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## Editorial Notes.

IT was a great pleasure to have in Britain from October to December last Dr. Kenneth Scott Latourette, Professor of Missions and Oriental History at Yale University, and the author of the monumental *History of the Expansion of Christianity*, which is one of the greatest individual achievements by any scholar of this generation. We are proud to think that this distinguished historian is a Baptist, and it was gratifying as well as fitting that his first lectures in this country should be at Regent's Park College, Oxford. Baptists may perhaps enjoy some reflected glory from the Honorary D.D., which Oxford University conferred upon Professor Latourette on December 13th. It is an action which has given very widespread satisfaction. Are we right in thinking that he is the first Baptist to have this degree conferred upon him? Dr. Latourette's visit to the General Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society and to the Baptist Board, and his lectures in Birmingham and elsewhere, were deeply appreciated. The greatness of his service to the World Church at this time lies, not only in the collection and ordering of a vast amount of material never before so brought together, but in the confident and challenging message which the historian is ready to proclaim at the end of his studies.

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As recorded in our last issue, the Conference on the Study of Baptist History and Principles, held during the Baptist World Congress at Copenhagen, urged the importance among other things, of an authoritative international Baptist bibliography. The first part of a very important work of this kind now lies before us. It is Section A of *A Baptist Bibliography, being a register of printed material by and about Baptists, including works written against the Baptists*, by Edward C. Starr, and it is published by the Judson Press for the Samuel Colgate Baptist Historical Collection, Colgate University, Hamilton, New York. The material is being ordered alphabetically, with supplementary chronological and subject indices, and the work when completed, will run to twenty volumes or so. Section A may be had bound in blue cloth for \$2.50, and there is also a paper covered edition

which is, however, unsuitable for library purposes. Mr. and Mrs. Starr, the Colgate Trustees, and all those who are co-operating in this undertaking are to be warmly congratulated and thanked. This new publication owes a great deal to Dr. Whitley's *Baptist Bibliography*, but Dr. Whitley was unable to examine a number of American Libraries, and notably the Colgate Library and that at Providence, Rhode Island. Though its basic arrangement is different, Mr. Starr's work is in reality a new and greatly enlarged and extended edition of Dr. Whitley's work, all the more welcome because it is very uncertain when it will be possible for the Baptist Historical Society to publish the material Dr. Whitley has already collected for the period subsequent to 1837. The present section contains, for example, entries covering the printed works of Christopher Anderson and Joseph Angus. Nowhere save in the catalogues of the British Museum and the Bodleian Libraries have we any comparable lists, and Mr. Starr's pages are, we suspect, a great deal more complete. We shall eagerly await the publication of further sections of this work, and hope that some British scholars may be able to respond to Mr. Starr's invitation to co-operate with him. We may, perhaps, be allowed to express some surprise that no one at the meeting in Copenhagen was able to say anything about this major project behind which there must lie years of preparation. This fact surely underlines the importance and urgency of the service which the Baptist World Alliance might, and should, render in this field.

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Mention of libraries leads us to note that for more than two hundred years, Dr. Williams's Library has been available for the public, and through the faithful and wise administration by its Trustees has become of growing usefulness and importance. The income available for its maintenance is now, however, quite inadequate in view of changed economic conditions. The Pilgrim Trust and the Hibbert Trust are making grants for the recataloguing of the unique material dealing with early Nonconformity. On October 7th last, a further important step was taken by the formation of a society to be known as the "Friends of Dr. Williams's Library." A large company gathered at Gordon Square, and after the necessary business had been transacted listened to a most interesting and informative lecture on the history and resources of the Library by Mr. Stephen Jones, the former librarian. Already over 200 Friends have been enrolled. The Dean of St. Paul's, who as a student made frequent use of the Library, has agreed to be President of the new Society, and among the Vice-Presidents are Professor H. H. Rowley and the

Rev. E. A. Payne. Full particulars of a venture which should receive generous support from many grateful Baptists may be had from the Rev. Roger Thomas, 14, Gordon Square, London, W.C.1.

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Another important American publication which has not, we think, had attention called to it in this country is A. J. F. Zieglschmid's edition of *Die älteste Chronik der Hutterischen Brüder*. Of this a thousand copies were printed in 1943 by the Carl Schurz Memorial Foundation with the help of a generous grant from the American Council of Learned Societies. It is much to be hoped that a few copies, at any rate, were made available for libraries in Europe. The work (which runs to more than a thousand pages) presents for the first time a complete text, with critical apparatus and indices (all in German), of the unique sixteenth century manuscript chronicle of the Hutterian Brethren, one of the main groups of Moravian Anabaptists. Carefully treasured and guarded through all the tribulations that befell the remnant of the Brethren in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the manuscript was taken by emigrants to South Dakota in 1874. Much of the material of the *Chronicle* passed into the Mennonite *Martyrs' Mirror*, of which several English editions exist, including that of the Hanserd Knollys Society, but much scholarly work has since been done on Anabaptist traditions and origins. Mr. Zieglschmid carries further the work of Beck, Loesch, Loserth and Wolkan on the Continent, and H. S. Bender, Ernst Correll and John Horsch in America. Here is further evidence of the importance of the resources now available on the other side of the Atlantic, and the way in which Americans are facing their responsibilities in this as in other fields.

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After twenty-four years of distinguished service as Secretary of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, Dr. Sidney Berry is retiring in the summer of 1948. Baptists have many reasons for gratitude to Dr. Berry for friendly co-operation in matters of common concern to Free Churchmen, and in the work of the United Chaplaincy Board. Dr. Berry is not seeking leisure or freedom. On leaving the Congregational Union he is undertaking the leadership of the International Congregational Council which is in process of expansion into a kind of Congregational World Alliance. This is an extremely interesting development, a new alignment which has one eye on the formal launching of the World Council of Churches at Amsterdam next summer, and another on important trends of thought in some of the Continental churches. Baptists, who believe in the Baptist World

Alliance, will wish well to International Congregationalism and to Dr. Berry, and will look forward to studying their detailed plans.

There has been general gratification at the nomination of the Rev. Leslie Cooke, of Coventry, to the secretaryship of the Congregational Union, and he can be assured of the cordial goodwill of Baptists when he takes up his new tasks. We notice that in certain circles there has been public questioning of the method of nomination adopted for a post of such importance, viz., from a very small nominated Sub-Committee, to the General Purposes Committee of the Council of the Congregational Union, and thence, for what can only be a formal ratification, to the Annual Assembly. It is suggested that the churches, or at least the County Unions, should be directly consulted before an appointment is made to such a key position. Our interest in this matter comes from the fact that our Baptist polity and our usual procedure on such occasions are very similiar to those of Congregationalism. Since we are not yet ourselves faced with any immediate necessity of the kind that Congregationalists have had to deal with, we have a useful opportunity for reflection on the best way of securing nominations to major denominational appointments.

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While this issue of the *Baptist Quarterly* was passing through the press, news came of the death in his eighty-seventh year of Dr. W. T. Whitley, President of the Baptist Historical Society, a former editor of this journal and *doyen* of Baptist historians. In our next issue we shall give some account of Dr. Whitley's life and work. Here we can do no more than express the sense of personal loss felt by all those brought into contact with Dr. Whitley, who was among the kindest of men. Throughout the English speaking world, Dr. Whitley was recognised as an authority on all aspects of Baptist history. What he did to uncover and conserve the story of the past will continue to bear fruit for many generations to come.

## Protestantism and the State.

IT is of great importance to clear thinking that we should distinguish between three categories that are often confused—nationalism, the nation, and the state.

Nationalism, in my mind, stands for the cult of the nation exalted into an end in itself, a mystical ultimate of blood and race and soil. Nationality is another matter. The nation has a God-given function in human life.

By "nation" I mean—well, what ought I to mean? For nation is in fact one of the most difficult things to define. I shall play for safety by accepting the guidance of Sir Ernest Barker in a region where few have better rights, and quote from him the best definition I know (*Christianity and Nationality*, Burge Lecture, p. 15).

"A nation is not a physical fact or racial group. Racially all nations are composite and heterogeneous: they are composed of different stocks and breeds; and it is not in virtue of any physical factor of common blood that the unity and identity of a nation may be vindicated. Nor again is a nation a political structure. It may be that in part; but it must always be something more than that before it can be dignified by the name of nation. Neither a physical fact of common blood, nor a political structure of common law and order, a nation is essentially a spiritual society. It is what it is in virtue of a common mental substance resident in the minds of all its members—common memories of the past, common ideas in the present, common hopes for the future, and, above all, a common and general will issuing from the common substance of memories, ideas and hopes."

The nation, again, must not be identified with the state. By "state" I mean the politically organised community, the unit of governing power, the authority with the power of life and death and property, taxation, and conscription—whether it be monarchy, republic or oligarchy, dictatorship or democracy, or what you will. The state is the arbiter of rights and duties.

The issue of Church and state is in essence as old as human history, but in our generation it has acquired a quite new urgency. Not only Protestantism, but all spiritual values, are threatened when the state claims supreme and complete authority over its citizens. A growing secularisation of outlook has coincided with a growing centralisation and complexity of communal life, at once

required by and made possible by the application of modern scientific techniques. In what we have come to call the totalitarian state, human life in all its aspects is totally subordinated to the political power. Man is treated as if he existed only to obey and serve the state.

We saw it at its worst in the Nazi State, but it is not only in Germany that totalitarianism has its votaries, nor is it an altogether new phenomenon. We need to call a halt and cry a warning whenever there is a tendency to make the family, the school, the university, or the Church, subordinate to the ends of the political state. The state started life as a policeman, but, like Poohbah, it has tended to accumulate offices. It has become nurse, schoolmaster, employer, doctor, insurance agent, and I know not what. Much of this is perhaps inevitable and even desirable. But it is dangerous. Poohbah may become a jealous and intolerant deity. Man is more than a citizen: he is an immortal soul. He will still count when the state, of which for a short time he was a subject, is one with Nineveh and Tyre. The state should be the servant of the spirit. Man's chief end is not to glorify the state, but to glorify God and to enjoy Him for ever.

Let us go back into history to try and understand the issues. The Roman Empire was a single political structure and universal so far as the then largely isolated European and Mediterranean world was concerned. From the days of Constantine onwards Church and state were not two societies, but two aspects of one society, and Emperors and Popes were rival authorities within it. Those who did not come within this area of Christendom—Jews, Moslems, pagans—were deemed not to exist by this tidy medieval theory. They had no real right to be there at all. Of course the theory never really fitted the facts inside Christendom. It proved impossible to define the respective spheres of Pope and Emperor. It would have been difficult enough as between saints—and to sainthood Emperors, or indeed Popes, seldom aspired. Ambitious Emperors tried to rule Popes, and ambitious Popes tried to rule Emperors, and the tide of battle fluctuated. Charlemagne, I suppose, was a signal instance of the ascendancy of the Emperor, and Hildebrand, Gregory VII, of the triumphant Pope.

Protestantism is of course, the fruit of the break of the Western Church occasioned by the Reformation in the sixteenth century. This tremendous upheaval had consequences for the whole structure of society that can be compared only with those of a modern world war. It transformed the world, not only ecclesiastically, but also politically and socially; it spelled the doom of medieval culture. The forces that produced the explosion were long in gathering. There were Protestants long before the

Reformation. And the causes, like the results, were very mixed : social political and religious streams flowed together in accumulating volume that at last burst the banks. Among these streams was the growing consciousness of nationality, so that the empire was becoming progressively less imperial. The time came when the Pope was confronted not by one Emperor, but by many kings, each representing his own nation. The historic problem of Church and state entered a new phase at the Reformation by reason of political as well as religious developments.

There is no one Protestant view of the relations between Church, state and nation. We need to distinguish three main lines of Protestant theory and practice. There is Martin Luther, from whom sprang the Church in Germany and the Churches in Scandinavia. There is John Calvin, the founder of the Reformed and Presbyterian tradition in many lands. From him Scottish religion has drawn its inspiration, and from him also largely derive the English Free Churches and their world-wide expressions. Thirdly, and in a place by itself, is Anglicanism, a monument to the English genius for compromise, drawing impartially from the old pre-Reformation tradition and from the newer impulses of Calvinism. I propose to look at these in turn and then at the end to offer some positive judgements on the whole issue.

#### 1. LUTHERANISM AND THE GERMAN CHURCH

Luther was on many counts a very great man, and it is important that those who feel compelled to criticise some aspects of his teaching and influence should not lose their sense of proportion. Here we are concerned only with what Luther did about Church and state. Luther's true greatness lay in his re-assertion of the spiritual liberty of the Christian man, and his unshakeable stand for what he believed to be the truth. It was only by force of circumstances that he became an ecclesiastic and a politician.

When the formation of a separate Evangelical Church became necessary, Luther had high ideals as to its rights of self-government and its independence of the state in all spiritual matters, and he expounded them in his writings. But in the event it turned out differently. He found that the people were in fact, incapable of managing their own affairs, and he had to place the government of the Church in the hands of the princes and magistrates. The deplorable story of the brutal suppression of the Peasants' Rising, at his instigation, showed how far he had lost his faith in the common man. Yet it must be remembered that in calling up "the godly prince" to govern the Church, Luther did not regard himself as going outside the Church to the secular power. He was only entrusting the rule to the chief members of the Church instead of to its members as a whole.



In the Augsburg Confession of 1530—the standard of the German Evangelical Church—written by Melancthon but cordially approved by Luther, it is laid down that the ecclesiastical power and “the power of the sword” are both ordained by God, but different in their functions. The ecclesiastical power does not interfere with political administration: it is concerned with preaching the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments. The civil ruler is to defend men’s persons and properties in the interests of justice. But, in spite of the Confession of Augsburg, the civil power did in practice interfere in religious matters.

The Luther who began by asserting the liberty of all Christian men came to recognise the territorial prince as head of the territorial Church. He supported the preposterous doctrine *cuius regio, eius religio*—a state-dominated religion. From this followed the all too frequent subjection of the Lutheran Church to secular authority. The practical result has been that the dominion of Christ was restricted to the inner world of men’s hearts while the conduct of the state was left to the dictates of practical necessity. Obedience has been the main political virtue, with the natural result of an acquiescence in existing political conditions. An unqualified assertion that the powers that be are ordained of God leads too readily to toleration of authority, however outrageous. This makes all the more noteworthy the magnificent stand of the Norwegian Church in recent years, and the heroic protest of the Confessing Church in Germany itself against the Nazi State and all its doctrines.

## 2. CALVINISM

Calvin had a simpler practical task than Luther in that he was primarily concerned with organising the Church within the limits of Geneva, a Protestant republic of some 2,000 citizens. But he had also the advantage of a much more systematic mind. Luther was something of an improviser; Calvin was a fundamental and logical thinker.

Calvin sought to create a theocracy in Geneva. The Church must be free in all spiritual matters to obey the Will of God revealed in the Bible; and from his time onwards this has been a first principle for all Churches of the Reformed Calvinistic tradition. But Calvin carried his principle of theocracy a stage further. God is sovereign over all life—not only over the realm of the Word and Sacraments. The Church, as God’s representative, must have authority over the morals of all its members, and that meant in Geneva over all the citizens, since Geneva by popular vote had accepted the Reformed religion.

Calvin did not identify the Church with the clergy, and lay elders were associated with them in this task of moral super-

vision. It is not surprising that the Consistory became a tyrannical busybody in its interference with men's private lives. Here—as in his theological doctrine of predestination—Calvin did not adequately allow for the freedom of moral personalities, and so offended against a fundamental Christian principle.

But there was much to admire in the State of Geneva in those days, and in his insistence that social righteousness is a concern of the Church, he taught Christians a valuable lesson. The care of the poor, the improvement of sanitation, the promotion of education up to university level, were all part of the task of this Church-State. But unhappily Calvin accepted the then universal view that spiritual discipline should be enforced by civil penalties and heresy suppressed by force. That was not Calvinism: it was just everybody's unquestioned view. In those days the idea of toleration had hardly been born, though it was out of Calvinism that it later arose.

Calvinism has always educated its followers to be active citizens of the state. It has refused to admit that the state is immune from moral criticism. The Church cannot avoid having a definite responsibility for the state and society. The Christian message has a bearing on all the aspects of human life, including politics.

### 3. ANGLICANISM

There are people who ought to know better who trace the Reformation in England solely to the anxiety of Henry VIII to secure a divorce from an unwelcome wife. That is not history. There was an evangelical movement of Church Reform in England long before Henry and his wives, and there was a strong national sentiment in favour of throwing off papal domination. Henry was astute enough to make this religious and national temper serve his own somewhat sordid ends.

None the less it is true that, while in Europe the spearhead of the Reformation was a religious revival that led to political consequences, in England the occasion for the first step was political, and the spiritual aspects of the movement found expression later. And this proved of great importance in affecting the subsequent relations of Church and state in England. The King not the Pope, claimed to be head of the Church, and all subsequent changes in doctrine and worship were made under the aegis of the state. Henry, and Elizabeth after him, were thorough totalitarians and claimed and exercised supremacy in Church as well as in state. Elizabeth appointed and managed her own bishops. She laid down the law about forms of worship and suppressed any who would not conform.

One of the masterpieces of English literature belonging to

this period is Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*. In it, echoing the old medieval doctrine, he expounded a theoretical justification for this state control which has remained influential in Anglican circles up to the present day. England, said Hooker, was a Christian country and "there is not any man of the Church of England but the same man is also a member of the Commonwealth, nor any member of the Commonwealth who is not also of the Church of England." Church and state are different aspects of "the same society" and hence he defends "the spiritual dominion or supreme power in ecclesiastical affairs" of Christian kings.

The Act of Settlement in 1701, provides that anyone who comes to the throne must be in communion with the Church of England. But although the ecclesiastical functions of Parliament remain substantially unaltered, it has been gradually opened to Nonconformists, Roman Catholics, Jews and unbelievers. In 1919 an attempt was made to ease the situation by the creation of the National Assembly of the Church of England. Its measures, if certified as constitutional by an ecclesiastical committee of Parliament, are to receive the royal assent. Yet Parliament twice in 1927 and 1928 rejected measures for the revision of the Prayer Book—an explicit subordination of the ecclesiastical to the secular power.

In plain fact the Church of England is not free to determine the form of its liturgy or to appoint its spiritual leaders. Its fathers in God are chosen for it by the Prime Minister. In actual practice this no doubt normally works well enough. But to us it seems axiomatically outrageous for the leaders of a Christian Church to be appointed by the head of a government who need not even be a member of the church, or indeed of any church at all. The Church of England is, in fact, in a state of uneasy tension about this whole issue. Recently the Archbishop of York has made an outspoken claim to spiritual freedom for the Church. And the end is not yet.

The truth is that the attitude of Anglicans to the state has always been decided practically, as is the English way, in relation to historical developments and never in accordance with a consistent doctrine. This policy has many advantages, but it is not without its difficulties. Certainly it ought to be emphasised that in practice Anglicanism has a more positive and constructive sense of responsibility to the state than many other forms of Protestantism.

#### 4. SCOTLAND

The Reformation developed along very different lines—and I think much sounder lines—in Scotland.

When John Knox and others drew up their Confession of Faith in 1560—some twenty-five years after Henry had been recognised as Head of the English Church—they affirmed that Christ is “the only Head of His Kirk” and its “Lawgiver,” “in which honours and offices if man or angel presume to intrude themselves we utterly detest and abhor them as blasphemous to our sovereign and supreme Governor, Christ Jesus.” “Religion,” said Knox to Queen Mary, “comes not from princes but from the eternal God alone.” Parliament did not confer freedom on the Scottish Church: it recognised that it inherently exists. That is the essence of the Reformation settlement between Church and state in Scotland, and in principle it has obtained until today, and is embodied in striking language in the Church of Scotland Act of 1921.

#### 5. THE FREE CHURCHES

One further complication in the picture must be noted, the Free Churches. Within Protestantism certain groups felt compelled to dissent from the majority view in their country. The Puritans in England were at first a strong element within the national Reformed Church. The time came when they broke away from it, or were expelled from it, because the majority did not in their judgement carry the process of Reformation to its logical and necessary conclusions, but retained too much of the old Catholic tradition.

So to the problem of Church and state was added the problem of the relation of the state and the state-recognised Church to dissenting churches. There had always been a short and easy way with dissenters—simple suppression by fire and sword. And at first Protestant majorities were no more tolerant of minorities than the Catholics had been. There is no need here to enter into the thrilling story of the growth of religious toleration and of the fight for religious liberty—a struggle not yet over in many lands. The Free Churches held the Calvinistic view of the respective duties of Church and state. Their existence at least made impossible the fiction that Church and state were co-terminous, and their influence on the development of modern democratic institutions, not to mention their influence on religious life, has been immense. It was only gradually, and after much injustice, that they achieved the position of liberty in the national life which is theirs today.

#### SOME GENERAL PRINCIPLES

This scamper across history has at least made it clear that there is no one consistent Protestant doctrine on nationalism, nation and state. But there has in fact been a growing consensus.

of Protestant judgment in the direction of what may roughly be described as the Calvinist position.

There are three principles that would, I think, be very generally accepted by Protestants today.

(1) The Church, both in theory and in fact, is an ecumenical, that is universal society, embracing men of all races and nations. Though composed of sinful and imperfect human beings, it is nevertheless a divine creation and the agent of the divine purposes. To the Christian his loyalty to God is superior to his loyalty to his nation or state.

(2) The state, as well as the family and the Church, is in the plan of God for man. It can rightly claim loyalty and service, but it is not an end in itself. It exists for the sake of the good life. The state is not the ultimate source of law, but its guarantor: "It is not the lord but the servant of justice." (Oxford Conference on Church, Community and State Report.) The authority of the state is held under God, it is derived from its service of the moral law.

(3) The Church must in all spiritual matters be free of state control, though admittedly it is not easy to define the sphere of Caesar and the sphere of God. There is an inevitable tension, but if conflict comes "we must obey God rather than man."

The demand of the Church for spiritual freedom should mean freedom for all religious minorities, Christian or non-Christian. No Church should use the coercive powers of the state to favour its own interests against others.

But if we can no longer hold the theory that Church and state are but two sides of one coin, which seems obviously ridiculous in these days when the great majority of citizens are outside all our churches, is the only alternative to assert that Church and nation or Church and state are, and should be, entirely disparate societies with no organic connection? Surely not. The Christian Church in its essence is composed of conscious Christian disciples. But there is a latent and diffused Christianity among the people of this country as a whole, far beyond the bounds of the ranks of active Christian worshippers and workers. The recognition of the Church of England by the state as the focus and expression on "state occasions" of the national spirit represents something real and valuable in our national life. So in their individual lives many men and women who normally have little to do with religious observances turn somewhat pathetically to the parish Church for christenings, marriages and funerals. Granted that they only dimly appreciate what they are doing, is it not better that they should come so than not at all? Is not their coming at such crucial moments to be regarded as an opportunity to lead them further?

The life of a nation will be as religious as the lives of its citizens make it. Its Christianity does not depend on the presence or absence of an Act of Establishment on its Statute Book. In some countries anything like establishment is clearly inexpedient, and one cannot be blind to the dangers of any kind of patronage of the Church by the state. Better a persecuted Church than a Church that is the tame priest of an unrighteous government. Yet there might be a national recognition of the supremacy of God which need not involve any state control in spiritual affairs nor any stifling of the prophetic voice of Christian witness.

Each of us should be both citizen and Churchman, owing allegiance to both state and Church. They are complementary in their spheres, not antithetical. The state is not to rule the Church nor the Church to rule the state: each is to recognise the supreme lordship of God. The Church must seek to serve the state, not only as critic, but as a fellow servant of God's Kingdom. And happy is the state that realises its need of the Church, recognising in the fine phrase of Coleridge, that "not without celestial observations can even terrestrial charts be accurately constructed."

HUGH MARTIN.

## Welsh Baptist Polity.

### III—LIFE IN A WELSH BAPTIST CHURCH.

TO describe life in a Welsh Church, in the style of Ian Maclaren's *Beside the Bonnie Briar Bush*, or Dean Ramsey's valuable work would require volumes. Daniel Owen has done excellently for Welsh Presbyterianism, and David Davies's *Echoes from the Welsh Hills* is unique and indispensable. Paxton Hood's *Life of Christmas Evans*, is generous and makes good reading, but is unreliable. Anyone desiring a delicious, dainty and true bit of writing on the subject, should read *A Valley in Wales*, by the Editor "F.T.L.," in the *Baptist Times* for July 19th, 1945. Well could he say that, "Among English folk, I find, there is a common misconception about these Welsh Valleys." Today the difficulties of the task of describing life in a Welsh Church are many. Variety of circumstance, time's constant and great changes are without end. Within the radius of two miles we have in the town and district of Llanely, seven churches averaging 700 members each, with another half dozen averaging 250 each. In Flintshire on the other hand, we find twenty churches with a total membership of 746. Then come the differences between the older, sturdier and well-established country churches of Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire, such as Blaenwaun, Rhydwlwm and Aberduar; next, the churches of the coal and iron districts of Glamorgan and Monmouthshire. Then there are the smaller and larger town churches, throughout the Principality, and the little congregations of the hill districts, zealous, faithful, and uncomplaining. In the latter, a minister turns up in a blue moon; Communion services are rare and irregular; dependence is laid upon local preachers and many a Sunday goes by without any preacher at all. Nevertheless, denominational literature circulates in their midst, and they never forget the claims of the missionary societies, Colleges and other "worthy causes." In one of these little churches, that the writer has known well for sixty years, a family succession of three generations has kept the divine fire burning under the altar. At first, the grandfather, then young, keen and vigorous, led the small company. He was followed by his son, a man of exceptional knowledge and mental power, who gave forty years or more to this service. When he failed and was called hence, his daughter, an experienced and well-equipped school teacher, well-read and musical, stepped into the breach. Thus it is that this little jewel

of a sanctuary, hidden away in the hills is never without its small company of humble worshippers paying tribute to the Lord God Almighty.

In the typical Welsh Church, the week's services consist of Prayer Meeting, Society Meeting, Band of Hope, Young People's Prayer Meeting, Singing School and Bible Class. Bible classes would be held during the winter, preparatory for the Sunday School Examinations, generally held in March. The Singing School met to rehearse the hymns, Anthems and choruses that were on the program of the Musical Festival or to train for the local competitive meeting or Eisteddfod. The meeting of the Band of Hope would be a composite affair, combining temperance instruction, catechising, and special preparation for the quarterly and annual meetings of the Sunday School. The Young People's Prayer Meeting had a distinct character of its own, and attended almost entirely by young men. It would be a rare occurrence for a sister, old or young, to lead in prayer at the service. The revival of 1904-5, however, altered all this, and taught the sisters to take their full share at these meetings. The Young People's Prayer Meeting would be conducted as a rule by an elderly brother and a deacon of the church, who would "understand" the young, and could bear with their weakness. He could talk to them without "preaching," lead them to the Throne of Grace and help them in their first "public" mutterings before their Maker. This task was a delicate one and the occasion memorable. Many a novice would "break down" while the intended prayers gave place to sobs and tears. Tears would adorn the faces of all at the meeting, and through all shone forth the angelic smile of that old "Father in God," the conductor. What tenderness and skill, what sympathy and knowledge, what patience and love were his! Little by little and step by step, the young would gather experience and strength, and would be called upon later on to "lead" in the adult Prayer Meeting.

The Society Meeting seems to be somewhat of a Welsh speciality. The minister has next to nothing to do at the week-night services. He certainly presides, in virtue of his office. None could imagine seeing anyone else in the Chair. He may proffer a few remarks occasionally and guide throughout: the Society meeting has no prepared programme or prescribed theme. After the reading of Scripture, prayer and praise, some reliable brother would be called upon to "open the meeting." "Openers" would have their idiosyncracies and special lines, but, as a rule, a sense of freshness was in the air. Generally the speaker would refer to the previous Sunday's sermons reproducing the "heads" and emphasising certain points. The meeting is then open, and anyone present may make his contribution. One



has heard a sermon somewhere and would share its riches with his brethren. Another had an argument with a fellow workman about a verse of scripture or a matter of doctrine and seeks the opinion of the pastor and brethren. A third has had a certain spiritual experience and invites an exchange of opinions concerning the same. Some well-known pastor has died and one after another would recall his sermons and sayings. A brother or sister has been called up yonder and the meeting will be turned into an informal Memorial Service. Candidates for Baptism are brought before the Church, and that society meeting will be marked with elation and joy. The meeting before Communion Sunday will be given to spiritual preparation for the holy event. Interest seldom flagged and there was never a dearth of speakers at this humble feast of fat things. And, let it not be forgotten that all who took part were but labourers, colliers, artisans, shop-keepers, farmers, with an occasional office-clerk or school-master.

Once in a while, the Church would have a young brother who was deemed destined for the pulpit. He had done well in the Sunday School examinations, had been a pupil at the Young Men's Prayer Meeting, had done his share at the Sunday School Quarterly and Annual Meetings, was faithful at the means of grace and of exemplary conduct and character. Having been duly questioned and his qualifications canvassed, he is solemnly "placed before the Church" and invited to preach at a week-night service. That meant a bumper congregation in the vestry and a sympathetic audience for the "test sermon."

The generous company has expressed approval and the young preacher is sped on his way and committed to the mercy of the neighbouring churches, the Association, the Union, the Colleges and the whole world. The Association names four churches where he will again give "trial sermons" and each will report on his case. Here some go under and are done for. The successful candidate will submit himself to the usual examination of the Association or Union, and will then qualify as a "local preacher" or for admission into one of our Colleges. All the tests are tests indeed, and many a good brother has failed to win through. Those that pass are sure of the benediction, sympathy and substantial help of the Church. Benefit lectures and concerts have helped many a Welsh lad to Grammar School and on to College.

### THE SUNDAY SCHOOL

The service of the Sunday School to the whole of the Principality has been incalculable. It has not only kept the Welsh language alive, but has nursed and trained the young for the

Church, encouraged purity of life, helped to keep the Sabbath holy, furthered the interest of sacred music, and, through recitation and dialogue, has taught elocution and public speaking. Above all, it has given its disciples a fairly general and good grounding in biblical knowledge. For a hundred years, it was the School, College and University of the Welsh masses. Up to 1890 or thereabout, the Sunday School held its own and thrived in our midst, but it is to be feared that the coming of secondary, higher and technical educational facilities are telling upon its virility and usefulness.

In addition to the above products, the Sunday School has also produced a surprising store of excellent literature both in volume and magazine form. From 1826 to 1918, *The Teacher* (Yr Athraw) was printed at Llanrwst and Llangollen. The Sunday School Union published *The Sower* (Yr Heuwr), later known as *The Leader* (Yr Arweinydd). *The Sunday School Star* (Seren Yr Ysgol Sul), has rendered great service for many years and is still thriving. *The Sunday School New Testament*, in three large volumes, by the Rev. Robert Ellis (Cynddelw) has rendered much help. Since 1890, the S.S. Union has published a series of separate commentaries, on books of the Bible. By this they cover the whole of the New Testament as well as portions of the Old Testament.

In times gone by, catechising was much in vogue in Wales, and scores of catechisms were prepared to that end. These were used in the Junior classes. For the senior and adult classes the *School Theme* or "Pwnc Ysgol" would be provided. A day would be given to the public discussion of some Christian theme, maybe a chapter of scripture, a Christian ordinance, a point of doctrine or some eminent biblical character. The minister would be called upon to prepare a fairly full guide, with scripture references. Those pages would be printed and distributed in advance so that the "Theme" may be well understood. Sometimes neighbouring schools would exchange visits and even exchange programmes, so that these red-letter days became popular and important. The well-known *Titus Lewis's Catechism* is of sterner stuff and, for generations, was reserved for Senior Classes and adults, and especially for preparing candidates for baptism and Church membership.

### THE WELSH BAPTIST ASSOCIATION

This institution has occupied a very important place in the life of Welsh Baptists, and has, during its course, developed a dual character. At first it was a consultative gathering in connection with which a single sermon would be delivered. From 1704 to 1733, one discourse; 1734 to 1778, two, as a rule. By

1787, we find three, four, and five. At Llanerchymedd, in Anglesey, in 1788, nine preachers held forth for the Master. After this and during the last century, ten and twelve sermons would be delivered, in the place where the Annual Meetings were held, not to mention another dozen or more in neighbouring churches on the first day of the festival. These great preachings called forth a number of strong men, men of zeal and enthusiasm, powerful orators, versed in scripture and masters of assemblies. On the other hand, a roll of sermon-tasters and untiring 'hearers' was developed, who would spare neither cost, time, or trouble in order to be present at these immense outdoor religious gatherings. Often two sermons would be delivered at the early six o'clock service, three at the ten o'clock meeting, two in the afternoon, and three again at the evening service. The morning and afternoon of the first day would be devoted to conferences, but the evening and the whole of the next day were consecrated to public worship and pulpit ministration. Today some of the associations give three days to their work, reserving the first to committee-work and a public meeting in the evening when Missionary, Sunday School, Temperance or some other kindred subject will receive attention.

During the years, the administrative side has grown apace. The more numerous associations, such as Carmarthen and Cardigan, Glamorgan East, and Glamorgan West, have arranged sectional organisations and Quarterly Meetings, dealing with local matters, but still working within the Association. The Denbigh, Flint, and Merioneth Association, the most widely scattered of all, with its 107 churches, draws from the three counties named and also from Montgomeryshire. Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Oswestry, and Chester has seven local unions, each with its own Officers and Committees. The parent Association has its own Missions (Home and Foreign), Loan Fund, Sunday School and Youth, Temperance and Purity, Deeds and Property, and Executive Committee, as well as sub-committees dealing with the recognition of ministers and speakers and Public Affairs, while its property is vested in a Board of Trustees.

A prominent feature, if not a peculiarity, in our Welsh churches is the sturdy sense of equality and independence that prevails everywhere. The "aided" church or pastor does not lose caste. A Welsh Superintendent would never think of forcing a pastor upon a small aided brotherhood. He may help and advise when asked, and not before. He would never expect to take charge of the supply list for a vacant pulpit. A minister or student negotiates directly with the Church concerning an invitation or "call" to the pastorate. At times this may have its humorous side, still, there it is. The fundamental principles of

personal liberty and responsibility, and Church independence must not be sacrificed. The Association knows its place, and the Union is but a bigger family. Officials are regarded as servants and not masters.

### THE MINISTRY IN WALES

The story of the Ministry has its idyllic, epic, and tragic sides. During the early days the pioneers had to contend with poverty and discouragement. The land was full of superstition and ignorance: the ground was hard and persecution cruel. The courageous few rang out the glad tidings, planted churches, built sanctuaries, fought the drink traffic, and secured a successful system of education for the principality. They fought the battle of the poor and were largely at the back of the Trades Union Movement, in its more trying days. Then came the happier days of the Manse, the settled ministry, the large congregations and the thriving churches. The town and industrial district pastor would have his one church to feed and shepherd, while the rural bishop would have his two or three congregations to watch over, and, long before the days of bicycles and motor cars, his own humble nag or the lent pony of some kind farmer at his service. Shank's mare was always popular and useful and worked wonders. With all their humbleness and restrictions, those days are fragrant with happy memories. Many a little known minister would be like a prince among his people and long ministries were the order of the day.

During the last fifty or sixty years, a great change has come over the land. The young cannot see its effects and the middle aged can hardly appreciate its vastness and thoroughness. To the aged, it has appeared like the moving of a mighty avalanche or the invasion of some foreign power. Sixty years ago, the Christian Ministry was practically the only opening for a career for a bright or ambitious young man. A fondness for poetry, literature, books, learning, or public speaking ended in an invitation to preach, if the young man were of good character and "faithful at the means of grace." Under these circumstances the Church secured the services of a strong and virile ministry, and an efficient type of social and religious leaders. In the whole history of the Welsh nation, no period in its course will stand comparison in this respect with the nineteenth century. But the revolution of the twentieth century supervened. With the coming of national colleges at Aberystwyth, Cardiff, Bangor, and later at Swansea and the subsequent combining of all four to form the University of Wales, a new day had dawned upon the land. In addition to all this, the Intermediate Education Act of 1889 established about 120 Secondary and County Schools of excellent quality, mediating

between the Elementary Schools and the University Colleges. All were served by a system of scholarships that brought the labourer's child to the University, and often placed in his hands the golden key that opened to him the portals of the older seats of learning in England.

Today the revolution is, in a sense, complete. Welshmen are found in high office, as University College Principals and Professors, Directors of Education, Heads of Grammar Schools and Technical Colleges, Government Inspectors, Heads of Government Departments, Members of Parliament and Cabinet Ministers, Medical men and Veterinary Surgeons, Heads of Factories and business concerns. Many have taken to the Law, becoming barristers and judges; others are excelling in science or in art. In a word, the change effected in so short a period is bewildering and incredible. As a result of it all, the Christian Ministry is starved, handicapped, and depleted. In many of the walks of life mentioned, a thousand a year does not count for much. In the Ministry a fifth of that would be regarded as decent pay, while the minimum salary of an aided pastor would be £140 a year! Of course, the larger churches have their own standards of maintenance, but then they are a few in number, whereas the weaker and average churches are many. To anyone conversant with the problem, the facts are alarming. A devoted brother, in his zeal for Christ, may eschew flattering secular openings and abide in the Ministry, but the wan cheek and the anxious heart of his patient wife, with a growing family must tell upon the most devoted and courageous of men. At present, as stated, the minimum salary recognised by the Sustenation Fund Scheme is £140 a year. At present, however, the Baptist Union of Wales is engaged in collecting a further £100,000, hoping to raise the minimum to, at least £180. Is it any wonder that we have a serious dearth of ministers, and that the great majority of our brighter and keener youths are attracted to other vocations?

Had space allowed, attention should be given to sacred music in the Welsh Church and congregation. No service is complete without a number of hymns, and there is hardly a church in Wales, but that it forms part of the united choir that sings at the annual festival. For some years, the North Wales churches prepare and publish one programme which is renewed every year and therefore secures variety and freshness at the ordinary Sunday and week-night services. Some of the larger churches, in addition to this, take up the works of the masters, such as "St. Paul," "The Messiah," "The Woman of Samaria," "Judas Maccabæus," the "Elijah," etc. Baptismal services in the open-air, in a river or in the church "pool," used to be very popular at one time. Neighbouring congregations would meet and march together to the river-

side, singing appropriate and popular hymns. Welsh Baptist denominational literature could do with a lengthy chapter to itself. Even the *Association Letter*, first published in 1760, by the one association for Wales, has hardly missed a single year. At first, 1760-1790, it was one "Letter" for the year. To day, all fourteen associations issue, each its own Report. Here, all kinds of religious subjects are discussed and "Baptist Principles" are not forgotten. The annual statistics of the churches are religiously and carefully printed. Amidst all the changes, wars, lapses and times of depression, our churches manifest wonderful confidence in the future. None think that the end is near, but rather a sense of inevitableness, of the prosperity and immutability of the Church of Christ possesses the people. Ordinary members entertain unquestioning faith, and regard the coldness of the hour and the lapses of many as something temporary that must pass away soon giving place to greater manifestations of the glory of God. Never was the moral life of individual members cleaner or more beautiful than it is now. It must be sorrowfully admitted that the spirit and declension of the age has told heavily upon the Baptists of the Principality. Evidence of that can be seen in the smaller congregations and the reduced membership of the churches. That story is amply recorded in our denominational statistics year after year. Nevertheless Church funds bear testimony to a generosity and faithfulness that indicates love and devotion that cannot be gainsaid. The preaching of today may not have the same torrential eloquence of bye-gone days, but is certainly more intellectual and scholarly than ever before. Notwithstanding all that is gloomy and disheartening, there are signs and testimonies that the future is safe, that truth shall prevail, that the principles of the Prince of Peace shall prosper, and that Divine Love shall yet possess the hearts of the people of Wales and of the whole world.

E. K. JONES.

## The Paradox of Liberty.

DR. INGE has said somewhere that the freedom of the will is a fact that moralists cannot afford to forget nor metaphysicians to remember. The supposed opposition between ethics and metaphysics on the question of determinism and free-will is perhaps the chief crux of philosophy. Sir David Ross, the Aristotelian scholar and Provost of Oriel, has affirmed with regard to the problem of free-will that all the metaphysical considerations seem to point one way, viz., to determinism, and all the ethical considerations seem to point the other way, viz., to free-will, thus presenting the philosopher with an *impasse*.

When we are thinking metaphysically, it seems obvious that every event must be determined by a previous event, which in turn was determined by a previous event, according to a universal law of cause and effect. We are thus confronted by a chain of causation in which all events, including human actions, are the effects of causes and determined by those causes. It is true that a human being chooses to act in a certain way; but his choice is itself an event, and as such is determined by some cause. Human conduct, therefore, cannot be excluded from the general law of determinism which seems to rule out any real freedom of choice.

When we are thinking ethically, however, we perceive that duty implies freedom. As Kant put it: "I ought" implies "I can." According to Kant there is no sense in saying that a man ought to do such and such an act unless he is free to choose whether he will do that act or not. The facts of moral responsibility, merit and guilt appear to rest upon freedom of choice between alternative courses of action, and that this choice is not already predetermined by past events. Evangelism, in particular, seems to presuppose freedom of choice in the hearer. When the preacher extends the Gospel invitation to men and women, he takes it for granted that they are free agents, free to accept or reject the invitation.

From the two different points of view, therefore, the metaphysical and the ethical, the doctrines of determinism and free-will seem equally true; and yet determinism and free-will have usually been treated by philosophers as mutually exclusive opposites. It is not, however, in the nature of truth to be divided against itself. It is the purpose of this article to try to show that determinism of a certain kind is not only compatible with liberty, but a necessary condition of it.

This truth can be most clearly seen in the realm of thought. We frequently use the expression "freedom of thought" without enquiring very carefully what we mean by it. Do we mean that a man is free to choose what he will think? Surely not. If a man is to think at all, he must be guided by the facts, so far as he can ascertain them, and by the laws of logic. Nothing is more free than true thought, and yet nothing is more definitely "determined." When thinkers say, as they often do, "the evidence *compels* me to draw this conclusion," or "I am *forced* to come to this judgement," they are stating what is literally the case, yet they are not conscious of being deprived of "freedom of thought." The fact is, we are never more free in our thinking than when our thinking is most strictly determined by our apprehension of the facts and the laws of logic. Our thinking achieves its fullest liberty in the apprehension of real facts and the real relations between them; yet this apprehension is nothing else but surrender to the compulsion of Truth. When I perceive that two and two make four, I am a free agent, and yet I am also under compulsion, for I cannot think otherwise. The facts compel me to think as I do.

True liberty in thought, therefore, is not only compatible with determinism, but is necessarily conditioned by it. Thought is free only as it is compelled by objective truth and by the principles of reason. The true free-thinker is "determined."; and by "determined" we do not mean "self-determined." A man whose thought was determined by himself, by his character, prejudices, passions, wishes and whims, would be the least entitled to be regarded as a free-thinker, or indeed, as a thinker at all. A thinker is free only in so far as he is a captive to Truth; that is, when this thought is guided and determined by a Power not himself, objective and inexorable in its demands. This Power is not an alien Power, since It is rational as man is rational. It is this affinity between the compelling power and the compelled mind which robs the compulsion of its sting and gives to the thinker the feeling of liberty and victory.

If determinism is a necessary condition of liberty in the realm of thought, this must be true also in the realm of action, since free human action in the full sense must be rational, i.e., directed *freely* by reason. Other factors no doubt enter in, such as volition and conation, but reason must be the basis of all action which has the right to be called free. The motive power which moves a truly free agent to do what reason tells him to be right is the love of Goodness which like a magnet draws the free heart towards itself. The heart which is held back by its own evil lusts and passions is not free at all. True liberty in human conduct



lies in servitude to that Power, not ourselves, which in the realm of thought is Truth, in the realm of behaviour Goodness, and in the realm of art Beauty. We are free moral agents in so far as we are under the compulsion of the Good that we see. Luther was never more free than when he said, "I can do no other." In a sense the stand he took was the result of his free choice: no man compelled him to take it. He was the free and willing captive of Truth. His was no arbitrary action: he was moved to do it by the compelling power of a revelation of the truth.

In action, as in thought, liberty and determinism are not opposed, but are complementary to one another. And again by "determinism" we do not mean "self-determination," but determination "ab extra" by a Power not ourselves, though also not alien to ourselves. A. E. Taylor's dismal doctrine that liberty is self-determination is mercifully not true. Anyone who has looked into his own heart and peered into that dreadful abyss must realise that to be self-determined would be worse than any Fatalism. There is no tyranny so terrible as the tyranny of self. Better to be the plaything of a blind and remorseless Destiny than to be the victim of self. No doubt there are, alas, many people who are self-determined, but they know nothing of freedom, only of licence. To be free is to be determined, not by self, but by that Being Who is Truth, Goodness and Beauty, in Whose likeness we were originally made and Whose image within us has been defaced by sin.

Prof. de Burgh was surely right when he said that the problem of free-will and determinism can only be solved when it is lifted into the realm of religion. The service of God is perfect freedom, and nothing else is.

Make me a captive, Lord,  
And then I shall be free.

There is no such thing as freedom in the sense of indeterminism. We are all determined either by our own selfishness and ignorance, in which case we are slaves, or by "a Power, not ourselves, working for righteousness," the God of truth and goodness and love, in which case we enjoy the liberty of the children of God.

But, it will be pointed out, it is possible for a man to pass from the state of being determined by selfishness into the state of being determined by God. Is not this transition effected by the free choice of the individual? The answer depends upon the meaning which we assign to the phrase "free choice." If by "free" we mean "uncaused" then the answer must be "No." An uncaused choice would be an impossibility; and, even if it were possible, it would have no moral significance: it would

be a mere freak of chance. Where then does the cause of the choice lie in a case where a man passes from the state of being determined by selfishness into the state of being determined by God? The only adequate cause is God Himself. As Jesus said: "No man can come unto Me except the Father which sent Me draw him."<sup>1</sup> We may extend to men the Gospel invitation, but only God Himself can bring a man to accept it. As the Bishop of London has written: "The Church cannot convert anybody. It may evangelise; it cannot convert. Only God can do that." (*Has the Church Failed?* Odhams Press Ltd.)

It may be objected that freedom is compatible with self-determination, if the latter is understood as the determination of a man by his "higher self." F. H. Cleobury, for instance, in his very interesting and suggestive book, *God, Man, and the Absolute*, while accepting the position that man can be free only as he is determined by the Absolute, goes on to identify determination by the Absolute with self-determination, on the ground that man's "higher self," by which he means his "real" self, is identical with the Absolute.

This doctrine is indefensible for several reasons. (1) The theory of "two selves," a higher and lower self, is untenable. The self is a unity, an integral whole. It is unjustifiable to isolate the divine element in human nature, so to speak, in a water-tight compartment, and call it the "real self." The self of a rational man is one integral whole, embracing all that he is. (2.) In the unregenerate man this self is corrupted by sin through and through. The divine element remains, but even this "image of God" within him has been defaced and spoiled. So that every action of the unregenerate man is sinful, precisely because it is self-determined. Even if he does what is *right*, his action is not *good* (to use the useful distinction expounded by Ross in *The Right and the Good*), because his motive is tainted and impure. In this sense we can accept Augustine's dictum that even the apparent virtues of the pagans are really sins. Self-determination must be bondage to sin. (3) Even in the regenerate man, the sinfulness of the self is not wholly eliminated. It has been conquered, and it is progressively diminished, but rarely, if ever, is it entirely removed in this life. So that even for the converted man freedom must be, not self-determination, but determination by God. (4.) Even when the self becomes perfect, as the saints in heaven are perfect, the self still cannot be identified with God. The essence of religion is the worship of God and fellowship with Him; but these would be impossible if the self were identical with Him. Complete identity would be as destructive of the possibility of worship and fellowship as would

<sup>1</sup> John vi. 44.

complete dissimilarity. There is an affinity between man and God, but affinity, or similarity, is, as Dr. Cleobury himself explains, a compound of identity and difference. (p.41.) Man will always be different from God as well as like Him.

Dr. Cleobury quaintly follows up his claim to be identical, in his "real self," with the Absolute, by praising the virtue of humility! But, we may well ask, why should a man be humble, if he is, in his "real ego," identical with the Absolute? Humble before *what* or *whom*? If humility is a virtue, it must, as Dr. Cleobury well says, be based upon truth. But what is this truth? Surely it is threefold: (a) Man is one self, not two selves. (b) Man, although made in God's image, is essentially lower than God. (c) Man's goodness is not the work of man, but of God. If we accept humility as a virtue, based on truth, then we cannot believe either that human goodness and liberty are the result of man's self-determination or that the self is identical with God.

The human soul is a battle-ground where two opposing forces, God and the fallen, sinful self, contend for mastery. The moral struggle arises when self fights against God, as Jacob wrestled with the Divine visitant. Man's only true victory lies in defeat; he finds his liberty only as he surrenders to God. The converted man is the convinced man, and to be convinced means literally to be conquered.<sup>2</sup> A conviction is not so much something we lay hold upon, as something that lays hold upon us. Similarly goodness is not our achievement, but God's gift to the surrendered soul. We are saved not by our works, but by the electing grace of God. Our own contribution to our salvation is not action, but cessation, to stop resisting, to cease fighting against God, to yield, to surrender. "By grace have ye been saved through faith, and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God: not of works, that no man should glory." (Eph. ii., 8-9). When we are saved, our works henceforth are free, i.e., no longer "self-determined," but "God-determined."

Every virtue we possess,  
And every victory won,  
And every thought of holiness,  
Are His alone.

A. W. ARGYLE.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Wheeler Robinson, *Baptist Principles*, p. 19.

## The Church at Shelfanger.

THE Church at Shelfanger was originally a branch of the Church at Beccles. A secession took place during the ministry of Thomas Tingey (1736-1749) who was pastor of the Congregational Church at Beccles. A number of Baptists wished to secure the benefit of Edward Simmons' ministry at Rushall. Mr. Simmons lived at Beccles so the Rushall Church was transferred there. This took place in 1741, when an application was made to the Board for help to build a chapel. Mr. Simmons united the remnant of Rushall and Pulham St. Mary members with those who seceded. About the year 1759 Mr. Simmons died, and Robert Robinson was invited to take the pastorate, but declined and went to Cambridge. It is interesting that Edward Simmons took part in the ordination of John Stearne at St. Mary's, Norwich, and at the ordination of Edward Trivett at Worstead. After the death of Edward Simmons the cause greatly declined at Beccles. It is possible a remnant may have been left, but by 1774 they were in a very low state. About the year 1762 or 1763 the Church, being without a minister, and only having a minister occasionally, applied to Mr. Edward Trivett of Worstead, Mr. William Cole of Great Yarmouth, and Mr. Henry Utting at Claxton for help, and about the year 1763, these ministers occasionally preached to them about once a month. Thomas Purdy, the son-in-law of Edward Trivett, had been sent out to preach by the Worstead Church and during most of 1764 preached at Rushall, but in January 1765, he left to go to Rye. Their next step was to apply to Mr. John Hitchcock of Wattisham, and Mr. Samuel Sowden of Wolverstone, and they had a monthly supply again.

The old Rushall Minute Book contains some interesting entries of these early days. The following is a copy of the entries for 1763.

The account of the money Re <sup>d</sup> From the Fund and collected in the Church in the year 1763. March 13.	£	S.	D.
Received from the Fund march 13, 1763 ... ..	2	15	0
Re <sup>d</sup> May 8 by collection of the Church ... ..	0	8	6
Re <sup>d</sup> June 12 by Collection of the Church ... ..	0	2	0
Re <sup>d</sup> July 31 by collection of the Church ... ..	0	19	0
Re <sup>d</sup> August 14 by collection ... ..	0	1	0
Re <sup>d</sup> October 23 of Mr. Utting ... ..	0	10	6
Re <sup>d</sup> October 30 by collection of the Church ... ..	1	0	6
Collected in the whole ... ..	5	16	6

The account of the Money Disburst in Church For the Support of the Minister, and other occasions.

		£	S.	D.
March 13, 1763. The account of the money Disburst in the year 1763				
Paid to Mr. Trivett	March 13th, 1763	...	0	10 6
paid to Mr. Purdy	April 10th	...	0	10 0
paid to Mr. Corbin	April 10th for horses keeping	...	0	2 6
paid to Mr. Purdy	May 8th	...	0	10 6
paid to Mr. Purdy	June 12	...	0	15 0
paid to Mr. Cole	July 3	...	0	10 0
paid to Mr. Purdy	July 17	...	0	8 0
paid to Mr. Purdy	July 31	...	0	8 0
paid to Mr. Corbin	July 31 for horses keeping	...	0	6 6
paid to Mr. Purdy	Sep. 11th	...	0	8 0
paid to Mr. Purdy	October 2	...	0	10 6
paid to Mr. Purdy	October 30	...	0	8 0
paid to Mr. Purdy	Dec. 4	...	0	10 6
paid to Mr. Corbin	Dec 4 for horses keeping	...	0	4 0
paid to Mr. Purdy	Dec. 18	...	0	10 3
Disburst in all		...	6	12 3

The accounts do not balance, and one wonders who paid the difference. These accounts were made before the Church was actually established.

The entries in the year 1765 contain the following :

“ Paid to Wells Jillings for troubling his house 0 2 0 ”

“ Paid to Wells Jillings for the use of his house 0 2 6 ”

This was evidently the meeting place of the Church.

“ paid to Wm. Richards for letters ... 0 0 6 ”

On September 30th, 1765 the Church was settled, meeting at Rushall. The account records that Thomas Smith, Charles Mortlock and Mary Murrel, upon profession of their faith in Christ, were baptised, by Edward Trivett. These three were probably baptised in the River Waveney near Harleston, in Norfolk. These three members joined with the nine members from Beccles to form the Church. The members from Beccles were Thomas Gowing, William Barnes, William Shilling, William Richards, William Johnson, Susanna Richards, Sarah Richards, Prudence Jillings, and Martha Shilling. These twelve “ In Love Devoted ourselves to the Lord, and to one another by the will of God, and were

planted into a Church by the instrumentality of the beloved Mr. Trivett."

After the Church had in this manner been united, the members endeavoured to fill up their vacant Sabbaths by prayer, and reading a Sermon, and in the spring they used to set a text of scripture for every one of their male members "to speak their thoughts upon it."

The accounts also record that on May 19th, 1766 two shillings and four pence was paid for a Church Book, and on July 30th a sum of seven shillings and three pence was paid for "the Tablecloth and the napkin."

On the 3rd of August 1766, the Church recognised that Thomas Smith, through the talks that he had given on the texts of scripture, was destined to be a preacher of the Gospel and on that day sent him forth. The interest increased at Shelfanger, and a barn was repaired for a Meeting House. In the accounts there is an entry of £1 2s. 1d. towards this meeting house, but it was not opened until on or about the 24th of November, 1768.

On the opening day the ministers attending were Edward Trivett, Henry Utting, Samuel Sowden, John Hitchcock, Jabez Brown, John Brown, and Samuel Fisher. The bringing together of these ministers, all being Particular Baptists, led them to consider the formation of an Association. This talk ultimately led to the beginning of the "Norfolk and Suffolk Association" actually commenced in 1769. Thomas Smith was born at Fressingfield, Suffolk, on January 27th, 1736. He heard the Gospel and was converted under Thomas Purdy, who soon removed to Rye in Sussex. Edward Trivett baptised Thomas Smith on the day the Church was formed at Rushall, September 30th, 1765. He was chosen a deacon on May 19th, 1766 and had frequent baptisms. He was called to the work of the ministry by the Church on August 3rd, 1766, and was ordained on June 21st, 1769, when Mr. Trivett gave the charge to the minister and Mr. Hitchcock to the people, Mr. Henry Utting was also present on that occasion and these four ministers agreed to meet at Wattisham on the first Wednesday in August, 1769 for the purpose of founding the Association.

Thomas Smith married Kezia Gooch who had been baptised by the Rev. Mr. Hunt on April 13th, 1766, and had joined the Church on that date. They had nine children. Mr. Smith removed to Fersfield on October 30th, 1772.

Several members of the Church were sent out from time to time to preach. John Brown, received from the Yarmouth Church, was sent out to preach on May 1st, 1768. He was present at the opening of the barn. John Calton of Winfarthing, Edward Manser of Bunwell, who founded the Church at Horham, and

probably also Warren Garrod went from the Shelfanger Church. William Wales Horne, who became pastor at Yarmouth was also a member. Altogether eight were set apart, the last being either Simon Tipple or Jonas Smith.

The deacons who served during Thomas Smith's ministry were all "solemnly set apart by the lifting up of the hands."

The records say that four churches were formed, but do not state which. It is probable that they were Kenninghall, Attleborough, Carleton Rode, and Wymondham or Horham.

In sentiment Thomas Smith was a Supralapsarian. He composed eleven hundred hymns, out of which William Ward of Diss selected a hundred and published them under the title "Original Hymns by Mr. Thomas Smith." These hymns were published after his death with a brief memoir. Edward Manser of Horham transcribed five hundred of these hymns declaring "that the pleasure he had himself received in the perusal of them had more than amply repaid him for all his labour."

Both of the families of the Mansers and the Smiths lost their landed properties at their death. Mr. Smith took great interest in the welfare of other churches. He ordained Robert Bunn at Necton in May, 1796, and delivered the charge to the minister at the ordination of William Wales Horne at Yarmouth on December 21st, 1797. He also continued to take an active interest in the Norfolk and Suffolk Association. He was 47 years pastor during which time two hundred were baptised. He died at his home at Fersfield on December 13th, 1813, at the age of 77. The circumstances of his funeral were very peculiar. He was buried "at his chapel at Shelfanger. . . . The coffin was placed in his own waggon, preceded by his bearers, and the singers of his congregation, chaunting a funeral dirge; the waggon was drawn by his own team, and besides the coffin which was covered over with a waggon tilt for a pall, the corn sacks belonging to it were stuffed with straw, and being placed round the coffin, served for seats for his children, all in deep mourning. Behind the waggon followed the chief mourner; this was his own riding horse attached by a bridle."

Jeremiah Hubbard was the next pastor. He was born in 1775, and was baptised at Worstead in 1795. He requested the Worstead Church to send him out to preach in the year 1798, but as he had removed to Yarmouth, permission was not given. However, on December 9th, 1804, the Worstead Church dismissed him to Yarmouth, and the next year he was sent out by that Church. In 1807 he settled at Wymondham, and in 1815 removed to Shelfanger. Jeremiah Hubbard married Judith Jackson and they had five children. About seventy persons were received into the Church during his ministry, and it was during his ministry

that the chapel was built. In 1819, the Norfolk and Suffolk Association meetings were held at Shelfanger. At that time a large booth was erected for the crowds which flocked to the meetings. This is the first mention of an arrangement which is perpetuated in the Association Tent of the present Strict Baptists. In November, 1826, Mr. Hubbard was invited to preach at Lowestoft, this he did with great acceptance, but could not accept the pastorate as he had promised to settle at Aldringham in Suffolk. During the latter end of Mr. Hubbard's life he suffered much from depression of spirits and mental debility, which shortened his usefulness and led him to resign. He died at Chelmondiston, Suffolk.

Mr. Hubbard was succeeded by John Clarke, a man of good natural abilities and preaching talents, but from various causes the Church declined during his ministry, and he left at Easter 1834, having occupied the pulpit for ten years. It is possible that this John Clarke was sent out by the Walsham-le-Willows Church in 1824, and at the end of his ministry at Shelfanger settled at Great Oakley in 1836.

The next pastor was Thomas Winter, a schoolmaster from Reepham. He settled apparently in the autumn of 1834. The beginning of his ministry was very successful. In June 1835, the minutes record: "The Lord having blessed the labours of our Pastor so that our Meeting House became too small to contain with comfort the number of persons who wished to attend, it was unanimously resolved that two galleries should be erected." Before the work was begun a subscription was set on foot, many came forward very liberally and the alteration was soon completed. The amount of carpenter's, glazier's, smith's and mason's bills was £38 7s. 6d. The galleries were opened on Whit-Tuesday, and collections were made. The services of the day were truly interesting and the attendance was very great. The collection amounted to £14. There was a Prayer Meeting previous to the opening day, and on the following day Cornelius Elven preached both morning and afternoon, and in the evening Simon Borret Gooch preached. "We hope the Lord's Presence was with us, and that much good was done" is the note in the minutes.

An advance was made in the history of the Church when on July 5th, 1835, a Sunday School was formed.

There was at that time an Association known as "The Friendly Association." In the year 1837, it consisted of the four churches, Kenninghall, Attleborough, Carleton Rode and Shelfanger. These meetings were held on Good Fridays, and a meeting of this kind was held at Shelfanger during that year.

During the first three years of Thomas Winter's ministry more members were added to the Church than in any similar



period. "Scarcely, however, had we plucked the rose of prosperity than the bitter thorns of adversity pierced us." A separation took place of a very painful and melancholy nature. Thomas Winter left in September 1837, and a year later the following statement was entered in the minutes. "As a Church we have had to sustain a severe shock through the gross inconsistency of our late pastor Thomas Winter who fell so grievously as at once to silence himself and render his separation and departure necessary."

For a time the pulpit was occupied by various supplies, but in May 1838, through the influence of Cornelius Elven, John Dallison came to them from Bury. He accepted the call for a year and then went on to Sible Hedingham. A Mr. Carto next supplied, but was not invited. Then came Joseph Caldwell Wyke from Hunmanby for twelve months, but not being generally received, he left in 1841 for Whitechurch. The Good Friday meetings were held again at Shelfanger in 1841.

Robert Enefer Webster from Kingston started work there in April 1841. In 1842 Enos Holding, one of the members, was called to minister in the villages. Mr. Webster remained only two and a half years and then left for Dorman's Land.

In November 1844, George Ward from Tittleshall "was invited to the helm of the Church, and though a man of exemplary piety and one who desired and patiently laboured for the good of souls, no gale of prosperity attended to cheer the church or sustain the pastor."

In 1844 rules for the conduct of the Sunday School were drawn up and entered in the Church Book. A Scripture ticket was given each week to scholars who repeated their lessons correctly, and another to those whose conduct was good and who had attended both morning and evening. Twelve Scripture tickets could be exchanged for one picture ticket, and every picture ticket was of the value of one penny in rewards. The school met at nine o'clock and one o'clock, and it was particularly laid down that reading and spelling was part of the instruction. In that same year the Church made application to the Baptist Fund for support and received £6. The "Friendly Association" met again on Good Friday 1845. Eight dinners were provided for the ministers at "The Crown," the charge being twelve shillings to the Church.

"On Lord's Day, April 6th, a Petition to Parliament against the Maynooth Grant was read to the congregation and signed one hundred and fifty seven names."

In 1845 the use of the vestry was granted to Mr. Ward for the purpose of teaching a Day School. In the same year the church applied for admission to the Suffolk and Norfolk Association.

There is a curious note concerning the singing in the Sunday School. On February 22nd, 1846, Brother Jolly proposed that with a view to ascertain what talent there is for singing amongst the Sunday School children and with a view to improve it that the children be assembled in the body of the chapel for singing and prayer previous to their being taught in the gallery. This proposition was agreed to.

In 1846 the question of Strict or Open Communion was faced by the Church. There is a curious reference which says that "the strict communion principle being in the eye of Mr. Elven" was one reason why the Association should be broken up. The answer of the Church was that they were decidedly strict on the communion question and intended to appoint messengers to the Annual Meeting.

The ministry of George Ward ended in 1847, when he left for Bradfield St. George. In the July following, Thomas Winter was received back into the church on a profession of faith, and occupied the pulpit. The Church fell evidently into a sad state, for the minutes record: "The high tide of prosperity referred to in his former ministrations by no means returned with the latter. The Church gradually declined to the lowest ebb it had ever known since the early years of its formation."

Some of the minutes of Church Meetings carry a certain amount of humour. Here are two records quite complete. The first records: "1848 April 30 Church met and after imploring the Divine Guidance we came to a unanimous conclusion to have a Public Tea Meeting on June 20." Then on "1853 Feb. 27, Church met—after prayer it was deeply regretted that so little interest was taken in Church Meetings, and having nothing to attend to the meeting was adjourned."

In 1853 the Church drew up a Petition against the Education Bill which was sent to Parliament. There were two hundred and fifty people present when this was passed. In the next year a kind of clothing club was suggested for the children of the Sunday School. The children had to pay something weekly and money was added by subscriptions.

Thomas Winter left in May 1855, and was later transferred to Earl Soham, but the membership had declined to twenty-nine members.

"The feeble band of disciples were not however, deserted by the Great Head of the Church." Barnabus Burroughes of Attleborough, who had been preaching at Wymondham became pastor. There were cheering marks of Divine Goodness. Five were baptised and one restored. Mr. Burroughes had settled in 1855, but in 1857 after an illness of nine months, "borne with fortitude and Christian submission" he passed away. His death was

regretted by a bereaved church and a large circle of friends.

Richard Bryant Horne was the next pastor. He was born in 1827. He appeared before the Kenninghall Church and related his experience, and was accepted for membership. He was received into the Shelfanger church in 1859 and ordained pastor on June 13th, 1859. Mr. Gooch of Fakenham delivered the charge to the minister and Mr. Hill of Stoke Ash the exhortation to the people.

During this time the Church felt great concern over the neighbouring villages. A house was opened at Bressingham, and a chapel was built at a cost of about £60, and was at first used for week-evening and Sunday services only. It was opened by Mr. Hoddy of Horham in 1859.

The Centenary services were held in 1865. The chapel was repainted and repaired at a cost of £15. Three sermons were preached on October 1st, 1865 by Charles H. Hoskens of Norwich, and on the Monday George Wright of Beccles preached, and the evening meeting contained "animated addresses." On October 6th, after an affectionate address from Mr. Porcher, the pastor was presented with a purse containing £6 10s. 0d. by Mr. W. Jarrett. Mr. Horne's pastorate had been marked with quiet but real success. Thirty-four had been received by baptism and seven others received. There were at least fifteen villages from which the members of the congregation came during his ministry. Mr. Horne died at Carleton Rode in 1893.

The next minister was Thomas Henry Sparham, who commenced his ministry on September 2nd, 1866. Mr. Sparham was born on July 26th, 1823 at Brighton. He was converted to God at seventeen years of age, and consecrated every talent to his Lord. In Diss and neighbourhood he was highly esteemed as a preacher before he was thirty years of age. In 1853 he undertook the care of the Old Buckenham Baptist Church. During the week he worked as an upholsterer in Diss, and went on Sundays to his "Bishopric," a distance of ten and a half miles each way. Sometimes he was met on the way by a friend with a pony and trap, and sometimes he walked the whole distance. Mr. Sparham's recognition services at Shelfanger were combined with the Harvest services on September 12th, 1866. For nearly nine years of his ministry Mr. Sparham continued with his trade, but about July 1875 the Church being unanimous in their desire for him to continue his ministry among them, he devoted his whole time to the work.

In 1867 alterations were made to the chapel and repairs to the roof at a cost of £36.

Good Friday "Friendly Association" meetings continued to be held in the Churches. Services were held at Shelfanger in 1868

and 1871. By February 1st, 1871 the Church membership had risen to eighty-eight.

In 1874 on February 22nd, there is this note: "To-day was the opening service with the harmonium played by Mr. Wm. Jarrett."

Thomas Henry Sparham left Shelfanger in 1878. He was a man of great sensitiveness. He would neither cry nor strive, nor let his voice be heard in angry speech. In consequence of his intense shrinking from all conflict he left the ministry and went to Doncaster for three years. In those days there was no Baptist Church there, so he worshipped and laboured with the Wesleyans.

In 1882 he was invited back to Norfolk to take charge of the work at Necton. On leaving Doncaster high testimonials were given him both from his fellow workman and the Wesleyan Superintendent. He later worked at Great Ellingham, and retired in October 1897. The simplicity of character and life of Mr. Sparham was unique. With a fund of humour and pathos akin to genius, and a tender, sympathetic, sensitive nature he endeared himself to all. A great domestic affliction overshadowed his life, but was borne with uncomplaining meekness. In early life he was an intense Calvinist, in maturer years he held wider views of the divine love.

J. Miller Hamilton wrote of him: "A man of saintly character, a very good pastor, and able to speak in a way which commanded the attention of his hearers. A man of sanctified common sense, with power to attract and hold his congregation and the good name of the entire neighbourhood." He died on July 16th, 1898.

After Mr. Sparham's resignation, Mr. C. Hewitt from Hitchen, Herts, preached for several Sundays but was not invited to the Pastorate, but on July 27th, 1879, Mr. A. E. Spicer was invited and accepted and commenced his ministry on November 3rd. At the same meeting the church adopted the use of "Our Own Hymn Book." On September 26th, 1880 Mr. Spicer, having changed his views, resigned.

In February 1881 it was agreed that George Bird Dearle, who had been minister at Felthorpe should be invited to preach, and commenced his ministry on May 1st.

The church joined the Suffolk and Norfolk Baptist Association on March 4th, 1882. Mr. Dearle's recognition services were held on May 30th, 1882. S. K. Bland of Ipswich gave the charge to the minister and Thomas John Ewing gave the charge to the church.

During 1883, in the months of May and June, the chapel was altered and repaired at a cost of between £60 and £90. The

building was also insured and licensed for marriages. In 1887 a Loan Tract Society was formed for Shelfanger.

George Bird Dearle resigned in 1892 and accepted an invitation to Pulham St. Mary. His death was a tragedy for he was killed in his own pulpit, on March 24th, 1895. There was a great storm and wind blew the roof off the chapel and a part of the end wall fell upon him. Several members of the congregation were also hurt. Great sympathy was shown to the bereaved in the churches around and financial help was given.

The last pastor was Amos John Jarrett. He commenced in September 1892. He had previously been a member at Hethersett.

A rule was passed by the Church in 1896 that members not attending the Lord's Supper for six observances would not be regarded as members.

In November 1898, the pastor removed his residence from Redenhall to Shelfanger. His ministry appears to have been a very faithful one, but little success attended the work as many of the older members passed to their eternal home.

In 1906 repairs were undertaken both in connection with the Shelfanger and Bressingham Chapels at a cost of nearly £31.

Mr. Jarrett resigned in 1909 but continued as a member, and in 1914 he again became pastor. In 1915 the pastor made a gift to the church of £20 for bricking the end of the chapel. The trust deeds were deposited with the Strict Baptists of London for safe custody. Mr. Jarrett resigned in May 1922 after a term of thirty years.

Since then the work has continued in a small way, but the membership continued to decline, and in 1942 the church was almost extinct. This was partly due to the loss of population in the country and the ease with which members can now journey from one place to another.

MAURICE F. HEWETT.

## A Conservative thinks again about Daniel.

THE difficulties involved in interpreting the book of Daniel are notorious. To this fact the variety of expositions offered us today are a sufficient witness. The writer of this article has travelled a tortuous way to reach his present conclusions; he feels it may be more helpful to recount his successive reactions to the problems presented by the book than to give a bare statement of opposing views, for he suspects he is not alone in his experience.

When his interests first turned to eschatology, the writer felt he ought to know something about the book of Daniel. Very rashly he announced to his congregation that he would commence a series of studies on the book in his weekly Bible school; feeling he could share the results of his labours as he proceeded. He consulted a tutor of his former theological college, seeking advice as to how to tackle the problems entailed. He was not a little shocked when the respected tutor advised him not to make up his mind too quickly as to the date of Daniel: "Study the book first, then draw your conclusions," he was told. That sounded heretical. Did not every respectable Evangelical know that Daniel was written in the sixth century? He turned to his studies, determined not to be deflected from the path of truth.

He began with Pusey's *Lectures on Daniel the Prophet*. The opening sentences of the treatise confirmed his suspicions as to the orthodoxy of his respected tutor. "The book of Daniel is especially fitted to be a battlefield between faith and unbelief," declared Pusey. "It admits of no half measures. It is either Divine or an imposture. To write any book under the name of another, and to give it out to be his, is, in any case, a forgery, dishonest in itself, and destructive of all trustworthiness. But the case as to the book of Daniel, if it were not his, would go far beyond even this. The writer, were he not Daniel, must have lied on a most frightful scale, ascribing to God prophecies which were never uttered, and miracles which are assumed never to have been wrought. In a word, *the whole book would be one lie in the Name of God.*" The student's mind was made up. He would under no circumstances yield to the devilish subtleties of the critics!

Pusey's work is certainly a masterpiece of erudition. R. D. Wilson, in his article on Daniel in the International Standard Bible Encyclopædia, stated that it still remains the finest work on the book. One can hardly wonder, therefore, that it completely won the assent of a young man who had read no other serious work on the subject. But Boutflower is equally persuasive, being armed with an up-to-date knowledge of Assyriology. Sir Robert Anderson's exposition of the Seventy Weeks of Daniel, contained in *The Coming Prince*, also made a deep impression by its careful marshalling of evidence and the astounding results of its calculations. There followed an ever deepening conviction of the authenticity of Daniel as the student passed on to absorb C. H. H. Wright's works, together with those of Auberlen, Keil, Zöckler and various lesser lights. By this time he was so fortified that the fiery darts of Bevan, Charles, and Montgomery could make no impression on his armour; Daniel was sixth century, a child could tell it, further argument was superfluous. His congregations were instructed in the orthodox fashion. The esteem for the formerly highly respected tutor diminished a shade!

Not long afterwards the writer commenced for the first time a careful study of the Apocrypha. He was made just a trifle uneasy by the curious similarity of atmosphere between some of these books and that of Daniel, particularly in the realm of personal piety, but he suppressed the thought as too subjective. He passed on to the study of the extra-canonical apocalyptic literature. Since it was generally admitted that Daniel was prior to these works, the similarity of the latter to it was sufficiently accounted for by conscious imitation, so nothing was gained in this respect. All the time, of course, he was reading the Old and New Testaments, ever with an eye on eschatology. From the fog an important principle of interpretation increasingly made itself discernible: every writer of the prophetic books in both Testaments stood in an immediate relation to the Kingdom of God; to them all, the Kingdom was "at hand." In the N.T. this needs little demonstration; the Parousia is not only longed for, it is hoped for and expected to happen "soon" (see e.g. Rom. xiii. 11f., 1 Cor. vii. 29f., Heb. x. 37, 1 Pt. iv. 7, Jas. v. 8, 1 Jn. ii. 18, Rev. i. 3). The principle, however, is equally discernible in the O.T.: Isaiah looked for the Kingdom of God to come in connection with the troublous times of the Assyrian oppression (see e.g. Chs. 7-9, 10-11), Habakkuk on the destruction of Babylon (Hab. ii. 2-3); Jeremiah, Deutero-Isaiah and Ezekiel prophesied of its establishment after the return of the Jews under Cyrus (e.g. Jer. 29-31, Is. 49, 51, Ezek. 36). Haggai, writing after that return, foretold the advent of the Kingdom after the completion of the Temple then in course of rebuilding (Hag. 2).

And so on. The question suggested itself: Is Daniel an exception to this principle? The prophecies were looked at again with this query in mind. There seemed to be one answer possible: Daniel is no exception.

This conviction was established for the writer in a very simple way. All expositors (except the extreme futurists) are agreed that the vision in Dan. 8. 1-27 has Antiochus Epiphanes in view: he is the "little horn" that ravages the people of God and their land and exalts himself against the host of heaven. Now the angel interpreter distinctly declares that *the vision belongs to the End-time*, immediately prior to the setting up of the Kingdom of God: "Understand, O son of man; for at the time of the end shall be the vision" (viii. 17), and again in Verse 19: "Behold, I will make thee know what shall be in the last end of the indignation; for at the time appointed the end shall be" (or, as R.V., "it belongeth to the appointed time of the end"). From these statements alone one may deduce that, to this writer, the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes stood as the immediate precursor of the End. This is made abundantly clear in the closing vision of the book, Chs. 10-12. An angel tells the prophet, "Now I am come to make thee understand what shall befall thy people in the latter days: for the vision is yet for many days" (x. 14). A lengthy description is then given of the relations between the Seleucid and Ptolemaic houses, with especial prominence to the doings of Antiochus Epiphanes, who appears in xi. 21 and continues to occupy the scene until the end of the chapter. It is important to realise that Antiochus is the king spoken throughout this passage; there is no indication of a change of reference after Verse 21, it is the same tyrant who works his evil doings till he comes to an untimely end (xi. 45). Immediately after that event Michael stands to deliver his people, the resurrection of the dead occurs and the kingdom is given to the saints (xii. 1-3). It thus seems clear that this prophet knows no history after the age of Antiochus Epiphanes.

Since this is so in these two visions, the presumption naturally occurs to one that the same goal is in view in the other visions of the book. This conclusion seems inescapable when it is realised that each vision culminates in the End-time and is described in similar terms throughout: i.e. the descriptions of Chs. 2, 7 and 9 correspond both to each other and to those of Chs. 8 and 11-12. No attempt is being made at completeness here so there is no need to adduce any but the most significant parallels.

The two divisions of the last empire in Ch. 2, represented by the iron legs, are related in detail in Ch. 11, where the fortunes of the Seleucid and Ptolemaic empires are set forth, although the



writer knows quite well that these two kingdoms did not exhaust Alexander's territory (see vii. 8, xi. 4); he confines his attention to these two empires because of their importance for the situation he has in mind. The strength of iron possessed by the fourth kingdom (ii. 40) is represented by the fierceness of the fourth beast and its great iron teeth (vii. 7), with which may be compared viii. 10, ix. 26, xi. 40f. The failure of iron and clay to mix together (ii. 43) is illustrated in Ch. 11 by the unsuccessful marriages attempted between the Seleucids and Ptolemies (xi. 6, 17). The little horn of vii. 9, despite all that is said to the contrary, seems identical with that of viii. 9, which confessedly denotes Antiochus Epiphanes; Boutflower compares with the latter passage what is said of Antiochus in xi. 23, "He shall come up, and shall become strong, with a small people," so that the oppressor in these three visions is the same. The description of his activities, in Ch. 9 as well as in Chs. 7, 8 and 11, leaves little room for doubt that the prophet has in view one individual only. This antichrist waxes great against God (vii. 8, 25, viii. 11, xi. 36-37). He persecutes the Jews and spoils their land (vii. 21, viii. 9, ix. 26, xi. 30f). He affects the regular sacrifices (vii. 25, viii. 11, ix. 27, xi. 31, xii. 11). He treads under the sanctuary (viii. 11, 13, ix. 26, xi. 31). He sets up the abomination that desolates (viii. 13, ix. 27, xi. 31, xii. 11). This lasts for three and a half years approximately (vii. 25, viii. 14, ix. 27, xii. 7). A catastrophic judgment overtakes the tyrant (ii. 34-35, vii. 9-12, viii. 25, ix. 27, xi. 45-xii. 1). The Kingdom of God is then established (ii. 35, 44, vii. 13-14, 18, 22, 27, ix. 24, xii. 2-3).

Since the reference of these visions is identical, then the fourth kingdom of Chs. 2 and 7 is the Greek. From this conclusion these seems no escape. Nor need there be any effort to evade it. We stand in good company in so interpreting the visions. This view was held by a long line of honoured and devout scholars, among whom are to be numbered Ephraem Syrus, Grotius, Zöckler, Westcott, Lightfoot, Zahn, and—for the benefit of our Calvinist enthusiasts—the Annotators of the Westminster Assembly!<sup>1</sup> But it must be clearly understood that most of the objections adduced against the late appearance of the book of Daniel in reality have nothing to do with its date but flow from this relation of the visions, a relation, which, nevertheless, seems to be undoubtedly correct and by which we must stand whatever the consequences.

It may be asked, "Why cannot we freely admit the Maccabæan reference of the prophecies of Daniel and still adhere to

<sup>1</sup> For a complete account of the history of interpretation of the four kingdoms, see H. H. Rowley, *Darius the Mede and the Four World Empires of the Book of Daniel*, pp. 70f.

their Danielic authorship?" For the writer, the question was settled by the one fact that such a recourse makes the book an exception, and that a most remarkable one, to the rule that the prophets as a body stand in an immediate relation to the Kingdom of God whose coming forms the burden of their prophecies. This rule has been conjoined to another by A. B. Davidson to form the supreme canon for dating any prophecy. "A prophetic writer," he declared, "always makes the basis of his prophecies the historical position in which he himself is placed. . . . And . . . the purpose of prophecy as exercised in Israel was mainly ethical, bearing on the life and manners of the people among whom the prophet lived" (O. T. Prophecy, p. 245). This view, he stated, is "founded on two facts, both obtained from observation, namely, first, we find prophecy to be of this moral character; and, second, we find that particular prophets always do move among the circumstances of their own times" (Ibid., p. 254). Applied to the book of Daniel, it yields the presumption that the author lived in the times that formed the theme of his visions. We still have prophecy, but it is the kind uttered by the rest of the prophets, viz. that concerning the impending revelation of the sovereignty of God.

Other considerations may be adduced to support this main contention. Granting that the Jews might have been warned centuries ahead of the persecution of Antiochus, why did not the prophecies make it explicit that the close of that tribulation would not be succeeded by the Kingdom of God? Alternatively we may ask, Why is the end of the Seleucid empire reckoned as the end of civilisation, the *last* world-empire? The same objection makes the frequently accepted Roman interpretation of the fourth empire equally invalid. For civilisation has continued. The viewpoint is comprehensible on the assumption that the prophet stands in the circumstances of which he speaks, but it is not understandable if he is supernaturally illumined to the degree demanded by the acceptance of Ch. 11 as written in the exile.

It is also necessary to account for the remarkable correspondence between the narratives of Chs. 1-6, both historically and theologically, and the circumstances of the Maccabean age.

Daniel 1 tells of the resistance of Daniel and his friends to the temptation of eating unclean foods. That the food question was a matter more prominent in the post-exilic than the pre-exilic age can hardly be disputed, while we have the knowledge that Antiochus attempted to force the Jews to discard their distinctions between clean and unclean meats (1 Macc. i. 48). The story of the example of Daniel and his friends in Babylonia would be an inspiring incentive to the Jews of the Maccabean period to do likewise.

Daniel 3 relates the refusal of three heroes to worship an idol set up by a heathen tyrant. Antiochus not only encouraged idolatry, but set up the "abomination of desolation" on the Temple altar (an effigy of himself, rather than the small heathen altar which accompanied it, 1 Macc. i. 13, 54).

Daniel 4 relates the madness that fell upon Nebuchadnezzar and his subsequent humiliation and recognition of the supremacy of the God of heaven. The general encouragement such a message would convey to the suffering Jews under Antiochus is itself significant, but if they knew, as is probable, that some people called the tyrant not "Epiphanes" (God manifest) but "Epimanes" (the madman), the parallel would be complete.

Daniel 5 speaks of the judgment of Belshazzar for his blasphemous use of the sacred Temple vessels. 1 Macc. i. tells how Antiochus "entered presumptuously into the sanctuary" and took the Temple vessels, the gold on the wall and the "hidden treasures." The whole passage reflects the horror felt by the Jews on this act of desecration (1 Macc. i. 25-28). The Belshazzar story, particularly with its message of the writing on the wall, would inspire confidence into the dispirited patriots; it would also convey the hint that the kingdom of another tyrant was numbered and was shortly to be given, not to yet a further oppressor, but to the "people of the saints of the Most High."

G. R. BEASLEY-MURRAY.

*(to be concluded)*

## Reviews.

*The Pilgrim's Progress*, by John Bunyan. Edited by Hugh Martin. (S.C.M. Press, 12s. 6d.)

*The Pilgrim's Progress* ran to eleven editions during Bunyan's lifetime and many subsequent editors have turned their attention to it, with widely differing motives. A Roman Catholic version bears the head of the Virgin on the title page! What Macaulay described as "the most extraordinary of all the acts of vandalism" took place when, in 1853, the work was touched up to serve as a piece of Tractarian apologetic. A "Progress of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, from Bedford Goal (1675) to Bloomsbury Street (1947)" would make enlivening reading. It can be said, however, that Bunyan's latest editor has served him faithfully and us magnificently.

Dr. Martin has used the text of the latest edition published during the author's lifetime and where changes have been made "the governing consideration . . . has been to present the text as Bunyan wanted it to be, but free of all distractions due to the printing habits of his time which only interfere with the enjoyment and appreciation of the modern reader." Admirable assistance has been given by the artist, Clarke Hutton, whose lithographed illustrations (there are over fifty of them) were drawn direct on to the plate. Would an index to these illustrations have been out of place? In type, binding and general design the production is of a quality all too rarely handled today. The edition is enhanced by the editor's introduction. Amongst other matters he deals with the main difficulty felt by Bunyan's modern readers. "The story is one thing; the theology, we feel, is another." "As a serious picture of the Christian life the story may well seem very exaggerated and too intense to many quite sincere Christian people today." It reminds us that Bunyan was a child of his own times, he was a Puritan, and he was John Bunyan. Yet he "did not expect everybody to travel just the same road." In his allegory he brought other good souls to the Celestial City who did not encounter his dangers and difficulties. In such books as this, moreover, there is a reality of Christian experience, described in unforgettable words, such as cause them to "outlive their theology."

Is Bunyan being read today? Someone wrote recently of the "extraordinary popularity" of *The Pilgrim's Progress*. Doesn't

that sort of remark assume that what ought to be is? Who and where are the people that are reading it? It is a work unknown to all but a very few of the younger generation; and do older folk often take it down from the shelf that holds those books "everyone ought to possess"? My hope is that by its very attractiveness this latest edition will lure strangers into "Bunyan country"; once they are inside we can leave the rest to Bunyan.

G. W. RUSLING.

*Christ is Alive*, by G. R. Beesley-Murray. (Lutterworth Press, 7s. 6d.)

This book of 178 pages, which is warmly commended in a Foreword by F. F. Bruce, Lecturer in Greek at Leeds University, sets forth the evidence for believing in the Resurrection of Jesus, the central importance of that belief, and its moral and spiritual implications for human life. The book falls mainly into two parts. The first, and longer, part seeks to demonstrate the fact of the Resurrection of Christ, and gives a convincing account of the evidence for the empty tomb and the reality of Christ's Resurrection appearances, authenticated above all by the amazing effect which they produced in the lives of those who claimed to have seen Him. The second part discusses the significance of the Resurrection of Christ for the individual Christian, the Church, and the world, and its eschatological promise of the conquest of death and the "restoration of all things" in the Second Advent.

Mr. Beesley-Murray has given us an interesting book which will, we believe, stimulate and confirm the faith of many; but he nowhere comes to grips with the greatest difficulty which the accounts of the Resurrection of Jesus present to modern thought. We no longer think of heaven in spacial terms, but regard it as a realm transcending space and time. How can a "body," extended in space, such as the Resurrection body of Jesus appears to have been, inhabit eternity which is, by definition, non-spacial? We wish that the author could have helped us with this problem. The Greek doctrine of the immortality of the soul has the advantage of avoiding this difficulty, but the author will have nothing to do with it (p. 12). He evidently suffers from the "Helleno-phobia" which is so widespread in Christian theology today. But the true solution of the problem would probably be a "higher synthesis" of the Greek doctrine of the immortality of the soul with the Hebrew doctrine of the Resurrection of a "spiritual body." The former safeguards the philosophical truth of the non-spacial character of eternal life; the latter rightly stresses the re-integration of the whole personality in the after-life.

A. W. ARGYLE.

*The Work of Christ*, by P. T. Forsyth. (Independent Press, 10s. 6d.)

This is a book in which the dry bones are made to live. It makes inspiring reading because, in and through it, is heard the voice of one who was indeed a prophet of the Lord. The words of the author carry great conviction and his vital personality is stamped on every page. The contents of the book were delivered in lecture form in 1909, taken down in shorthand, and finally published. The advantages and disadvantages of this are obvious to the reader. The language is vigorous and impressive, but the style is sometimes difficult and the sense in places obscure. There is a foreword by Dr. Whale and a revealing and helpful memoir by Forsyth's daughter.

The subject is the atonement wrought by God in Christ. Here the Cross occupies the central place; it is the very centre of gravity itself; it is the crisis of all crises. What matters, however, is not just the fact of the Cross, but its interpretation—what God meant by it. It is the means whereby *reconciliation* is effected. This is a great Christian doctrine, but first and foremost it is a mighty act of God, for "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto Himself." How is this reconciliation brought about? By the representative sacrifice of Christ crucified.

Atonement has to deal with solidary sin—the forgiveness of a *world*. God is dealing here not with a mass of individuals, but with the race as a whole; it is a racial salvation which is to be effected within which each individual has his place and part. The aim of the Gospel is the regeneration of human society as a whole. Christ offers solidary reparation, for there is created in the sinner a solidary union of faith which incorporates him with Christ forming a spiritual solidarity. He is our representative, and the solidarity involved in His representation is due to His own act of self-identification and not to natural identity with us. But is not repentance a condition of forgiveness? Yes, and our repentance was latent in His Holiness which alone could and must create it in us. He represents before God a new penitent Humanity whose penitence and obedience are already implied in His holiness. The reconciliation has been finally and universally effected—what we have to do is to appropriate the thing that has been done and enter upon the reconciled position.

But the human race could not be put in right relation to God's holiness until there was not only confession of sin, but confession of holiness as well. God is a Holy God in whom the demands of holiness on a sinful humanity must be met. This was done by Christ who presented to God a perfect racial obedience and holiness. Christ's confession of the holiness of God is *adequate* to meet God's demands. The atoning thing in Christ's suffering

was not its amount or its acuteness but its obedience, its sanctity. What is required is not an equivalent penalty, but an adequate confession of God's holiness, and that was met in Christ.

This is a truly objective atonement; in it God Himself made the offering, for "God was in Christ." At the heart of it stands the Cross and on the Cross hangs one whose sacrifice was utterly unique.

D. S. RUSSELL.

*College Street Church, Northampton, 1697-1947*, by Ernest A. Payne. (Kingsgate Press, 2s. 6d.)

Discussion of the theory of "the gathered community" is to the fore in Baptist circles today. Mr. Payne's account of the history of College Street Church is one of those books which remind us that "the gathered community" is a concept born in and enriched through Christian experience. "It records the faithful witness of a continuing succession of good men and women who, through many changes, have stood for the simplicity and freedom of the New Testament in Christian worship and fellowship."

Certain features of the Church's history stand out. It has been served by a notable succession of ministers (including such as the Rylands, senior and junior, William Gray, and John Turland Brown); by laymen of outstanding calibre (the sort of men who could help to see the Church through a six year vacancy in the pastorate); and by Christian women, encouraged to take an active part in its life by a progressive attitude which has long characterised the Church.

Other dominant notes are sounded clearly—the Church's steadfast adherence to a tradition of open membership, its prominent place in the work of the Northamptonshire Association, and an interest in the B.M.S. which goes back to its intimate connection with the founding of the Society. This is the story of a Church of character and it leaves one with the impression that the author found himself at an exceptionally congenial task when he accepted the invitation of the minister and deacons to write it.

All those qualities which we are accustomed to find in Mr. Payne's work come out here once again. Meticulous accuracy combined with generous appraisal, the note of personal interest, and, behind the actual writing, the competent research which has its fruit in a document of historical worth as well as an absorbing story. The production is well up to standard, but there is a discrepancy, so far as the title is concerned, between the cover and the title-page. There are seventeen good illustrations and,

indeed, it is quite a study in the evolution of Baptist ministerial dress to run through the portraits reproduced!

Mr. Payne believes that since the story of the College Street Church "is a part of the history of England, a part also of the long story of the Church Universal" it is "of concern, therefore, to all who love their country and to all who love Christ." His readers will be won to the same verdict.

G. W. RUSLING.

*Let God be God! An Interpretation of the Theology of Martin Luther*, by Philip S. Watson. (Epworth Press, 10s. 6d.)

This book is very warmly to be welcomed. Luther studies have been few and far between in this country for at least a generation, though recently there has been some unfortunate political pamphleteering in which his name has appeared. With the help of the Fernley-Hartley Trust, the tutor in Systematic Theology and Philosophy of Religion at Handsworth College, Birmingham, here offers us, at a very moderate price, a careful and sympathetic exposition of the major themes of Luther's theology. He is concerned, first, to defend Luther against the charge that he was no theologian. In Mr. Watson's view, he achieved what may truly be described as a "Copernican Revolution" in passing from the anthropocentric (or egocentric) conception of religion in which he had been nurtured to the theocentric conception implied by the watchword *solī Deo gloria*, which was his no less than Calvin's. In the light of this determinative principle, Mr. Watson deals with Luther's view of revelation, with his theology of the Cross, and with his doctrine of the Word. His discussion of the last of these themes is a valuable supplement to Mr.† Rupert Davies's treatment in his recent book, *The Problem of Authority in the Continental Reformers*, another Epworth Press publication. Mr. Watson's study is of particular value because he has drawn upon the important writings of Karl Holl (whose work has unfortunately not yet been translated into English) and upon those of Swedish theologians such as Aulén, Nygren, and Holmquist. In his exposition of Luther's theology of the Cross he accepts the main thesis of Aulén's *Christus Victor*. Holl and the Swedish Lutherans are an important corrective to the interpretation of Luther by Troeltsch. It is significant that a Methodist scholar should have turned his attention to Luther, and should be ready to criticize Wesley's criticisms of the great German Reformer. Such cross-fertilization of our theological traditions is much to be desired.

ERNEST A. PAYNE.



*Glimpses of Mennonite History and Doctrine*, by John C. Wenger. (Herald Press, Scottsdale, Pennsylvania, 1947, \$2.25.)

This is the revised and enlarged edition of a book published in 1940. The author is Professor of Theology and Philosophy at Goshen College Biblical Seminary, and is a graduate of the Universities of Michigan and Zürich. Avowedly intended for Mennonite youth, the book will have a value for all interested in Mennonite and Anabaptist studies, for it brings together much information and material difficult of access, at any rate on this side of the Atlantic and in English. In fifteen chapters, Mennonite history is traced back to the witness of the Swiss Brethren, to the work of Menno Simons himself, and then on through the centuries of dispersion in various lands. A chapter of nearly forty pages on "The Theology of Mennonites" is of special importance, and among the appendices there are useful notes on Mennonite historiography and a bibliography of books in English. There are also twenty pages of illustrations drawn from varied sources. Once more the Scottsdale Press and Goshen College are to be thanked and commended.

ERNEST A. PAYNE.

*Marriage Tie or Tangle*, by N. A. Turner-Smith. (Independent Press, Ltd., 3s. 6d. nett.)

For its limited size this book, which is intended for those about to be married as well as for the newly-weds, is useful so far as it goes. A very valuable part of it is the commentary that is given on the different parts of the Marriage Service, in the form usually followed in the Free Churches. There is a copy of this Order of Service given in the Appendix together with the form of contract used in a Registry Office. The contrast between the two is, as the author says, "illuminating."

While there is excellent material and advice here, there is also a certain superficiality in the treatment of the theme. More could have been made, for instance, of the fundamental character of human personality and all that is involved in the need for continence before marriage. The book would have been made much more valuable by a bibliography which pointed the enquirer to books dealing more fully with the questions which are raised. Many marriages founder through lack of knowledge in details of the physical relationship, and for such knowledge the reader might have been pointed to other books or to the Marriage Guidance Councils which are being formed all over the country.

The book will serve a useful purpose, however, and the advice it gives is generally sound.

W. W. BOTTOMS.