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Editorial Notes.

THE Archbishop of Canterbury has now supplemented the questions he addressed to the Assembly of the Free Church Federal Council in March, 1946 and to the Methodist Conference in July, by a sermon preached before the University of Cambridge on November 3rd, and published under the title *A Step Forward in Church Relations*. It makes even clearer than before Dr. Fisher's earnest desire to break the present deadlock in the discussions regarding Christian union in this country. It also indicates for the first time the lines along which his own mind has been working. The sermon therefore deserves and must receive the most careful and sympathetic study.

Dr. Fisher is of opinion that "we are not yet ready for organic or constitutional union," but he specifically rejects an alternative often put forward by Free Churchmen by his remark "We do not desire a federation." Instead, he proclaims his belief that intercommunion could and should be the next step. This is something for which many Free Churchmen have long pleaded and there should be swift and generous recognition of the sincerity and courage which lie behind the Archbishop's words, for they will sound strangely in the ears of not a few of his fellow-Anglicans.

We are bound, however, to look carefully at the terms on which Dr. Fisher thinks intercommunion might take place. It involves a mutual recognition of ministries passing beyond anything so far agreed in the general statements adopted by the Anglican Church. Dr. Fisher suggests that full mutual recognition, and then intercommunion, would be possible if the Free Churches would take episcopacy in some form "into their own system" and "try it out on their own ground." "The Church of England has not yet found the finally satisfying use of episcopacy in practice: nor certainly has the Church of Rome." But at the Lausanne Conference of 1927 the various churches present agreed that a reunited Church would have to find place within its order for episcopacy, as well as for synods and presbyteries and the rights of local congregations. Why then should not the non-episcopal churches begin to develop from within their own traditions, the type of episcopacy they would desire in a reunited Church?

This, as we understand it, is Dr. Fisher's line of thought. It is unexpected and it seems to us, we confess, a little too ingenious. There is no indication as to when or at what stage the Anglican Church would declare itself as satisfied with the "episcopacy" of the Free Churches. Nor, on the other hand, is there any parallel assurance that the Anglican Church will take immediate steps to develop within its system those forms of government on which Free Churchmen have relied, and those safe-guards to episcopacy on which they have insisted. Baptists were not officially represented at Lausanne, but bearing in mind the practice of many of their forefathers and remembering the circumstances which have led to the creation of the office of General Superintendent, they have no reason for rejecting episcopacy as such. We hope that they will join in discussions, both official and unofficial, with other Free Churchmen and with Dr. Fisher himself, for we are convinced that the world situation, the position of organised religion in this country, the approaching Lambeth Conference, and the teaching of Christ Himself alike, demand closer visible fellowship among Christians.

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Baptists all over the world begin to turn their eyes towards Copenhagen where, if all goes well, from July 29th to August 3rd the seventh congress of the Baptist World Alliance will assemble. It is bound to be a very important gathering from the denominational point of view, but it will be far more than that. There is every hope that there will be considerable delegations from Russia and Germany as well as from Scandinavia, Britain, and America. Not for a decade at least will so widely representative a Christian gathering have taken place, for the oecumenical conferences of 1937 and 1939 had no effective delegations from Russia and Germany. And how much has happened since? Those responsible for the shaping of the programme and the leadership day by day will have a most onerous and delicate task, but also a great opportunity of demonstrating what Christian fellowship means. We hope that in view of the sorrows of the Continent and the anxieties hanging over mankind as a whole, the denominational drum, even though it necessarily and rightly be sounded, will be muffled, or at least beaten in time with other Christian instruments. That Baptists should be able to assemble such a gathering so soon after the end of the war is a striking reminder of their strategic position in Christendom and their consequent responsibilities.

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The discussion in the Church of England of the rite of baptism and its relation to confirmation continues unabated. There seems

to be a growing feeling that what the New Testament joins should not have been put asunder. In the course of the debate many statements and proposals are being made which are of interest and importance to Baptists. Dom Gregory Dix, of Nashdom Abbey, has now published the text of a lecture delivered at Oxford some months ago on *The Theology of Confirmation in relation to Baptism* (Dacre Press, 2/-). In it he frankly confesses that "Christian Initiation in the New Testament is described and conceived of solely in terms of a *conscious* adherence and response to the Gospel of God, that is, solely in terms of an *adult* Initiation." This statement has recently been quoted with approval by the Bishop of Oxford (Dr. Kenneth Kirk), who uses it to support the rather startling proposal that in order to escape from what he calls "the desecration of the sacrament of baptism" which is now so frequent, the Church of England should bring baptism and confirmation together and administer both when years of discretion have been reached. Dr. Kirk would replace infant baptism with a service of admission to the catechumenate, marking the reception of children into "the congregation of Christian people" as distinct from "the congregation of Christ's flock." Years of discretion he would interpret as "the age of eight or thereabouts," and the new joint service of baptism and confirmation would be followed by admission to communion. The Bishop's suggestions will be found in the *Oxford Diocesan Magazine* for September and October, 1946. We await the reactions of his fellow Anglicans with considerable interest.

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We are glad to learn that the S.C.M. Press is prepared to publish an English version of Karl Barth's pamphlet *Die kirchliche Lehre von der Taufe*, to which allusion was made in a previous issue, and hope that its appearance will not be long delayed. In the meantime, we offer our readers a quotation from Schleiermacher against whom Barth so often tilts but with whom, on the issue of baptism, he would seem now to be in agreement. In his *Glaubenslehre* (1821) Schleiermacher wrote:

"Every trace of infant baptism which people have professed to find in the New Testament must first be inserted there. . . . It would have been quite intelligible if, to recover touch with Christ's institution, infant baptism had been abolished at the Reformation. . . . We ought to make it known that in regard to this point we cancel the sentence of condemnation passed on the Anabaptists, and that on our side we are prepared to enter into Church fellowship with the Baptists of today, if only they will not pronounce our infant baptism absolutely invalid, even when supplemented by confirmation." (E.T., pp. 634-638.)

Mr. F. Beckwith, Librarian of the Leeds (Old) Library, Commercial Street, Leeds, 1, is collecting information for a bibliography of Yorkshire Baptists, and would be glad to have particulars (and if possible, copies) of local histories, biographies, and the like, of churches, ministers and laymen.

History of the Bedfordshire Union of Baptist and Congregational Churches, by John Brown and David Prothero (Independent Press, 5s.).

In 1896 Dr. John Brown, of Bedford, the well-known biographer of Bunyan, issued an admirable centenary essay on the Bedfordshire Union of Christians. This Union was formed in 1797 by Samuel Greatheed, of Woburn, under impulses similar to those which had caused the starting of the broad-based London Missionary Society two years earlier. But the tradition of close fellowship between Baptists and Congregationalists runs back as far as Bunyan and is one to be cherished and studied. It was a happy thought to reprint Dr. Brown's work and to add a survey of the last fifty years by the present minister of Roxton. Mr. Prothero gives a careful and useful summary of the happenings of the past half-century, though he has neither the wide historical knowledge nor the literary skill of Dr. Brown. It is strange that no place is found in the just eulogy of Dr. Brown for a word about his family. Mrs. Brown was a daughter of David Everard Ford, of Lymington. One of their children was the late Professor Sir Walter Langdon Brown; the other married Dr. Neville Keynes of Cambridge, and became the mother of J. M. Keynes and Dr. Geoffrey Keynes. Few families have contributed more or in more varied ways to the making of modern England and its Nonconformist roots deserve record.

The Serampore Form of Agreement.

THE important document which follows was signed at Serampore on October 6th, 1805, by nine missionaries of the Baptist Missionary Society led by the historic triumvirate, Carey, Marshman and Ward. It has sometimes been referred to, though not very accurately, as the Serampore Covenant. Recent references to it have usually made use of a summary prepared by Mr. S. Pearce Carey for his life of William Carey. This consists of convenient headings for each of the eleven main clauses which make up the body of the document. As an expression of the missionary policy which was in the minds of the Serampore missionaries early in their course, the Agreement is unique, and it has rightly come to be regarded as one of the foundation documents for a study of the missionary strategy of the early nineteenth century. It has, however, more than an historic interest. It remains a moving and challenging statement of the main principles which must underlie the Christian mission in any age and any land. A reprinting of the full text has, therefore, been felt to be fully justified and some account of the circumstances under which it was drawn up seems desirable.

The Agreement was drafted by William Ward, the young printer whose contributions to the Serampore Settlement were many and varied. This is explicitly stated by John Clark Marshman (*Carey, Marshman and Ward*, 1859, Vol. I., p. 229) and is confirmed by internal evidence and questions of style. Carey's signature naturally appears at the head of the list of those who put their names to it, but one has only to read a few pages of his *Enquiry* or some of his letters to be convinced that the document was not of his preparing.

In 1805 Carey had been twelve years in Bengal and more than five years at Serampore. The period since the arrival of reinforcements from England in 1799 and the establishment of the mission under the Danish flag had been one of growing and varied activities and ever widening plans. A missionary settlement had been established, partly of the kind suggested by the Moravians, but with certain modifications making for a more democratic type of community life. The translation and printing of the Scriptures were being energetically pressed forward in several languages. Carey's Professorship at Fort William College, Calcutta, brought increasing opportunities of service in

many different directions. The boarding schools of Joshua Marshman and his wife were proving very successful. The small band of Indian converts was growing in number. The missionaries were reaching out ever farther afield into Bengal—preaching in Calcutta, Catwa, Dinajpur and Dacca. New recruits were arriving from England. The time was ripe for a review of the progress made since 1800 and for the adoption of a clear plan of campaign in connection with the establishment of subordinate mission stations. It was in these circumstances that, in the autumn of 1805, the "Form of Agreement" was drawn up and signed.

On Sunday, October 6th, 1805, the missionaries and their families celebrated the twelfth anniversary of the formation in Kettering of the Baptist Missionary Society. There was a prayer-meeting at 6 a.m. at which Marshman gave a short address. At 10.30 a.m. there followed a Church meeting. At this Marshman and Ward were chosen as co-pastors with Carey, and six deacons were appointed—four missionaries, Mardon, Biss, Moore and Rowe, and two Indian converts, Krishna Pal and Krishna Prasad. During the hours that followed, there were three preaching services. Two Indians, a man and a woman, were baptised. At the close of the day the Lord's Supper was observed, Marshman and Ward leading the service, and Carey receiving the new members into the fellowship. "Such a day was never seen at the mission house before," wrote Ward in his diary.

A word should be said about the Serampore Church. Carey and his friends were most careful regarding the forms of churchmanship. The first "gathered" church in Bengal was constituted by Carey and Dr. John Thomas at Mudnabati in 1795 following the baptism of Samuel Powell, Thomas's nephew. Not till this fellowship has been properly constituted with Carey as pastor, did the two missionaries feel justified in observing the Lord's Supper. We have an account of what took place in Thomas's diary. "Nov. 1, 1795. We, viz. brother Carey, myself, Poweil and Long, signified our desire to enter into a church state; and gave each other the right hand of fellowship; we then partook together of the Lord's Supper, administered by brother Carey" (*Periodical Accounts*, I. p. 279). Long was a young Englishman whom Thomas had baptised during his earlier visit to India, prior to the formation of the B.M.S. Unfortunately he proved an unstable character. Carey announced the formation of the church in a letter to the Society written on December 30, 1795 (*Periodical Accounts*, I. p. 225). John Fountain joined this church on his arrival in India in 1796. Three years' later, when Marshman and Ward and their families and companions found shelter at Serampore, it was decided to make this the missionary centre.

Carey reached Serampore from Mudnabati in January, 1800. Three months later, on April 24th, a Thanksgiving Day was observed at the Mission House. A new church was then formed. Carey was made pastor, and Marshman and Fountain became deacons. At the first meeting each of the brethren present was asked to give an account of his conversion. It was this church which reorganised its leadership on October 6th, 1805.

The following day the "Form of Agreement" was signed. It consisted of eleven sections, and a heading describes it as embodying "the great principles upon which the brethren of the mission at Serampore think it their duty to act in the work of instructing the heathen." A note in Ward's diary for October 19th, 1805 makes it clear that it was the expectation of the planting of new mission stations and the formation of new churches which led to the Agreement. The final paragraph was a resolution to read the Agreement at every mission station three times a year, on the first Sunday in January, May and October.

The original signatories to the Form of Agreement were nine. Little need here be said of Carey, Marshman and Ward. The last two had already taken their places with Carey as the leaders in the missionary community. The final name was that of Carey's eldest son, Felix. He was, in 1805, a young man of twenty. He had been baptised on December 28th, 1800, together with Krishna Pal, the first Indian convert. He was deeply attached to and influenced by Ward. His subsequent life was a rather chequered one, and brought some sorrow and anxiety to Carey and the mission circle, but Felix should be remembered for his pioneering work in Burma and for the aid he gave his father after he had returned to Serampore.

A few details may be given of the other five who signed the Agreement. (1) *John Chamberlain* (1777-1821) was a Northamptonshire farm-hand, of vigorous personality and force of character, trained by Sutcliff at Olney and then at Bristol College under Dr. Ryland. He had reached Serampore in 1802. Carey and his companions soon discovered that he was of quick temper and too much of an individualist to fit in easily to the life of the settlement, and he was sent to Catwa, about 70 miles up the Hooghly river, where a sub-station was established. There, in spite of tragic personal bereavements. Chamberlain worked till 1810, when he became a missionary pioneer in North India. Later, with his health and spirits much weakened, he settled at Monghyr. He was on his way back to England in 1821 when he passed away. The early B.M.S. records speak of him as "the apostolic Chamberlain."¹

(2) *Richard Mardon* (1775-1812) went out to Bengal in

¹ See E. A. Payne: *The First Generation*, 1936, Ch. XII.

1804 with Moore and Biss. They had all three been under Sutcliff's tuition for a year. Mardon and his wife were members of Isaiah Birt's church at Plymouth Dock. Mardon was stationed at Jessore. In 1807 he was sent to Burma with James Chater to explore the possibilities of a mission to that land. From 1808 to 1812, when he died, he worked at Goamalty.

(3) *John Biss* (1776-1807) was, like Mardon, a member of Isaiah Birt's church. He had already been married two or three years when he set out for India in 1804, and took with him his wife and small child. Immediately after the signing of the Agreement he was sent to Dinajpur, but his health soon failed and he and his family started for home again via America. He died at sea in February, 1807.

(4) *William Moore* (1776-1844) was a native of Stogumber, and his wife came from the same church. He found it difficult to acquire Bengali and therefore found European society easier and more congenial than Indian. He remained at Serampore till 1811 when he went to Digah and opened a school. His wife died in 1812 and the following year he married the widow of his friend, Biss. Later he severed his connection with the mission, supporting himself by secular employment, but continuing to render help to the work at Monghyr till his death from cholera in 1844.

(5) *Joshua Rowe* (1781-1823) was born at Foxton, but was a church member at Salisbury where John Saffery was minister. Like Mardon, Biss and Moore, he had spent a year with Sutcliff at Olney. His wife, Eliza Noyes, was only 18 when they set out in 1804. Rowe worked for some time at Digah with Moore.

This, then, was the group who signed the Agreement on October 6th, 1805 and resolved that it should be read publicly at each mission station at least three times a year. It will be seen that Biss lived only a few months after putting his name to it, and Mardon less than seven years. Chamberlain, Ward, Rowe and Felix Carey died in swift succession between 1821 and 1823. Moore withdrew from the mission. Of the original nine signatories that left only Carey and Marshman. Their periods of service lasted till 1834 and 1837 respectively, and to the very end they remained faithful to the principles set out so eloquently in the Agreement, carrying it out to the best of their ability "in all weathers"—to borrow an expressive phrase from its opening paragraph.

The Agreement is a remarkably far-seeing and statesmanlike document. Ward's own monumental volumes, *The History, Literature and Mythology of the Hindoos*, show how seriously he was prepared himself to carry out Clause II. The paragraphs dealing with a missionary's personal conduct might be taken as an

unconscious description of Carey, Marshman and Ward—their simplicity of life and complete self-dedication, their unremitting toil, their constancy in prayer, the concentration of their preaching on the theme of the Cross, their brotherliness towards India's converts. Clauses VII and VIII dealing with the parts which European women might and Indians must play in the conversion of India, show Ward and his friends as far ahead of most of their generation. Their confidence in the power of the Scriptures and of the written word is plainly stated in Clause IX, together with the place of education in mission strategy.

The Agreement as set out below is taken from the *Periodical Accounts*, Vol. III, pp. 198f. It was reprinted by the Baptist Mission Press of Calcutta in 1874. It has recently been again printed, this time by Dr. A. H. Oussoren, of Middelburg, as an appendix to his *William Carey*, (Leyden, 1945.) Dr. Oussoren is wrong in attributing the text of the document to Carey himself. He also prints a letter of instructions given by Count Zinzendorf to the first missionaries from Herrnhut in 1732, and the rules which Bishop Spangenberg issued in 1782, and makes an interesting comparison. Both Carey and Ward were deeply impressed by the work of the Moravians, but the Form of Agreement has notable features which are entirely its own, and which make it a document still living and challenging to Christians everywhere.

FORM OF AGREEMENT.

Respecting the great principles upon which the brethren of the Mission at Serampore, think it their duty to act in the work of instructing the heathen.

Agreed upon at a Meeting of the Brethren, at Serampore, on Monday, October 7, 1805.

The Redeemer, in planting us in this heathen nation rather than in any other, has imposed upon us the cultivation of peculiar qualifications. We are firmly persuaded that Paul might plant and Appollos water in vain in any part of the world, did not God give the increase. We are sure, that only those who are ordained to eternal life will believe, and that God alone can add to the church such as shall be saved. Nevertheless we cannot but observe with admiration, that Paul, the great champion for the glorious doctrines of free and sovereign grace, was the most conspicuous for his personal zeal in the work of persuading men to be reconciled to God. In this respect he is a noble example for our imitation. Our Lord intimated to those of his apostles who were fishermen, that he would make them fishers of men,

intimating that in all weathers, and amidst every disappointment, they were to aim at drawing men to the shores of eternal life. Solomon says, *He that winneth souls is wise*, implying, no doubt, that the work of gaining over men to the side of God was to be done by winning methods, and that it required the greatest wisdom to do it with success. Upon these points we think it right to fix our serious and abiding attention :

I. In order to be prepared for our great and solemn work, it is absolutely necessary that we set an infinite value upon immortal souls; that we often endeavour to affect our minds with the dreadful loss sustained by an unconverted soul launched into eternity. It becomes us to fix in our minds the awful doctrine of eternal punishment, and to realise frequently the inconceivably awful condition of this vast country, lying in the arms of the wicked one. If we have not this awful sense of the value of souls, it is impossible that we can feel aright in any other part of our work, and in this case it had been better for us to have been in any other situation rather than in that of a missionary. Oh! may our hearts bleed over these poor idolaters, and may their case lie with continued weight on our minds, that we may resemble that eminent missionary, who compared the travail of his soul, on account of the spiritual state of those committed to his charge, to the pains of childbirth. But while we thus mourn over their miserable condition, we should not be discouraged, as though their recovery were impossible. He who raised the sottish and brutalised Britons to sit in heavenly places in Christ Jesus, can raise these slaves of superstition, purify their hearts by faith, and make them worshippers of the one God in spirit and in truth. The promises are fully sufficient to remove our doubts, and to make us anticipate that not very distant period when He will famish all the gods of India, and cause these very idolaters to cast their idols to the moles and the bats, and renounce for ever the work of their own hands.

II. It is very important that we should gain all the information we can of the snares and delusions in which these heathens are held. By this means we shall be able to converse with them in an intelligible manner. To know their modes of thinking, their habits, their propensities, their antipathies, the way in which they reason about God, sin, holiness, the way of salvation, and a future state; to be aware of the bewitching nature of their idolatrous worship, feasts, songs, etc., is of the highest consequence, if we would gain their attention to our discourse, and would avoid being barbarians to them. This knowledge may be easily obtained by conversing with sensible natives, by reading some parts of their works, and by attentively observing their manners and customs.

III. It is necessary, in our intercourse with the Hindoos, that as far as we are able to abstain from those things which would increase their prejudices against the gospel. Those parts of English manners which are most offensive to them should be kept out of sight as much as possible. We should also avoid every degree of cruelty to animals. Nor is it advisable at once to attack their prejudices by exhibiting with acrimony the sins of their gods; neither should we upon any account do violence to their images, nor interrupt their worship: the real conquests of the gospel are those of love: *And if, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me.* In this respect, let us be continually fearful lest one unguarded word, or one unnecessary display of the difference betwixt us, in manners, etc., should set the natives at a greater distance from us. Paul's readiness to become all things to all men, that he might by any means save some, and his disposition to abstain even from necessary comforts that he might not offend the weak, are circumstances worthy our particular notice. This line of conduct we may be sure was founded on the widest principles. Placed amidst a people very much like the hearers of the apostle, in many respects we may now perceive the solid wisdom which guided him as a missionary. The mild manners of the Moravians, and also of the Quakers towards the North American Indians, have, in many instances, gained the affections and confidence of heathens in a wonderful manner. He who is too proud to stoop to others, in order to draw them to him, though he may know that they are in many respects inferior to himself, is ill qualified to become a missionary. The words of a most successful preacher of the gospel still living, "that he would not care if the people trampled him under their feet, if he might become useful to their souls," are expressive of the very temper we should always cultivate.

IV. It becomes us to watch all opportunities of doing good. A missionary would be highly culpable, if he contented himself with preaching two or three times a week to those persons whom he might be able to get together into a place of worship. To carry on conversation with the natives almost every hour in the day, to go from village to village, from market to market, from one assembly to another; to talk to servants, labourers, etc., as often as opportunity offers, and to be instant in season and out of season—this is the life to which we are called in this country. We are apt to relax in these active exertions, especially in a warm climate; but we shall do well always to fix it in our minds, that life is short, that all around are perishing, and that we incur a dreadful woe if we proclaim not the glad tidings of salvation.

V. In preaching to the heathen, we must keep to the example of Paul, and make the great subject of our preaching,

Christ the crucified. It would be very easy for a missionary to preach nothing but truths, and that for many years together, without any well-grounded hope of becoming useful to one soul. The doctrine of Christ's expiatory death and all-sufficient merits has been, and must ever remain, the grand means of conversion. This doctrine, and others immediately connected with it, have constantly nourished and sanctified the church. Oh! that these glorious truths may ever be the joy and strength of our own souls, and then they will not fail to become the matter of our conversation to others. It was the proclaiming of these doctrines that made the Reformation from Popery in the time of Luther spread with such rapidity. It was these truths which filled the sermons of the most useful men in the eighteenth century. It is a well-known fact that the most successful missionaries in the world at the present day make the atonement of Christ their continued theme. We mean the Moravians. They attribute all their success to the preaching of the death of our Saviour. So far as our experience goes in this work, we most freely acknowledge, that every Hindoo among us who has been gained to Christ, has been won by the astonishing and all-constraining love exhibited in our Redeemer's propitiatory death. Oh! then may we resolve to know nothing among Hindoos and Mussulmans but Christ and Him crucified.

VI. It is absolutely necessary that the natives should have an entire confidence in us, and feel quite at home in our company. To gain this confidence we must on all occasions be willing to hear their complaints; we must give them the kindest advice, and we must decide upon everything brought before us in the most open, upright, and impartial manner. We ought to be easy of access, to condescend to them as much as possible, and on all occasions to treat them as our equals. All passionate behaviour will sink our characters exceedingly in their estimation. All force, and everything haughty, reserved and forbidding, it becomes us ever to shun with the greatest care. We can never make sacrifices too great when the eternal salvation of souls is the object, except, indeed, we sacrifice the commands of Christ.

VII. Another important part of our work is to build up, and to watch over, the souls that may be gathered. In this work we shall do well to simplify our first instructions as much as possible, and to press the great principles of the gospel upon the minds of the converts till they be thoroughly settled and grounded in the foundation of their hope towards God. We must be willing to spend some time with them daily, if possible, in this work. We must have much patience with them, though they may grow very slowly in divine knowledge.

We ought also to endeavour as much as possible to form

them to habits of industry, and assist them in procuring such employments as may be pursued with the least danger of temptations to evil. Here too we shall have occasion to exercise much tenderness and forbearance, knowing that industrious habits are formed with difficulty by all heathen nations. We ought also to remember that these persons have made no common sacrifices in renouncing their connections, their homes, their former situations and means of support, and that it will be very difficult for them to procure employment with heathen masters. In these circumstances, if we do not sympathise with them in their temporal losses for Christ, we shall be guilty of great cruelty.

As we consider it our duty to honour the civil magistrate, and in every state and country to render him the readiest obedience, whether we be persecuted or protected, it becomes us to instruct our native brethren in the same principles. A sense of gratitude too presses this obligation upon us in a peculiar manner, in return for the liberal protection we have experienced. It is equally our wisdom and our duty also to shew to the civil power, that it has nothing to fear from the progress of missions, since a real follower of Christ must resist the example of his great Master, and all the precepts the Bible contains on this subject, before he can become disloyal. Converted heathens, being brought over to the religion of their Christian governors, if duly instructed, are much more likely to love them and be united to them than subjects of a different religion.

To bear the faults of our native brethren, so as to reprove them with tenderness, and set them right in the necessity of a holy conversation, is a very necessary duty. We should remember the gross darkness in which they were so lately involved, having never had any just and adequate ideas of the evil of sin, or its consequences. We should also recollect how backward human nature is in forming spiritual ideas, and entering upon a holy self-denying conversation. We ought not therefore, even after many falls, to give up and cast away a relapsed convert, while he manifests the least inclination to be washed from his filthiness.

In walking before native converts, much care and circumspection are absolutely necessary. The falls of Christians in Europe have not such a fatal tendency as they must have in this country, because there the word of God always commands more attention than the conduct of the most exalted Christian. But here those around us, in consequence of their little knowledge of the Scriptures, must necessarily take our conduct as a specimen of what Christ looks for in His disciples. They know only the Saviour and His doctrine as they shine forth in us.

In conversing with the wives of native converts, and leading them in the ways of Christ, so that they may be an ornament to

the Christian cause, and make known the gospel to the native women, we hope always to have the assistance of the females who have embarked with us in the mission. We see that in primitive times the apostles were very much assisted in their great work by several pious females. The great value of female help may easily be appreciated, if we consider how much the Asiatic women are shut up from the men, and especially from men of another cast. It behoves us therefore to afford to our European sisters all possible assistance in acquiring the language, that they may, in every way which providence may open to them, become instrumental in promoting the salvation of the millions of native women, who are in a great measure excluded, from all opportunities of hearing the word from the mouths of European missionaries. A European sister may do much for the cause in this respect, by promoting the holiness and stirring up the zeal, of the female native converts.

A real missionary becomes in a sense a father to his people. If he feels all the anxiety and tender solicitude of a father; all that delight in their welfare and company that a father does in the midst of his children, they will feel all that freedom with and confidence in him which he can desire. He will be wholly unable to lead them on in a regular and happy manner, unless they can be induced to open their minds to him, and unless a sincere and mutual esteem subsists on both sides.

VIII. Another part of our work is the forming our native brethren to usefulness, fostering every kind of genius, and cherishing every gift and grace in them. In this respect we can scarcely be to lavish of our attention to their improvement. It is only by means of native preachers that we can hope for the universal spread of the gospel throughout this immense continent. Europeans are too few, and their subsistence costs too much, for us ever to hope that they can possibly be the instruments of the universal diffusion of the word amongst so many millions of souls, spread over such a large portion of the habitable globe. Their incapability of bearing the intense heat of the climate in perpetual itineracies, the heavy expences of their journies, not to say anything of the prejudices of the natives against the very presence of Europeans, and the great difficulty of becoming fluent in their languages, render it absolute duty to cherish native gifts, and to send forth as many native preachers as possible. If the practice of confining the ministry of the world to a single individual in a church be once established amongst us, we despair of the gospels's ever making much progress in India by our means. Let us therefore use every gift, and continually urge on our native brethren to press upon their countrymen the glorious gospel of the blessed God.

Still further to strengthen the cause of Christ in this country, and, as far as in our power, to give it a permanent establishment, even when the efforts of Europeans may fail, we think it our duty as soon as possible, to advise the native brethren who may be formed into separate churches, to choose their pastors and deacons from amongst their own countrymen, that the word may be statedly preached, and the ordinances of Christ administered in each church by the native minister, as much as possible, without the interference of the missionary of the district who will constantly superintend their affairs, give them advice in cases of order and discipline, and correct any errors into which they may fall; and who, joying and beholding their order, and the steadfastness of their faith in Christ, may direct his efforts continually to the planting of new churches in other places, and to the spread of the gospel in his district, to the utmost of his power. By this means the unity of the missionary character will be preserved, all the missionaries will still form one body, each one moveable as the good cause may require; the different native churches will also naturally learn to care and provide for their ministers, for their church expences, the raising of places of worship, etc., and the whole administration will assume a native aspect; by which means the inhabitants will more readily identify the cause as belonging to their own nation, and their prejudices at falling into the hands of Europeans will entirely vanish. It may be hoped too that the pastors of these churches, and the members in general, will feel a new energy in attempting to spread the gospel, when they shall thus freely enjoy its privileges among themselves.

Under the divine blessing, if in the course of a few years a number of native churches be thus established, from them the word of God may sound out even to the extremities of India; and numbers of preachers being raised up and sent forth, may form a body of native missionaries, inured to the climate, acquainted with the customs, language, modes of speech and reasoning of the inhabitants; able to become perfectly familiar with them, to enter their houses, to live upon their food, to sleep with them, or under a tree; and who may travel from one end of the country to the other almost without expence. These churches will be in no immediate danger of falling into errors or disorders, because the whole of their affairs will be constantly superintended by a European missionary. The advantages of this plan are so evident, that to carry it into complete effect ought to be our continued concern. That we may discharge the important obligations of watching over these infant churches when formed, and of urging them to maintain a steady discipline, to hold forth the clear and cheering light of evangelical truth in this region and shadow of death and to walk in all respects as those who have

been called out of darkness into marvellous light, we should go continually to the Source of all grace and strength; for if, to become the shepherd of one church be a most solemn and weighty charge, what must it be to watch over a number of churches just raised from a state of heathenism, and placed at a distance from each other.

We have thought it our duty not to change the names of native converts, observing from scripture that the apostles did not change those of the first Christians turned from heathenism, as the names Epaphroditus, Phebe, Fortunatus, Sylvanus, Apollos, Hermes, Junia, Narcissus, etc. prove. Almost all these names are derived from those of heathen gods. We think the great object which Divine Providence has in view in causing the gospel to be promulgated in the world, is not the changing of the names, the dress, the food, and the innocent usages of mankind, but to produce a moral and divine change in the hearts and conduct of men. It would not be right to perpetuate the names of heathen gods amongst Christians; neither is it necessary or prudent to give a new name to every man after his conversion, as hereby the economy of families, neighbourhoods, etc., would be needlessly disturbed. In other respects we think it our duty to lead our brethren by example, by mild persuasion, and by opening and illuminating their minds in a gradual way, rather than use authoritative means. By this they learn to see the evil of a custom, and then to despise and forsake it; whereas in cases wherein force is used, though they may leave off that which is wrong while in our presence, yet not having seen the evil of it, they are in danger of using hypocrisy, and of doing that out of our presence which they dare not do in it.

IX. It becomes us too to labour with all our might in forwarding translations of the sacred scriptures in the languages of Hindoostan. The help which God has afforded us already in this work is a loud call to us to "go forward." So far, therefore, as God has qualified us to learn those languages which are necessary, we consider it our bounden duty to apply with unwearied assiduity in acquiring them. We consider the publication of the divine Word throughout India as an object which we ought never to give up till accomplished, looking to the Fountain of all knowledge and strength, to qualify us for this great work, and to carry us through it to the praise of his holy name.

It becomes us to use all assiduity in explaining and distributing the divine word on all occasions, and by every means in our power to excite the attention and reverence of the natives towards it, as the foundation of eternal truth, and the message of salvation to men. It is our duty also to distribute, as extensively as possible, the different religious tracts which are published.

Considering how much the general diffusion of the knowledge of Christ depends upon a liberal and constant distribution of the Word, and of these tracts, all over the country, we should keep this continually in mind, and watch all opportunities of putting even single tracts into the hands of those persons with whom we occasionally meet. We should endeavour to ascertain where large assemblies of the natives are to be found, that we may attend upon them, and gladden whole villages at once with the tidings of salvation.

The establishment of native free schools is also an object highly important to the future conquests of the gospel. Of this very pleasing and interesting part of our missionary labours we should endeavour not to be unmindful. As opportunities are afforded, it becomes us to establish, visit, and encourage these institutions, and to recommend the establishment of them to other Europeans. The progress of divine right is gradual, both as it respects individuals and nations. Whatever therefore tends to increase the body of holy light in these dark regions, is *as bread cast upon the waters, to be seen after many days*. In many ways the progress of providential events is preparing the Hindoos for casting their idols to the moles and the bats, and for becoming a part of the chosen generation, the royal priesthood, the holy nation. Some parts of missionary labours very properly tend to the present conversion of the heathen, and others to the ushering in the glorious period when *a nation shall be born at once*. Of the latter kind are native free schools.

X. That which, as a means, is to fit us for the discharge of these laborious and unutterably important labours, is the being instant in prayer, and the cultivation of personal religion. Let us ever have in remembrance the examples of those who have been most eminent in the work of God. Let us often look at Brainerd in the woods of America, pouring out his very soul before God for the perishing heathen, without whose salvation nothing could make him happy. Prayer, secret, fervent, believing prayer, lies at the root of all personal godliness. A competent knowledge of the languages current where a missionary lives, a mild and winning temper, and a heart given up to God in closest religion, these, these are the attainments which, more than all knowledge or all other gifts, will fit us to become the instruments of God in the great work of human redemption. Let us then ever be united in prayer at stated seasons, whatever distance may separate us, and let each one of us lay it upon his heart that we will seek to be fervent in spirit, wrestling with God, till he famish these idols, and cause the heathen to experience the blessedness that is in Christ.

Finally: Let us give ourselves up unreservedly to this glorious cause. Let us never think that our time, our gifts, our

strength, our families, or even the clothes we wear, are our own. Let us sanctify them all to God and his cause. Oh! that he may sanctify us for his work. Let us for ever shut out the idea of laying up a covy for ourselves or our children. If we give up the resolution which was formed on the subject of private trade when we first united at Serampore, the mission is from that hour a lost cause. A worldly spirit, quarrels, and every evil work will succeed, the moment it is admitted that each brother may do something on his own account. Woe to that man who shall ever make the smallest movement toward such a measure! Let us continually watch against a worldly spirit, and cultivate a christian indifference towards every indulgence. Rather let us bear hardness as good soldiers of Jesus Christ, and endeavour to learn in every state to be content.

If in this way we are unable to glorify God with our bodies and spirits which are his—our wants will be his care. No private family ever enjoyed a greater portion of happiness, even in the most prosperous gale of worldly prosperity, than we have done since we resolved to have all things in common, and that no one should pursue business for his own exclusive advantage. If we are enabled to persevere in the same principles, we may hope that multitudes of converted souls will have reason to bless God to all eternity for sending his gospel into this country.

To keep these ideas alive in our minds, we resolve that this agreement should be read publicly, at every station, at our three annual meetings, viz. on the first Lord's day in January, in May, and October.

WILLIAM CAREY,
 JOSHUA MARSHMAN,
 WILLIAM WARD,
 JOHN CHAMBERLAIN,
 RICHARD MARDON,
 JOHN BISS,
 WILLIAM MOORE,
 JOSHUA ROWE,
 FELIX CAREY.

Mission House, Serampore.

West Central African Conference.

AT Leopoldville, formerly known as Kinshasa, the capital of the Belgian Congo, there was held between 13th and 24th July, 1946, a notable missionary conference, at which it was my good fortune to represent the Baptist Missionary Society, one of the pioneers of the Congo Mission.

During my missionary career I have attended three such Conferences organised by the Congo Protestant Council—the first, in 1921, then the Jubilee Conference in 1928, and lastly the Mott Conference in 1934. But this West Central African Conference was more ambitious and significant than all previous meetings for the following reasons: it was the first important post-war missionary conference in any field, it was the first Congo conference to which Africans had come as regular delegates, and lastly, it was attended by a large number of Board Secretaries and others from the sending countries. Thus there came together representatives of the older and younger churches, with a solid missionary buffer between them, a buffer which had to take a few knocks from either side. But this triad could more aptly be likened to a triangle with its three members linked in a common purpose, though subtending rather different angles. If any one point of view seemed too acute it was balanced by a correspondingly obtuse angle elsewhere, so that between us we managed to get a right angle and some sort of symmetry in the shape of things to come.

From the linguistic aspect we tried to reduce the African Tower of Babel to a solid pyramid whose four sides were English, American, French, and Portuguese. The hidden base was the submerged Bantu—not one of whose eight hundred languages and dialects could have a place in the sun, except on Sunday at the Public Services. At the summit of the pyramid were perched, in all their Olympian glory, our interpreters, versatile folk of both sexes, (of whom Miss Lily Jenks was “awarded the palm”) who could turn the pyramid with a twist of the tongue, or sometimes by a “tour de force”, so that the audience was presented with its own familiar aspect.

It was a thrill to me to get to Leopoldville in as many hours as it had taken days on my first voyage. One hop, from Brussels to Algiers, a skip over the Sahara by night to Lagos, and a jump over the jungle to Leopoldville in 24 hours. Instead of a

push push for the ladies, a handcart for the baggage, and flat feet for the men, where motors were unknown even in 1920, now natives hail taxis and drive their own cars. Instead of hiding one's head under a hideous helmet one did not even trouble to wear a hat except to keep one's hair tidy. Folk have now learnt what they really need to fear—and protect themselves internally from malaria by drugs more potent than quinine, and from enteric and yellow fever by inoculations, without which one cannot board a train or steamer.

The Congo did well for the war, and quite well out of it. It was a highway for "vipers" and the lesser breeds,—men who passed up and down planning that the common enemy might have death.

But we, the successors of those who launched the "Peace" and the "Goodwill" on the Congo waters, came together to plan "That they might have life", for that was the theme of our Conference. It was, therefore, appropriate that the abandoned American hutted war hospital should have been purchased and adapted by the Congo Protestant Council for the purpose of housing us, and it proved most suitable and convenient. Be-flagged and decorated, it presented a colourful spectacle as delegates and guests arrived on the first Saturday afternoon for the Opening Ceremony.

Alongside the red-backed dais, adorned with objects of primitive African art and culture, was installed the most modern broadcasting apparatus, which put us "on the air", and relayed the proceedings to every corner of the erstwhile "Dark Continent". Radio had replaced the reverberating drums. Savages, transformed into modern soldiers, complete with bands, were evidence of Belgian civilising and emancipating work. The white-robed choir of the Kimpese Union Training Institute were symbols of the educational and cultural work of Missions. But the most striking fact of all, for those who could see it, was the solid foundation built in living stones of the Church of Christ in Congo. These stalwart sons of the Church came together—some sent by their own congregations, others at their own expense, one actually by air from 2,000 miles away. Formerly men were banded together in secret societies for mutual profit and anti-social action, and there are still those killers called "the leopard men" of the Congo. Here we were members of one family, one faith, one Lord, one baptism, met together that they all might share in the abundant life.

Our Leaders were well chosen—the Rev. Norman Goodall, as President, and three Vice-Principals—Pastor Schloesing, from Paris, Dr. John Tucker, from Canada and Angola, and Dr. Stanley Smith, of the Ruanda Bible and Medical Mission of the C.M.S.

They, and others of us, including the Rev. Wakelin Coxill, the retiring Congo Protestant Council Secretary, welcomed the guests—residents, officials, soldiers, members of the consular corps, and the Governor-General, M. Pierre Ryckmans.

The latter's speech to us was in the nature of a "swan song" for we bade him farewell two days later as he left the Congo, after a most distinguished career, in which he had shown himself the true friend and champion of the African. "In these troubles," he said to us, "which civilisation brings into native society, we must try and establish a new harmony; and there we need you. Human law can bring peace and justice and order, but it is insufficient to bring in the reign of love." He went on to foreshadow the measures for which Protestant Missions in the Congo have been pleading in the name of liberty and justice for many decades. "Concerning the Protestant faith the Government has decided to give to the native Protestant community of Congo greater opportunities of education and development in harmony with their conscience." A resounding ovation greeted this statement for it meant the beginning of the end of a policy which has exclusively favoured the R.C. Church in the realm of education, and this tended to create an under-privileged and discontented Protestant community. Relationships between the Belgian authorities and the Conference made up largely of Anglo-Saxons all out of sympathy with the predominant Roman Catholic religion of Belgium might not have been easy, let alone cordial. That they were so, however, is due firstly to the reputation which the majority of Protestant Missions have rightly earned, and also to the presence among us of some distinguished Belgians. There were Lieut. Colonel H. L. Becquet, the able and devoted leader of the Salvation Army in the Congo, with his sister and members of his staff. There was also M. Faidherbe, a business man spending some time as a voluntary worker with the Belgian Protestant Mission in Urundi, and Colonel Van Goethem, the chief Protestant padre of the Metropolitan Army, who had flown out with me on a mission to establish Protestant chaplaincies for the Colonial troops and link them up with other Protestant Missions. Baptists of all brands were much in evidence. Our own Society had its full ten per cent. quota. Our American and Canadian cousins were there, and Scandinavian groups were all represented, while many other Missions which were Baptist in all but name sent delegates. We were foremost in our support of the Church of Christ in Congo, and notable was the contribution of the Danish Baptist leader—Hans P. Jensen in appealing for unity. He had been brought up in the strictest tradition to consider even a professional Pastor as an agent of the devil, but had come to realise the revelation of the unity of the Body of Christ.

He complained that Protestants tend to get even more Lutheran than Luther and urged us not to magnify "convictions" above love.

The clash of colour was perhaps more evident as proceedings developed than the denominational differences. Besides our African colleagues, who were experiencing their first taste of liberty, equality and fraternity and anxious to get many things "off their chests," there were coloured representatives from other parts of Africa and over the Atlantic. These latter can be excused if tempted to oversentimentalise the colour question and to resent even the affectionate title of "boy" if its use survives into adult life. One friend even found this definitely derogatory to the sanctity of personality. Another, in an attempt to claim that the Missions must forthwith establish a Congo university held up the President's ebony and ivory gavel and exclaimed "This represents the African knocking on the door of education which is never opened." The silence which followed could be felt. We missionaries who had in older days been castigated by Government and commercial interests for even presuming to educate the natives were now being told, in effect, that we were "the niggers in the wood pile." That gesture, however, gave me a sermon which was repeated, by request, on more than one occasion. It was entitled "The Hammer"—black head and white handle, either alone would be useless; it took some shaping and knocking to bring them together into a very useful tool, which must be carefully used or the head would fly off the handle. Whose hand was to hold the hammer?—the Carpenter of Nazareth—etc.

That "flying off the handle" gave us some concern. We have had a foretaste of Separatist Movements which have caused widespread suffering to thousands owing to strict Government action. We realise that they are in the main compensatory phenomena for actual or imagined frustrations and recommended a Commission for their study, to avoid a repetition of the state of affairs which has developed in South Africa. There are many hundreds of such bodies. It was agreed that some Old Testament characters must be held up as a warning how not to behave rather than as pious patriarchs and patterns for holy living.

Dr. Reinault Jones of the Institute of Race Relationships encouraged us to believe that the emancipating of the common folk in the Union was being demanded by industry, and that public opinion favoured increased wages. The mechanisation of industry was side-tracking the colour bar, for natives are essential to its maintenance.

But our main theme developed round the life of the individual and the Church. We boldly stated at the outset of our findings that the basis of the Christian life is personal voluntary

commitment to Jesus Christ. Christ came that men might have life—the Church exists to proclaim it.

Thinking of the Church as the family, and the family in the Church, we considered ways of relating one to the other. Family pews, family Sundays, family worship, family duties, women's place in the family and Church, etc.

The plans for education were rethought in the light of Government proposals and the Church and local communities urged to provide their village and regional schools, leaving the Missions, with Government aids, to provide middle schools. Literacy was to be tackled with a twenty-year programme, inaugurated by the forthcoming visit of Dr. Laubach. Higher education should be in united institutions and Missions were still to retain their place in the medical education of the various classes of subordinate medical workers. We were against the idea of a graduate medical school as being out of relation to the real needs of the rural population, which could better be served by the medical assistant class than by a fully fledged doctor who might only be trained with a very great effort and expenditure.

Our former C.P.C. Secretary, Dr. Emory Ross, and Mrs. Ross, were leading spirits in the presentation of new expansionist urges while men like our Congo Secretary, Mr. Reynolds, kept us well down to fundamentals.

The veteran lady missionary, Dr. Mabie, touched us all on a tender place when she spoke out of vast experience and deep insight of missionary relationships—the little foxes which spoil the vines—those missionaries who do not grade up to the highest, those who made a hobby of work, and work a hobby, those who were always right, of lazy missionaries who were either pious or ill, and of the inefficient player with gadgets, etc. It was a timely warning lest any of us should be cast-aways. So by talking, feeding and living together we tried to see ourselves as others see us. We stood back in detachment from our work and got a perspective. At the end of the Conference the Africans asked "And when are we going to start doing all these things?" The answer to that will depend upon many factors, not the least the appreciation of the older Churches of the tremendous opportunity now presenting itself to them on the Congo field. Our own Society is in very great need of Congo recruits, ministers and educationalists especially. Though the difficulties may be very great and the issues confused in other of our fields, there are nothing but open doors in the Congo and a beckoning voice: "Come over and help us."

CLEMENT C. CHESTERMAN.

Some Recent Trends in Swiss Theology.

IT was an interesting and rewarding experience after an interval of nine years to plunge once more into the living stream of Swiss theology in Zürich. Unfortunately my visit was too brief and preoccupied to afford the leisure necessary to gain a comprehensive picture of the theological scene. In retrospect one feels like a traveller who has enjoyed the view from a few scattered peaks but remains abysmally ignorant of whole tracts of country lying between them. The existence of these unilluminated spaces should not be forgotten in the description which follows.

Protestant theology on the Continent has always tended to pay more attention than its counterpart in the Anglo-American world to systematic studies (*Dogmatik*), and the Switzerland of today forms no exception. Biblical, exegetical, textual, historical questions are in no way neglected, but attention is focused on the systematic presentation of Christian doctrine in a degree which has no parallel here, and it is no accident that the two greatest living Swiss theologians, Barth and Brunner, are each at present engaged in writing a *Dogmatik*. It is, however, precisely these theologians who have placed the Bible once more at the heart of all theology, and the deepest *motif* of Swiss theology might perhaps be found in the urge to utter the essential message of the Bible with convincing power to a world so desperately needing it. That message is the redemptive revelation in Jesus Christ. Textual and historical questions are but the handmaids of *theologia redemptionis*.

No attempt is made to conceal the fact that this redemption is a miracle of grace accessible only to faith and transcending intellectual comprehension. *Finitus non capax infiniti*. It can therefore as a sublime mystery be expressed only in paradox. Infinite God becomes finite man. The sinless Saviour suffers. The holy God forgives. Such is the dialectic Barth finds in the Bible—a dialectic akin to Kirkegaard rather than Hegel. And the background for this dialectic are the *misère* of man's sin and the *grandeur* of God's grace.

In their insistence on this central theme Barth and Brunner are at one. They modulate it, however, with distinctive variations. Barth is the imperious Paul speaking words of flaming insight, the iconoclast smashing ruthlessly all idols, the orator declaiming

massive truths without concern for minor nuances. Brunner proclaims the same truths with the mellower grace of John and the contemplation of a philosopher aware of the secondary distinctions no less than the primary affirmations.

At six main points Brunner adds his distinctive rider to Barth's axiom. The first three divergencies had emerged before the outbreak of war in 1939. The second three have become apparent during and since the war.

(1) *Revelation.* So overwhelmed is Barth by the wonder and magnitude of God's revelation in Christ, that he can see no other. Apart from Christ, God is wholly *deus absconditus*—the hidden God. Brunner is no less convinced that only in Christ is God's saving grace revealed. Yet "his eternal power and godhead" (Rom. 1. 20) do not cease to be manifest in the very face of nature, and are recognised however dimly, even by the heathen.

(2) *The divine image in man.* In his zeal to demolish the idealistic view of man as essentially reasonable and good, Barth asserts the doctrine of total depravity with such radical thoroughness that the divine image in man is utterly obliterated. For Brunner the *imago* is horribly corrupted, and man's intellect and will perverted. Yet even in his sin man remains the crown of God's creation, and, far from being *truncus et lapsus*, retains his *humanitas* and responsibility.

(3) *The "Point of Contact."* So depraved is man in the Barthian view that there remains in him no point of contact whatever with the divine. He has become the "wholly other" from God. The work of the Holy Spirit in regeneration is thus an utter miracle, and regeneration is not a transformation, but a new creation. The question *what* it is in man which responds to the divine grace is brushed aside by Barth as a mischievous irrelevancy. Brunner fully recognises the importance both of the doctrine of human sin and of the work of the Holy Spirit, but refuses on Biblical, anthropological, soteriological, and evangelistic grounds to overlook this problem of contact. Barth would simply cast the gospel at a person's head and pray for the power of the Holy Spirit. Brunner would "speak to the condition" of the unconverted without minimising the gospel or praying less fervently for the inspiration of the Spirit.

Such were the questions hotly debated between Basle and Zürich when I left Switzerland in 1937. In 1946 I found that the principal controversy had shifted to three others.

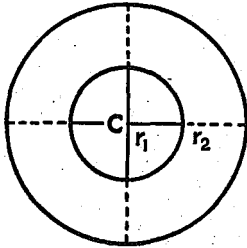
(4) *The Relation of the Old and New Testaments.* Barth's synoptic mind has seized on the essential unity of the old and new dispensations. The Old Testament is not a worn-out garment which can be thrust aside when the new is put on. The God of the Old is the God of the New, and Abraham is still the father

of the faithful. Indeed the history of Israel is an unveiling of Christ, the Word of God. This view is unfolded in detail by Barth's disciple Wilhelm Vischer in his *Christuszeugnis des alten Testaments*, soon to appear in English. Here the Christological significance of the Law, the Prophets, and the Writings is expounded with a brilliance which sometimes becomes extravagance. Brunner, no less than Barth and Vischer, perceives the unity of old and new and would in no way restrict Christology to the new, yet he insists also on their difference. The old is but prophetic. The New is apostolic. The former breathes the Messianic *hope*. The latter states the Messianic *fact*, for the "fulness of time" has come. Thus the relation of old to new is dialectic—they are the same, yet not the same.

(5) *Creation and Redemption*. Barth sees creation and redemption as but aspects of the same mighty sweep of God's astounding work in Christ. Redemption and creation are more closely linked than ever before, and the work of Christ as the agent of both tends to become universal and ensure the ultimate salvation of all. Since Christ has suffered the divine wrath "rejection can never again be the lot of men" (Barth, *Dogmatik II*, p. 182.) Here Brunner utters his objection in the interests of Biblical exegesis and human responsibility (see *Dogmatik I*, pp. 375-379, soon to appear in English in Olive Wyon's translation.) Barth has apparently reached the supralapsarian position, but with a single instead of double predestination. In Brunner's view Christ is indeed the medium of both creation and redemption, but that does not make creation and redemption the same thing any more than a chair is a table because it is made by the same saw. Nor can the dreadful prospect of hell for those who reject Christ be so neatly disposed of. If it could, what would happen to the missionary urge?

(6) *Church and State*. Linking creation and redemption so closely together through Christ, Barth is irresistibly driven to his next step—the almost complete identification of Church and State. The first indications are seen in his *Rechtfertigung und Recht*, translated by G. R. Howe as *Church and State* in 1939. Arguing with logical rather than exegetical precision from a very small number of passages, he argues that both Church and State have a Christological foundation and are practically the same thing. His thought is continued by Oscar Cullmann in his *Christus und die Zeit*, 1946. In what strikes one as by far the weakest section of an otherwise excellent book, Cullmann, arguing from his interpretation of *ἐξουσία*, co-ordinates both the State and the Church under the *regnum Christi*. I translate his words and give his diagram (p. 166.) "The Church and the world are not two circles which lie so to speak side by side, and perhaps

touch or intersect. They are also not quite identical. We should rather conceive them as two concentric circles whose common centre is Christ. The whole area ($r_1 + r_2$) is the *regnum Christi*; the inner area (r_1) is the Church, and the area between the two circles is the world.



C = Christ.

r_1 = Church.

r_2 = World.

$r_1 + r_2$ = Regnum Christi.

The inner circle stands nearer to Christ than the outer, yet Christ is the common centre."

Brunner objects vigorously both to the attempt to ground the State in Christ and to bring it into close proximity to the Church. To him, although Christ is the agent both of creation and redemption, the State nevertheless belongs purely to the orders of creation and the Church to the order of redemption.

A conception common to most Swiss theologians today is that of salvation as *Heilsgeschichte*. God is seen breaking into history to create His Kingdom of the redeemed both within history and beyond. Wilhelm Vischer concentrates on God's saving acts in Israel and their connection with His saving act in Christ. W. G. Kümmel (*Verheissung und Erfüllung*, 1945) in a very careful New Testament study demonstrates the limitations of Dodd's "realised eschatology." The teaching of Jesus does contain elements in which eschatology is fulfilled in the Incarnation, but it also embraces elements which can be fulfilled only in the Second Advent. The onesidedness of both Dodd and Albert Schweizer is thus rectified; a place given to both the historical and the Coming Christ, and the Church seen, as emphasised so often by both Barth and Brunner, as living "between the times" of ascension and parousia. Building on Kümmel's foundation, Cullmann (*Jesus und die Zeit*) develops more fully the idea of *Heilsgeschichte*, showing the line running through the Old Testament to Christ, both the Christ of history and the Christ of the parousia, and indicating the significance of Christ for world history and the individual. What one misses in this significant book is Christ's meaning for the Church.

Straightforward exegesis is in no way overshadowed by this

wealth of systematic thought. A new Biblical commentary, predominantly theological but also reverently critical, is appearing volume by volume under the title *Prophezev*. The parts I chanced to see appeared excellent.

In the realm of pastoral theology two important books have recently appeared, Ludwig Köhler's *Nöte und Pflege des innern Lebens* (The Needs and Nurture of the Inner Life) and Eduard Thurneysen's *Die Lehre von der Seelsorge* (The Doctrine of Pastoral Care.) Both assume the priesthood of all believers and write for the layman as well as the cleric. Köhler illumines his principles by innumerable concrete examples. Thurneysen, who in his student days was acquainted with that great pastor of souls the younger Blumhardt, makes the Bible the basis of all his thinking, but is willing to receive light cast upon it by the researches of psychologists like Freud and Jung.

The uprush of theological energy in the Switzerland of our day is no accident. It is led by men who saw at closer quarters than we the demoralising effects of the first world war, men who turned to the Bible as the only fortress in a world threatened with disaster, men whose life is nourished by deep devotion. Brunner invariably begins his lectures by singing a hymn with his students. Rarely indeed does one find such glorious devotional writing as Alfred de Quervain's article, *Vom Gebet als dem rechten Gottesdienst und dem eigentlichen Werk des Christen* (Prayer as divine service and the truest Christian work) in the *Theologische Zeitschrift* of the University of Basle (2. Jahrgang Heft 3, 1946.) "Once more, and with clearer emphasis we must repeat that the command in virtue of which we pray is nothing less than the whole glad tidings of the gospel." Such is the spirit of Swiss theology today.

ARTHUR B. CRABTREE.

John Ruskin as Educator and Friend.

RUSKIN was devoted to both the principles and practice of education at the Village School at Coniston. He became one of the Managers and took his duties seriously. He was a frequent visitor and gave simple interesting addresses to the children, asking and answering many questions. He clothed the bare walls of the school with facsimile pictures of famous specimens of architecture. In the school yard he placed a large orrery showing the principal constellations of the heavens, for the study of astronomy. With the little ones of the Infants' Department he was on very friendly and familiar terms, like his Great Master. He would pick up the tiny scholars and press them to his loving heart, particularly if he found any of them to be in trouble, entering into their childish woes and restoring a sunny smile to their faces.

For some years on a Saturday afternoon he had an appointment with girls of ten to fourteen years of age. He called them Mountain Lassies. They came to his home for lessons and then tea. He discussed a variety of topics: the shapes of fir cones, or Italian and Greek coins. Sometimes he would read Shakespeare. But whatever else was included, the *Bible* and some Botany formed part of the lesson. After the lesson they had tea in his study, laying it themselves with much laughter and clatter.

After tea he cleared the tables himself, giving up the room to them entirely for that afternoon. Then they had community singing and games. Some of the songs were written by Ruskin himself, and also the quaint liltng tunes. Here is one:

Ho, ho, the Cocks Crow!
Little girls—get up:
Little girls to bed must go,
When the Robins sup.

Heigh, heigh, the nags neigh!
Up, boys, and afield.
Ere the sun through yonder grey
Raise his russet shield.

He spared neither himself nor his possessions to give pleasure to his guests. His hearty laugh was infectious. One of the girls who was a bit of a character, once said in the local

dialect: "Meester Rooskin is a foony man, boot he likes oos to take a good tea."

He was always interested in young people, and aimed at cultivating their physical, intellectual, aesthetic and moral faculties. His sincere desire was to enrich their minds by instruction and discipline, and he looked on education more as an ethical rather than an intellectual process. Knowledge based on goodness and expressed in right behaviour, free from all envious or anxious effort in relation to our neighbour, was one of Ruskin's main principles in the training of youth.

Through his literary work Ruskin became acquainted with the Rev. J. P. Faunthorpe, Principal of the Whitelands Training College for Girls at Chelsea, and there he was given an opportunity for an educational experiment, and introduced what his biographer calls a system of "May Queens."

The Queen was chosen by the students of the College for her virtues and moral worth. Maids of honour were selected to attend her because of the same qualities of character. The festivals were times of graceful mirth. Beauty and joy were expressed in the lives of the young people. Processions, songs, flowers, pretty frocks, happy hearts, gaiety and hilarity abounded. The day of coronation, Ruskin hoped would be one of consecration, and he advised the Queen to think deeply of life and its opportunities of noble living in the service of others. Be yourself, he would tell her, without affectation, sincere and simple.

When the Queen was crowned, she was presented with a Gold Cross, given by Ruskin each year and designed by his friend Burne Jones, the artist. A symbol of deep significance, it reminded the Queen of Him who wore a crown of thorns, not flowers, and in a moment of sublime consecration, laid down His precious life, in a lowly act of redeeming service. Ruskin wanted the coronation of the Queen to be a memorable and public act of dedication. Each of the Maids also received one of his books as a memento of the day which influenced all who took part in the ceremonies. As the Queens and students went out into the world afterwards to take up appointments as teachers, they were inspired by his character and lofty ideals. His deepest desires were that they might go forth in their life's work clad in the beautiful garments of Hope and Love, carrying in their right hand the burning torch of goodness and in their left the lamp of knowledge.

In the training of young people Ruskin makes the following suggestions:

(1) *Education* regulated by natural endowment. "True justice in education consists in granting aid in the development of such faculties as he possesses for action and enjoyment."

Education can discover and develop, it cannot create. The gold is a fixed quantity which can be sifted, melted, hammered, purified, but never created.

(2) *Develop the faculties of Worship.*

Cultivate a sense of submission, reverence and respect, with unlimited admiration and adoration. "No day's schooling is complete which has not done something to develop a child's capacity in Admiration, Hope and Love. There is life in these three immaterial things." Draw the attention of children to beauty in nature. "A quiet glade of forest glows with splendour and the nook of a lake shore is a scene of exquisite loveliness, they are worth all the schools in Christendom." The destruction of beautiful scenery to Ruskin was the destruction of one of the best means of education.

(3) Attract the minds of children to the study of noble persons. *Suggest to the mind noble objects of action.*

At the close of one of his lectures, he said to his students, "Now you have heard my message, put into practice in your daily life the principles I have been enunciating. Let them not only be in your mind but translated into service for the comfort and uplifting of any who may be in distress. Watch that your life is not detached from the world. Keep in close touch with it and respond to its many needs. Do not let mere theory satisfy you, but contemplate and copy the unselfish deeds of righteous men and women, reproduce also in your life, by a continuous service of going about doing good."

Ruskin was fond of trying his hands at Arts and Crafts. "I like to do things with my own hands till I know its difficulty." He wanted to learn how a workman felt at his daily work, and had a keen desire to come close to him in sympathy and experience, and so to impress him and his friends not only as a thinker but as a practical man. In the building of the Museum at Oxford he designed some of the windows, and built a column. He also assisted Dr. Acland, his tutor, in the building of a new study, and took lessons as a carpenter until he could take an even shaving off a board six feet long. After spending some time with a house painter and decorator, he became efficient enough to feel the master's superiority in the use of a blunt brush. He admits he found it difficult to be a bricklayer, and says, "What I built yesterday of my tutor's study, he pulled down, but the work I did today, he allowed it to stand." He finally abandoned all hope, however, of obtaining the least skill in building or bricklaying. Legend relates that the column he built for the Museum workmen found it necessary to demolish. Ruskin was, however, no idle sentimentalist, but was ever seeking for some practical expression

of his feelings. In after years he used to make a joke and say: "I might have been a Civil Engineer and a second Telford."

When spending his holidays in Switzerland he interviewed engineers and capitalists and tried to persuade them to build reservoirs in the valleys, keep the water under control, curb the Alpine torrents, and so on. Then, he said, the Alps would become a garden and inundations, a source of suffering and disease, need never recur. His principle was, every field a pond and every ravine its reservoir. He was never able to carry out this scheme, but was ultimately successful in a smaller way.

In the village of Fulking in Sussex, where he sometimes spent holidays with friends, there was a difficulty in finding good drinking water, and Ruskin devised a scheme and carried it out. Beside the well which now supplies their wants, there is a marble tablet with this inscription: "To the glory of God and in honour of John Ruskin. That they might set their hope in God and not forget to keep His Commandments who also brought streams out of the rock."

Ruskin was fond of quiet walks in the country and while at Oxford he often made his way to Ferry Hincksey, which was then an unspoiled village with a rustic Church. To the south of the village was a road which always annoyed Ruskin. It was soft, swampy, low lying and had deep ruts cut by cart wheels, which held stagnant water. It was ugly, and unhealthy. Ruskin made up his mind to make it pleasant for people to use and easy for carts to pass over. Having got permission from the owner, he decided to engage a company of undergraduates to dig and lay a new road. In the Spring term of 1874, Ruskin, therefore, invited a number of Balliol men to breakfast at Corpus and discussed the project with them. Hospitality was one of his outstanding characteristics. He was also a brilliant conversationalist and an enthusiast for an ideal state. They were all young, and though he was fifty-five years of age, he was young in heart and youthful in outlook. So after a good breakfast and happy interchange of opinions, they set out for Hincksey to begin digging for the day in good and gay form. Breakfasts of this kind continued. All in flannels, the men set out with picks, spades and barrows day after day. Ruskin visited them from time to time and applauded them at their task. The breakfasts were a method of contact and influence, prayerfully, carefully, cunningly and tactfully arranged. He made all who came partners and personal friends, influencing many of the men for a life of high and holy service, morally, politically and socially. Two of the undergraduates among the diggers were Alfred Milner (1854-1925), who filled many offices of state and was High Commissioner of South Africa in 1897, and Arnold Toynbee (1852-83), the

foreman of the gang, a rare and beautiful spirit, most persuasive of talkers, most devoted of workers, whose name cannot be mentioned by any of his friends, without some word of affectionate recollection.

Toynbee appeared frequently at breakfast, and intercourse with Ruskin had a stimulating effect on his life. He often differed from Ruskin, but regarded him with reverence and affection. After graduating at Oxford, Toynbee devoted himself to practical philanthropy and social reform. He founded the Settlement in East London, now Toynbee Hall, Whitechapel. He gave his life for the poor and died, comparatively young, through overstrain in this self-denying service.

The undergraduate road makers and diggers were the objects of much ridicule. Many people laughed at them, but Ruskin and his friends took it all good-naturedly, their sense of humour being as alert as that of their revilers. Perhaps it was here that the seeds of University settlements were first sown. The *Spectator* approved of the work, and *Punch* was on Ruskin's side.

"Pity for the man who thinks he
Proves Ruskin fool for work like this,
Why shouldn't young Oxford lend hands to Hincksey
Though Doctrinaries may take it amiss?
Careless wholly of Critics menace
Scholars of Ruskin to him be true;
The truth he has writ in the stones of Venice
May be taught by the stones of Hincksey too."

Ruskin found an opening for personal service which was just to his mind as a teacher and lecturer at the Working Men's College situated first in Red Lion Square and later in Great Ormond Street. Here he taught drawing and other subjects from 1854 to 1858 and during a term in 1860, with occasional lectures in which he showed that working men could and should be allowed an opportunity to have their chosen representative in Parliament to deliberate upon the possible modes of the regulation of industry. "Get your ideas and say what you want."

Ruskin exercised a very powerful influence over working men. In 1906, to the great surprise of many, the Liberal Party had an overwhelming majority in that Election; but there was another surprise. Forty Labour Members were elected. Hitherto they had worked in conjunction with the Liberals, but now they refused and took steps to found a party of their own. An ingenious London journalist sent circulars to this large contingent of Labour Members asking them to state which were the books that had influenced them? Some said one, and some another, but the book which appeared in the greatest number of lists was Ruskin's *Unto This Last*.

Ruskin's Socialism was a great ideal. His mind was constantly filled with the thoughts and visions of a perfect brotherhood, which would produce a model state. This made him careful that his conduct should be in accord with what he preached. He was not a perfect man, but the principles of self-sacrificial service, of true patriotism, of reverence and respect for others, and of deep inward piety found expression in all that he did.

WILLIAM KIRK BRYCE.

Fuller Church, Kettering. 1696-1946, by Gladys M. Barrett, M.A., B.Litt.

The story of one of our best known provincial churches is told by the wife of its present minister in twenty-six readable pages. "Fuller" had its beginnings in the secession of two groups from the Kettering Independent Church and their fusion in c. 1729. It is a heartening thing to find that the writer, after reviewing its subsequent history, can say of the future that "Much depends on the Church's vigorously pursuing the course indicated by its history and tradition." The booklet contains five photographic reproductions. There is no indication as to its cost.

Design for Rescue, by R. C. Walton. (S.C.M. 1s. 6d.)

This book by the Secretary of the Student Christian Movement in Schools is based upon a course of lectures delivered in 1945 at two summer conferences for sixth-form boys and girls. It may be of some assistance to others who are trying to teach this sort of audience. In the course of his argument the writer attempts to trace affinities between the form of the Gospel story (up to the death of our Lord) and the threefold development (exposition, conflict, catastrophe) in Shakespearean tragedy. He also finds "significant parallels of meaning."

G. W. RUSLING.

A Note on the Rev. George Beaumont of Norwich.

LIKE Mr. Hewett (above, p. 106), I, too, have long wished to know more about Rev. George Beaumont of Norwich. The facts given by Mr. Hewett suffice to identify the man, show him as theological disputant, and hint at his interest in social conditions, but too little is known about his career, especially that aspect of it which takes him out of local and denominational history into the wider field of the national struggle for political reform in the days before 1832. The slight information available suggests that the portrait of a most interesting personality might emerge from further research; may we hope that some student of Norwich history will be encouraged to find out more about Beaumont from the files of local newspapers and other contemporary records?

In the meantime, as a slight contribution to his biography, the following incident in his career may help to rescue him from oblivion; it is a mere episode, but a most enlightening one, and it is derived from the Tory *Leeds Intelligencer* and the Whig *Leeds Mercury* for the dates June 3rd and June 5th, 1830, respectively. On May 31st a great Reform meeting was held on Hunslet Moor, Leeds, whereat the old glories of the days of Peterloo were revived. It was a time of great distress and the meeting was held at the instigation of the Radicals, who were by that time almost all working men, a fact of some importance when it is learned that the Rev. George Beaumont was one of the speakers. The middle and upper class Reformers who stood for "moderate" reform were almost entirely of the Whig faction and most of their leaders were Unitarian; among the Tories, who stood by church, king and constitution (that is, the *status quo*) were to be found supporters of the Church of England and the Wesleyans. Local Baptists seem to have played small part. So that the question of Beaumont's denominational status, though still unsolved, is of some importance. The *Intelligencer* styled him a Wesleyan, but newspaper reporters cannot be credited with infallibility. If it can be proved that he was a Baptist, that fact would be of value to the historian of the denomination, for not enough is known about the part our forefathers played in social and political reform. Historians of other denominations have examined this aspect of their history (often with more zeal than

discretion) but Baptists appear to have concentrated more on doctrine, missions and local personalities than on this more general, if more controversial aspect of human affairs. We know enough, and more than enough perhaps, about the freethinkers of the period of the Industrial Revolution; it was a minor tragedy that so much agitation was carried on (in Leeds at any rate) by men of vague, if any, religious views. There was a small body of "Christian Reformers"—was Beaumont one of these at Norwich?—but little is known of their brief existence.

Beaumont was given a hearty welcome at Leeds. According to both newspapers his speech was "long and eccentric," but one cannot avoid the suspicion that his outspoken views were a little unpalatable to the middle class subscribers. He asserted plainly that "there must be either a Radical Reform or despotism." He quoted examples of distress in Norwich, adding that many people were leaving that place for America and many more ("thousands") would follow if they had the means. He thought it strange that ministers of the gospel should have so little to say on the subject of distress, when it was one of the greatest causes of demoralisation. The *Mercury* reported his speech in brief and the *Intelligencer* not at all, but their reports clearly show that Beaumont was a full-blooded Radical. He concluded his rambling speech by reading extracts from his pamphlet *The Griper*, which attacked the British Constitution. A vote of thanks was proposed to "that venerable, able, and worthy advocate of liberty, Mr. George Beaumont of Norwich" by James Mann, the leader of the Leeds Radical party, and carried with cheers.

Beaumont's earlier book, mentioned by Mr. Hewett, was published at Sheffield in 1808 and is an anthology on the theme of the evils of war. He therein styles himself "minister of the gospel of peace." His other pamphlets may throw further light on his political opinions. The question remains, what was he doing in Leeds at that time? Was he that object of abhorrence to the government, an itinerant missionary of what the authorities called sedition?

It is curious, too, and apt to cause confusion, that there was at this very time another George Beaumont similarly active and holding like views; he was the secretary of a working men's political union at Almondbury, near Huddersfield, who made an attack in this very month, first on the evils of a long and extravagant war against the liberties of France and America, and then on mismanagement at home, calling for "real radical reform" of Parliament.

FRANK BECKWITH.

Reviews.

Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament, by H. Wheeler Robinson (Oxford University Press, 15s.).

It is well known that for a number of years before his death in May, 1945, the late Principal Wheeler Robinson had been planning to round off his life's work by producing a volume on the theology of the Old Testament. The publication under review incorporates the Speaker's Lectures delivered before the University of Oxford from 1942 to 1945, and was designed to serve as an introduction to this major work. As such it deals with the *form* or (to use the alliterative style which took Dr. Robinson's fancy in later years!) the "methods and material" of revelation; and it was the author's intention that the *content* of the revelation should form the theme of the second volume.

The present work falls into seven parts, of which the first three deal with the way in which Nature, Man and History were found to be useful for the purposes of revelation. Part I comprises three chapters, of which the first two are pleasantly descriptive of the Hebrew conception of Nature and its dependence upon God in terms of creation, conservation and ultimate transformation; but unfortunately they lose something of the vitality which they ought to have communicated because they are based upon a somewhat indiscriminate stringing together of passages detached from their context and, what is more, their *Sitz im Leben*, and this is the more strange in that the author recognises the importance of this approach in connection with Part II, i.e. the discussion of God and Man. Chapter iii, on "The Nature Miracles of the Old Testament," begins with a fairly detailed study of the three Hebrew terms which are normally used to denote a "miracle," and concludes with a discussion of the relation of the nature-miracles to history and, in particular, to the Exodus. Here the author seeks to make the point that the mere physical event did not become the religious fact which we know as a "miracle" until it found interpretation as an act of God, just as moral evil does not become the religious fact of "sin" until it is interpreted in terms of one's relation to God. This is attractive so far as it goes; but how far does it go? What guarantee have we that the interpretation is not purely subjective but actually corresponds to reality or is true? This, alas, is a question into which the author does not enter; but that he was alive to it is clear from his reference to what he calls "a ministry of illusion," as discussed in Chapter ii of *Redemption and Revelation* under the title, "The Ministry of Error."

Part II comprises four chapters, in the first of which the author discusses the thought of both a contrast and an interrelation between God and Man which finds expression in terms of spirit and flesh, holiness and sin (in both their ritual and their moral aspects), and grace and repentance. This is written with admirable clarity, but is so summary in its treatment that the discussion of the relevant terminology is sometimes almost exasperating (if that is not too unkind a word) in its dogmatic brevity, notably in the case of such important terms as *zedakah* (sic) and *hesed* (sic). In the following chapter, which deals with human nature and its divine control, Dr. Robinson is back in the rich and fertile field of Hebrew psychology which he made so peculiarly his own and tended to so great advantage; and this in turn leads to a discussion of morality and religion, which follows the now customary practice of emphasising the part played by the great eighth-century prophets in defining the moral character of Yahweh. The author rightly points out that "this does not mean that the eighth-century prophets invented the morality, or that they were the first to see moral elements in the divine personality" (p. 80); but when he goes on to claim that the "two outstanding moral qualities of *mishpat* and *hesed* carry us back to the Hebrew clans of nomadic times" (p. 85), the present writer cannot but protest that this represents a one-sided emphasis which fails to pay due regard to the Canaanite strand in Israelite language and thought. Chapter vii, on "Human Destiny," completes the argument of Part II; and this too covers familiar ground in its discussion of Sheol (which is rightly regarded as by no means a late importation from Babylonia), and in its reference to an emergent anticipation of a life beyond death which was based upon faith in an inviolable fellowship with God. Accordingly the author brings this section to an end with a discussion of the meaning of "faith," making the point which recurs time and again throughout this section and indeed forms the basic principle of the book, i.e. that "the unit of revelation is not the event but the interpreted event" (p. 69), and that the response of faith on the part of man is a necessary factor in the process. In view of the importance thus attached to the subjective element in the revelatory act this discussion of the meaning of faith is strangely brief and can scarcely be said to do justice to the theme, and one is left here (as elsewhere in the book) with a tragic sense that the distinguished author was aware of a race against time.

Part III treats of "God and History" and opens with a peculiarly interesting and original chapter on "Time and Eternity," which involves a close and detailed study of the relevant terminology and thus stands in somewhat marked contrast

with the comparatively cursory treatment of the terminology associated with Chapter iv, i.e. on the characteristic inter-relations of God and Man, and the foregoing discussion of the meaning of faith. This is followed by a chapter on "The Prophetic Interpretation of History," which is valuable for its attempted summary of the general pattern of interpretation which may be discerned in the work of the great prophets of the eighth to sixth centuries, but leaves the reviewer once again with a sense of frustration on finding that the basic question as to the validity of their interpretation has been left on one side, and is only partly met by the author's later chapter (xiv) on "The Theological Validity of Prophecy." The concluding chapters of this section, i.e. on "The Day of Yahweh" and "The Election of Israel," are amongst the best in the book and, especially in the latter case, will repay careful reading.

In Parts IV-VI the author passes from his discussion of the divine side in the act of revelation, or rather (and the distinction is important) from his discussion of the material discovered to be useful for this purpose, to what he calls the interpretative process on the part of man as this takes place through the differing functions of priest, prophet and "wise man". On the whole these chapters are admirable for their clarity and conciseness, and as they follow familiar lines do not call for special comment except in so far as they reveal the writer to be fighting something of a rearguard action in defence of the "orthodox" critical reconstruction of the history of the religion of Israel which is associated with the names of Graf, Kuenen and Wellhausen.

Part VII brings the book to a close with a brief discussion of the response of the psalmists to the divine revelation which is too slight and summary, and pays too little heed to the extraordinary diversity of the Psalter to be altogether satisfactory, and a final chapter which by contrast is excellent in its summary of the conclusions to be drawn from the argument of the book as a whole. With real penetration the author exposes the claims made on behalf of both Church and Bible to be an external guarantor of the authority of revelation by showing that each has its roots in some form of intuition which involves the response of faith and so renders unjustifiable any claim to complete objectivity. In short, the principle which recurs again and again throughout the book is here expounded at length, i.e. that there is a subjective as well as an objective factor in revelation, and that the revelatory act is to be found in the resulting unitive process. In the reviewer's opinion this is sound, but it is difficult to escape the impression that in his anxiety to do justice to the subjective element the writer has done less than justice to the objective factor, and that in part this is due to a concentration

upon events and their interpretation to the neglect of ideals and their realisation. It is significant that in his discussion of the priest, prophet and "wise man" as the media of revelation it is only the prophet who is thought deserving of a chapter on the validity of his function!

The volume has much in common with the early work which has made Dr. Robinson's name familiar to theological students for more than a generation, i.e. *The Religious Ideas of the Old Testament*; and like this (but unlike some of his later publications!) it makes easy reading. The reason for this, of course, is that in the main it is purely descriptive; and at this stage of the work which the author had in mind the deeper philosophical problems with which one is ultimately concerned did not arise. To be sure he gives us some indication of the way in which these problems were to be tackled, and fortunately we are able to supplement this with his earlier works, especially *Redemption and Revelation*. Nevertheless one cannot but close the book with a profound sense of tragedy that we should be robbed of the leadership of so incisive a thinker in the field of Biblical study, still robust in mind if not in body, at a time when so many younger thinkers are succumbing to the temptation to pay lip service to the findings of literary criticism and then virtually to ignore them in the interest of a return to the Scholastics or the Reformers.

A warm expression of thanks is due to the Rev. L. H. Brockington and the Rev. E. A. Payne for the promptitude and the care with which they have seen this important work through the Press and thus made it available to an eagerly expectant public.

AUBREY R. JOHNSON.

The Re-Discovery of the Old Testament, by H. H. Rowley (James Clarke and Co., 10s. 6d.).

"If these pages," writes Professor Rowley, "can help any reader to a fuller apprehension of the religious meaning of this wonderful Book (the Old Testament) they will have fulfilled their purpose." It may be said at once, that that purpose has been fulfilled. All who read this book carefully and receptively will rejoice that the book was written and will be grateful to the writer. It is a book for which many have been waiting, and will meet a need that has been frequently expressed by ministers, preachers, teachers in Sunday schools and day schools, and a great many thoughtful people in the churches. While the patient work of scholars in many fields of study has brought to the student of the Old Testament a new reverence for those Scriptures,

it has, perhaps inevitably, created in the minds of many a feeling of uncertainty. This has caused some uncritically to repudiate the work of scholarship in a mistaken fear that their reverence for the Scriptures would be shaken thereby. Others, seeing "the fence about the Law" broken down, have mistaken the fence for the Law, with the result that the Old Testament has been practically ignored in Christian devotion. The result has been, in both cases, an impoverishment of Christian experience and an imperfect apprehension of the New Testament. It is good, therefore, to have a book which will guide us in our approach to the Old Testament and help to expound it.

The qualities which distinguish this book are, honesty, balanced judgment, lucidity, and reverence. There are many elements in the Old Testament which perplex the untrained student, e.g. the variant traditions, the presence of lower ethical and spiritual ideas alongside the loftier ones, doctrines such as that of election of which present-day thought is impatient. These perplexities are honestly and helpfully faced. The balanced judgment is particularly noticeable in the two chapters which discuss the bearing of archeological discovery on the Old Testament. They display a moderateness which might be commended both to those who would try to "prove" the truth of the Old Testament from Archeology and to those who would dismiss from the Old Testament anything which conflicts with archeological hypothesis. The rapidly increasing knowledge of the four millennia B.C. serve but to make clear the distinctive contribution of the Hebrew and Jewish religion. Lucidity of expression is a welcome aspect of this book; the argument is clear and clearly expressed. There are a few rare exceptions to this, e.g. the beginning of the second paragraph on p. 59, where the double negative would have been more cogently and correctly expressed by the simple statement "The Old Testament writers believed that religion and history were related." But in general, the lucidity of expression is an indication of the author's clarity of thought and mastery of his subject.

Above all, the book is a religious book in the best sense of the word. Only a man of wide scholarship could so well have surveyed the field of Old Testament study; but the scholarship is servant to a reverence for Him Who has revealed Himself in the history and life of Israel. Chapters iv and xi, "The Meaning" and "The Goal of History" have a special relevance to our own day. Chapters viii and ix, "The Revelation of God" and "The Nature, Need and Destiny of Man" awaken in us a new awareness of the inescapable challenge and effective grace of God to man.

A. S. HERBERT.

The Old Testament Interpretation of History, by C. R. North.
(Epworth Press, 1946. 10s. 6d. pp 210 + xv)

Writing in 1940 in *From the Stone Age to Christianity* Professor W. F. Albright predicted a greatly increased interest in the problems of history, partly because of the crisis through which international civilisation was passing, a crisis which urges men to look for some solution to explain the course of events and at the same time give them a basis from which to forecast the future; and partly because of the influence of Professor A. J. Toynbee's great work *A Study of History*, which began to appear in 1934. Just as, for the individual, life is meaningless until we begin to find a pattern in it, so for the historian there is no satisfaction so long as he attempts only to be objective and detached and writes history as a concatenation of happenings. Wheeler Robinson used to tell his students that a historic fact was an event plus its interpretation, and it is the interpretation, enabling the historian to fit the jig-saw pieces into a pattern, that gives meaning and interest to history.

The latest book to justify Albright's prediction comes from Professor North, who, from his long service to the Society for Old Testament Study, is perhaps one of the best known of British Old Testament scholars. The book is in the Fernley-Hartley series of lectures—a series through which the Methodist Church, with enterprise and generosity Baptists might emulate, encourages Biblical scholarship. The book contains an excellent survey of the history and literature of the Old Testament. Five chapters are then devoted to an interpretation of the philosophy of history behind the works of the Prophets, Deuteronomists, Priests, and Eschatologists. Chapter 8 discusses the meaning of the Christian claim that God is revealed in history, and that history is itself revelation. The book closes with two chapters discussing the beliefs, so fundamental to the Old Testament, that God chose Israel as his servant and Zion as his city.

There are perhaps two criticisms that should be made. There is sometimes danger of too dogmatic a statement, especially when the author deals with an idea with which he disagrees: on page 190 he says, "It can not be too strongly insisted that there is *no historical connection* between the Tammuz myth and the Cross and Resurrection of Christ," and then he goes on to say that the higher religion of the Old Testament may be called a sublimation of the myth, which was a *praeparatio evangelica* enabling the gospel of the resurrection to win its way; surely this does constitute some "historical connection." The second criticism applies to much Old Testament writing since Wellhausen. It is the tendency to treat each different section of the Old Testament as presenting a unified attitude and forming part of a

straight line of development. Thought today is, however, moving away from the Hegelian philosophy which lay behind Wellhausen's theories, for modern research seems to require us to think in terms of action and reaction, without the limitation of Hegel's synthesis. Religion does not move by finding the synthesis between two opposites but by the more tortuous way of following the road as it winds from one side to the other. As Donne put it:

On a huge hill,
Cragged and steep, Truth stands, and he that will
Reach her, about must, and about must go;
And what the hill's suddenness resists, win so.

There are so many threads and colours, from so many different sources, blended in the tapestry of the Bible giving to it its richness and its universal appeal; we must beware lest, in our desire for what is simple and stereotyped, we look at it through glasses that make us colour-blind.

The book is clearly written and interesting. It will be used with appreciation both by those who are puzzled as to the value of the Old Testament for religion today, and by those who have learned to draw inspiration from the depths of its devotional life. It says many things that cannot be reiterated too often by writers on the Old Testament.

J. N. SCHOFIELD.

The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience, by Geoffrey F. Nuttall (Blackwell, 15/-).

It has long been recognised that, in view alike of the intrinsic importance of the subject and of the attention paid to the other elements of the Christian Creed, the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit has received less than justice at the hands of theologians. Dr. Nuttall has now joined the increasing band of scholars who have sought to remedy this neglect, and he is to be warmly congratulated upon the contribution he has here made. His book (approved as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Divinity at Oxford) is distinguished by a precision of scholarship and a range of learning which are as unusual as they are welcome. And it is written, moreover, with a commendable ease and freshness of style. One is inevitably reminded of the earlier work on a similar theme by Dr. Rufus Jones, *Spiritual Reformers in 16th and 17th Centuries*. Dr. Nuttall's particular concern however is with English Puritanism, especially within the years 1640-1660, and notably with the early Quaker Movement. His material is presented "synoptically," for while he recognises that

there would have been a certain advantage in a chronological treatment, he maintains that a logical analysis presents a truer picture of the situation. The main body of his book consists of ten chapters (each of which is prefaced by a summary of the contents) arranged under such headings as: "The Spirit and the Word"; "The Witness of the Spirit"; "The Liberty of the Spirit"; "The Government of the Spirit," and so on. These are preceded by an illuminating historical introduction, and followed by a "Critical Conclusion," three Appendices, a Select Bibliography and an Index of Names. The book is admirably produced, and the whole gives an impressive picture of some of the fresh springs of religious experience opened up by the Reformation, and of the spirit of "independent, sincere, lay 'searching'" which Dr. Nuttall regards as characteristic of the early seventeenth century in England.

One of the main contentions of the book is that the seventeenth century Quakers represent the last and most radical stage of a development whose earlier phases are exhibited in the various forms of "Puritanism." The latter term is here used to describe "a movement towards immediacy in relation to God," which took place both within and outside the Established Church. True, the Quakers themselves repudiated the name of Puritan; but Dr. Nuttall claims that they "repeat, extend, and fuse so much of what is held by the radical, Separatist party within Puritanism that they cannot be denied the name or excluded from consideration." His thesis is supported by such a wealth of evidence drawn from many sources that it is difficult to resist the conclusion that he has established his case. At the same time, it must be confessed that his use of the term "development" awakens now and then a sense of uneasiness, as tending to suggest an over-simplification of the issue—as if some kind of natural process were at work of which George Fox and his friends were the inevitable fruit. The author is perhaps not to be held responsible for the sentence on the dust-cover of his book, but it aptly illustrates the danger referred to: "Quakerism . . . here appears in its immediate historical context as largely a *natural* development of radical Puritanism." May a Baptist also confess that he would have welcomed some further evidence for the statement made on page 13 that "The Baptist position falls between the Congregational and the Quaker?" It would be interesting to know whether the judgment that the substitution by Baptists of Believers' baptism for Infant baptism "did much to weaken the sacramental idea" (page 96) is intended to apply to the religious situation in general or only to Baptists.

In his concluding assessment of the evidence Dr. Nuttall makes some valuable comments upon the fresh approach to old

problems made possible by the progress of historical disciplines, and the growth of new insights. Amongst these he mentions the validity of the intuitive apprehension of reality, and the importance of the concept of personality. These place us in a more favourable position than our fathers to appreciate the Quakers' insistence upon the immediacy and the universality of the Spirits' presence and activity, while relieving us of the necessity of accepting all that they claimed under these heads. The possibility is thereby opened up of framing a theology more truly expressive of the fulness of the New Testament experiences of God in Christ.

Dr. Nuttall's book is deeply interesting and important for its own sake. But it will also do much to inspire further study of a period of English History whose religious importance for the world it would be difficult to over-rate.

R. L. CHILD.

William Carey, especially his Missionary Principles, by Dr. A. H. Oussoren (A. W. Sijthoff's Uitgeversmaatschappij N.V., Leyden, 1945, 16s.).

This is an unusual and significant book, in many ways one of the most remarkable literary products of the war years so far as Baptists are concerned. It consists of an academic dissertation of more than three hundred pages by the minister of the Reformed Church at Middelburg, Holland. Dr. Oussoren is a hero-worshipper of Carey, whom he recognises as "one of the greatest missionaries of the world" (p. 269). The work was completed, he tells us, under war conditions and while he was ministering to a large parish. It was printed, and in English, in 1945.

Let it be said at once that it is a pity it was not possible to get the proofs corrected in England, and some of the inevitable faults of style rectified. Even more is it to be regretted that war conditions prevented Dr. Oussoren from visiting England and familiarising himself with our Baptist tradition before the publication of this work. This would have saved him from a number of minor errors and misunderstandings. We feel this the more because Dr. Oussoren has dealt with his subject so painstakingly and with such sympathy, and because he clearly has a number of important matters to raise, to several of which the biographers of Carey and writers of B.M.S. history have so far given little attention.

The book is in four parts, the first two of which occupy together nearly 250 pages. The first section gives a survey, based on the biographies of J. C. Marshman, George Smith, S. Pearce

Carey and Deaville Walker; much more space is given to the background of the time and to Carey's early years than to the final decades. The second part discusses Carey's missionary principles and those of his contemporaries, special attention being given to the Pietists and the Moravians. A third section of twenty pages attempts a comparison of Carey's principles with those of Zinzendorf and the Moravians. The four final pages set out very summarily the missionary principles of the Dutch Reformed Churches, as adopted by the Synod of Middelburg in 1896, with notes indicating how far Carey and Zinzendorf would have accepted them. There follow four valuable appendices: (1) the full text of the Form of Agreement adopted at Serampore in 1805 (of which a few summary sentences are now often but not very accurately described as the Serampore Covenant), (2) the German text of a letter written by Zinzendorf to a missionary in Madras in 1732 (i.e. prior to the sending out of the first missionaries from Herrnhut) and the instructions prepared for Moravian Missionaries in 1738 (also in German), (3) extracts from the Baptist Confession of 1688, which is similar to that of 1677 and is really a Baptist adaptation of the Westminster Confession, and (4) the German text of the twenty-five rules for missionaries as first issued in 1782 by the Moravian Bishop Spangenberg.

Enough has been said to show that this book brings together much most interesting material and that the careful study of Carey by someone outside the Baptist community may still bring to light new riches, as was the case with the books by George Smith and Deaville Walker.

Dr. Oussoren has clearly made it desirable that Carey's contacts with the Moravians be more closely investigated. He speaks of "his close connection with these brethren in his youth and also when he was in India" (p. 13, cf. p. 131). "He had studied their Periodicals and had without doubt met their missionaries in Northampton" (p. 161). It is true that there was a Moravian congregation in Northampton from the closing years of Doddridge's life; it is also true that Carey produced a copy of the Moravian *Periodical Accounts* at the historic meeting on October 2nd, 1792. There are clear evidences that the founders of the B.M.S. carefully studied Moravian missions and that the Serampore Agreement was based on Moravian practice, with deliberate rejection by Carey of the idea of a "house-father" for the settlement. But did Carey meet Moravian missionaries in Northampton? Perhaps, though it does not appear to us that Dr. Oussoren has himself any definite evidence. He probably also goes beyond the so far established facts in trying closely to link Carey and Bunyan (p. 122). Fuller and Ryland talked

to the young man not about Bunyan but about Jonathan Edwards, who nowhere appears in Dr. Oussoren's pages.

In spite of his veneration for Carey Dr. Oussoren can be critical, for he remains a strict Calvinist in practice as well as theory. On the question of baptism, he asserts that "the significance of the promises of the Lord to all his people living under the Covenant was not clear to William Carey" (p. 211). "It is a pity that William Carey did not agree with the principles of infant baptism" (p. 267). Had Carey defined more carefully what he meant by a missionary, what should be the relationship between ordained missionaries and those sometimes described as auxiliary-missionaries (doctors, teachers, artisans, etc.), what the attitude of the missionaries should be towards the Committee at home, much later trouble would, in Dr. Oussoren's opinion, have been avoided. In this connection the author might well have given more emphasis to the fact that Carey was a practical pioneer and not a theorist.

Again and again, Dr. Oussoren comes back to the wideness of Carey's vision. He draws attention also to the importance of his work as a translator. His study of the *Enquiry*, the Serampore Agreement, and Carey's letters to his son Jabez and others, leads him to point out that the primary missionary motive for Carey seems to have been obedience to the command of Christ. "He listens to the authority of Holy Scripture, . . . his missionary work is founded on the firm, objective ground of the Word of God" (p. 251). Here, Dr. Oussoren thinks Carey a safer guide than the Pietists who were moved chiefly by compassion. On the other hand, the Moravian insistence on the local church itself as the missionary unit has, in the long run, advantages over Carey's idea of a society working independently. The author here touches issues that are likely to come increasingly to the fore in the next few years.

Among the many interesting minor points are the details Dr. Oussoren gives of the Dutch group who supported Carey and his friends between 1822 and 1836 (pp. 196-199, 217-18).

It remains only to congratulate Dr. Oussoren, to thank him for his work and to express the hope that he will be able to continue his researches into missionary history.

ERNEST A. PAYNE.

Newman the Church Historian: A Study in Christian Personality, by Frederick Eby (Broadman Press, Nashville, Tennessee, 1946. \$1.75).

Albert Henry Newman was one of the outstanding Church historians of his day, and the most notable produced by the Baptists of America prior to K. S. Latourette. His gifts won high praise from Harnack any many European scholars, and his major works, though written between forty and fifty years ago, wear well. *The History of the Baptist Churches in the United States* first appeared in 1894, *A History of Anti-paedobaptism to 1609* in 1897 and *A Manual of Church History* in two volumes in 1899 and 1903. The second of these contains what is still the most discriminating and authoritative account of Anabaptism in English. Dr. Eby of the University of Texas, Newman's son-in-law, here provides a welcome biographical volume, based on material first assembled by Dr. O. C. S. Wallace, at one time Newman's pastor in Toronto. The future historian was born in South Carolina in 1852. From 1877-81 he taught at Rochester, New York, where he had been trained and where he had the priceless advantage of access to the library of the famous J. A. W. Neander. Then for twenty years, the most fruitful and probably happiest years of his life, Newman was at Toronto Baptist College which, in 1891, expanded into McMaster University. In 1901, to the surprise of his friends, and, as it would seem, unfortunately, he was persuaded to go to Baylor University, Texas, and remained there in a Southern Baptist stronghold, where culture was "in a pioneer stage" (p. 55), till 1921. After the publication of his *Manual* he appears to have felt that his work as a student and writer was finished. From 1922-27 he was at Mercer University and then for eighteen months back at McMaster. The last four years of his life were spent in retirement at Austin, Texas. Newman was of a shy and serious disposition He was never ordained, but remained to the last a simple hearted Christian believer, deeply respected by his students. This is not a very satisfying or satisfactory biography, but it is certainly well that some record of so distinguished a scholar should have been produced, and there is much that may be learned from it. A useful appraisal of Newman the man and the historian written by Dr. Whitley in 1934 occupies pages 100-102, but it is preceded by the extraordinary statement that "while German and American scholars vigorously pursued the study of Church History, no attention was paid to it in England."

ERNEST A. PAYNE.

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