of history.

H. H. ROWLEY.

China Among the Nations, by H. R. Williamson, (Student Christian Movement Press, 6s.)

This, as we might expect from its authorship, is an excellent book, timely, interesting and informative. Dr. Williamson spent long enough in China to acquire a deep and abiding love for its people, but in addition he got so thoroughly alongside the Chinese mind, that he is said to be one of the few Westerners who could crack a joke in Chinese, and something of the urbanity we usually associate with Chinese philosophy has become part and parcel of his make-up. No one, therefore, is better qualified to write a book like this. The book falls into three parts; there is first Ancient China, covering Names and Characteristics, History and Philosophy; next comes Transition: Conception of a Nation, covering Western Impact and Eastern Reaction; and finally, we have Modern China, covering Birth, Struggle for Survival, Growth, Coming-of-age, and World Recognition. It will thus be seen that the canvas is a big one, but it abounds in intimate sketches of all sorts, and the Chinese scene becomes clearer as a consequence. Half way through the book we get the sentence, "I arrived in China November, 1908, as one of a party of eleven 'tenderfoot' British missionaries", and from that point onwards we follow events as seen by Dr. Williamson personally, and this gives the book a certain intimacy that adds to the attractiveness of the narrative of the rise of modern China. Dr. Williamson interestingly discusses the movement of external and internal politics, culminating in the war with Japan, and the rise of China to equality with Britain, America and Russia as one of the four major powers on whose alignment the future of the world must largely depend. Naturally, too, he shows us how the Christian Church is affected by all this, and he gives us grounds for confidence in the future. The Chinese have a basic quality of character that should provide a firm foundation for a strong Christian democracy, and China's part among the nations must be increasingly great. A book like this must do a great deal of good.

HENRY COOK.

Essays in Orthodox Dissent, by Bernard L. Manning,
(Independent Press, 6s.)

The Rodborough Bede Book, (Independent Press, 4s.)

The Independent Press is to be warmly thanked for making available again these two books. Mr. Manning's *Essays* first appeared in 1939, and since his lamented death have gained a new preciousness, for they represent his most important and stimulating literary legacy to the Free Churches. His learning and insight, his strong convictions, his gift for clear, pungent and witty expression, are seen at their best in these pages. This is a volume which will long continue to be prized.

The Rodborough Bede Book consists of the forms of service compiled by the late Rev. C. E. Watson, of Rodborough. This edition has been lithographed from the privately printed original. Among Free Church service books this has a place all its own. It will be treasured by all those who knew Mr. Watson and his remarkable Cotswold ministry, and will be valuable to all responsible for the leadership of public worship.