BIBLE, CHURCH AND WORLD

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BIBLE, CHURCH AND WORLD

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The Baptist Historical Society sponsors this tribute to the work of
Dr David Russell jointly with the Northern Baptist College and the
Baptist Union of Great Britain. It celebrates Dr Russell's fifty
years of service in the Christian ministry as scholar, pastor,
educator and statesman.
It is a great honour for me to be asked to introduce this volume of essays to mark fifty years of service in the Baptist ministry by my good friend, David Russell. I gladly join with others to pay tribute to the distinguished leadership he has given to British and European Baptists, to the Baptist World Alliance, and as a faithful representative of the Baptist position within the counsels of the World Council of Churches.

With the coming of glasnost, we Baptists in Russia are discovering new opportunities for witness and service, but David was a good friend to Russian believers when times were more difficult. Not all actions promoted in the West in support of Christians in Eastern Europe have been as helpful to us as their promoters have imagined. That is why, without any shadow of doubt, I say that David Russell has done more than many a noisier protestor by his gracious but firm advocacy of our true interests with government bodies both in the West and in the East. In a similar way, his negotiations for religious books and other literature to be made available to us through Eurolit and the Books and Translations Committee of the European Baptist Federation has been enormously helpful, based as it has been on proper, and thankfully fruitful, negotiations with the respective authorities. Again his work with fellow believers, from both East and West, on human rights and the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act as been effective because characterised by full technical command of the intricacies of legislation.

Brother David, on behalf of many believers in Eastern Europe, we thank you for all you have done for us, and we gladly join with others in your own country and all round the world in saluting you as a most distinguished European Baptist: scholar, pastor, preacher, advocate, gifted administrator and skilled diplomat.

Such, David, is your multi-coloured spiritual dress, all evidence of rich endowments of the gifts of God given to you. We would like to think that you really belong to our Russian Baptist family: that is why in the name of many thousand Christian Baptists in the USSR, I say, 'God bless you, dear brother, for all that you have done, as well as in your further service for evangelism, education, and unity in Christ, of all those that love Jesus'.

As the apostle says:

Благодарю Бога моего, всегда вспоминая о тебе в молитвах моих,
Слыша о твоей любви и вере, которую имеешь к Господу Иисусу и ко всем святым,
Дабы общение веры твоей оказалось деятельным в познании всякого у вас добра по Христе Иисусе.
Ибо мы имеем великую радость и утешение в любви твоей, потому что тобою, брат, усопокоенны сердца святых.

Philemon, v 4-7

The Revd Dr Alexei Bichkov
General Secretary, The All Union Council of Evangelical Christians-Baptists in the USSR
Baptists do not go in for Archbishops nor for the concepts of ministry which go with an episcopal hierarchy. Nevertheless, in the Baptist Union of Great Britain they lay on their General Secretary a quite remarkable range of pastoral responsibility and oversight. In a real sense he must have 'the care of all the churches', and with the churches, their ministers. He is the one to whom the General Superintendents are responsible. He has a leading representative role. Moreover, he is the chief executive at the Union's headquarters. Clearly a ministry of these dimensions calls for exceptional capacity of mind and spirit. In the providence of God a person of this calibre brings much of his potential with him at birth. Yet however gifted in that sense, he must also be a person who has grown in stature through the quality of his Christian response to the claims and challenges which life has brought.

David Syme Russell was born in Dalmuir, Glasgow, on 21st November 1916, the second son of what came to be a family of three. Shortly afterwards the family moved to Cambuslang where his boyhood and youth were spent. His mother was the dominant personality in the home: practical and outgoing, she was liked and trusted, the sort of person to whom neighbours turned for help and counsel. An enormous sense of fun did not prevent her from being a firm disciplinarian with her children. His father, a joiner employed in Beardmore's Shipbuilding Yard in Clydebank, set himself high standards of excellence and believed that others should do the same. In his private morality and his social ethics he was a man of strict rectitude, 'a saint of the sterner mould'. Details of his childhood and early youth, are vividly described by David Russell himself in his autobiographical manuscript *Roots and Branches*. Of his home he says it was 'relaxed, hospitable and lovely to live in'. Of his father and mother: I am deeply grateful for the influence of those early days and not least for the example and prayers of godly parents who pointed their children beyond what they themselves could see or had experienced...' Within their home family devotions were held daily; God-faering and devout, they had been brought up as Presbyterians but at Cambuslang joined the local Baptist Church, where David himself came to Christian commitment. Baptised at the age of thirteen he entered fully into the life of the church, joining organisations such as Christian Endeavour and the Scouts.

The early stages of his formal education were at Cambuslang Public School, West Coats Higher Grade and Rutherglen Academy which, in England at the time, would have meant that he began at the local elementary school and went on to a good grammar school education. He captained the school soccer team and was in trials for the national schoolboy team against England. In athletics he excelled at the high jump. Beyond school a host of other activities helped to shape a personality which responded to opportunities with energy and zest.

One of the most formative events in his early Christian development came in 1939 when he went to Amsterdam to the first World Conference of Christian Youth. One who was present recalls that 'in his kilt, he was conspicuous among the British party and even more so among the delegates from other countries, some of whom had never seen
a man in a kilt before'. For David Russell himself, however, the
topportunity of conversation with young people of different
nationalities and Christian traditions, the sharing in forms of
worship quite new to him, and the discovery that in these other voices
and expressions of faith he could recognise the same Gospel - all this
was a watershed experience. 'I experienced there the kind of feeling
Galileo must have had when he made the discovery that the earth wasn't
after all the centre of the universe... I began to realise that my God
- my Baptist God - my Scottish Baptist God - was too small and that
Scotland itself, for all its worth, was not after all the centre of
the earth.' By now he already knew that his calling was to the
 ministry. On his first application to the Baptist Theological College
in Glasgow in 1934 he was deemed too young and sent away to attempt a
Higher Certificate in Classical Greek. This he did in a year, only to
find on re-applying that the College had already accepted as many as
it could take for the current year. He then went to Glasgow
University to do a general Arts course including English Literature,
Political Economy, Moral Philosophy, Mathematics, Classical Greek,
Modern History and Education. He went on to complete his M.A in 1938
with Classical and New Testament Greek as his special subjects. This
work provided a broad general education as a base for his vocational
study. It also contributed to certain perceptions which became
important to him, especially that life should be seen, experienced and
enjoyed in wide variety and that the Christian Gospel should be
understood and lived out within the wholeness of life.

Accepted by the Baptist College as a ministerial student during
his first Arts year (1935-36) he did two theological vacation courses
there. For the three year course leading to the B.D. he went to
Trinity College, Glasgow, the only Baptist among a hundred
Presbyterians. (Could this have been the origin of his special
interest in Daniel?) Because of War he declined a Travelling
Scholarship to Union Theological Seminary, New York, and applied for
a chaplaincy in the Armed Forces but was deemed not to have had
adequate pastoral experience. Whilst continuing his studies, he
accepted an invitation to give weekend service to the Castlegate
Baptist Church, Berwick-on-Tweed. For two strenuous years (1939-41)
he travelled from Glasgow to Berwick by train every weekend and did
his pastoral visitation and Sunday services before catching the 5.35
a.m. back to Glasgow on Monday morning. This was typical of what was
to become his life-style; many friends and colleagues were to
discover his deep discomfort with a diary that had any space to spare.
In Glasgow, in 'spare' time he began Aramaic and Syriac studies with
the University professor. In his B.D. (1941) he secured distinctions
in both Old and New Testaments. Trinity awarded him prizes in Old and
New Testaments, Systematic Theology and Church History and he won the
University Gold Medal in Greek and Hebrew.

In spite of the experience gained at Berwick, the chaplaincy he
sought did not materialize and his Old Testament professor urged him
to contact Principal H. Wheeler Robinson, the Baptist Old Testament
scholar. He admitted him to Regent's Park College, recently
established in Oxford, and set him to read for honours in Orientals.
A Baptist Union Scholarship brought financial help and admission to
the distinguished list of previous holders. In college he took a
prominent part in student life. In the churches in and around Oxford
he proved himself a welcome preacher, especially at Woodstock where he
served for a year as student-pastor. For his Oriental Schools he had intended reading Hebrew, with Aramaic and Syriac as his subsidiaries. Unfortunately, no tutor was currently available for these subsidiaries and he had to take Arabic, a language entirely new to him. 'Senior Status' allowed him the mixed blessing of doing his degree in two years instead of the usual four: the hardest job, he confessed, he ever did. In the outcome his Hebrew was deemed first class, but his Arabic reduced his grade to a good second; by way of consolation Dr Robinson revealed that in years gone by the same thing had happened to him. Robinson encouraged him to proceed to a D.Phil. and after considerable discussion between them as to a subject he finally settled on 'The Psychology of the Apocalyptists, 200 B.C. - A.D. 100'. Although becoming increasingly frail, Wheeler Robinson acted as his supervisor and when in due course he saw the completed thesis, expressed his confidence that it would be approved. But in this assessment Homer had apparently nodded for the examiners awarded a B.Litt. instead of the doctorate. One of them, Dr H.H. Rowley, was glad to be one of the examiners for Glasgow University in 1967 when David Russell submitted his Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic and was awarded the D.Litt.

When he embarked on this research the study of apocalyptic was at a low ebb. The book, however, which first brought Russell's name to students was a small volume called Between the Testaments (1960), which was followed by Two Refugees (1962), a study of Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah. Next came the larger and more substantial, The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic, (1964). Dr Philip R. Davies, a leading authority in the field, has said in a private communication to the present writer that, together with H.H. Rowley's The Relevance of Apocalyptic, this book re-established the study of the apocalyptic in Britain and contributed to its revival also in Germany and, somewhat later, in the United States. 'Although Russell's book did not offer any new breakthrough in our ideas about apocalyptic, it was a much-needed comprehensive study of the subject and became an invaluable resource for scholar and student alike.' (Letter dated 26th May 1988)

The Jews from Alexander to Herod (1967) also became a widely read text-book on a period of Jewish history not very well known or understood. In 1978 he published Apocalyptic Ancient and Modern in which he explained to the general reader not only the background of apocalyptic writings but their theological relevance today, and three years later contributed a commentary on Daniel to the Daily Study Bible series. In retirement he has continued his writing: in 1986 he wrote From Early Judaism to Early Church, a supplement to his Between the Testaments and followed this in 1987 with The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: patriarchs and prophets in early Judaism. (Three of these titles have been translated into other languages, the commentary on Daniel into Japanese, Between the Testaments into Dutch, German, Spanish and Japanese, while The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic has been translated into Italian.) 'All of Russell's works' writes Dr Davies 'are characterised by clarity of presentation and style, by mastery of the scholarship and above all by relevance. While he would be the last to claim originality of scholarship, his concern to explain, to popularise (in the best sense) and above all to seek the theological relevance of apocalyptic has done a service to scholars and laymen alike. The quantity of his writings, in the midst of his other commitments, which would not disgrace many a full-time
scholar, is a tribute to his remarkable energy.' In a totally different genre, is the autobiographical manuscript *Roots and Branches* (1981) of which the second part was published by the Baptist Union in 1982 under the title *In Journeyings Often*.

When it became known that David Russell would be staying on in Oxford for research, the Baptist Church at Woodstock Road invited him to become its minister for the duration of his studies. The church, not large in numbers but including a number of very promising young people, revelled in the ministry of a lively young pastor who was also a very competent preacher. In the two years of his ministry the church developed and grew. He made a point of calling in at Regent’s Park College, keeping contact with the students, including any new arrivals. Sunday by Sunday there would generally be some Baptist undergraduates in the congregation at Woodstock Road and the Russell home was one of the places where they met. The Woodstock Road settlement provided the occasion and opportunity for his marriage in 1943. Marion Hamilton Campbell, one of the young people in the Cambuslang Church, was a woman of charm and grace, friendliness and humour, gentleness and patience. She brought to the partnership her own strong faith and, as time was to prove repeatedly, deep reserves of inward quiet and courage to meet the pressures and to make the sacrifices required. If a *Festschrift* is in some sense a bouquet, David Russell will want to share this one with his wife. The first of their two children, a son, was born shortly before they left Oxford and the second, a daughter, after the settlement in his next pastorate, at Acton, London.

Prior to the conclusion of his research David Russell had twice visited Church Road Baptist Church, Acton, and in March 1945 accepted its invitation to the pastorate. He was inducted in the September. He was succeeding another Scot, Taylor Bowie, who had also grown up in the Cambuslang Church. A member of the church, His Honour Judge Granville Slack, has drawn together a good deal of material concerning this pastorate, which lasted seven and a half years. It shows that the Acton people found in their minister one who was friend, brother, and father in God. Caring for them in their family life, he entered with delight into their joys: as one deacon put it, 'In our sorrows he carries our burdens with us. In our temptations he cares deeply that we should be the best God means us to be'. People thus pastored within their families tended to grow more deeply into the family life of the local church. They found that there was no part of its activity from which their minister stood back and the various sections discovered increasingly the meaning of being 'members one of another'. His church members found as his students did later, that if there was work to be done on the fabric he would be in the thick of it, whilst in social activities he could also play as hard as any. In every aspect of the church's life the picture is of a minister who kept alongside his people, old and young alike. The pulpit ministry was of similarly high quality. One shrewd judge, the Rev. A.A. Wilson, spoke of masterly exposition of Scripture and added: 'It is not cold exposition to which we listen for behind it is the passion of conviction and the fire of the born advocate'. People spoke of the freshness of his thinking and his ability to kindle their minds. No less than his preaching they valued his leadership of worship and his encouragement of their spiritual life, both personal and corporate.

In 1949-50 he was president of the Acton Council of Churches and
initiated a visitation of every house in the Borough. In the wider
life of the denomination, he served as President of the Western Group
of the London Baptist Association for two successive years from 1949.
Elected to the Baptist Union Council in 1948 he was appointed to the
Ministerial Recognition Committee and to the Young People’s Committee
of which he became chairman. Regent’s Park College also elected him
to its Council. Direct links with the Baptist Missionary Society
began to be forged when in 1946 he was one of the leaders of the
Summer School at Barton and in 1948 when he presided at the Bexhill
School. He took part in pageants organized by the Rev. A.C. Davies
for the Society at the Albert Hall and, in the same venue, for the
Jubilee Congress of the Baptist World Alliance in 1955. An unexpected
claim on his pastoral service came when he was asked to take the
funeral of the eminent Labour Foreign Secretary, Ernest Bevin, who in
his early teens and twenties had been associated with a Baptist Church
in Bristol. David Russell officiated at Golders Green Crematorium,
delivering an address later published, at the request of William
Deacon, General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union.
Absent from the service through illness, the Prime Minister, Clement
Attlee, wrote a gracious letter of appreciation from hospital.

During the first year of his pastorate David Russell spent a week
in Germany as lecturer to the R.A.F. Moral Leadership course. In 1950
he took a party of thirty young people from England and Scotland on a
tour of the Netherlands, followed in September by leading a team of
thirty-five Baptist students from Cambridge and London universities in
a mission at the Ashford Baptist Church, Kent. Two years later, in
1952, he went to the European Baptist Congress held in Copenhagen.

The people at Acton realised that their able and energetic
minister would receive approaches from other quarters. In March 1953
came an invitation which he knew he must accept. It was from
Yorkshire and it took him to the principalship of the Baptist
theological college at Rawdon, near Leeds. Rawdon had behind it a
considerable history in theological training and had had a specially
significant role in the life and mission of Baptists in the north­
east. It had come, however, to a period of uncertainty and
insecurity. In 1953 E.C. Rust, a tutor of considerable ability, had
gone to an appointment in the U.S.A. In the following year Principal
L.H. Marshall died after only a brief tenure. Financially the college
was struggling. It had ageing premises, whilst its location seven
miles or so from Leeds and the University Department of Theology posed
problems for students and staff alike. In a nutshell, the college
needed a rescue operation. David Russell quickly rallied the
committee and established his lines of communication with the
Yorkshire constituency, hopeful of capturing for a new era the kind of
backing that was going to be needed. He came as a Scot who had worked
in the South to a people not quick to accept ‘off-comed uns’; to a
college with which he had no previous link, which had its roots in a
Baptist Association of markedly independent character! It was a
formidable scenario but his total commitment and warm-hearted approach
quickly dispelled any doubts. The Ter-Jubilee of the College, just
one year ahead, constituted a special opportunity and he bent all his
energies to seize it. Founders’ Day, May 1954, marked a new chapter
in popular support and the Annual Meeting became thereafter a great
event with huge crowds attending.
If the Association came to the college, the college itself went out into the Association. David Russell himself contributed at every level, in the local churches and in the Association work. He was made President in 1961. 'Rawdon lectures' given by himself and members of staff were organised in different parts of the county. Students were linked with churches in ways that became mutually beneficial. Like the lay-training this was not new in itself but it was developed in new ways. The College was offered as a Conference Centre and numerous groups, not least of young people, took advantage of this facility. Mrs Russell's share in this work, and in all the domestic needs of the college, was outstanding. Within the college the students became aware that they had not just a new principal but a new kind of principal. L.H. Marshall, the previous incumbent, was an Edwardian gentleman. David Russell was no less of a gentleman but with a different, younger style. He could be a firm disciplinarian but a lively sense of fun and enjoyment were never far below the surface. His lectures made the Old Testament come alive: One student recalls, 'I remember one day when he used his academic gown to good effect as he strutted and billed and cooed up and down the room illustrating the verse: "Israel flits about like a silly pigeon" (Hosea 7.11)." The same student, who did not take easily to academic life, says: 'He helped me to think and made me a questioning person.' The students also encountered the other side, the Scots puritan strand in his character, the serious attitude to work, the high ethical standards, and the sense of awe that came through in his college prayers. As a recognised lecturer of Leeds University, David Russell served on the board of the Faculty of Theology. He began writing again amidst many other commitments not only to the college and the Association, but also to the denomination. Rawdon itself made extraordinary calls on him: the shortage of staff meant that there were periods when the Principal with his wife was heavily involved in college domestic work. Colleagues believed that on top of all these demands, the strains of research and writing took toll of his health. Coincidence or not, the glaucoma which has been a thorn in the flesh ever since, started at this time.

For all the effort, imagination and sacrificial commitment which was put into it, and for all the growth in popular support, it steadily became clear that some of Rawdon's major problems could not be solved. Its position vis-a-vis the university was weakened by the closure of Headingley Methodist college. When the modest number of applicants was considered in relation to those of the Baptist college in Manchester, it became clear that only one Baptist college was needed in the north. David Russell took soundings and, in 1962, with K.C. Dykes, Principal of Manchester, became prime mover in a major development amongst Baptists. The proposal was that the two colleges should amalgamate on the Manchester site and make What would be a new beginning for each of them. There are few more tenacious of their loyalty than the alumni and supporters of a theological college. To suggest that their beloved alma mater has reached the end of its journey is the next thing to blasphemy. How then was it achieved successfully? Here one speaks only of the Rawdon and Yorkshire side of things. The Rev. George Hobbs, then Yorkshire Association Secretary, writes: 'There is no doubt in my mind that it was David's leadership, and the affection and respect which he had engendered in Yorkshire people which carried through the decision to unite with
Manchester'. He had won their trust and when the die was cast they observed with growing appreciation the statesman-like approach which he brought to the negotiations.

With K.C. Dykes, David Russell became Joint Principal and was recognised as Honorary Lecturer in the Department of Theology of Manchester University. He produced another book (The Jews from Alexander to Herod) and, as in Yorkshire so now in Lancashire and Cheshire he came to know and be known in the churches. The new college which he had helped to create and to house was successfully on its way. It brought new strength and freshness of approach to Baptist theological education in the north and it was so planned that further development would be possible in an ecumenical dimension. The progress of Northern College in its first quarter century is tribute to the foundations laid in 1964.

As Northern College got under way, Dr E.A. Payne's retirement from the General Secretoryship of the Baptist Union was impending and the question as to his successor had to be answered. It was the disclosure in the north of his wide range of gifts, together with his energy and the warmth of his personality, which identified David Russell as the person to succeed to the Secretaryship in 1967. He came to office at a time when new strategies in Christian outreach, in evangelism, in financial commitment, in the shape of the ministry, in mission and in relations with other Churches were all needed. In some matters he picked up work already in progress as in Church Relations where the valuable Baptists and Unity report (1967) had just been produced. He knew of the anxiety which existed in some quarters over ecumenical relationships and membership of the World Council of Churches, especially from some who stood under the 'Conservative Evangelical' banner. When the Baptist Revival Fellowship sent its leaders in more than one deputation to express their fears to the new General Secretary, it was very important to achieve real communication and his friendliness and warmth of personality helped in the honest exchange of views. The Baptists and Unity report went to the constituency and two years later the Advisory Committee for Church Relations, which had carefully monitored the responses of churches and Associations, presented its Baptists and Unity Reviewed (1969). That year's Assembly agreed that Baptists must continue as participants within the ecumenical framework but recognised that there were differences of conviction among them and affirmed that they had the right to engage in or refrain from participation; this made it the more important 'that they maintain, in their differences, a mutual trust and love that accords with the fellowship of Christ'. (Baptist Union Annual Report for 1969, p.12). The resolution was passed by 1125 to 356. Later that year the Secretary sent a pastoral letter to all ministers which evoked assent from ministers of very varying theological standpoint.

In common with others, Baptists in the sixties were giving increasing attention to the shape of the ministry. A Commission on the Ministry (established 1967) produced the report, Ministry Tomorrow (1969), which argued for a new structure of ministry partly on the ground of finance but also for the sake of the mission confronting the churches, and of 'job satisfaction' for ministers themselves. Some of the thinking in Ministry Tomorrow failed to convince the Council, notably its proposal that there should be a deliberate and significant reduction in the number of full-time ministers, whilst on a large
scale, the work of a new creature, the Supplementary Minister, should be developed. Nevertheless it was a strong and able report and stimulated the denomination into thinking with new seriousness about the ministry. The Supplementary Minister in due course came into being, first as an approved concept, then in the flesh. If recruitment was slow it was matched initially by the wary response of full-time ministers to the thought that partnership with a Supplementary might be worth considering.

'Strategy' was a word in much use during the first years of David Russell's regime; the Strategy Committee (probably not the first and certainly not the last) produced *Working Together* (1973), a report offering 'guidelines to Associations and churches in the missionary task facing them in Britain at this time'. It spoke not of abstract theory but of new work in progress and also of new ideas being tried out in old familiar settings. It took up the problem of churches without pastoral oversight and gave special consideration to better ways of caring for grouped churches. It looked at such matters as pioneer ministries and the special problems and opportunities relating to team ministry.

A resolution passed at the 1977 Assembly in Nottingham called for an investigation into 'the causes of numerical and spiritual decline' in the denomination. Predictably this required another working-group, and after eighteen months of thorough investigation, it reported back (1979). The picture was not uniform. In spite of the pessimism which the working-group had found both nationally and denominationally, finding some significant encouragements it had the courage to call its report, *Signs of Hope*. Believing that the best response to a document such as this was hard work, it proposed numerous tasks for Superintendents and Associations, ministers and fraternals, churches and colleges, Main committees and departments of the Union. Endorsing these recommendations, the Council instructed the General Secretary to examine and collate the responses that came from these various bodies. From this emerged a strategic pattern for action, a call to work out in practice 'what it means to be a Baptist Christian today', presented in 1980 as *A Call to Commitment*. Commitment was divided under six headings: (i) to worship and to pray, (ii) to evangelism, (iii) to learn, (iv) to care, (v) to serve, (vi) to release for leadership, lack of which was spelled out in detail and in practical ways. A lot of work was done in getting *A Call to Commitment* across to the denomination and none put more into it than the General Secretary himself. An initiative which was very personal to him was that associated with the phrase 'The Wholeness of the Gospel'. In 1974 he wrote two articles on the topic for the *Baptist Times* which aroused a good deal of interest. One of the useful fruits at the time was the preparation of a series of Mission Kits on the subject. Many were disappointed that the development of this theme was not further pursued for it challenged the one-sidedness and partiality of interpretation which so often distorts Christian witness and action. 'The Wholeness of the Gospel' reflected a compelling conviction in David Russell's obedience to the Gospel: to him commitments such as evangelism and social action which are so often separated or, even worse, treated as either/or, are on a true reading of the Gospel, indissolubly wedded.

Some reorganization was seen to be necessary. By decision of the Assembly (1969) it was agreed that the Assembly should relinquish its
power of nominating and electing fifty members of the Council by free vote of the churches and make good this decrease by increasing the number of Association representatives. A few months after his installation David Russell, with the General Purposes Committee launched a major review of the Union's committee and departmental structure. An important datum was the position of the General Secretary himself who also carried the role of Chief Executive at Baptist Church House. As well as seeking to ensure that the expertise of the Church House should be fully and effectively used, it was also desired that the General Secretary should gain sufficient freedom to function properly in this dual capacity 'and adequately focus in his own person the inter-relationship of the structures'. In response to the Structure Report (1969) the Council was to have three Main Committees [Administration, Ministry and Mission] with the work at Church House organised in three corresponding departments, bringing together previously independent committees and offices. After a shake-down period it proved, in the main, a successful reorganisation, though David Russell found it less so on the side of Administration than in Mission and Ministry.

He had been fortunate to take over from Dr Payne the services of the Rev. R.W. Thomson as assistant but in 1971 ill-health forced Mr Thomson's retirement after fourteen years of fine service. He was succeeded by the Rev. Edgar Brown but only for a brief period and only on a part-time basis. This left the General Secretary with too great a burden of administrative duties. The situation was made yet more difficult following the death in 1977 of the Head of Administration, the greatly esteemed J.B. Morris. The difficulty of replacing Mr Morris may be judged from the fact that when, after two years, his successor left for a new appointment, David Russell himself took responsibility for the Department. The ideals envisaged for him by the Structure Report were beginning to look threadbare.

In staffing, as elsewhere, finance (though not the whole problem) was a perpetual difficulty, often conditioning the arrangements which could be made. Severe health problems also disrupted the work at Church House. The Rev. Norman Jones was forced to resign after only three years as Head of the new Mission Department. David Russell himself underwent a number of surgical operations including one for glaucoma. Immediately following other surgery in 1977 he suffered a cardiac arrest. The financial problem so bedevilled plans and policies that at length it was decided to upgrade the work of Home Mission Fund promotion, which had hitherto been undertaken by one member of staff on a part-time basis. A Home Mission Secretary was appointed and this put promotion on a much more satisfactory footing. In time it became possible to make some improvements in value to the stipends paid to ministers of 'aided churches', with spin-off advantages to other ministers whose churches, though not aided, related their stipend to that of the figure operating in the Home Mission Scheme. There were improvements too in the Superannuation Scheme though not on the scale which became possible later through changed attitudes in the country generally and in related legislation.

David Russell had hoped to see through the re-housing of the Baptist Union: the premises at 4 Southampton Row were by now dated in style and increasingly inefficient. For once finance was not the major problem for there was little doubt that when the time came the site would attract favourable attention from property developers.
Major questions were whether to move from Southampton Row, and if so where; and, most importantly, would it be possible to achieve an agreement whereby the Union and the Baptist Missionary Society could be housed under one roof. However, the problems were stubborn, some relating to the Society's tenancy at Gloucester Place, some with their roots in distant history. The answer was not going to be found in David Russell's time and that was a disappointment which, like Dr Payne before him, he had to accept. As to the Church House premises he had to be content with improvements in the lay-out of offices, vestibule and canteen. With Council approval he launched in 1980 a Strategy Building scheme, designed to release finance for capital building operations needed by churches, to encourage strategic national planning in a way that would complement and supplement the existing Loan Fund, and to plan for growth by assisting specific projects deemed to be of special strategic importance. It was gratifying that, by one means and another, by the end of the following year the amount available had reached £75,000. Another very different sort of capital project belongs to the Russell era: the building of Newington Court, a hostel in North London, offering accommodation for business girls and students, the Diamond Jubilee project of the Baptist Women's League supplemented by a very large gift from Sir Herbert Janes. Housing for Retired Ministers became a major concern of the Honorary Solicitor, Mr Richard Fairbairn, and of David Russell. Whilst unable to emulate the Methodist scheme which they investigated and found to be on a much stronger basis, they saw the number of units more than quadrupled.

There were some negative tasks: one of the first was the winding up of the affairs of the Carey Kingsgate Press. The Haven which since 1945 had undertaken the care of unmarried mothers and their babies had to be closed in 1970, a result of changing social conditions. The premises at Yateley were sold and the proceeds assigned to the 'New Venture' Fund first used in the appointment in 1973 of the former Adoption Officer, Miss E. Bichard, to serve as Social Worker in the South West Durham Group of Baptist Churches. In 1975 the work of the Deaconess Order was brought to a conclusion: the call for their specialised services had declined as had the number of applicants. This did not mean the end of ministry for those still in active work and all who applied were transferred to the list of accredited ministers. The Baptist Women's League had served the women of the denomination with distinction for many years. However, an increasing number of women's groups in the churches did not see themselves as part of the B.W.L. and were reluctant to join it. After much heart-searching and many hours of consultation and committee work, the decision was made to disband the national organization of the B.W.L. and the new concept of Baptist Women's Work embracing every type of work undertaken by and for women was launched in 1979.

For the General Secretary there were many regular tasks. He was frequently preaching or speaking in churches, Associations, colleges and fraternals across the country. On the radio he did several Sunday services and a number of interviews on the 'Sunday' programme, as well as appearing on television. He particularly cherished his monthly letter to ministers which covered both news and a variety of information likely to be of interest and value to ministers. A personal, pastoral epistle in which he shared with his brother ministers some of his own hopes and fears, he felt that it
strengthened the bonds of understanding and never under-rated its importance. Committees and trustee meetings regularly required his presence. As General Secretary he became Joint Chairman of the United Navy, Army and Air Force Board which exists for the support of Free Church chaplains in the Armed Services. In a personal communication one of the most experienced among them has said: "...it soon became evident that his interest was very genuine and supportive. He wrote to us regularly...; he brought us more into denominational life and we were given, as a group, a higher profile at the Annual Assembly. The problem of offering Free Church chaplains reasonable career prospects was resolved during this period. David Russell, as Joint Chairman of the United Board, handled this and other delicate issues in a constructive and canny manner. All U.B. chaplains were to benefit from his leadership and skills and tact." The chaplains greatly appreciated the care expressed in his several visits to British bases. They recall that though rated as a V.I.P. he had no interest whatsoever in pomp or ceremony. Perhaps this was just as well since, like a number of his students in earlier days, some young officers were convinced that they saw in him a likeness to Oliver Hardy, the larger partner of the famous duo. Somewhat surprisingly comes the comment: 'He was never at ease socializing. However, with bitter-lemon ever at hand he did his duty manfully...He was happiest when ferreting out the views of all ranks.'

The theological controversy connected with the Rev. Michael Taylor's address to the 1971 Assembly devoured attention for a year or more. Mr Taylor had put forward Christological views which came across to many as suspect. Predictably there soon developed what Morris West called "...an extremely difficult and potentially dangerous situation". In the months that followed there was little in the way of successful dialogue. Those who ranged themselves behind Mr Taylor thought that the real issue was intellectual liberty; those who wanted his address censured thought that it was the nature of his Christology. Some who were deeply concerned about both could find no way through the impasse in their own minds. The General Secretary, concerned as much as any regarding intellectual liberty and theological truth, had also to be concerned with damage limitation. It was a year later that the Assembly in 1972 made decisions both positive and negative which closed the controversy down. Emphatically reaffirming its commitment to Christological orthodoxy, it insisted that the Declaration of Principle was the basic requirement for fellowship. It also made clear that it was not going to pursue judgmental or disciplinary action.

For most of the intervening year between those two Assemblies David Russell was at the centre of the storm. Part of the service he rendered was to feel and, in a sense, to absorb the indignation, righteous and sometimes less than righteous, which came from different quarters by phone, letter and personal confrontation. As well as integrity, he brought courtesy and almost unfailing patience to the innumerable discussions, formal and informal, and the eight hundred personal letters, many of them lengthy and intricate, which he had to write. It is perhaps fair to say that this controversy was a Catch 22 situation for the Secretary of the Union but those who were close enough to observe his handling of the situation, day in, day out, thought that he did it as well as anyone could have done. The year was a sterile experience for many and it certainly did nothing to
strengthen the denomination's cohesion. That it came through as well as it did owed not a little to its General Secretary.

Almost inevitably David Russell brought a change in style in the direction of affairs within Church House. This was partly the result of differences of personality as between him and the great man whom he succeeded. To many Dr Payne was a rather remote and awe-inspiring person. David Russell's personality was warm and buoyant; he could be approached in a more relaxed way. His humour often released tension. There were differences in their approach to management. Dr Payne found it helpful to consult fairly frequently with the Baptist Union Officers as a group. David Russell consulted the Officers, but more especially in their individual roles, whilst he also developed close consultation with his senior staff individually and as a group. He then gave them a good deal of freedom not only in the day to day management of their departments but in developing ideas and initiatives, knowing that these would be brought to him for counsel and consultation at an early stage. When he was clear that these were in line with overall strategy they had his warm encouragement to get the project (or whatever) moving. David Russell thus marked a transition stage towards the collegiate pattern which his successor has worked out. It was against this background quite considerable developments took place in Mission and Ministry.

Still within the British Baptist family it is right to note the way in which his relations with the Baptist Missionary Society deepened. As General Secretary he was welcomed to the General Committee and was consistently elected to the Society's General Purposes Committee. As early as July 1968, following the Baptist World Alliance meetings in Liberia, he made a visit to partner churches and missionaries in what was then Congo. On another occasion, returning from lecturing in Tokyo, he stopped off to visit missionaries in Calcutta, Bhubaneswar, the Kond Hills and Delhi. Yet again, he made an opportunity to visit the Society's work in Junk Bay, Hong Kong. The esteem in which the Society held him was indicated by an invitation to preach the Missionary Sermon in 1977. He was not able to accept the invitation but it was renewed in 1984 and he made a valuable contribution to the Assembly of that year. Though it did not prove possible during his Secretaryship to move under one roof with the B.M.S., that was not caused by any shortfall in his own relationship with the Society. The lines of communication, both ways, were in good serviceable working order.

David Russell as one of the Union representatives on various inter-church bodies, took an active share in their thinking and decision-making. Nearest at hand in London was the Free Church Federal Council. In his early years as Secretary one of the most important events among the Free Churches was the establishment of the United Reformed Church. In the wording of the Bill to go before Parliament there were several sensitive issues. David Russell was concerned to safeguard the integrity of the Baptist position whilst the uniting Congregationalists and Presbyterians were anxious that the Act should not distort the nature of the new Church. The Rev. Arthur Macarthur (former General Secretary of the U.R.C.) has said in a private letter: 'There were here enough issues for disagreement...That it all worked out amicably was tribute to David's willingness to see matters from our angle as well as his own. He did not allow us to blur the issues but equally he sought understanding
and agreement'. From the same source comes a comment which illuminates the stance which David Russell took up in both the Free Church Council and in the British Council of Churches. 'He quickly became involved in both and made certain that the Baptist voice was heard. While he welcomed the ecumenical agencies he remained and remains a Baptist. Thus in efforts in the late seventies to establish a Covenant between the Churches he always made it clear that Baptists would stand in a different position.'

The Free Church Council appointed him as Moderator for the year 1974 and he took as his theme: 'Interpreting the Good News Today'. Once again he took an opportunity to proclaim the wholeness of the Gospel. 'The Christian Gospel...has as its objective the salvation of the whole man in his total situation, and that means the salvation not only of his soul but also of the systems within which he works and the society within which he lives.' And again: 'Not just incarnation then, but atonement. Not just involvement with suffering humanity, but identification with our suffering Lord. Not just liberation for the masses, but forgiveness and cleansing through the blood of Christ. Not just social concern and Christian service, but personal commitment to Christ and loyalty to what we know of Him. That is the Good News which we have been given to interpret to this generation.'

Subsequent to the famous Nottingham Conference of 1964 there came a succession of hopes and projects. Whilst the Anglican/Methodist scheme proved abortive, the United Reformed Church was successfully brought into being. There were Talks about Talks; there was the Churches' Unity Commission, the Churches' Council for Covenanting, the Ten Propositions. In the consideration of these various initiatives David Russell worked with the Advisory Committee on Church Relations. There was much thinking, speaking, arguing, interpreting to be done within the Baptist family and in inter-church settings such as the British Council of Churches, of which he became a Vice-President in 1979. In the same year he was closely involved in the setting up of a B.C.C. Human Rights Forum, of which he was chairman until 1987. Beyond the B.C.C. Forum his advocacy of human rights, including religious liberty, involved him in much public speaking, in the preparation of papers, in conferences in the U.K. and overseas, in meetings with State officials in Eastern Europe and, in the U.K., with the Prime Minister and other members of the government, especially at the Home Office and the Foreign Office. At the invitation of the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland he went with two others from the B.C.C. to visit Long Kesh Prison in Belfast and met a number of I.R.A. prisoners in their 'dirty cells'. For a number of years he took part in conversations between the B.C.C. and the Irish Council of Churches.

David Russell represented the Baptist Union on the World Council of Churches and from Uppsala to Vancouver 1968-83 was an active member of the Central Committee. When there was criticism of the W.C.C. (not only in the media but within the Churches also) regarding the Programme to Combat Racism, he pressed the Central Committee for clearer guidelines as to the use of the Fund, and more accountability, a by no means popular stance, interpreted by some Third World delegates as an unwillingness of Western Churches to trust them with the proper handling of funds. Another unpopular stance was the pressing of human rights issues in Eastern Europe when it was sometimes thought that the representatives of those countries opposed
too indiscriminately questions being asked within the forum of the W.C.C. At the Vancouver Assembly in 1983 he made a masterly and much appreciated speech in which he used the device of speaking of Albania (where there were no member churches) and other countries where similar abuses exist. His persistence won him many friends in Eastern Europe, not least amongst the Orthodox hierarchy in Romania who came to admire his tenacious consistency. He never lost an opportunity of defending the Baptist viewpoint when the representatives of State Churches were careless in their disregard of evangelical minorities. He opposed foot-loose sacramentalism, and rigorously defended responsible evangelism, distinguishing it from sectarian proselytism. Whilst in Argentina for W.C.C. meetings in 1985 he was part of a 'deputation' which called on Argentinian senators to discuss future relations with Britain in respect of the Falklands.

Another lively ecumenical interest was his membership of the Conference of European Churches (C.E.C.) which he represented on the Churches' Human Rights Programme for the implementation of the Helsinki Final Act of 1975, arguably one of the most important international agreements in modern times. It was divided into three sections described as 'baskets' and one of these placed great emphasis on human rights, embracing within that term political and religious freedom, the free passage of literature and people, and the free interchange of scholars. Thirty-five countries indicated their intention of adherence to the Act. Yet in spite of the impressive number of signatory nations, the Helsinki Final Act was not a binding treaty or 'convention'. That an agreement had been reached was one thing, but its implementation was another matter. It would be necessary to be vigilant and to maintain all possible pressure if the promise of the Act was to be fulfilled. In this situation the Churches Human Rights Programme was formed. It was not a W.C.C. Committee though it was the General Secretary of the W.C.C., Dr Philip Potter, who set up the machinery for it in 1979. It drew together the Canadian Council of Churches, the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., and the Conference of European Churches. The Committee concerned itself not only with individuals but with cultural and ethnic minority groups such as the Hungarians in Romania. When it seemed right so to do, it intervened with the appropriate State authorities on behalf of such communities. It also gave much thought to the theological and philosophical grounds of human rights.

David Russell took an early opportunity to pledge his commitment to the work of the European Baptist Federation and the Baptist World Alliance, on whose General Council he served throughout the whole of his secretaryship. He was made chairman of the Committee set up to revise the Constitution and in consultation with an Australian solicitor, Mr Fred Church, was largely responsible for drafting the new one. This assignment was a fairly typical experience. His mastery and precision in the use of language often got him involved in the framing of statements and resolutions. Likewise those for whom English was not first language found it easy to listen to him not only because what he had to say was worth listening to but because of his clear diction.

As with the B.W.A. so with the European Baptist Federation, he attended numerous committees and conferences, building contacts in almost every country of Europe, both East and West, which grew into strong friendships. His ability and his willingness to serve
inevitably meant that work would come his way. Appointed chairman of the Finances and Budget Committee in 1972, he was made Vice-President in 1977 and had much to do with the planning of the E.B.F. Congress in Brighton in 1979, serving as President from then until 1981. His devotion to the Gospel, warmth of personality and lively sense of humour helped to bridge language, cultural and political differences and also differences of theology. "He was a colourful, devoted and very able leader for whom we thank God' says one of the E.B.F. leaders. He has become not only a brother beloved but something also of a father-figure among European Baptists.

His dedication to religious liberty found much work to be done, which he accomplished with skill, determination and discretion. He was much involved in the prolonged efforts to secure the release of Georgi Vins. He had interviews with Soviet officials in London and Moscow and wrote scores of letters. Three times he was visited at Baptist Church House by an Eastern European affairs emissary of President Carter. The fact that such work had to be done with discretion meant that some in the U.K. thought that little was being done and were prepared to engage in ill-merited criticism. Russian Baptists respected his integrity as he maintained his interest not only in the All Union churches but in unregistered ones also. In his efforts for religious liberty disappointment has not infrequently been the order of the day. In one of the Soviet satellite countries he and Dr Knud Wumpelmann of the E.B.F. had at length been granted an interview with a senior State official. They were seeking permission first, to import some Bible commentaries for the use of pastors, and, secondly for pastors to be allowed to participate in correspondence courses already being used by their Russian counterparts and periodically to visit Moscow to share in seminars. The official sat stony-faced throughout; from his assistant came an unwavering glare of deep hatred. The request was rejected. On the other hand, just now and then these encounters yielded an opportunity to speak straightforwardly of the Christian faith. Such chances were not allowed to slip.

One of David Russell's greatest interests was the work of relieving the famine of Christian literature in Eastern Europe. One experience moved him deeply: he had been taken to meet a peasant, the lay-pastor of a small group of Baptists who were under persistent harassment by the authorities. In the back room of the pastor's home they prayed together. Then the lay-pastor asked if he would like to see his library: he could hardly have been more interested! The pastor now brought him three books: a tattered Bible, a similarly well-worn concordance and a commentary - one volume of a small, very dated series. 'My library' said the pastor, his eyes shining. David Russell came back determined to find ways of translating his concern into action on a significant scale. He was not interested in illegal enterprises which, apart from any other consideration, could rebound on those at the receiving end. He talked to the Rev. Alec Gilmore, then General Secretary of the United Society for Christian Literature, who was also anxious to find ways of serving the churches in Eastern Europe, and with Dr Denton Lotz (at that time serving the Foreign Mission Board of the Southern Baptist Convention), who had long shared the same concern. With Gilmore and the U.S.C.L. he launched 'Eurolit' and with Lotz he put across to the E.B.F. the idea of instituting a Books and Translations Committee, begun in 1980 with David Russell as
its chairman, in which position he remained until 1987. As to Eurolit most of the money raised in the first year came from Baptist sources but he and all concerned with the project were clear that it should not remain simply a Baptist enterprise. In Eastern Europe with two colleagues to find out how Christians saw their own literature needs, in country after country they visited the Baptist seminary and the Union headquarters. Subject to advice received they would then visit the appropriate State official. In due course David Russell came back with his 'shopping list' and Eurolit swung into action. Not only books but printing machines and tons of paper were despatched to Moscow, Budapest, Warsaw, Bucharest.

A translation of William Barclay's Daily Study Bible into Russian cost about half a million pounds and the help of the Baptist World Alliance was enlisted. Work began with the translation and printing of the New Testament section in sets of fifteen volumes. Five thousand sets were produced. At the time of writing, work is proceeding on the Old Testament section. There was a time when the ministers of one country could tell him: 'We have no books at all'. David Russell has helped to answer that cry not just with relief supplies but with the means to produce literature within some at any rate of the countries concerned. It has particularly pleased him that it has been possible to get this work moving on an ecumenical basis. Indicative of the way things are developing was the Translators' Workshop held in 1988 at Ruschlikon Baptist Seminary, Zurich, and attended by leaders from Eastern Europe. As well as the Baptists present there were representatives from the Orthodox, Methodist, Reformed and Lutheran Churches. These Christians from diverse traditions found no difficulty in agreeing on titles, in beginning to undertake their own translation work and to bring on writers of their own. Extremely important in its own right, this programme is thus proving to be a significant new bridge in Church relations in Eastern Europe. Of the enterprise as a whole David Russell says that nothing in his entire ministry has brought him greater satisfaction.

It comes as no surprise that the second part of David Russell's autobiographical manuscript was published under the title - In Journeyings Often. He was destined to become one of those Church leaders whom the late lamented Gordon Rupp likened to Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles. His Baptist and ecumenical commitments, in addition to preaching and lecturing tours, have taken him not only to almost every country in Eastern and Western Europe but to Africa (Sierra Leone, Liberia, Nigeria, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Kenya, Ethiopia, Zaire), to India, Sri Lanka, the Philippines, Thailand, Hong Kong, China, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, the U.S.A., Brazil, Argentina. In 1981 on the second of his two visits to China he was leading a small delegation in preparation for the forthcoming visit of a B.C.C. group led by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Since his retirement his travels have by no means ceased. In addition to continuing work on literature for Eastern Europe he went as representative of the Baptist World Alliance to the Extraordinary Synod of the Roman Catholic church held at the Vatican in 1986. Also for the B.W.A. he has attended the Central Committee of the W.C.C. in Geneva, Buenos Aires and Hanover, and the Lambeth Conference of the Anglican Communion.

At the time of writing yet another book from David Russell's pen awaits publication. It is to be about Daniel. It might be argued
that the sub-title, An Active Volcano, would be not inappropriate as a description of David Russell himself in retirement. But whilst volcanos are spasmodic in their eruptions he goes on producing steadily. Volcanos are destructive; his retirement like his previous ministry has gone on being creative. He has contributed two articles to the forthcoming Oxford Companion to the Bible. Bristol Baptist College has his help as a lecturer. He has served on the committee for the revision of the New English Bible. And, if the reader recalls that Amsterdam Conference of 1939, David Russell is one of twelve of the participants who are preparing a Symposium for publication to mark its fiftieth anniversary; his contribution is to be on the Baptist role in the ecumenical movement.

Several formal marks of recognition have come to him. In 1980, Glasgow University awarded him an Honorary Doctorate of Divinity. Her Majesty the Queen appointed him a Commander of the Order of the British Empire in 1982. The Baptist denomination has a few ways of thanking those who have served it well. Former General Secretaries tend to get 'hung' in the old library at Church House, in frames of course! The greatest honour is the presidency of the Baptist Union. To this David Russell was elected in 1982-83. But there are a few, a very few, who receive another compliment as well as the presidency and it comes in the form of a Festschrift presented by the Baptist Historical Society. The Society spends much of its time on yesterday's history but it likes to think that it can recognise contemporaries who are making Baptist history today and offer them its own kind of salute.

G.W. RUSLING
THE LAST DAYS AT RAWDON
and THE FORMATION OF NORTHERN BAPTIST COLLEGE

Reporting on the opening of Rawdon, the Bradford Observer said of Dr Acworth, the Principal: 'All he now coveted and prayed for in reference to this institution was...that it might continue year after year, and generation after generation, to supply the churches with men of God; that, kept free from all pecuniary burdens, it might increasingly answer the end of its existence, and, at length, amid the hallelujahs of a recovered and sanctified world, itself cease to be. Till then, O let its motto be "Esto perpetua". We cannot write of the last days of Rawdon, as the editor suggested, but only the last days at Rawdon; for the work of the College, inspired by John Fawcett, founded at Horton in Bradford in 1805 and continued magnificently at Rawdon (1859-1964), is carried on at Northern Baptist College.

J.O. Barrett, a Rawdon man and the North Eastern Area Superintendent, told the story up to 1954, concluding: 'That Rawdon may continue to send out for the work of the ministry at home and overseas preachers and pastors of evangelical spirit and sound learning is the prayer of all its friends'. He wrote with feeling because he had struggled, with a few others, to bring the College through one of its most difficult crises. Rawdon had re-opened after the second World War under the leadership of A.C. Underwood and his close friend, L.H. Marshall, both of whom lived for the College. After Underwood's death in 1948 Marshall continued as principal with only one other tutor, E.C. Rust. Enough money was found to modernise the kitchen and make a beautiful chapel out of a lecture room but income was not sufficient to provide another tutor. In 1952 Rust was given leave of absence to lecture in the United States for a year and then accepted an invitation to remain there. In November Dr Marshall was taken ill and died in January aged 71, and W.E. Hough, a Rawdon man who had a temporary appointment covering Rust's absence, became acting principal, whilst Mrs Hough helped to maintain the domestic arrangements, Headingley Methodist College and Leeds University helped with teaching, and senior student, Edmund Pilling, took the Junior New Testament Greek class in Mark's Gospel. In the following months the Rawdon and Guiseley minister, W.B. Harris, taught Classical Greek, Mr Barrett and Howard Williams of Blenheim, Leeds, shared a course in pastoral theology and helped with sermon classes, whilst C.W. Towlson, former head of Woodhouse Grove School, lectured in New Testament Greek and gave coaching in voice production. Many tributes were paid to the memory of Dr Marshall as 'an outstanding Christian character, minister, preacher, teacher and friend...He had a great soul. Its greatness shone in his humility and selflessness. He adorned the teaching of his Lord in all he was and did'. One of his last tasks was the preparation of the Whitley Lectures, which he was unable to deliver personally, but which were published as Rivals of the Christian Faith with a memoir by his close friend, Henry Bonser.

The only thing which saved Rawdon at this time was the kind of commitment expressed by Alec Charlton in the Annual Report of 1950: 'Difficulties may lie ahead, but they will be overcome, for many believe that the Rawdon tradition is worth maintaining at any cost'.
The staffing committee met in January and immediately started considering names for a new principal, one member urging them to 'keep in mind the opportunities for a new policy to be developed for the future of the College, possibly arranging courses for lay-preachers and teachers and refresher courses for ministers'.

They also stressed the need for another member of staff, with all three sharing in the administrative work of the college and supported by secretarial assistance for the first time. On 5th March three candidates were interviewed at Blenheim, and eventually the Rev. D.S. Russell was invited to allow his name to go forward to the General Committee. But the minute added 'before he reach a decision, he and his wife be invited to visit Rawdon, and meet a small committee to review in detail the whole situation'. By 20th March Mr Barrett reported that 'Mr Russell had showed a good grasp of the situation' and they had 'endeavoured to give...a full survey of the difficulties and possibilities of the situation'. A letter was received from Dr Russell allowing his name to go forward. Mr Hough was then appointed a permanent member of staff. Mrs Russell was asked to oversee the domestic arrangements of the College and it was agreed that some secretarial assistance be provided for the Principal. The remaining difficulty of providing teaching in New Testament subjects was solved when the Principal designate discovered that Dr G.H.C. Angus, recently retired from the Principalship of Serampore College, India, would be willing to do this for a small honorarium and his board and lodging during term time. This 'temporary' arrangement lasted for 11 years, to everyone's satisfaction! On 8th October the new staff were all inducted by Dr E.A. Payne in a service at Westgate, Bradford.

David Russell was God's man for a huge task. Although only 36 he was able and experienced and his confidence was infectious. He set himself a very high standard and expected it of others, believing only the very best was good enough for the high calling of the Christian minister. His lectures on the Old Testament, especially the prophets, made his hearers want to preach and his teaching on homiletics showed them how to preach. In the sermon class on Saturday mornings (always an ordeal for the student whose turn it was to preach), after students and a tutor had offered their criticisms the Principal would, in his words, 'Dot a few "i's" and cross a few "t's" managing to balance what had been said and give some encouragement. His two-year course in pastoral theology was illustrated from experience and often expressed his concern for the integrity of the minister and the revitalizing of the Church Meeting. On a summer's afternoon it was not unknown for the Principal to break off his intense study for a short spell of equally intense activity in the garden. Students were supposed to put in some time there, too, but it was a struggle to keep the 7 acres tidy. The constant changes in domestic staff caused greater headaches. In other pursuits too the staff made their mark. The 1954 College Magazine told how in one cricket match 'its notable features were a score of 25 not out and three hard but cleanly taken catches by our Principal'. In the match against former students Dr Angus scored 45 not out. However, Mr Hough reported to the October meeting of the committee in 1954 that the Principal was in hospital after 'a misfortune on the sportsfield' - a painful back injury. The students' magazine was less discreet: 'Sammy Student's Log...13th October. The staff and students turned out this afternoon for a practice match. The men were keen and the motto was: "If you can't get the ball - get
the man." Our Principal is now confined to bed.

It cannot have been an easy time for Mrs Russell taking up new responsibilities, a lonely place to live during vacations with a young family to care for. Her homely manner enabled her to fit into the fellowship at Cragg Baptist Church, where she and her husband were loyal and much appreciated members. When an unwelcome visitor prompted the family to acquire a dog, Bruce became part of the College community too. Mr Russell returned from one preaching engagement with a pair of doves given to him by his hosts. Soon there were many white doves living in the loft above his garage and enhancing the idyllic setting of the College as they strutted around the courtyard. The new chapel, its furnishings a reminder of the men who had done so much to make the Rawdon tradition, was at the centre for worship. The thrice-a-term communion was presided over by the staff in turn and morning and evening prayers by either a student or member of staff, with the Principal setting a fine example of thorough preparation and simple dignity in worship.

It had already been decided to mark the Ter-Jubilee of the College by launching an appeal for £5,000 to renovate the building. Under the new leadership this was now increased to £15,000 to endow a new chair as well. The Ter-Jubilee Committee affirmed the important principle of not intruding into other college spheres of influence and only appealing to churches outside the northern and midland constituency if there was some Rawdon connection. A film strip telling the Rawdon story was produced and widely used. Later this was superseded by a coloured slide presentation, The Call of God, with emphasis on recruitment for the ministry. The celebrations began the following summer with a Saturday open-day which, in spite of poor weather, was such a huge success that this became an annual event incorporating the annual meeting in the afternoon, tea in a marquee served by local churches, and evening meeting with guest speaker and valediction of leaving students. Attendance at these days rose to over a thousand. The new principal soon won the response of northern Baptists by his vigorous advocacy of the College with his warm personality and ready wit. Like his predecessors he was in big demand as a preacher. He was also concerned to improve the image of Rawdon in the south and was quite cross with some of his students when they wrote to the Baptist Times criticising the Metropolitan Tabernacle for rebuilding on such a large scale. The sequel was that when he apologised to the minister of the Tabernacle he was invited to preach there! When in 1958 Mr Russell engaged in a preaching tour of the United States under the auspices of the British Council of Churches, he also addressed the Baptist World Alliance Youth Congress in Toronto. To the amusement of his students he returned with nothing so common as a doctorate but with the honour of being made a Kentucky Colonel. The Yorkshire Association benefited from the experience as he addressed their Autumn Assembly with the challenge to growth. Elected to the Association presidency in 1962, he led a successful 'teaching through preaching' programme on 'Creation and Re-creation' taken up by most of the ministers and lay preachers.

Unfortunately the Ter-Jubilee appeal fell far short of its target reaching barely £9,000. Some gave generously, the church members at Quibocolo and Lukolela in the Congo sending £55 from very meagre resources. However all the money was invested and a new tutor, the Rev. W.E. Moore, came to serve his Alma Mater in 1956, sharing the New
Testament work with Dr Angus and teaching Church history. The general income increased steadily, largely due to the indefatigable efforts of the Principal. Conferences helped balance the budget and made wider use of resources. In 1952 the total income was £4,963: £1,016 from churches and subscribers, £1,165 from students' grants, £450 from students' personal contributions and the remainder from endowments. In 1964 it had risen to £11,138: churches and subscribers giving £1,868, grants £2,201 and University students living in the College £2,213. Expenditure in 1952 was: educational and administrative £1,756, domestic £2,537. In 1964 the figures were £3,675 and £5,485 respectively. After the three year Ter-Jubilee effort a 'Friends of Rawdon' scheme was introduced, subscribers receiving three communications a year to maintain interest, the Annual Report, a bulletin and the students' magazine, quite an ambitious production which achieved a considerable circulation in the churches. It will be noticed from the figures that collections and subscriptions did not increase greatly. The highest figure was £2,050 in 1962 but this fell slightly during the last two years at Rawdon. It was possible over the years to spend considerable amounts on repairs and improvements. Most of the building was re-slated, though unfortunately the central turret was found to be unsafe and had to go. New bathrooms were installed in both wings and the heating system changed to automatic coal-fired boilers. Central-heating was extended to the library, replacing two Victorian stoves. Rawdon students each had a bedroom and a study heated by coal fires, students paying for their own coal, though some with blocked chimneys had electric fires (with meters) fitted. The writer remembers the pleasurable activity of sawing logs to augment the coal. The great gale of 1962 toppled a few chimneys and some mature trees, which provided an abundance of exercise and fuel. Bedrooms, lecture rooms and the common room were refurnished, a house bought for the new tutor and the tennis courts re-surfaced. Students themselves carried out several improvements including surfacing the drive with tarmac, installing new lighting in the library and converting one of the two fives courts into a table-tennis room.

Student numbers fluctuated from year to year, from 21 in 1953 to a peak of 31 two years later and falling to below 20 in the last two years. Of 76 accepted during the period, 21 were from the Yorkshire Association, 5 from the Northern and 3 from Lancashire. The other 47 were from almost all parts of the United Kingdom. On leaving Rawdon, 17 settled in Yorkshire, 8 in Lancashire and Cheshire and 3 in the Northern Association, whilst, continuing the missionary tradition, 3 went to serve overseas. In 1962 Cynthia Allegro, a former ballet dancer who had then become a deaconess, was welcomed as the first woman student and an undoubted civilizing influence. The next year Marjorie Forster was welcomed and at the end of the year married the Senior Student. For varying lengths of time students from Germany, Italy, Spain, Jamaica and Southern Rhodesia were welcomed into the College.

The connection with Leeds University weakened during this time, most students studying for either the London B.D. or Diploma in Theology. Pre-sessional lectures and occasional visiting speakers on various aspects of ministry supplemented the courses. Preaching on almost every Sunday provided experience, the opportunity to see a variety of churches and visit many homes. The neighbouring
orthopaedic hospital and old men's home provided opportunity for pastoral visiting. Every year saw students engaged in evangelistic missions and for a few years an open-air witness was maintained in the centre of Bradford which resulted in an organised debate with the secularist society. At least one summer vacation had to be spent on a student pastorate and from 1961 students in their penultimate year were linked with a neighbouring church as Student Assistants, which meant attending the full range of meetings and activities and being involved in some work with the minister. The close community which the situation of the College provided and the variety of background and outlook of its students was an education in itself. Life was regulated by a detailed constitution, and chairing Body meetings was a good preparation for life to come. Annual conferences with other theological students (Methodists at Headingley, Methodist deaconesses at Ilkley, Congregationalists at Bradford and Anglicans at Mirfield) provided ecumenical contact and debate but this group became smaller as the Bradford and Ilkley Colleges closed. Students from the University gladly took up vacant places at Rawdon and they, of course, contributed to the community and the treasury. One of the liveliest social events of the year was the annual football match with Manchester College for the Townley Lord 'Cup', the day concluding with the host College giving a concert, invariably a hilarious evening.

The staff made a good team. W.E. Hough, lecturing in Philosophy, Theology, Ethics and Baptist History and Principles, loved to provoke deeper thought and the questioning of assumed positions whilst he rattled the money in his pocket and wrapped himself round the lectern. He was always very approachable and appreciation of him grew with the years. When he retired, on the formation of Northern College, he continued to serve on its governing body and support its work for twenty years until shortly before his death. Dr Angus had a quiet saintliness and ascetic life-style. One winter's morning as students came shivering along the corridor to the chapel he remarked 'One is able to get a really cold bath these mornings'. He made good use of the new tennis courts where he played as well as anyone. His lectures were always up to date with the latest scholarship and his termly missionary prayer meetings fed with the latest news from the B.M.S. and the world Church. Observant and perceptive, he was usually aware of what was happening in the College. Dying in Ceylon in 1966, at the age of 76, whilst spending a period of service in the island at the pressing request of his former students, he was buried, probably as he would have wished, in Colombo. W.E. Moore had much original thought and insight into the New Testament, often passionately propounded because it was related to his pastoral heart and social concern. In the chapel his evening prayers had a mystical quality: once after slowly reading from an epistle he began to pray 'Paul what did you mean when you said...'. His preaching was often dramatic and compelling. Stronger than Rome, a new and attractive approach to the Epistle to the Romans in dialogue form, came from his pen in 1963 and was warmly commended by Professor Kingsley Barrett. David Russell's first book, Between the Testaments, was published in 1960.

Many lay people, former students and other ministers gave devoted service on College committees and as officers. N.S. Lunn, a Huddersfield architect, served as treasurer and gave his professional services from 1947 up to the amalgamation. J.G. Hobbs, then minister at Westgate, succeeded the venerable Alec Charlton as secretary in
1953 and served Rawdon and Northern diligently until 1976. Mr J.W.H. Still, of Bradford, was connected with Rawdon from 1925 when he assisted his father, Rev. W.K. Still, the College’s Financial Secretary. He succeeded his father in 1947 and served as treasurer of the new College until his death on Easter Day 1975. In 1955, for the first time, a woman, Mrs J. Barritt, of Leeds, was elected to the Committee.

At intervals 'Manchester' had featured in the story of Horton and Rawdon. When the work was founded in 1804, it was 'The Northern Education Society' and some advocated Manchester for its home. In 1855, when the move from Horton in Bradford was being contemplated, a property was actually bought in Manchester but then sold again. In 1890, when Principal T.G. Rooke died, amalgamation was discussed and at the turn of the century a scheme to unite Rawdon, Nottingham and Manchester was carefully worked out, but failed again. In 1955 a Priorities Sub-Committee was formed to recommend the priority of claims on the Ter-Jubilee Fund. It considered the domestic staff problems, necessary renovations and the relationship with other colleges in order to make economic use of resources. Finally it recommended the appointment of another tutor but also the further consideration of the future of the College. The General Committee asked the committee to continue as the Policy Committee. It met three more times that year and authorised the Principal to have informal discussions with representatives of Manchester College. The options included: exchange of students for special courses, amalgamation at either Rawdon or Manchester, moving to Leeds for closer liaison with the University, co-operation with other denominations at Leeds or Bradford or remaining as at present and building up work as a Theological Seminary. The committee, however, was unable to recommend any long-term policy at that stage. In 1961 the committee was requested to meet again. The domestic situation seemed almost insoluble and the siting of the College was no longer academically suitable. The clear choice seemed to be either to approach Manchester or find a new independent site. It was finally decided after prolonged discussion to recommend the former with a bold imaginative scheme for a new college in a new building. The General Committee agreed to this with one against and one abstention. The Manchester officers welcomed the suggestions and discussions went on apace.

Many difficulties and different ideas about the new building and its funding and staffing were faced and thrashed out. Reading the minutes it becomes quite clear that the final success of the scheme owes much to D.S. Russell and his following of his own oft-given advice to be 'as wise as serpents and harmless as doves'. When the General Committee met in June 1962 there was considerable doubt and opposition to the scheme on several grounds and the recommendation to the special meeting of subscribers at Blenheim in October had to be put in the name of the Policy Committee, not the General Committee. Nevertheless the case was strongly presented to the special meeting by the Principal and the motion of support for the scheme moved and seconded by two esteemed Rawdon men, J.G. Hobbs and F.W. Bond. After the debate there was a time of prayer and the vote by ballot resulted in 98 in favour of the scheme and 17 against. The next month the Committee met and, in the light of that vote, proceeded. J.B. Middlebrook agreed to organise an appeal for £50,000 for the building fund. A similar scheme already followed by the Congregationalists
made negotiations with the Minster of Education and the Charity Commissioners easier. It was agreed that the two Principals should act jointly, sharing duties and responsibilities and that George Farr and Ernest Moore would be Tutors. Building plans were adopted and the foundation stone laid in October 1963. With pride, thanksgiving and sadness, Rawdon closed in June 1964. The old students met there for the last reunion to say farewell, some availing themselves of the offers for sale of books surplus to requirements in the amalgamated library. The building proved difficult to sell, but eventually the College of Trinity and All Saints in Horsforth acquired it as a hostel. It has since been converted into luxury homes.

A service of dedication to mark the commencement of the new College was led by the President of the Baptist Union, Dr L.G. Champion, on 1st October 1964 in the new Dining Hall and the buildings were officially opened on 16th June 1963 by Dr E.A. Payne, Secretary of the Baptist Union. The first stage of the building consisted of a block of 36 study bedrooms, a new library linked to Manchester's old chapel (encased in matching bricks), dining hall and kitchen with 2 flats above and houses for the Principals. When the scheme began it was thought that it would be ten or fifteen years before the second half could be built but the wise decision was taken to raise more capital and loans and to proceed before rising costs made it virtually impossible. It was also obvious that the design asked for completion. On 11th November 1967 a great service of thanksgiving was held to mark the completion of the buildings, the address being given by the new secretary of the Baptist Union, Rev. Dr D.S. Russell. It seems remarkable now that the whole scheme was completed for a little over £180,000. The appeal reached its target, Rawdon was sold for £15,000, the sale of investments and legacies received amounted to £68,000 and the Baptist Union Ter-Jubilee Fund contributed £20,000. Visible reminders of the Rawdon tradition were provided by chapel furnishings brought over the Pennines but the combination of two lots of furnishings was not really very satisfactory and the re-ordering of the chapel when Principal Taylor arrived has provided a worship centre more suitable for these days. The Good Shepherd window remains, Dr Acworth's bust is in the entrance, former Principals of both former Colleges look down on the library scene, but surely the real continuity is in the pioneering of new ways of ministerial training, for which Northern has become justly famous, and in its wide vision of the Kingdom of God. Esto Perpetua.

DAVID B. MILNER
THE INTERPRETATION OF PROPHECY
AND THE ORIGIN OF APOCALYPTIC

The question of the origins of biblical apocalyptic has remained a controversial subject of study and, although many questions have been clarified, no fully satisfactory solution has yet appeared. In his very important study entitled The Relevance of Apocalyptic H.H. Rowley(1) argued strongly that it emerged on the basis of a post-exilic Jewish extension and reinterpretation of earlier prophecy. G. von Rad's rejection of such a position(2) has largely led, in further investigations, to a re-affirmation of the rightness of Rowley's position, but not without a number of modifications to it.(3) This is also the conclusion advocated by David Russell(4), and it may certainly be regarded as pointing in the right direction. At the same time, the import of von Rad's objections has been to draw fresh attention to the fact that there can have been no smooth transition from prophecy to apocalyptic and that the latter incorporates many features and assumptions originally alien to prophecy(5) especially that consciousness of a broad historical determinism which allowed that the final outcome of human history had been decreed in advance by divine ordinance.

Much of the difficulty pertaining to the attempts to trace the origins of Jewish apocalyptic lies in the impossibility of establishing a widely agreed definition concerning what constitutes such a movement of thought and literature. As it progressed apocalyptic came to take on a more clearly identifiable form, to promote the composition of separate and self-contained writings, and to make extensive use of certain easily recognised themes and techniques. Yet, in its early stages, it was certainly not essential that all of these features should be present for many of the central tendencies of apocalyptic to manifest themselves. Many scholars now recognise that a substantial layer of apocalyptic elaboration and reworking of earlier prophecy is to be found in the Book of Isaiah,(6) that similar trends appear in the Book of Ezekiel,(7) and that a substantial level of apocalyptic-type eschatology has been introduced into the Book of the Twelve Prophets.(8) Only the Book of Jeremiah, with its more uniform style of Deuteronomistic editing and composition, appears largely to have escaped this apocalyptic reworking. Consequently, although it represents only a rather minimal definition, Lars Hartmann's characterisation of apocalyptic as 'prophecy among the scribes' remains especially helpful.(9)

It emphasises the decisively literary character of apocalyptic, with its predilection for metaphors and unusual imagery, often applied in a coded fashion to situations far removed from those envisaged in its original context. The development of multiple meanings for specific words, images and themes, such as those of 'remnant' (cf. Isaiah 10.20-22), or the 'felling of a tree' (cf. Isaiah 10.17-19,33-34), becomes a frequently used technique. Such a literary device highlights the strange variety and open-endedness of much that is to be found in apocalyptic where the sense of a pre-determined end is often combined with an extraordinary sense of human choice and freedom as to the identity of victors and vanquished, faithful and rejected.
The present study is designed to draw attention to three short passages, all undoubtedly editorial comments, which are markedly apocalyptic in character and where a virtually identical phraseology appears. The passages concerned are Isaiah 10.23, 28.22 and Daniel 9.27. Students of the New Testament will readily recognise the prominent significance of the Daniel passage, which is alluded to in Mark 13.14 in the eschatological discourse of Jesus. The phrase that provides a clue for the understanding of all three texts is the reference to 'the full end that is decreed' (Heb. קָלָה וְנָהַרָּגָה), which is to be unleashed upon the whole earth. This is so striking that it must point to the recognition that all three passages are directly related to each other in some way. Precisely in what chronological sequence may be open to question, with the Danielic passage coming last, but with some uncertainty over the priority in regard to the two Isaianic instances. What is striking about all three references is that they employ an almost identical wording and presuppose as already well known a broad assertion about coming judgment upon the whole earth, regarded as already revealed and fixed, even though details and circumstances still remain open to different interpretations.

We consider all three passages in their biblical order. Isaiah 10.23: 'For the Lord Yahweh of Hosts is about to perform in the midst of all the earth the full end that is decreed'. This comes as an apocalyptic editorial comment upon the preceding three verses (Isaiah 10.20-22) where three separate and distinct interpretations are presented concerning the possibility and identity of a remnant of Israel, based on an interpretation of the meaning of the name Shear-jashub given to Isaiah's first child in Isaiah 7.3. A feature in all three interpretations of this name, which introduces the idea of a 'remnant', is they affirm that, in the time of salvation when the Assyrian oppressor is otherthrown (Isaiah 10.5-15), not all of Israel will be saved - 'destruction has been decreed, overwhelming and righteous' (Isaiah 10.22). The assumption is very clearly that, although salvation has undoubtedly been promised to Israel through the prophetic word of God, this does not invalidate the parallel warning that judgment must befall the entire land.

Isaiah 10.20-22 is a late editorial development added to the unit declaring Assyria's destruction, and based on a written collection of Isaiah's prophecies. (10) This is shown by the reinterpretation of the name Shear-jashub in a very different way from that originally envisaged in 7.3, where it forms part of an intended message of assurance to Ahaz. Further indications of the scribal character of the unit are provided by the allusion to the promise to Israel's patriarchal ancestors that their descendants will become as numerous as the sand of the sea (Genesis 22.17, 32.13, 41.49; Joshua 11.4; Judges 7.12, 1 Samuel 13, 15; 2 Samuel 17.11, 1 Kings 4.20, 5.9). There can be no doubt that, even though the simile may have been a popular one, the writer had before him the Deuteronomistic history containing these promises of Israel's greatness, and was concerned to modify them in the light of his knowledge of the threat of judgment upon the whole land.

But whence then has he taken this message that a fearful and righteous destruction has been decreed upon the entire earth? Here we encounter a feature that has been of great significance to the apocalyptic development of earlier prophecy that the Hebrew word for
'earth, land' (Heb. 'eres) is ambiguous as to whether it indicates a national, or even more local, area of land, or whether it refers to the whole earth. This world-wide significance would appear to be intended here. In any case the belief that such a massive destruction had been 'decreed' by God can best be traced back to Isaiah 6.11. This was clearly a central text for the tradition of Isaiah's prophecies in general, since it summarises the central message given to the prophet at the time of his call. It affirms in the strongest possible terms the warning that judgment is coming upon 'the land'.

All of this indicates that Isaiah 10.20-22 is the work of an editorial scribe who has found himself wrestling with the seeming contradictions between the assurances of hope and greatness promised to Israel and warnings of judgment that must befall it (as Isaiah 6.11). This promise of greatness has been linked with words affirming the destruction of all Israel's enemies (cf. Isaiah 14.26-27, which has been added to the more circumscribed promise of the defeat of Assyria in Isaiah 14.25). O. Kaiser very convincingly suggests, therefore, that the parallel assurance concerning the coming defeat of Assyria expressed in Isaiah 10.24-25 had already been added to Isaiah 10.5-15 before the whole attempt to wrestle with the idea of a judgment upon Israel, now set down in verses 20-23, was made. The solution to these seeming contradictions has been found in the idea of a 'remnant', an ever popular concept used by some Christians to reconcile a belief in divine election with awareness of their shortcomings and failings, which render them open to divine judgment. Hartmann's contention that apocalyptic took its origins when prophecy was placed in the hands of scribes is supported by all this. It is a self-evidently literary development, since it depended for its techniques upon the ability to re-apply and re-use earlier words and images from prophecy. Moreover, as is evident here, the scribes who were responsible for Isaiah 10.20-23 had access, not simply to a written collection of Isaiah's words but also to at least an edition of the Deuteronomistic History of Joshua - 2 Kings. What motivates the apocalyptic mentality which created Isaiah 10.23 is the conviction that the threat that a 'full end' has been 'decreed' (by God in the written word of prophecy) will be fulfilled in the end-time, a period which the scribe clearly believed to be imminent in his own day. The notion that the apparent contrasts and contradictions of prophecy can be reconciled by recognising that different prophecies applied to quite different situations and circumstances has been set aside in the attempt to work-out some knowledge of God's great 'Plan' for the end-time.

O. Kaiser suggests that the distinctive message and wording of Isaiah 10.23 has been taken from the first intimation in the book of Isaiah that 'a full end has been decreed upon the whole earth' in Isaiah 28.22. This may well be so, but certainty on the point would appear to be unlikely, since it is most probable that v.22 has been added to the more original unit of Isaiah 28.14-21. This is a short piece of prophetic invective warning the leaders of Jerusalem that God is indeed capable of performing a work of judgment against his own people. Their political strategy and agreements, and their expectation of military support from Egypt, mockingly characterised as a treaty with death (v.15), are declared to be no true refuge. It may be, as Kaiser argues, that some expansions of the original prophecy have been made. Nevertheless in general it should be recognised that
the substance of v.14-21 is an authentic record of the tradition of Isaiah's preaching in the period 705-701 B.C., when the prophet made strong denunciations of Hezekiah's formulation of a mutual defence treaty with Egypt, prior to the withdrawal of allegiance to Sennacherib. Verse 22 then follows on from this and reads:

'Now therefore do not mock,
lest your bonds be made strong.
For destruction is decreed upon the whole earth.'

The concluding phrase which may be translated either as 'a full end is decreed', or 'a full end and a decision' is identical to that found in Isaiah 10.23. It would seem to be highly unlikely that this formed any part of the original content of the prophecy of v.14-21. It has been added to it subsequently when a scribe found in the prophet's message warning against making 'a covenant with death' precisely the kind of repudiation of self-assured hope and optimism which he felt to be most appropriate to bolster his own message of judgment concerning the time of the end. It therefore fits quite smoothly into the overall theological framework of the apocalyptic elaborations which have added a distinctive layer to the book. Any assumption on the part of the Jewish community that, when the judgment came upon all the nations that threatened Israel (Isaiah 14.25, 29.5-9), there would be no comparable punishment of sinners in Israel is sharply rejected. Clearly the scribal author of Isaiah 28.22 felt very strongly on this point: 'Now therefore do not mock (as the leaders of Jerusalem mocked Isaiah in 28.9-10)'. There must be a remembrance that God has decreed judgment upon the whole earth - so the sinners of Judah will not escape unscathed! It is precisely the same message that has occasioned the introduction of the theme in Isaiah 10.20-22 that only a remnant will ultimately be able to enjoy God's exaltation of Israel.

Thus it is very difficult to determine where the priority lies between Isaiah 10.23 and 18.22 since both should be reckoned as glosses added to the short units preceding them. It could indeed be the case that the same scribe has been responsible for both, since the message that is expressed is virtually the same - when the time of judgment comes, as has assuredly been decreed for the whole earth, then this will overtake sinners and the lawless in Judah as well as the nations that threaten it.

We recognise two important features here which are very significant for the pressures and tendencies which encouraged the rise of the apocalyptic movement. The first is the distinctly sectarian spirit which motivated such additions to the written text of prophecy.(16) Whilst it appears to be regarded as an accepted truth that God had fore-ordained Israel to a position of ultimate greatness among the nations, all too readily this had led to a false complacency and to a cynical indifference to attempts to uphold a strict religious loyalty on the part of many Jews. They got on with their daily lives and left the larger questions of Israel's destiny to an unknown and uncertain future. In doing so they posed a challenge to the more zealously law-abiding and tora-conscious men and women of Judah. By affirming that only some in Judah would be saved at the end-time, a determined effort was made to encourage a sincere, and self-denying, loyalty on the part of all members of the community. Such loyalty would really matter at the time of the end! The second feature is that, although the broad framework of God's plan for Israel and the nations is assumed to have been revealed through prophecy, an element
of openness in such a message remains. Judgment had indeed been decreed, but when, for whom, and with what severity and purpose, had all to be worked out from a careful study of scripture. So the parameters of eschatology and of judgment had yet to be more fully unravelled by a careful searching of the scriptures.

The third of the passages where the mysterious message of 'the full end that has been decreed' is given is Daniel 9.27, a very important verse for the interpretation of the Book of Daniel as a whole, and many difficulties of translation and meaning have been recognised. (17) In what is presented as the revelation given to Daniel by the angel Gabriel (Daniel 9.24-27), the significance of Jeremiah's prophecy of a duration for the exile of seventy years is disclosed (Daniel 7.24; cf. Jeremiah 25.11ff., 29.10). This message is then interpreted in terms of an historical event which can only be a reference to the desecration of the sanctuary of Jerusalem by Antiochus Epiphanes: 'And he shall make a firm covenant with many for one week; and for half of the week he shall cause sacrifice and offering to cease; and upon the wing of abominations shall come one who makes desolate, until the decreed end is poured out on the desolator'. Whilst the passage has been extensively discussed by commentators and some details of the translation remain obscure. (18) What cannot be in doubt, however, is the fact that the historical event that is alluded to is the suspension of the daily offering in the Jerusalem temple in the three year period Chislev 15 or 25, 167 B.C. until Chislev 25, 164 B.C. Our immediate concern, however, is not with the historical reference as such but rather with the occurrence yet again of the phrase 'the end that is decreed' (J.A. Montgomery would translate it 'an end and determination'), the precise phrase found earlier in Isaiah 10.23 and 28.22.

What is more significant in this case is that the phrase, now found to be so distinctive of the development of apocalyptic out of written prophecy, is a structural part of the whole Gabrialic revelation in Daniel 9.24-27. It is taken for granted that 'a full end' has indeed been decreed by God at the end time. This is assumed to be well-known to those who had explored the message of prophecy. What has been left unclear and indeterminate is precisely when, and upon whom, such a judgment must fall. Here in this vision given to Daniel by the angel Gabriel, the time and circumstance of this long fore-ordained judgment is declared. When we look further ahead to the New Testament we find that the Markan allusion back to this verse (Mark 13.14) is intended to convey exactly the same sense of a long awaited fulfilment of a visionary warning given beforehand through prophecy.

The purpose of the present study of these three passages, all of which are linked together by this highly meaningful and distinctive phrase, is to demonstrate how apocalyptic has indeed arisen on the basis of prophecy. We can re-assert the contention that all three passages are inter-related in that they share a literary dependence. Whether, as Kaiser thinks, Isaiah 28.22 was the first to formulate the phrase 'a full end that is decreed', cannot be affirmed with any certainty. What is certain, however is that both Isaianic passages reflect a broadly similar intention of affirming that only some within Judah will be among those who escape judgment at the time of the end.

Both instances in the Book of Isaiah must be credited to late post-exilic scribes who were re-interpreting the prophecies of the
book in an apocalyptic pattern of thought. Ancient prophecy was believed to contain knowledge concerning the mysteries of future judgment and salvation. The use of the same distinctive phrase in Daniel 9.27 must certainly be later still, but can be regarded as intrinsic to the structure and composition of the vision set out in Daniel 9.20-27. M. Fishbane comments 'The compiler of Daniel 9 thus produced a skilful exegetical ensemble'.(19) The fact that all three passages are held together by their use of such a highly distinctive phrase is itself not without significance. It reflects the desire to piece together a comprehensive and final interpretation of the time of the end on the basis of biblical prophecy.

The ultimate point of reference of the phrase, however, must be traced back to the call of Isaiah and to the summary of his message given in Isaiah 6.11., which was seen to provide a revelation of the purpose of God central to the message of prophecy as a whole. What we are faced with then is an example of what M. Fishbane has called 'mantological exegesis' in which one passage has provided a kernel upon which a series of further prophetic revelations has been built up. Further to these points we can also draw attention to the way in which the terse formulation 'a full end that is decreed', or 'a full end and a determination (decreed destiny)', which has proved awkward for translators, sums up remarkably concisely a central tenet of apocalyptic. It points to the belief that a fearful and climactic judgment awaits all the inhabitants of the earth. When, and upon whom, remained a repeated challenge and incentive for those who observed 'the signs of the times' to discover.

FOOTNOTES


RONALD E. CLEMENTS
I have heard Dr Russell say something like the following on a number of occasions (one has to envisage the tone and facial expression to get the full impact - that of a confidential aside, tongue-in-cheek): 'Of course, we Baptists have never oppressed anybody. We have never had enough power'. This joke, in my opinion, reveals both a deep insight into human nature and a profound root of Dr Russell's commitment to human rights - the recognition of the fallibility of human structures, the danger of concentration of power, the realistic perception of sin in all human structures, including the church. It gives me a real pleasure to pay tribute to him and to his work for human rights in celebration of his jubilee in the ministry. I will make frequent reference to the work of the British Council of Churches' Human Rights Forum, which Dr Russell chaired, and which I served as a staff member, together with a number of colleagues, from 1978-86.

Dr Russell was chosen as a delegate of his church to the Uppsala 1968 Assembly of the World Council of Churches. At that meeting, he was elected to the Central Committee, serving as a careful and diligent member until the Vancouver Assembly in 1983. For those 15 years Dr Russell was actively involved in the debates of the Central Committee and Assemblies. The issues of injustice and justice, non-violence and violence, the struggle against racism and the controversial grants from the Programme to Combat Racism Special Fund, and the growing opposition within the churches to nuclear deterrence were consistently on the agenda. There was also a deepening awareness of the Christian responsibility for the protection of human rights, the subject of a Consultation at St Polten in 1974 (which was attended by Rev. Donald Black of the Baptist Union), following up the recommendation of the 1971 Addis Ababa Central Committee.(1) The Nairobi Assembly (1975) took up the findings of St Polten.

Three important streams came together in the Nairobi Assembly. The St Polten recommendations served as the agreed basis for the W.C.C. policy on human rights. There was a stormy debate on religious liberty in the Soviet Union, and there was discussion of the Helsinki Final Act, signed by the governments of Europe and North America, which included extensive human rights provisions. The debate on religious liberty in the Soviet Union resulted in a carefully worded text which made it clear that further action should be taken, including consultation with the churches most concerned and that human rights must be consistently upheld.(2)

The discussion of the Helsinki Agreement led on to the formation of the Churches' Human Rights Programme for the Implementation of the Helsinki Final Act, sponsored by the Conference of European Churches, the National Council of Churches of Christ/U.S.A. and the Canadian Council of Churches. Dr Russell was a member of the small Working Committee of North American, Eastern and Western European church leaders which was established. Central to the deliberations of that body, he was, I believe, disappointed that it was not more effective. But the results achieved were in no small measure due to his commitment to making the best possible use of the available
instruments. The body established a regular working meeting of church leaders from East and West, improved understanding of the Helsinki Final Act, undertook a limited amount of case work on human rights violations, held consultations on relevant topics and represented the churches to signatory governments, calling for full implementation of the Final Act.(3) In Central Committee meetings, Dr Russell was persistent in raising the issues of human rights and religious liberty. Minutes often given only a limited summary of discussion: it is thus easy to miss references such as the following from the Vancouver Assembly (1983) Report: 'Dr David Russell (Baptist, U.K.) and Rev. Jean Pierre Jornod (Reformed, Switzerland) asked for more emphasis on violations of religious freedom...' (4)

Only those who have worked closely with Dr Russell can know even part of the effort and concern which he has devoted to the protection of believers' rights in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. What has appeared in public is only the 'tip of the iceberg', since much of the inquiry, discussion and representation has had to be, and remain, confidential. Dr Russell, over a period of many years, has got to know in detail the situation of the churches in Eastern Europe, their leaders, the channels which provide most chance of effective results. Trevor Beeson's study, based substantially on information from the B.C.C. East-West Relations Advisory Committee, was entitled Discretion and Valour.(5) This title describes accurately Dr Russell's own approach. His name appears in the acknowledgements as one of the 'individuals who have helped' in the production of the book:(6) not only the information which Dr Russell has at his grasp, but more particularly its evaluation and the judgment how best to use it, have made him a respected figure in Baptist and ecumenical circles, in Eastern Europe.

At this point Dr Russell's own summary of his activity may be quoted. Testifying before the House of Commons Foreign Affairs Committee, he had to 'bear witness' and render account of his work. The response was typically understated. Even taken at face value, without allowing for this, his credentials appear impressive and give some indication of the commitment and sheer volume of work over many years:

'My own involvements are threefold. First of all, I was for many years a member of the Central Committee of the World Council of Churches at which I was able to raise the issue of human rights and, in particular, of religious liberty on quite a number of occasions. Secondly, I am a member representing the B.C.C. in the Conference of European Churches and a member of the Churches Working Group on the Implementation of the Helsinki Final Act... Thirdly, I am a member of the Council of the European Baptist Federation and one of the jobs of that European Baptist Federation has been, over the past five or six years especially, to try and prepare literature for our ministers and for our members in Eastern Europe. I have been this year visiting practically all the socialist countries. In fact, I am in Eastern Europe every year pretty well and have been travelling there for the past 15 or 20 years and have got to know the people, if not the situation, tolerably well.' (7)

Work for religious liberty, in his eyes, means concern for individuals, attention to the protection of the churches as public bodies, provision for their future, regular contacts, extension of the
legal possibilities and promotion of a better climate of understanding between states. Pressed during his testimony, on the question of 'passport speeches' at W.C.C. meetings, he agreed that they occur, but also pressed the Committee to see the other side of the coin.

'I have been to see the Chairman of the Department of Cults in Moscow and elsewhere and have argued strongly in the presence of the Baptist leadership for dissidents and others who are persecuted for their faith and their presence with me was an indication of their sympathy and support, albeit silent. This sort of thing could be repeated and expanded. I am much less critical of the leadership of my own Baptist Union in the Soviet Union than I used to be.'(8)

In summary, I would define Dr Russell's commitment on behalf of religious liberty as one of the best examples among contemporary Western church leaders of an effective concern for the Christians of Eastern Europe, a ministry which he exercised with great care and attention to detail. Given the pressures of other work, I consider it remarkable how much time he has devoted to this and how good his judgment in many difficult circumstances. His wisdom, humour, skills in drafting, and above all, his courage in not shirking hard face-to-face discussion have added to his effectiveness. This work is rooted in a theological understanding of the importance of human dignity, since all of us are made in the image of God.

I now wish to consider further implications of a full understanding of human rights. I take as my point of departure the work against torture which the B.C.C. Human Rights Forum began under Dr Russell. It seems to me to be the necessary conclusion of a belief that all people are precious in God's sight.

THE GLORY OF GOD IS THE HUMAN BEING - FULLY ALIVE

This expression of the Church Father, Irenaeus, if taken to its logical conclusion provides the key to a Christian theology of human rights. Each person, made in God's image, is important to God. For this to be true, the world must be changed. Archbishop Oscar Romero of El Salvador took this expression of Irenaeus and made it more precise both as a theological definition and as pastoral practice. Writing of Romero, his close colleague, Jon Sobrino has stated:

'His faith in God...made him a defender of life, and especially a defender of the lives of the poor. The anguish of the poor touches the very heart of God. That is why he [Romero] saw in life, and in life at its most basic, the manifestation of God just as the prophet Isaiah had done before him.'(9)

Romero's theology and life (or better his lived theology) showed what that means: the defence of real people in a frightening and threatening world; as a 'good shepherd' being prepared even to lay down his life for those in his flock, not in any sense a martyrdom which was sought through an artificial 'imitatio Christi', but because the life of any one human being must be protected. For Romero:

'The world of food and work, of health and housing, the world of education - this is God's world. The world God wants is one in which "the workers will build houses and inhabit them, the peasants plant vineyards and eat their fruit" (Isaiah 65.21). Poverty and desolation is a denial of God's will, a perverted creation in which God's glory is mocked and scorned. The
fulness of the life to come is no palliative or consolation: faith in God begins with the defence of life here and now. The living man is God's glory. To be absolutely accurate, the living, poor man or woman is God's glory. (Lecture in the University of Louvain, 2nd February 1980)(10)

Thus not only 'homo vivens' is seen as 'gloria Dei', but even more clearly 'pauper vivens'. The reason why this is the case has been given by Sobrino on many occasions; for me, most memorably, in a lecture at the British Council of Churches. 'The poor are those who are close to death'. Not the death of which the Old Testament writes - old and full of years (cf. the death of Abraham in Genesis 25.8), but an unnecessary death, before its time. Archbishop Romero's literalism is shocking. For him, life meant the real life of people who were in danger. It meant the bodily, physical life of the poor. For him, the God of Jesus was particularly concerned about the health and welfare of the most threatened of our threatened human race. For the defence of life, Romero was killed, as his master the good shepherd had been before him.

To pray that God's will shall be done here on earth as well as in heaven means that we cannot be content with humanly-created suffering of the current immense proportions. A proper theology of human rights cannot be content with the verbal assertion that all are made in God's image. We have to strive to put this into practice in the real world. Our work for the British Council of Churches brought us into contact with people who had themselves been in acute danger, who had lost loved ones through torture, had seen family or friends killed because they stood for human rights. A proper theology of human rights means the defence of life, particularly where it is most threatened.

TORTURE: A CRIME AGAINST GOD AND HUMANITY

Sidney Greaves, a Quaker doctor who was among those responsible for helping the B.C.C. Human Rights Forum, and later the B.C.C. Assembly, to accept responsibility for actively working against torture, quoted the 1911 edition of Encyclopedia Britannica to the effect that 'torture is now only of historic interest', an optimistic mistake of huge proportions. Torture, a systematic abuse of human rights characteristic of the twentieth century, has not only been a matter of the brutality of certain warders against individual prisoners: it became a system in Nazi Germany and Stalin's Soviet Union, and in our day in the 'national security' states of Latin and Central America, Amin's Uganda, and Pol Pot's Kampuchea.

In our meditations for one of the B.C.C. Human Rights Forum meetings, John Reardon of the United Reformed Church read this passage from Nobel Peace Prize winner, Elie Wiesel's book, Night:

'Never shall I forget that night, the first night in camp, which has turned my life into one long night, seven times cursed and seven times sealed. Never shall I forget that smoke. Never shall I forget the little faces of the children, whose bodies I saw turned into wreaths of smoke beneath a silent blue sky. Never shall I forget those flames which consumed my faith forever. Never shall I forget that nocturnal silence which deprived me, for all eternity of the desire to live. Never shall I forget those moments which murdered my God and my soul and turned my dreams to dust. Never shall I forget these
things, even if I am condemned to live as long as God Himself. Never. (11)

In the B.C.C. Assembly, Dr Russell himself spoke movingly of his visit to Auschwitz - not as a description of past history, but to show why we have to oppose torture in our day. The words of Elie Wiesel are literally awful. The only more frightening words I know are the cry of Jesus from the cross, 'My God, my God why have you forsaken me?' (Mark 15.34-35). I take Mark's account to be historical: I understand it to mean that Jesus himself died the death of torture, with no irrefutable certainty that love would be vindicated.

During a meeting of the Human Rights Forum I became more deeply aware of the connection between torture and the death of Jesus. I recall Dr Russell reading from the New English Bible the words concerning the Suffering Servant from Isaiah 53. We have become too familiar with these words to be sufficiently shocked by them. Twice in this passage in the N.E.B. the reference to torture is explicitly made. '...But he was pierced for our transgressions, tortured for our iniquities' (Isaiah 53.5). 'Yet the LORD took thought for his tortured servant and healed him who had made himself a sacrifice for sin; (Isaiah 53.10). In the B.C.C. Human Rights Forum and Assembly, we considered the simple assertion that torture is wrong and must always be opposed. This was agreed (B.C.C. Assembly Resolution of 1981). The Forum was responsible for sponsoring a cumulative series of resolutions through the B.C.C. Assembly - opposing torture and exports of technology which contributed to the likelihood of torture (1981), opposing 'disappearances' (1982), on the situation in Central America (1983) and launching the campaigning work of Action by Christians against torture (1984).

In the context of that work, we discovered some shocking things. The first was that Britain's hands were not clean. The Amnesty International Report Torture in the Eighties presents the case study of Northern Ireland where various techniques, together known as 'interrogation in depth' were used. These included deprivation of sleep and sensory deprivation. The Parker Committee investigated the issue, but only the minority report found these methods unacceptable, but fortunately the government accepted their findings. In the European Commission of Human Rights these techniques were found to constitute 'torture', a judgment later modified to 'cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment' by the European Court. Sidney Greaves, writing in a B.C.C. pamphlet on Torture comments: 'The case serves to show how easily, under the conditions of severe social stress, a community may slip into using means which in its better judgement it would find wholly abhorrent'. The Bennett Report, which investigated allegations of abuse of human rights in Northern Ireland in the 1970s revealed 'cases in which injuries, whatever their precise cause, were not self-inflicted and were sustained in police custody'. Following that report, further safeguards for prisoners were introduced. It is vital for the health of Britain's legal system that the churches and other bodies maintain vigilance to ensure that suspects are not ill-treated in police custody. Protection must be accorded to all, including those suspected of terrorism. Amnesty, in reviewing how Britain almost slipped into acceptance of torture as policy stressed the importance of the police surgeons' evidence and the vigilance of the media. The Forum made further disturbing discoveries - namely that Britain was engaged in trading arms with governments which use torture
regularly, and discovered that Britain also provided the technology of torture. Some of the insights gained came directly from people who had themselves been tortured. Sheila Cassidy, the British doctor who was imprisoned and tortured in Chile, preaching at the Human Rights Day Service in Westminster Abbey on 10th December 1980, said Christians in Britain 'have been educated to give to the poor but not to refuse a good business deal because the merchandise might be misused' - for example, through arms sales. 'By accepting injustice tranquilly, we are guilty of complicity. If our government is trading with dictators and torturers, we must confront it and make it clear that we would rather be poor than a party to repression'.

It seems almost impossible to believe, but at the 1984 B.C.C. Assembly, I was able to display leg-irons made in Britain (by Hiatt & Co., a Midlands firm), of a kind which were being legally exported from Britain until legislation was tightened up specifically to exclude the export of such equipment. In this context, I met Sipho Pityana, a black South African trade-union organiser, who gave testimony on T.V., as he had done to the United Nations. He had been given electric shocks and pushed under water from a boat suspended from leg-irons.

'They then tied my head with a wet towel and inserted electric wires between my head and the towel. They also tied electric wires onto my handcuffs and leg-irons, and shocked me at intervals of two minutes to three minutes. I would scream without any hope for help.'

Such equipment, already prohibited under the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners, was being exported in spite of the many accounts, most notably the death of Steve Biko (in 1977), in which prisoners of repressive governments were tortured whilst constrained in leg-irons. The account of Biko’s death repeatedly mentions that he was locked in leg-irons even after the serious injuries which led to his death had been inflicted on him. To quote just one instance: 'Mr Biko was then brought to the interrogation room and was put into handcuffs and leg-irons. He remained shackled even after Colonel Goosen had suspected that he had a stroke...'

The issue of the export of leg-irons was raised in Parliament by Peter Shore, M.P., in December 1983 after the report in the Daily Mirror (25th November 1983). The response of the Secretary for Trade and Industry, Norman Tebbit, M.P., is worth quoting in full:

'I note what the hon. Gentleman says, but I understand that the truth of the matter is not entirely established. Of course, we have to understand that while there are no international understandings on the export of such items, if this country did not export them someone else would. (Interruption) Oh yes indeed. If that happened, the right hon. Member for Bethnal Green and Stepney (Mr Shore) would grumble further about our trade position.'

This position was later amended. On 1st February 1984, Mr Tebbit announced the amendment of the Export of Goods Act specifically to prohibit the export of leg-irons and gang chains. From this two conclusions should be drawn. The first is that public exposure of such issues is important and can make a difference to policy. The second is that such vigilance is necessary, since Britain is still involved in trade, even in arms, with governments which practice torture.
The 1981 B.C.C. Declaration against Torture called on Her Majesty's Government to exercise control over the export of equipment which could be used to make internal security and military forces of governments with a record of severe human rights violations more effective in suppression of human rights. (18) The Amnesty International campaign on 'repressive technology', which received widespread support from church leaders, was an important attempt to make clear, binding restrictions on the export of equipment which was likely to increase the incidence of torture in countries with a known record of repression. (19) Here was a serious attempt to provide a minimum moral standard, in a way actually enforceable, for British policy. The attempt to base policy on clear moral principles and to be specific in a way which is realistic and enforceable is important. It is not suggested that it is enough as a 'human rights policy' for the churches. It was one small attempt from the 'supplying end'. Much more needs to be done when the economic interests behind the arms and security trade are very strong. The churches and the British public have not yet reached the point where 'we would rather be poor than a party to repression' (Sheila Cassidy). How does the churches' responsibility look at the 'receiving end' - in countries where repression is exercised, arms bought, and people tortured?

THE CHURCH AS THE PROTECTOR OF HUMAN DIGNITY

The story of the Good Samaritan concludes that the neighbour is the one who protects the person who 'fell among thieves'. In this section, I wish to give two examples of human rights practice exercised by the Roman Catholic Church in Central and Latin America, both deeply rooted in a theological understanding of human rights. The first instance is the example of Archbishop Romero. Towards the end of his life, Romero stated:

'Nothing is as important to the Church as human life, as the human person, above all the poor and the oppressed, who, besides being human beings are also divine beings, since Jesus said that whatever is done to them he takes as done to him.

That bloodshed, those deaths, are beyond all politics.

They touch the very heart of God.' (20)

This theological conviction led Romero specifically to condemn the practices which led to the death of his people. Thus, for example, he specifically asked President Carter not to provide any military assistance to the government of El Salvador. (21) Perhaps his clearest and most outspoken defiance of the military dictatorship was his call to soldiers to refuse to obey orders to kill. His appeal to the government was absolutely clear: 'In the name of God, in the name of this suffering people whose cries rise to heaven more loudly each day, I implore you, I beg you, I order you in the name of God: stop the repression.' (22) The next day he was killed. It was his specific application of a theology of human rights, the naming of names, the presentation of accurate information, the opposition to specific policies which made him such a threat to the military regime.

The second case is that of the Archdiocese of Sao Paulo under Cardinal Paulo Evaristo Arns. The point of departure for Arns is that
'the image of God, stamped upon the human person, is always unique'. (23) In a report on the work of his Archdiocese against torture, Arns recounts the case of two women who came to him, the younger one having found her 'disappeared' husband's wedding ring on her doorstep. For five years the mother came regularly to hear if there was news of her son. Arns kept pressing the case up to the level of the president's personal assistant for civilian affairs. 'No one' he writes 'can describe the hurt of those who saw their dear ones disappear behind prison bars, without being able even to guess what had happened to them. The darkness deepens and the last glimmer of hope that the disappeared person is still alive flickers and dies. For that mother and that wife, deep darkness covers the earth, as it did when Jesus died.' (24) The entire book, *Torture in Brazil* is a testimony to the remarkable and courageous human rights work done in his Archdiocese. In a small way, through the B.C.C. Human Rights Forum, cooperation with groups such as Amnesty International, the Chile Committee for Human Rights, Inter-Church Action for Central America and others, we were able to support such work from Britain. We heard in person from Perico Rodriguez of Argentina what the work of the Amnesty group in Diss meant for him while he was in prison. The Assembly heard from a woman from Latin America who herself had been disappeared. Cedric Mayson who was tortured and tried for treason in South Africa told the Assembly of his experience of torture and support for the victims of torture: 'Torture happens throughout the world, and several of us here have wide knowledge of it happening in South Africa. Beyers Naude and I arrived at King William's Town early one morning and Steve Biko met us with the news that Mapeta Mohapi had been killed during the night at Kei Road Police Station. Everyone knows that some years later Steve himself was tortured to death. Men and women on the Christian Institute staff were suffocated with water bags, chained, beaten with fists and boots. I was stripped naked, handcuffed, kept standing and awake for several days and nights under interrogation on three different occasions...' (25) **A WORLD IN WHICH EVERYONE MATTERS** If one takes the Christian teaching on human rights seriously, how would the world have to look? To answer this question, some assumptions must be made. The first is rooted in my understanding of the Lord's prayer. When we pray that God's will should be done on earth as it is in heaven, I assume that the way the world is, is not in accordance with God's will. I thus do not believe that it is the will of God that so many should be starving; that there be war and the threat of war with the weapons of mass destruction; that the ecological basis for life on this planet be put at risk. But the way from a theology of the dignity of the human being to a world in which everyone matters is by no means clear. The early discussions of the B.C.C. Human Rights Forum were occupied by serious theological debate. The result of this was a text on *Christian Concern for Human Rights*. (26) Dr Russell played an active part in the drafting and re-drafting of the text which was finally issued. I remember, in particular the formulation which he
provided for 'shalom': rich in meaning, signifying 'welfare', 'harmony', 'integration', 'wholeness', it is much more than 'peace' either in individual or social terms.'(27) One of the other theological emphases which we stressed in that pamphlet was God's 'concern for the least': 'From early in the Old Testament God is revealed as partisan - taking the side of those who are particularly vulnerable. ...The 'jubilee' was an important celebration which marked the 'restoration of all who had suffered dispossession, deprivation or oppression'(Bonino). Jesus takes up this theme by making the jubilee the symbol of his mission.(28)

I would assert that the basic commitment should be commitment to a world of 'shalom', and that the appropriate Christian emphasis should be that of concern for the least - the active protection of those who are most vulnerable and most endangered. That requires structural transformation in our world. Romero and Arns understood that the church must actively defend the victims and work for social structures which promote, rather than threaten, human dignity - not in an abstract sense, but in the specific defence of those who are threatened. The Cardinal has spoken clearly in favour of cancellation of a large part of the debts of the Third World.(29) Arns specifically roots his statement in Catholic social doctrine and an understanding of human rights/human dignity.

'What is at stake isn't the bank accounts of the international creditors but the lives of millions of people who cannot endure the permanent threat of recessive measures and unemployment that bring poverty and death.'(30)

The layer upon layer of suffering in a country under military rule, like today's Chile, which has suffered so much under Pinochet's dictatorship, is almost impossible to communicate. In 1985, I visited Chile with a colleague on behalf of the B.C.C. We visited the retired Cardinal Raul Silva Henriquez and the Vicariate of Solidarity which has done so much to protect human rights in Chile. We drove past the infamous stadium where Victor Jara died. Jara wrote beautiful songs of hope and love, but was tortured to death, the hands that so beautifully played the guitar smashed, before he was murdered like so many others. We made inquiries about William Beausire, the Anglo-Chilean who was 'disappeared'. We also visited La Victoria, a slum area of Santiago. The priest Fr Andres Jarlan had been shot and killed shortly before. We saw a video film of his funeral. In La Victoria, the military had terrorized the community, brutally assaulting many of the residents. We visited a group of women of the church. Many of the men had fled the shanty town for their own safety, after the arrests, torture and brutality. The women had taken up the struggle. When we were there they were protesting that the free school milk had been taken away from their children. Unemployment was at such a high level and food prices so high in relation to the income of most families that the women could often only afford rice for their children. Yet we were entertained with tasty delicacies because we were foreign visitors. I reported on this to the Human Rights Forum. At this point in my account, I burst into tears - as we had stood up to leave the meeting with the women of La Victoria, one of the women, looking up at both of us, tall men from Britain, said with a smile, 'You can tell they weren't fed just on rice'. That simple sentence, which underlined the difference between our lives and theirs - between plenty and hunger, between safety and
oppression - was too much for me when I came to report it. I am most grateful to Dr Russell for his reaction to this rather unconventional report - of silence, then of thanking me for what I had said. It is appalling that 2000 years after Christ was tortured to death, the same thing happens in Chile. It is appalling that fathers have to flee, and mothers have to risk their lives to get milk for their children. It is appalling that a priest like Andres Jarlan should be shot in the neck as he read the Bible. (31) It means more to me than I can say that a church leader like Dr Russell should understand and help to establish instruments which can help to protect people like Andres Jarlan. I believe it is because he has lived with his eyes open, his Bible open, and his heart open - so that he can make connections between those in situations like that of Chile who 'hunger and thirst after righteousness' and the suffering servant of Isaiah 53.

'Without protection, without justice, he was taken away; and who gave a thought to his fate, how he was cut off from the world of living men, stricken to death for my people's transgression.' (Isaiah 53.8 N.E.B.)

FOOTNOTES:


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Dr ROGER WILLIAMSON
THE ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT IN EASTERN EUROPE

David Russell is a Scot and a Baptist. Of both these important facts he is himself very sure. To most of those who have come into contact with him he has quickly made it quite clear what a tremendous advantage it is to be blessed with these two attributes in life! Yet, at the same time, following good Scots and Baptist traditions, he has been wide open to other countries and other Christian confessions. Eastern Europe has found a specially large place in his ecumenical affections. He has worked assiduously for the cause of the ecumenical movement in that area, especially in the fields of human rights and the provision of theological literature. Thus a contribution on the question of the ecumenical movement in Eastern Europe is not out of place in a volume such as this. The countries to be considered, although not necessarily in the following order, are: the German Democratic Republic (D.D.R. - more commonly known as East Germany), Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Romania, Bulgaria and the Soviet Union (U.S.S.R.). Albania must also be remembered, if only to record that no organised religious activity of any kind is permitted in that country. Rather than attempting a general survey of church activity in those countries, this article looks at ecumenical cooperation as it is practised amongst those churches which see such involvement as part of their mission task. It must be understood that, apart from the churches referred to in this article, others exist and have an active life amidst the difficulties of finding the way to be a church in Socialism.

A considerable variety of church situations exist in the East European countries. The picture of a sullen greyness covering all church activity once one crosses into these countries is completely erroneous. There is, of course, the same underlying principle of more or less active atheistic opposition to the life and work of the churches, but this is dealt with differently in different countries. Sometimes even in opposite ways. Thus, whilst the Polish state acted by withdrawing all financial aid from the churches, the Czechoslovak state took the line of making all priests and pastors virtually civil servants by paying their salaries. Ecclesiastical realities in the countries of Eastern Europe also vary enormously. With the exception of the German Democratic Republic, where the Protestant churches form a majority, in all other countries the Protestant churches are in a minority - sometimes an infinitesimally small minority. In Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Poland, the Roman Catholic Church forms a strong majority. In Bulgaria, Romania and the U.S.S.R. the ecclesiastical majority is Orthodox; whereas in Yugoslavia the majority church is Orthodox in some provinces and Roman Catholic in others.

The ecumenical impulse came early to some of the East European churches, both Orthodox and Protestant, and some of their leaders were to be found amongst those who, before World War II, helped to prepare the way for the foundation of the World Council of Churches (W.C.C.). The degree and method of their involvement varied, but their main interest seems to have been questions of Life and Work, rather than the doctrinal discussions of Faith and Order. Then came World War II and, following the armistice in 1945, in the mid and late '40s the establishment in all the East European countries of socialist
political, social and economic structures, based on the pattern developed in the U.S.S.R. since the 1917 Revolution, and all applying a policy of militant atheism. Suddenly the churches in those countries, as earlier the churches in the U.S.S.R., were faced with completely new and largely unimagined conditions for their work. Facing new difficulties and restrictions, they were all challenged to discover the few possibilities for action that remained to them. Under the previously existing regimes in virtually all these countries, the younger churches - Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists, Pentecostalists etc. - had had no legal personality and, as a consequence, no legal rights. Under the Socialist regimes, all churches, ancient or modern, Orthodox, Catholic or Protestant, were placed on the same basis, acquiring legal status, receiving the same few rights and being subjected to the same numerous difficulties and restrictions. The pressures of this new situation urged the churches nearer to each other for consultation and support. In view of the need to appreciate what could and should be done in a secularized society and atheistic state and a situation of separation between church and state, ecumenical hesitations became relativised.

Another important element in the situation was that, on the conclusion of World War II, the East European countries had their frontiers redrawn - a traumatic experience difficult to appreciate for those living in countries with fixed frontiers, but real enough for those directly concerned. The effect on some ecclesiastical structures was dramatic. Some churches became separated into parts now living in different countries, bringing with it problems of restructuring, especially for those members, whose nationality having changed overnight, found themselves an often unwanted confessional minority in their new country. Thus the churches of Eastern Europe, badly maimed, found themselves in the midst of national situations where life had been shattered. Against the background of the horrors of the war - sometimes including their own part in it - they had to turn towards the gigantic task of rebuilding Eastern Europe both physically and spiritually. Could this be undertaken together? Was a common Christian witness possible? In the developing ecumenical conversation primary attention was given to practical issues of peace, justice, reconciliation and reconstruction - although these concerns inevitably led to questions of Faith and Order. This ecumenical activity has grown with increasing vigour over the years, discovering its own priorities and expressions, and contributing them - sometimes against resistance and misunderstanding - to the common resources of the oikoumene.

It was only to be expected that the Communist state authorities would view this burgeoning ecumenical activity with hesitation and suspicion. However, they were realist enough not to oppose any insurmountable difficulties to the participation of the 'ecumenical' churches from their countries in what was obviously a dynamic movement. There were two dimensions to the question. There was the internal dimension, where the drawing together of the churches in the individual countries could mean a strengthening of the Christian witness in those countries. But there was also the international dimension, which carried with it the risk of the involvement of the churches in international concerns both within and beyond Europe, but against which had to be weighed the fact that the voices of 'their' churches would be heard abroad, with a positive propaganda potential.
Thus the problem faced by the Communist authorities was not so much how to prevent ecumenical activity as how to influence and, possibly, derive advantage from it. The churches actively assuming responsibilities in the field of Church and Society, with a commitment to the alleviation of human suffering, to justice and to reconciliation, confidence-building and peace, the attitude of the state authorities, for whom this terminology was important, began to become more positive. The formation of the Christian Peace Conference (C.P.C.) in 1958 and of the Conference of European Churches (C.E.C.) in 1959 were both an expression of, and a contribution to, this as in questions of Church and Society, the churches enjoyed advantages not available to governments. The fact that the churches insisted on discussing questions of Faith and Order, as being basic to those of Church and Society, interested the state authorities comparatively little; in order to further the latter, little obstruction was offered to the former. At the same time it must be noted that Faith and Order discussions with a view to denominational integration are no priority in the East European situation. Taking into account the various disabilities under which the churches in East Europe work, of which the three most important are the restrictive framework for church activities, the difficulty of access to the information media and the limited resources available for ecumenical structures, a remarkable amount of ecumenical activity and initiative is being realised.

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Turning our attention to summary descriptions of the situations in the different countries, it is noted that they fall into two groups: the first, is those countries where there exists some form of national ecumenical council - Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary and Poland; the second, those countries where no formal ecumenical structure exists on a national scale - Bulgaria, Romania and the Soviet Union. Yugoslavia is a special case, since there is the slow development of a form of national ecumenical structure.

Czechoslovakia has had a form of national ecumenical council since 1955, originally called the Ecumenical Council of Churches in Czechoslovakia. But in 1970 the churches in Slovakia tended to undertake their own ecumenical activity and, consequently, the name was reduced to Czech Ecumenical Council. 1984 saw a reintegration of ecumenical activity and the name became the Czechoslovak Ecumenical Council of Churches. Eleven Protestant, Old Catholic and Orthodox churches belong to the Council, but the Baptist Union is not a member. Since Czechoslovakia is probably the European country which has been most subjected to the enormous political upheavals of this century, the Council gives a high priority to the overcoming of internal barriers created by that historical fact. This Council, like the other three councils to be mentioned, has a very small permanent staff, which services its committees on Biblical work, theological study, hymnology, women's and youth work, diaconal activity and theological education. They are engaged also in the preparation and conducting of the numerous ecumenical international conferences which Czechoslovakia hosts. Any form of structured ecumenical activity with the Roman Catholic Church is hampered by the fact that there is no national Conference of Roman Catholic Bishops in Czechoslovakia.
In the German Democratic Republic the national council is called the Council of Christian Churches in the German Democratic Republic, where the term 'Council' is a rather unsatisfactory translation of the term 'Arbeitsgemeinschaft'. Sixteen churches, including the Federation of Evangelical Free Church Congregations (Baptist), form the membership. In addition five other churches, including the Roman Catholic Church and the Exarchate for Central Europe of the Russian Orthodox Church, have observer status. The Council co-ordinates the more traditional ecumenical activities such as the Week of Prayer for Christian Unity, regular ecumenical worship services, Bible Weeks, Passion-tide services and concerts of church music, a valuable way of maintaining contact with the mass of the people. The Council gives priority to the study of mission in a secularized society, to questions of service and witness in a socialist state, to matters related to the fall in membership of all the churches, and to publication work. An interesting development has occurred in relation to the Council's priority interest in problems of peace and international relationships. An organism has been developed with the title of 'Ecumenical Convention (Versammlung) for Justice, Peace and the Preservation of Creation'. Preparatory meetings began in June 1987 and the Roman Catholic Church participated as an observer. When the full sessions began, however, (in 1988 and 1989), the Roman Catholic Church became a full participant, as well as in the thirteen working groups which are functioning between the 1988 and 1989 sessions.

The Hungarian ecumenical situation provides an interesting example of a double conciliar structure working in close co-operation. The older and smaller of these two bodies is the Council of Free Churches in Hungary, founded in 1944, with the original purpose of protecting members of the Free Churches from Nazi persecution. Nine of the small Protestant churches form its membership and co-operate in the co-ordination of various mission, publication, building and evangelism activities - which is now the task of the Council. The Council also publishes its own quarterly, known as 'Commission'. The larger body, the Ecumenical Council of Churches in Hungary, also has a comparatively long history, since a preparatory committee was formed as long ago as 1943 whilst the Ecumenical Council itself was founded in 1948. It has nine members, eight being churches and the ninth being the Council of Free Churches. The Baptist and Methodist Churches are full members of both bodies and the President of the Council of Free Churches is also a Vice-President of the Ecumenical Council. The activities of the Ecumenical Council include theological work, the Council publishing its own theological review every two months; youth and women's work, both comparatively new ventures for the Council; inter-church aid and medical assistance and the administration of the Ecumenical Church Loan Fund (E.C.L.O.F.) - a fund which works in many countries and is intended, through loans, to assist with building repairs and construction.

A recent decision of the Ecumenical Council has terminated the old practice whereby the Senior Bishop of the Hungarian Reformed Church - the largest of the Protestant churches - was the permanent President of the Council. The office will now rotate every three years between the Reformed Church, the Lutheran Church, the Council of Free Churches and the Orthodox churches. The Ecumenical Council is very active in relating to the international ecumenical organisations,
in Bible translation work, in hosting international meetings and welcoming foreign guests. A recent very significant development has been the considerable improvement in contacts with the Roman Catholic Bishops' Conference of Hungary. A first official meeting between leaders of the two bodies, which took place on 1st December 1987, issued a joint expression of contrition for past enmity and a solemn promise to develop and strengthen fraternal contacts. This promise is already being put into practice. In all this ecumenical activity the Baptist Union of Hungary, although comparatively small, plays a significant role.

Preparatory work for the formation of the Polish Ecumenical Council began in 1940, and a provisional form of council was constituted in 1942. The Council was fully established immediately after World War II. Seven churches, Protestant, Old Catholic and Orthodox, form its membership. An eighth member - the United Evangelical Church - at the beginning of 1988 resolved itself into the four sections of which it was constituted. Each of these four churches is now likely to seek direct membership in the Council. Since 1973 the Polish section of the British and Foreign Bible Society, with its long and fascinating history of work in Poland, has had the status of associate member. There is also a very close relationship with the Christian Theological Academy. An outstanding example of ecumenical theological education in East Europe, the Academy provides basic theological education for the students of all the non-Roman Catholic churches in Poland - from the Pentecostals to the Orthodox. The significance of this experience for future ecumenical developments in Poland can hardly be overestimated. The priorities of the Council are work in the fields of theology, catechetical questions, women, youth, inter-church aid, broadcasting activity [The non-Roman Catholic churches in Poland have a considerable history of radio work. Although, not permitted access to Polish transmitters, they were permitted to make recordings in Warsaw in a well-equipped studio, which were then taken to West Europe and beamed back to Poland over Radio Monte Carlo!] and mixed commissions with the churches in the two parts of Germany. Relations between the Ecumenical Council and the Roman Catholic Church, until recently, were virtually non-existent, in a situation where the non-Roman Catholic churches represented an extremely small minority. Since the election of Karol Cardinal Wojtyla as Pope and the succession of Cardinal Glemp to the leadership of the Roman Catholic Church in Poland, a more positive situation has developed. There is now a Joint Commission on Ecumenism, meeting biannually, with a sub-commission on theological dialogue meeting four times a year. There is also co-operation between the Christian Theological Academy and the Roman Catholic theological schools, and the annual Week of Prayer for Christian Unity is celebrated together.

Yugoslavia is a special case. The turbulent ecclesiastical history and the complex ethnic problems of this country, with its federative political structure, influence and retard the effective development of ecumenical relationships within the country. In 1968 an Ecumenical Council of Churches was projected and a secretary appointed, but there seems to have been little enthusiasm to move far beyond this point and progress is extremely slow. Some eight churches, Orthodox and Protestant, engage in ecumenical activity, mainly in the form of co-operation with the international
ecclesiastical structures, both ecumenical and confessional. There exists a loose relationship between the Protestant churches, which have a joint theological academy in Zagreb, and between these and the Serbian Orthodox Church. Relationships with the Roman Catholic Church, which is found mainly in Slovenia and Croatia, are at best sporadic and unofficial, suffering, as do those in other parts of the country, from the long shadows still cast by the horrifying strife, also of a confessional nature, which marked World War II in Yugoslavia.

With Bulgaria we pass to the second group of countries - those where no national ecumenical organisation exists. This is very much due to the specific religio-ecclesiastical structure of Bulgaria. The Bulgarian Orthodox Church is the majority Christian church in the country. As a remnant of the Ottoman occupation of the country, there is a small but significant Muslim community. Finally there are the Christian churches of more recent date - the Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists and so on. The problem is that these Protestant churches together form such an exceedingly small minority that any desire for ecumenical contacts between them and the Orthodox Church is severely hampered by the difference in size and the human resources available. Nevertheless, occasional contacts do take place and a few theological students from the small churches have received theological training in the Orthodox Theological Academy in Sofia. Furthermore the Orthodox, Congregationalists and Baptists participate in international ecumenical activity. Peace questions afford virtually the only subject on which contacts take place between Christians and Muslims.

The Romanian situation, resembling the Bulgarian in that the largest church, by far, is the Romanian Orthodox Church, differs from the Bulgarian situation, in that there are also Protestant churches of numerical significance, with which ecumenical exchange is possible. But the whole interconfessional relationship is vitiated, especially at the present time, by increasingly complex ethnic problems. The Orthodox, the two Lutheran and the Reformed churches are ecumenically active, whilst the Baptist Union - a fast growing body, is deeply divided over interconfessional ecumenism, although it plays an important part in European Baptist affairs. Contacts with such Roman Catholics as remain in Romania, after the absorption into the Orthodox Church of the Eastern Rite Catholics after World War II, are tenuous.

Turning to the Soviet Union attention has to be paid to three important elements which distinguish this from other East European situations. First, the question of size needs only to be mentioned to be obvious. Second, the ethnic and racial complexity of the Soviet Union results in ecclesiastical variety related to topography and ethnic origin. Third, for over 70 years most of the churches found today in the Soviet Union have been under severe persecution - and have survived. For other churches, such as those in the Baltic republics, the period of trial has been somewhat shorter but nonetheless severe. This terrible experience has had positive implications for the pursuit of ecumenical relationships. Although no national ecumenical organisation exists in the Soviet Union, fraternal relationships of varying intensity and nature, exist between the three ancient churches, Armenian or Orthodox, and the six which derive from the Reformation, including the very active All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians - Baptists. Their main point of contact is
their common involvement in work for peace, which also provides an opportunity to meet together as Christians of different persuasions. The principal mover in all such contacts, the Russian Orthodox Church, the largest of the churches in the Soviet Union, has also invited the representatives of the other Soviet churches to meet together on several occasions to discuss theological and practical problems relating to their activity in the C.E.C. Such occasions have also seen the presence of Roman Catholic participants from Lithuania or Latvia, where the church forms a large majority. There is ecumenical co-operation in Bible distribution work until recent times a rare experience! [As of early Autumn 1988, something between $1\frac{1}{2}$ and 2 million copies of the Bible or New Testament are officially in process either of printing in or importation to the Soviet Union in various languages and editions.] On suitable occasions there are ecumenical services and in one or two places, different confessions share the same church building. On the festive occasions of the different churches the other churches are often represented - the recent celebration of the millenium of the Russian Orthodox Church proved a remarkable ecumenical experience.

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Having glanced briefly at the respective national ecumenical situations, that activity is now placed within the broader framework of international ecumenical organisations and activities. The great majority of ecumenically-minded churches in East Europe are members of the W.C.C., taking their membership obligations very seriously - so far as they are able. The few which are not part of the W.C.C. are too small to qualify for membership. All these churches, whether large or small, are members of the C.E.C., which has no such numerical criterion. The C.E.C., with its main task of building bridges of reconciliation between churches in East and West Europe, has been much appreciated by the East European members. Over the years an increasing number of meetings of the W.C.C., the C.E.C. and other ecumenical organisations are being hosted gratuitously by the churches in East Europe. Virtually all the churches in East Europe are active members of the Christian Peace Conference (C.P.C.), which developed out of their own situation and was founded in Prague in 1958. The C.P.C. has been a valuable means of ecumenical contact amongst the East European churches themselves as well as with Christians from around the globe. Most of the world confessional organisations, like the Baptist World Alliance with the European Baptist Federation, have some form of European sub-grouping. The East European churches play a full part, at both the world and European regional levels of their respective world confessional bodies. Lack of space will permit only the briefest mention of the numerous bi-lateral dialogues in which the East European churches participate, of their keen activity in such bodies as the United Bible Societies, the Ecumenical Forum of European Christian Women, the European Conference of Church Men's Work, the Ecumenical Youth Council for Europe, and a large number of other organisations intended to co-ordinate specific activities e.g. the International Association for Inner Mission and Diaconia. In most of these activities the Baptist presence is by no means lacking. The common view that the East European churches are somehow unable to make a positive contribution to ecumenical activity is unjustified. They have a great contribution to make - and they make it. And now appear
'perestroika' and 'glasnost' and who dares, as yet, to describe what this will mean for the churches and their relationships? Already in some countries things are happening rapidly which, only a short time ago, would have been held to be completely impossible. In other countries the situation remains largely what it was - for the moment. A more constructive understanding of the role of the churches in society and of Christians in a socialist society is increasingly supplanting the old attitude of pure hostility... and where this is all leading can only be a matter for hope and much prayer.

GLEN GARFIELD WILLIAMS
One of the most significant developments of the last century is an increasing awareness that to be a Christian is to belong to a world-wide fellowship. First the missionary movement of the nineteenth century and then the ecumenical movement of the twentieth century have fostered this awareness. But what sort of world fellowship is it to which we belong, and how wide is its embrace? These questions have proved more difficult to answer.

Two main ways of giving expression to the world-wide fellowship of the Church have emerged. The first was the development of world-wide families of churches of the same denomination, the oldest of which is the World Alliance of Reformed Churches (W.A.R.C.), which was formed in 1875. The second was the development of inter-denominational councils of churches, as exemplified by the International Missionary Council, the Faith and Order movement and the Life and Work movement after the First World War. From these came the World Council of Churches, provisionally established in 1938 and formally constituted a decade later at Amsterdam in 1948, with which the International Missionary Council merged in 1961. Neither of these ways does full justice to the catholicity of the Church. The World Confessional Families, or Christian World Communions as they are now called, are partial manifestations of catholicity because of their denominational basis. The World Council of Churches is a partial manifestation of catholicity because a number of churches do not belong to it. The largest of these, of course, is the Roman Catholic Church; but there are also a number of evangelical and pentecostalist churches that have remained outside. Baptist attitudes to this question are particularly interesting: for, as R.L. Child observed in 1941, whilst the Baptist denomination as such has never taken kindly to official movements towards church union, individual Baptists have often been to the fore in fostering these developments. Child was speaking about Great Britain, but the same is true at the world level also.

A comparison of the attitudes to the wider ecumenical movement of the B.W.A. and the W.A.R.C. is interesting. W.A.R.C. (whose membership at that stage was Presbyterian and Reformed, but not Congregationalist) held a European conference in 1920, and more than half the delegates attended the two preliminary meetings held that August in Geneva, one which led to the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work in 1926, and the other to the World Conference on Faith and Order. In 1926 the Alliance recommended its members to take part in the Faith and Order Conference at Lausanne in the following year, and this recommendation was particularly influential in persuading many of the Reformed Churches on the continent to attend. By contrast the only Baptist churches represented at Lausanne were those in Germany, Holland, Ontario and Quebec and the Northern Convention in the U.S.A. In 1914 the Baptist Union Council in Great Britain had agreed, like the Southern Baptist Convention in the U.S.A., to take part in the preparations for a World Conference on Faith and Order; but in the event both bodies declined to be represented at Lausanne. The determining factor in the British decision was said to be the attitude of T.R. Glover, but it
was surely also related to the negative response the Baptists had made in 1926 to the Lambeth Appeal. The decision was supported by J.H. Rushbrooke, President of the Union in that year, and also European Commissioner for the B.W.A. (4) By 1937, however, the position had changed, when Rushbrooke was one of the British representatives at the Edinburgh Faith and Order Conference, which was also attended by observers from the Southern Convention.

In July 1939 the Baptist World Alliance received the reports of two commissions on Christian Unity at its Congress in Atlanta. The first report on organic union concluded that no proposal had yet been made which Baptists could accept without sacrificing vital principles. The second report surveyed the work of the World Conferences of 1937 and 1938 on Life and Work, Faith and Order and World Mission. Professor W.O. Carver in presenting that report said that 'the Baptist Ecumenical spirit seems likely to find more freedom of expression along the lines of Madras than of Oxford, and especially more than of Edinburgh'. Whilst Baptists needed to review their relationship with other Christian people, he believed that they

"must be willing to continue a separate section of the Christian movement so long as other sections obey not the truth of the New Testament; but we shall have grief of heart that we may not walk and work with them in full and unrestrained fellowship. We will not choose separation, nor in our own spirit consent to be a sect in God's family."

Commenting on these reports, Rushbrooke wrote that 'the tacit identification of unity with organic union, of co-operation with fusion, of denominationalism with sectarianism (to select only a few examples) has darkened counsel'. (6) Enthusiasm for a world fellowship therefore was muted by concern at the possible institutional implications.

The same contrast of attitudes was found when the World Council of Churches was formed. At the Baptist World Congress in Copenhagen 1947, Henry Cook from Great Britain gave an address on 'Baptists and the World Council of Churches' which articulated the suspicions of many Baptists about the proposed World Council and some of the Churches that were expected to compose it. This suspicion was due partly to the conviction that the baptism of believers was the only scriptural baptism, and partly to the belief that the New Testament church was independent of state support and state control. It is significant that the suspicion of establishment should be as important as the question of baptism. Nevertheless Cook hoped that association with the World Council would lead to greater co-operation in evangelisation and inter-church aid, and for those reasons he supported it, provided that Baptist world fellowship was not weakened because of it. A speech from the floor by Dr M.E. Dodd of Louisiana opposed links with the World Council, but when Ernest Payne pointed out that the World Alliance could not take decisions which bound member churches, and that in any case membership of the World Council was open to national churches or denominations and not international bodies, the matter was dropped. (7) The division of views among Baptists about the attitude to be adopted towards the World Council has remained an important feature of Baptist life. Ernest Payne later noted that seven Baptist conventions and unions sent representatives to Amsterdam in 1948 and two others signified their intention of joining. 'Others, among them the strongest, refrained'. Two further
unions joined the World Council between 1948 and 1955, but, as he pointed out, Baptists, like the Orthodox Churches, were 'half in and half out'. He concluded that

'So long as, on an issue of this importance, Baptists are not in agreement, their fellowship in the World Alliance is the more necessary and significant, and they may be grateful that they are a world-wide community and so varied a community.' (8)

In 1962 he was Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee when the Russian Baptists joined the World Council, following the membership of the Russian Orthodox Churches at New Delhi in 1961. (9) By the time of the Vancouver Assembly in 1983 eighteen Baptist Unions and Conventions were in membership or associate membership.

The W.A.R.C. met in Geneva in 1948, and sent a message of warm greetings to the First Assembly of the World Council of Churches (W.C.C.) in Amsterdam, welcomed its formation and recommended all its constituent members to give serious consideration to applying for membership of the World Council. Marcel Pradervand attributes this in part to the fact that many of the delegates were 'new men' who did not see any conflict between confessional loyalty and commitment to ecumenism. The same meeting also decided to establish an office in Geneva (instead of Edinburgh), and more significantly to locate this office at 17 route de Malagnou, on the same site as the W.C.C. (10)

Thus from the beginning, the W.A.R.C., like the Lutheran World Federation, was literally alongside the World Council; and in due course it moved to the new Ecumenical Centre on the other side of Geneva. By contrast the Copenhagen Assembly of the B.W.A. accepted a recommendation from the Executive that the Alliance's main office be moved to Washington, D.C., and that a European office be maintained in London. A new headquarters building was acquired in Sixteenth Street, Washington, and the meeting to commemorate its opening in 1948 was attended by President Harry Truman of the U.S.A. (11) This move away from Europe where the Alliance was founded and to North America where its great numerical strength lay was as symbolic in its own way as the fact that it did not move to Geneva. Geographical separation made relations between the B.W.A. and the W.C.C. distant just as geographical proximity made relations close for those World Communions which established their headquarters in Geneva.

In the first twenty years of the history of the W.C.C. there was a tendency on the part of some ecumenical advocates to regard the Christian World Communions as obstacles to ecumenism rather than promoters of it. The question of a confessional or a national basis for membership of the W.C.C. had been keenly contested in the formative stages, because it concerned the very nature of the Council. The decision was that membership should be open to churches organised at the national level. Trans-confessional united churches were also seen by many as one goal of the ecumenical movement. Such churches were inevitably based in a nation, or part of it like, for example, the United Churches of Canada (1925) or the Church of South India (1947). It was not obvious how such united churches could belong with integrity to either one or more of the Christian World Communions. Indeed the relationship of united churches to Christian World Communions has remained one of the recurrent issues in discussions within the ecumenical movement, though certain united churches remain in membership with the confessional families of their constituent groups.
Concern that the World Confessional Families (as they were called in these years) might become an alternative ecumenical movement surfaced in the 1950s, and was one of the reasons for the establishment of a regular informal meeting of their Secretaries in 1957. The man chiefly responsible for this initiative was Dr John A. Mackay, President of Princeton Theological Seminary, Chairman of the International Missionary Council and President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches from 1954 to 1959. Concerned about what he regarded as the 'resurgence of denominationalism', he was largely instrumental in persuading the W.A.R.C. to adopt the Basle Statement, which renounced the pursuit of world denominational pre-eminence as a betrayal of Jesus Christ. In a paper read at the meeting of the W.A.R.C. Executive Committee in Prague in 1956, Mackay wrote that

'The Confessional Movement could develop in such a way as to wreck the Ecumenical Movement or at least to reduce the W.C.C. to a venerated ecclesiastical facade... On the other hand the Confessional Movement, if wisely directed, can and should enrich the Ecumenical Movement.'

Dr Visser't Hooft, General Secretary of the W.C.C., was also involved in the informal discussions which led to the first gathering of such secretaries; and the annual meeting has remained an opportunity for informal conversation among the Christian World Communions and with the W.C.C. ever since. From 1968 the Roman Catholic Church has been regularly represented through the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity; and this is a reminder of the significance of the changes which took place in the Roman Catholic Church in the 1960s.

When the Second Vatican Council was summoned in 1961, Pope John XXIII invited representatives from the Christian World Communions to attend as observers. Following the Council a series of bilateral theological dialogues was initiated with many of these Communions, of which the best known in England is probably the Anglican-Roman Catholic International Commission. These in turn gave a new impetus to theological dialogues among the other Christian World Communions. Most important of all, the Roman Catholic initiative gave a new significance to the Christian World Communions in themselves for, with the possible exception of the Salvation Army, the world bodies were consultative rather than authoritative in character.

The B.W.A. was also more reserved in its relations with the Roman Catholic Church than other World Communions. When invitations to the Second Vatican Council were being considered, Monsignor Willebrands from the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity indicated that they did not wish to send an invitation to the Alliance which might embarrass them if they had to refuse it. So an informal approach was made to the Alliance Executive to see whether they wished to receive an invitation. Ernest Payne was very much in favour of acceptance, as was the Italian Baptist leader, Manfredi Ronchi. But there was considerable opposition from the Southern Baptists in the U.S.A. and from Baptists in Latin America; and even some threat of serious division within the Alliance if an invitation were to be accepted. So it was decided not to go, and the Alliance was the only major world body not represented. Morris West suggests that it may not have been a bad thing that one world body remained unconvinced about the change in Roman Catholic mood. Nevertheless when the Roman Catholic Church held an Extraordinary Synod of Bishops to mark the twentieth anniversary of the Council in November 1985 the B.W.A. was represented
by another ecumenically active British Baptist, Dr David Russell.

The theological dialogues initiated in the years following the Second Vatican Council involved a new theological agenda. Bilateral dialogues had certain advantages in concentrating on particular issues dividing two groups. But at first they seemed to rival the Faith and Order discussions of the W.C.C.; and it almost seemed that an alternative ecumenical network was being set up, centred on Rome. Some of these fears were assuaged when the Roman Catholic Church itself became a member of the Faith and Order Commission. These developments also sharpened the problem of the United Churches, who did not seem to fit in easily to the new framework; and they created new questions about the internal consistency of the dialogue process. In 1969 the Secretaries of the World Confessional Families decided to undertake a survey of bilateral conversations, and the results of this were eventually published in the book, Confessions in Dialogue. Subsequently the Faith and Order Commission, in conjunction with the World Confessional Families, organised a series of meetings to bring representatives of the various dialogues together. These meetings, held in 1978, 1979, 1980 and 1985 were able to register significant consensus, and in particular to affirm that there was but one ecumenical movement in which all were partners.(14)

Until recently the B.W.A. has only been involved in one such international dialogue - that with the W.A.R.C. This was first mooted at the 1969 meeting of the W.A.R.C's Executive Committee, and then deferred until 1971 after the union with the International Congregational Council. The dialogue took the form of a pilot study in the European context 'without prejudice to other areas of the world', and was approved by the executives of both world bodies in 1972.(15) The report, published in 1977, discusses baptism and church membership, ministry in the church, and the local and universal nature of the church. The last section on the church is particularly interesting in view of the traditions involved. The report affirms that the church is first and foremost an event rather than an institution. 'The local congregation is not a sub-department of the one church of Christ, but manifests and represents it.' But the local congregation is necessarily related to other local congregations. It is not the universal church of Christ in itself: local congregations are united by the call to mission in the world, which makes them interdependent. Hence the wider church relationships at area, national, regional or world level have ecclesiological significance. These relationships are more than the sum of the churches involved. Hence the report ends with some searching questions to both Baptists and Reformed about how their mutual encounter can make them more aware of dimensions in each other's understanding that they may have neglected.(16) It remains to be seen what the response to this report will be from the member churches concerned. The B.W.A. is now involved in dialogues with the Roman Catholic and the Lutheran Churches; a second round of theological conversations with the W.A.R.C. is about to begin, and a dialogue with the Mennonite World Conference and the Anglican Commission are being considered.

The other important evidence for current Baptist ecumenical attitudes comes from the response of Baptist Churches around the world to the Faith and Order Commission's Statement, Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry (1982). The responses so far published include some from Baptist Churches who are not members of the W.C.C., which indicates
the way this document has stimulated wide ecumenical discussion. Comments have been received from Great Britain and Ireland, Scotland, the Covenanted Baptist Churches in Wales, the American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A., Denmark, the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, Sweden, and Burma. There is a common concern about the sacramental emphasis of the report both from the churches in Scotland, Sweden and East Germany, who are not members of the W.C.C., and from those who are members: the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland, for example, expresses anxiety lest there be confusion between the signs and the deeper realities expressed in the sacraments. There is a general emphasis on the centrality of spiritual unity in Christ; and Baptists from both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. emphasise the importance of a rich and faithful pluralism, and the need to create a place for legitimate diversity.(18).

One of the most positive statements comes from Burma, where European missionaries have found it impossible to work in recent years. The Burmese Baptists speak movingly of the spirit of thanksgiving with which they respond. More striking still is what follows:

'We do not feel that we are responding to a 'foreign' document. Even though delegates from Burma were not present at Accra or Lima, we do not feel that the text is alien. Because in the first place even though we are Burmese, we are at the same time members together in the one family of God on earth. And in the second place we can regard the document as our own, because we share the belief mentioned on page viii of the preface that "the witness of local churches itself is an important factor for the coming into being of this ecumenical achievement".

They continue, 'we do not respond simply because it is expected of us. We respond because of our commitment to unity and the ongoing mission of the whole church in the whole world.'(19) The Burmese comment, not uncritical, provokes reflection on the nature of the experiences which provide the strongest urge towards a sense of world fellowship.

Theological dialogue is not, however, the only ecumenical agenda. One of the continuing concerns of the Annual Meeting of Christian World Communions has been the question of religious liberty and human rights. For bodies like the B.W.A. and the W.A.R.C. this concern goes back a long way. In particular the aims of both bodies include an explicit commitment to work for religious liberty. The constitution of the W.A.R.C. adopted in 1875 committed the Council to 'seek the welfare of Churches, especially such as are weak or persecuted'; and in its early years the Alliance was particularly concerned with the problems of the Waldensian Church in Italy and the position of Reformed Christians in Austria, Spain and Turkey.(20) B.W.A. did not have an explicit reference to religious liberty in its initial constitution, but from an early stage it was involved in standing up for the rights of minority Baptist communities in Europe. This was reflected in the statements made at the Roll Call of the first World Congress in London in 1905, and it was of great practical importance in the years immediately following the First World War. J.H. Rushbrooke was heavily involved in securing rights for Baptists in Romania.(21) When the constitution of the Alliance was amended at the Copenhagen Congress in 1947, one of its primary purposes was defined as 'the safeguarding and maintenance of full religious liberty everywhere, not only for our own constituent churches, but also for
all other religious faiths'. (22) One reason for the importance of this in both families is the extent to which the member churches had their origins in minority religious movements, often protesting against a larger 'established' church. The diversity of experience in the W.A.R.C. was made clear when it was proposed to unite with the International Congregational Council in 1966. The Statement of Principles noted that:

'The classic Reformed part of the sixteenth century Reformation in Europe goes back not only to Geneva, but also to Strasbourg, Zurich, Heidelberg, Debrecen, the Hague, Edinburgh, and many other towns, great and small. Many Reformed congregations were founded by refugees, and this has continued to be true throughout the intervening centuries. There were then, and have continued to be, admixtures of the Reformed line with that of the Reformation's 'left wing' from sixteenth-century Strasbourg on. Some Congregational churchmen feel closer at many points to the Baptists or to the Disciples of Christ than to the Presbyterian or Reformed Churches in their area, and some within the latter Churches, including many "evangelicals" do too.' (23)

In a sermon at the service of preparation for Holy Communion at the Evanston Assembly of the W.C.C. Ernest Payne made some pertinent remarks on this theme. In a key passage, long remembered by many present, he spoke of the tensions created by the inability of most of the delegates to share communion together:

'We come perplexed, frustrated, in danger of being impatient with one another, of accusing those with whom we differ with obstinacy or blindness or carelessness. Some are tempted to press for majority decisions and to try to force issues. But who shall decide how heads are to be counted? And who, with the New Testament open before him, or the long and devious history of the Christian church in mind, would dare to assert that the mind of Christ is necessarily or fully expressed by either the majority or the minority in any particular Christian assembly, or even by the whole church at any one moment in its pilgrimage?...Each must obey his own conscience, standing himself answerable to his Lord. To try to force the conscience of another is as wrong as it is fruitless.' (24)

This statement combines the insights of a historian and someone from a tradition which upholds the liberty of the individual conscience.

The Baptist emphasis on individual conscience has also enabled individuals to do things ecumenically that Baptist Unions or Conventions have not. This may be seen in the different contributions of three leading British Baptists to the quest for world fellowship: J.H. Rushbrooke, Ernest Payne and David Russell. J.H. Rushbrooke, tellingly described as a 'Baptist Greatheart' by Ernest Payne, was a pioneer in the first half of the century in turning the B.W.A. from a dream into a practical reality. One of John Clifford's boys from Westbourne Park, he caught Clifford's wider vision of the Church. As a young man he was the first minister of the united Free Church in Hampstead Garden Suburb from 1910. But, as Ernest Payne remarks, it is almost as though Rushbrooke's experience there led him to believe 'that distinctively Baptist witness had no chance of permanent survival in fellowships like that at Hampstead'. (25) During his later career in the B.W.A. he was cautious about Baptist participation in the ecumenical movement. Ernest Payne wonders how far Rushbrooke's
distrust for some of the leaders of the ecumenical movement was due to the fact that he was never within the inner circle of that ecumenical leadership. Certainly those who held office in the Christian World Communions did not find it easy to become part of that inner circle. But he seemed to believe that 'ecclesiastical fusion' had an 'inevitable authoritarian element', and he even went so far as to assert that 'the drive for ecclesiastical union mars the harmony of co-operation and weakens the sense of Christian unity which actually exists'.(26) His deep knowledge of Germany and the rest of Europe was probably responsible for his belief that the world fellowship of the Church depended on religious liberty.

Ernest Payne was an important mediating influence in the next generation. He did not have Rushbrooke's hesitations about the W.C.C. and was elected to its Central Committee at Evanston in 1954 in succession to the Rev. M.E. Aubrey, his predecessor as General Secretary of the Baptist Union. As a national General Secretary in Britain it was easier for him to enter the W.C.C. than it would have been for any officer of one of the world bodies. His election as Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee was more unexpected, and thus was begun a long and important period of ecumenical service. After Franklin Fry's death he became Chairman of the Central Committee and presided at the Uppsala Assembly in 1968. He was at the centre of problems such as the choice of a new General Secretary to follow Visser't Hooft, the Programme to Combat Racism, South Africa, and the financial difficulties of the W.C.C. in the 1970s.(27) His greatest asset was his diplomacy, coupled with a gift like that of William Temple for producing reconciling forms of words.

His successor as General Secretary of the Baptist Union, Dr David Russell, was different again: he did not have the same degree of responsibility in the W.C.C., though he served as a member of the Central Committee from 1968 to 1983. His concern for religious liberty and his patient work in bridging gaps across the Iron Curtain, which he was often able to do more effectively than some of the American Baptist leaders, gave him an unquestioned stature. He was always ready to ask the awkward questions about ecumenical involvement that characterised a Rushbrooke or a Glover, but he believed that such questions were most effectively asked from within rather than from the sidelines. Thus he combined the concerns of both Rushbrooke and Payne. His particular concern about human rights culminated in the foundation in Britain of the group, Action by Christians against Torture.

The history of the B.W.A. suggests that Baptists have always been aware of the fragility of institutional manifestations of the fellowship of the Church, both at national and world level. At the same time they have recognised the significance of the way individuals can transcend this fragility. In the one ecumenical movement the W.C.C. and the Christian World Communions need one another. A telling testimony to this comes in the response of the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians-Baptists in the U.S.S.R. to Baptism, Eucharist and Ministry. Unity of witness to Christ is possible, they say, in a great diversity of national and confessional traditions. This witness is united 'as long as we, as Christians, can contain each other'.


Then, drawing on the image of Christians as branches of the vine, they continue:

'Our differences and confrontations began and continued in those cases when we tried by ourselves to take away branches that bore no fruit (John 15.2). This taking away was carried on in the history of Christianity both physically and spiritually and nobody was asking the vine-grower about it. These initiatives (or, rather, arrogance) of churches were the cause of disrespect and lack of recognition among Christians.'(28)

Behind that comment lies a long experience of persecution from both church and state, and also a challenge to the contemporary Church.

It is echoed in an equally penetrating comment at the end of the response from the Baptist Union of Denmark. 'A Danish writer talks in an aphorism about "stumbling in one's own horizon". This experience has often been made by the churches - also by us belonging to the Danish Baptist Union.'(29) How often do we stand in our own light? Jesus himself spoke of the need to see the plank in our own eye before pointing out the speck in our neighbour's. As they plead for recognition of diversity, Baptists need to be able to recognise and celebrate that diversity among themselves. One of the notable features of modern Baptist history in Britain has been the stream of individuals who have in their persons transcended collective attitudes which have often seemed narrower than their own. David Russell stands in that tradition.

FOOTNOTES


DAVID M. THOMPSON
WHITHER THE BAPTISTS?

Dr Russell, as secretary of the Baptist Union, presented to the Assembly in 1981 a document entitled Call to Commitment. One of the six main sections was 'A commitment to learn' which gave special mention to the need 'to rediscover the message of the Bible for the days in which we are living', the need 'to know what it means to be a Baptist Christian today' and to the need 'to know the meaning of the Gospel of the Kingdom within the context of present day society'. In order to give practical effect to this emphasis on learning various activities were mentioned through which people in our churches would be helped to understand the Baptist heritage and identity, a task whose urgency is still being underlined. In the same year a group of five ministers issued a booklet with the title Call to Mind, followed in 1985 with a larger book exploring the covenant basis of Baptist life and mission under the title Bound to Love, which offers a further 'invitation to Baptists to call to mind certain dimensions of Christian understanding and historic Baptist conviction in the search for a coherent theology upon which to fashion new structures of church life and mission today'. A commendation of the book calls it 'another plea for theological integrity and foundations'. The purpose of this article is to take a close look at this emphasis and to point out some of its implications. Many changes are occurring among us and it is vitally important that these changes should be guided and developed in a manner consistent with the wholeness of the Gospel. Traditional theological emphases may not be adequate for the situation in which we find ourselves, which rather calls for a prolonged process of careful thought, leading to fresh theological formulations indicating the directions which the denomination should take in the future and the patterns which should control its organisation and activities.

Four trends are in my judgment of considerable significance, here:

(i) A more lively spirit has been in evidence in the denomination, marked by fresh confidence in the Christian gospel as expressed in the Baptist position. The response to the changes and challenges presented by the contemporary situation is more positive than it was some time ago. There is a sense of optimism born out of an awareness that God is at work among us and through us.

(ii) This fresh spirit has created among us a readier willingness to accept one another in all our diversity of personality. Amid the different responses and attitudes to the changing situation in which we are all involved, a mutual acceptance arising out of a growing realisation of our oneness in Christ who accepts and uses different people in different ways, has emerged.

(iii) In common with all sections of the Christian church, Baptists are experiencing changes in patterns of worship, in church structures and activities and in relations with other denominations. What is now significant is that these changes are not necessarily allowed to cause dissension and disruption; rather they are seen as opportunities for experiments in Christian witness and communication.

(iv) Most members of our churches would accept the position that the wholeness of the Gospel is greater than the Baptist interpretation of it, and so try to develop an openness of mind and spirit towards the
experiences and emphases of other Christian communities engaging in such activities and enterprises which further such reconciling relationships.

With these positive trends in contemporary Baptist church life are associated other elements of a different character:

(i) The willingness to change may bring a sense of freshness and relevance, but it may also spring from a superficial acceptance of contemporary social fashions. Then lacking Christian discernment, it no longer expresses the Gospel, belonging rather to the characteristics of a secular age.

(ii) The diversity of experiment which possesses a potential for enrichment has also been the source of conflict leading to the formation of competing groupings, to a spirit of rivalry and so to dissensions. Amid such confusion churches lose sight of the real nature of the Gospel and the eternal purpose of the Christian faith.

(iii) The whole process of the many changes in the contemporary situation can be a short-term affair, for in another generation there may appear further changes of a different kind. Here a personal word may be allowed. During a long life within the Baptist community I have seen many changes and many experiments. Some have been advocated as almost the ultimate answer to certain human situations, yet now they belong simply to the records of history. Too full an involvement in the present situation can cause us to lose sight of the basic and unchanging nature of the Gospel.

To what conclusions does this brief and very limited examination of present trends, both positive and negative, lead us? What is necessary for the positive and encouraging features to be strengthened? How may the inherent dangers be avoided or overcome? In my judgment one task appears to be increasingly important. I believe that the situation requires a more adequate and thorough-going exploration and exposition of the theological foundation of the Baptist position, as a means of discernment so that true and wise judgments can be made. It would indicate the spiritual purpose of our life together so that we could see more clearly the direction we are to pursue. It would reveal the rich resources of our faith and help us to understand how they are to be used and shared with others.

The emphasis made in the preceding paragraphs may now be placed in a larger setting for I believe that the history of the whole Christian church demonstrates that a theological foundation though not a set of rigid dogmas, is essential for any Christian movement to be sustained as a living entity through the centuries. The foundation is Christ and the facts and affirmations about Christ given in the witness of the apostles, though these require continuing theological interpretation as the faith has to be lived and communicated in different ages and cultures. Where this task is not faithfully fulfilled a Christian movement or community loses direction and purpose, and dissipates its energies in superficial enterprises. So I believe that such a theological foundation is one of the elements essential for a living and continuing Christian community, as can be demonstrated from our own history.

(i) In the seventeenth century Baptists belonged to the movement of dissent from the established church in which the autonomy of the congregation of believers was accepted as the fundamental unit of church life. Baptists of course were marked out from the other dissenting groups by the practice of believers' baptism, derived from
an acceptance of the unique and supreme authority of Scripture as the Word of God, usually literally understood and interpreted. Bunyan's account of his spiritual experiences in *Grace Abounding to the chief of sinners* illustrates this acceptance of Scripture as a guide for the interpretation of personal happenings. The *Broadmead Records* offer a similar illustration in regard to the life of a church. Thus this view of the nature and authority of Scripture becomes the theological foundation upon which the structures of Baptist church life in the seventeenth century were erected.

(ii) The formation of the Baptist Missionary Society at the end of the eighteenth century and its development during the nineteenth century marks another important period in Baptist history. The main source both for its beginning and for its continuation was the evangelical interpretation of Calvinism propagated by Andrew Fuller, John Ryland and others. This was the theological root out of which grew the new sense of obligation for world-wide mission and this root sustained the vigorous growth which followed in many practical outworkings.

(iii) The third significant period may be discerned in the later part of the nineteenth century, a period during which many new and large chapels were built. Worship was characterised by the centrality of the pulpit as a place of authority, of inspiration and of instruction, as exemplified in the work of outstanding preachers like Spurgeon, Clifford and McLaren as well as of many preachers of lesser note who still attracted large congregations and exercised much influence in their localities. Worship was understood as the response of the gathered congregation to the Word of God mediated through the preacher inspired by the Holy Spirit. Here was the theological basis justifying the centrality and authority of preaching.

These illustrations from Baptist history substantiate the general position that a firm theological foundation is essential for the maintenance of a Christian movement as a living entity through the changes of successive generations. The emphases made in the past and the structures created under their influence remain with us and still constitute much of our church life, but the contemporary situation is calling in question the relevance of the theological foundation of those emphases. This means that it has become necessary once more to make a more careful examination of those foundations in order to discover what fresh theological formulations may be needed to give direction and purpose to church life, in our environment of change.

Four areas of debate immediately suggest themselves:

(i) An acceptance of the unique authority of Scripture has been the foundation of the Baptist position but a hundred years of biblical scholarship compel us to rethink the nature of biblical authority. Linked with this are questions about the work of the Spirit which have been given a quite inadequate place in Baptist thinking. The work of the Spirit is evident not only in the inspiration of the biblical writings but also in the traditions manifest in the ongoing life of the various parts of the Christian church. The present emphasis upon the power and activity of the Spirit due in large measure to the influence of the charismatic movement may then raise larger questions for us than those associated merely with new and exciting features in worship. Questions about the authority of Scripture and the work of the Spirit must cause us to reflect upon the extent to which we can maintain the patterns of church life whether to the point of suggesting changes in the views about the nature and structure of the
church or to substantiate the traditional patterns in new ways. Whatever the results may be, the questions must not be evaded.

(ii) During the twentieth century the relationships between the churches in Britain have radically changed and without doubt will continue to change. The word dissenter in its seventeenth-century usage is hardly in use today. The later word nonconformist no longer expresses a meaningful position. The term Free Church is vague. Have we still a theological basis for a dissenting position? Or have the changing relationships between the denominations brought a mutual, even if limited, recognition of one another so that we understand more clearly and appreciate more positively the different insights and emphases of other denominations: have we in this way been brought to a larger comprehension of the wholeness of the Gospel? Certainly any honest attempt to place our changing ecclesiastical relationships in the light of the wholeness of the Gospel must cause us to reflect upon our theological foundations.

(iii) The obligation for universal mission so strongly stressed in the formation of the B.M.S. is still accepted by Baptists. But aspects of the human situation which were not so apparent in former generations have become all too clear in recent decades and now occupy a large place in Christian minds and consciences. During this century the views of many Christians about non-Christian faiths have altered. There has grown up a respect for other faiths, born out of a more sensitive understanding of their spirituality, of the doctrines upon which that spirituality is based and of the practices by which it is sustained. There is now both an openness for dialogue and a growing willingness to share together in concerns for the good of humanity. Modern systems of communication have brought to everyone, often in a particularly vivid and dramatic manner, a knowledge of the needs of other peoples, of poverty, of famine, of conflict creating awareness of political and social conditions as causes of human deprivation and misery. This has evoked a concern for the physical well-being of people placing a powerful emphasis upon a caring ministry as an obligation upon Christians, as a proper part of Christian mission.

(iv) Preaching still occupies an important place among us and is still central in much Baptist worship. But in the contemporary situation the spoken and written word as a means of communication is being challenged by the use of other media; consequently questions arise about the centrality of the word and preacher in our worship. Different modes of expressing the faith are in common use with congregations often more actively involved in the worship. This situation calls for a clearer understanding of the nature of worship and its place in the totality of our understanding of the purpose of God and what He requires from us.

One final question has still to be raised. It concerns the nature of the theological thinking which we need. What kind of approach will provide for our churches guidelines for the shaping of structures and activities which will be effective in the fulfilment of the church's mission in the world? Some theological thinking takes place in academic circles leading to the publication of scholarly books and articles. Much of this is challenging, much is valuable. We need scholars who will be familiar with this process and its conclusions, but the theological thinking which is pursued in uncommitted academic circles is not always suited to the guidance of church life. Some theological thinking is conducted within the
context of well-defined ecclesiastical dogmas. It seeks to defend dogmas from attack or to explicate them in order to strengthen faith. But the context of Baptist thinking is the whole Scripture and not abstracted ecclesiastical dogma.

The kind of theological thinking, which our situation requires, will arise out of the revelation of God in Christ made real to successive generations by the activity of the Spirit through Scripture and in the life of the whole Christian church. It must be rooted both in the personal experience of the individual thinker and writer, and in the experience of the Christian community of which he or she is a member. Such thinking needs to be galvanized by an inner compulsion to formulate in theological terms the nature and significance of that experience for the sake of communicating the faith.

In his busy life Dr Russell has shown that it is possible to continue scholarly work in his books on the inter-testamental period with active participation in the life of the churches through his service as secretary to the Baptist Union as well as his work in the European Baptist Federation. Have we among us one or more persons well equipped theologically and committed to an active sharing in the life of the denomination who in the coming years will feel led to undertake the task which I have here set out? It would offer a service which could be of incalculable value to Baptists everywhere. It would help us to understand how the divine purpose for our churches should be worked out in succeeding generations and the understanding would be a call to obedience.

Who will fulfil this task?

L.G. CHAMPION