
A table of contents for *The Baptist Quarterly* can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_bq_01.php

Editorial.

NEW MEMBERS.

The following have recently joined the Baptist Historical Society:

Baptist Theological College of Scotland. Clr. J. N. Hulme.
Rev. Emlyn Davies, B.A., B.D., B.Litt. Rev. L. G. Webb.

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ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS.

It will be a real convenience if unpaid membership subscriptions for 1941 can be remitted forthwith (*Treasurer,* Mr. A. H. Calder, 90, Jermyn Street, S.W.1). Printing and other expenses have increased materially, and, for the *Baptist Quarterly* to be maintained at its present level, we need both the support of present members, and an influx of new members.

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REGENT'S PARK COLLEGE.

We heartily congratulate the Rev. R. L. Child, B.D., B.Litt., of Broadmead, on his appointment to the Principalship as from the retirement of Dr. Wheeler Robinson in 1942. At a later date we shall have the opportunity of printing something concerning the retiring Principal, but it may be said now that posterity will give the past two decades an outstanding place in Regent's long history. They have been singularly difficult years, involving the removal from London, the erection of the Oxford buildings, and the inauguration of the new era. However many and varied the difficulties, Dr. Robinson never lowered his ideals or wavered in his determination to have the best.

Mr. Child enters a notable succession—William Newman, Joseph Angus, George Pearce Gould, Henry Wheeler Robinson, to mention four of the distinguished Principals, and to this list he will add lustre. A great opportunity faces him, for surely never was there more urgent need of prophets capable of discerning the times and speaking the message of God with no uncertain sound.

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NEW TESTAMENT SCHOLARSHIP.

Where are our Baptist New Testament scholars? It is an open secret that the Committee appointed two years ago to nominate the Senior Tutor of Regent's, and the Committee appointed early this year to nominate the Principal, searched the ranks of our ministry in vain. We have a galaxy of Old Testament scholars, the two Robinsons, H. H. Rowley, J. N.

Schofield, G. Henton Davies, L. H. Brockington, and others. How is it that our Colleges—five in England, two in Wales, and one in Scotland—have apparently failed to produce even one New Testament scholar of equal rank? Surely this demands the earnest consideration of those responsible for collegiate studies, or perhaps it is a matter for the Baptist Union Scholarships Committee, or the not overworked United Collegiate Board.

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REUNION.

Reunion advocacy is again to the fore. *An Appeal for Free Church Union* has been issued by representatives of the various Free Churches, the Baptist signatories being sixteen ministers and one layman; coincidentally, the Rev. Hugh Martin has published the volume on *Christian Reunion,* reviewed later on p. 460; and a resolution based on the *Appeal* will be submitted to the forthcoming meeting of the Federal Free Church Council. The signatories to the *Appeal,* in speaking of "a real and visible union" and a "United Free Church," evidently desire, not a Federation of the Free Churches, but one uniform, all-embracing, Free Church. Is a huge, uniform, United Free Church desirable? Would not a Federation of denominations (to some extent we have this in the Federal Free Church Council) in which the local churches adopted the title "United Free Church," but remained associated with their own Unions and Conferences be preferable?

An insurance illustration may have a lesson for us. Years ago it was the practice, when one Company took over another, or two Companies amalgamated, for the smaller to disappear and cease to be known to the public. Experience, however, showed the unwisdom of this. Something vital of the appeal, the personality, the goodwill, of the absorbed Company was lost. A different method was therefore adopted. Now the Companies federate or become allied with one another, as, for example, the Commercial Union group, which includes the British General, Ocean, Palatine, Union and others. Each company retains its own individuality, and makes its own appeal to the public; but, as between the Companies, co-operation replaces wasteful competition, redundant offices are eliminated, and the business of one member of the group is respected by the other members.

Another aspect is worthy of consideration. Have the seventeen signatories given any thought to the more practical and pressing problem of the union of Baptists? And if they desire something to do that is practical, they might apply themselves to the problem of overlapping Baptist Churches.

The Nature and Character of Christian Sacramental Theory and Practice.

SINCE the work of Reitzenstein and Bousset we have been familiar with the idea that a high sacramental theory and practice is to be attributed to St. Paul. But these scholars put forward the thesis that this was a perversion of essential Christianity due to Pauline borrowings from the Mystery Cults. It was, for them, a Hellenizing of the Gospel and a contradiction of its essential Hebraism. This latter claim was repudiated by Schweitzer, who, while admitting the high sacramental doctrine and practice in St. Paul, related it to eschatological notions, essentially Hebraic, and part of the original Gospel of Jesus. From another point of view the Liberal Protestant thesis was repudiated by P. T. Forsyth in his *Church and the Sacraments*, and more recently it has been repudiated in a most thorough-going, scholarly manner by Wilfred Knox, in his *St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles*. This paper is an approach to the same problem from another point of view.

I

I must first begin by saying something about the necessity and nature of the Church. For Christianity, the necessity and nature of the Church are grounded in the fact and character of Revelation; for the Church is the Fellowship (ἡ κοινωνία), and the whole work of creation and redemption—God's activity on and within the historical plane—is just *God's bid for fellowship*. It has been our interpretation of the doctrines of creation and redemption in mechanical or legal (transactional) terms, rather than in personal terms, which has made us blind to this truth. In mechanical and legal relationships the narrower logic of the schools always holds good, and so we have produced our completely rational theologies. But in *personal* relationships this narrower logic is never adequate. In this realm a higher form of reason than logic holds sway. No longer do we find that:

> *the embranglements of logic are the prime condition of all Being, the essence of things.*

All completely rational theologies (in the narrower sense of the word "rational") are sub-personal; for there is that in

personality which is supra-rational. Personality is the real miracle of the universe. It is not a mathematical entity, subject to the laws of addition and subtraction. One and one do not make two in the realm of personality. And beyond personality is supra-personality, which is *fellowship*—the inter-penetration of personality, or the sharing of personality without its loss:

this Individualism which is man's true Socialism.

Such an idea of fellowship is the guiding notion of the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures, and it stands in complete contradiction to all forms of pantheistic mysticism, which teach the absorption of the individual into the World-soul and talk of

A shoreless, soundless sea
In which at last our souls must fall.

Fellowship, which is the Christian gift to the world, transcends the contradiction between the individual and the whole. It is of the nature of a higher synthesis; and as the Christian gift to the world it is simply the revelation of the truth about reality. So that the whole meaning of creation and redemption—of Providence—is to be found in God's bid for fellowship; for fellowship is the hidden structure of reality.

For the Christian, the ground of this assertion is to be found in Revelation, which is the unfolding of the hidden secret—a placarding of the fact on the plane of history—something *objectively* set forth. In Nature, God is not necessarily seen as personal, nor is the world seen as ordered fellowship. The mystery is never wholly revealed. But in Revelation—the Word of God in its manifoldness, first acted and spoken and finally made flesh—it is completely set forth. This difference between God as revealed in Nature and God as revealed in History—in significant action—is the whole difference between Jewish and Christian thought on the one hand, and all sorts of Pantheisms, non-personal Mysticisms, and Nature Cults on the other; and it should never be forgotten when the Christian sacraments are in question. In another sense it constitutes the difference between all types of Deistic transcendence on the one hand, and Judaism and Christianity on the other. Both Judaism and Christianity see God at work in History rather than in Nature, and this means that the character of revelation is in the realm of personal dealing and is *moral* and *spiritual*, and not theosophic. If this had always been remembered we should have been spared certain doctrines of the Church and of the sacraments which have appeared in history, and certain weakening reactions to these doctrines which have also appeared.

It is interesting to note how the prologue of the Fourth Gospel deals with this matter. The writer is dealing with the manifestation (a much better word than "revelation", which has come to have theosophic meaning), or showing forth of the *character* of God on the plane of History, and it seems to me that he is definitely writing to contrast the Christian way of looking at things with two others. First there is Judaism, which had rejected Christ and which, in the writer's scheme of things, stands for Deistic transcendence—a one-way movement, the movement from God to us. Secondly, there are certain types of Theosophy and Anthroposophy, as we should now call them, which can be characterised as "flights away from reality"—attempts to escape from the real concreteness of things and events. And these again represent a one-way movement—the movement from us to God, the upward lift of all subjectivisms and humanisms. Over against these he sets the doctrine of the Word of God, who *comes* and is *received*. Here in contrast is a double movement, from God to us and back from us to God, involving the paradox of transcendence and immanence, but immanence of a personal and concrete type. As the writer saw it, looking back into the Scriptures, it was a process which had involved selectivity, but selectivity of a personal (apocalyptic) kind. This selectivity had involved crisis-acts, the striking down of God, the declaration of an "eternal now" in the midst of time. This selectivity of a personal kind is the ground of both Church and sacraments. Both for pre-Pauline Christianity as for Pauline Christianity, the Church was the "Israel of God", and the Christian sacraments found their parallel in Jewish prophetic symbolic action, which action was never something purely didactic, but was an actualising and realising of the thing symbolised. This symbolic action had always an eschatological element in it, but it was *realised* eschatology in the sense that the far-off event was actually within the action, already accomplished *sub specie aeternitatis*, and experienced as an earnest in the time event. And this, too, is a characteristic of the Christian sacraments in the Pauline understanding.

For the Jew, as for the Christian, the Word of God was never primarily a spoken word. It was given in *act* rather than in phrase. It was not an ideology, not, when properly understood, a law involving a legal system of ethical and ceremonial righteousness, not something marked by narrow logical consistency. It was rather something "full of grace and of truth"[1]—a *living* word, a compelling certainty within a given

[1] Even the word "truth" for the Hebrew had not the same significance as it had for the Greek. It meant "truthfulness," "keeping faith," "loyalty." It had no meaning apart from personal relationships.

set of existents; so that our faith in it is not dependent upon anything so subjective as value-judgments, but upon judgments of existence. We do not get beyond history and reach out into the eternal by regarding the historical as the insecure element in religion and seeking to build upon some necessity unrelated to the time process, and therefore to what seems relative and evanescent. Such attempts to ignore history, which were the very stuff out of which the pagan sacramental systems were built, can never achieve the result they set out to achieve; for they reduce us to reliance upon judgments of value over against judgments of existence. And all such reliance is mere subjectivism—the creation of religion for ourselves. All this is, I think, important for the understanding of the sacramental system of Primitive and of Pauline Christianity.

II

Now Christianity, in its most primitive form, did not begin as a system of speculative thought or a reasoned theology. It began as a way of worship and of life, based upon a faith. And faith was not assent to intellectual propositions enshrining a metaphysic about reality or a cosmological phantasia. Faith, for the early Christians, seems to have been trust in and loyalty to Jesus. And dogma was not a given set of propositions to be believed, but a set of *given facts*, which had happened in history. These facts were regarded as having a certain meaning and value for life. To put it simply, they were regarded as being, in an absolute sense, acts of God on and within the plane of history. The earliest compilation of these facts of which we have any record is that given by St. Paul writing to the Corinthian Church about A.D. 53.[2] He there assures the Corinthians that he delivered to them *first of all* that which he received, evidently referring, as Eduard Meyer claimed, to the instruction given him by the messenger of the Damascus Church before his baptism, perhaps some fifteen years earlier. These facts were:

1. Christ Jesus died for our sins according to the Scriptures.
2. He was buried.
3. He rose again the third day according to the Scriptures.
4. He was seen of Cephas.

Here, then, we have four happenings in history; and faith, for the pre-Pauline Christian, meant relying on these happenings as the redemptive acts of God. From this followed the exaltation of Jesus as Lord (maran) and the beginning of Christian worship centring in two redemption rites, which were dramatic symbolic acts, setting forth *and actualising* the holy action of God within

[2] See 1 Cor. xv. 3-5.

history. In worship, which was corporate *action* rather than *words,* Christians constantly saw the holy action of God represented in symbolic forms. In Baptism they saw set forth the death, burial, and resurrection of Jesus, and the personal action of God was again made intimate and actualised in the remission of sins and the gift of the Holy Spirit. This is what makes the question of immersion so secure, and any other form of the rite of Baptism a serious impairing of it. Apologetic for immersion should be shifted from the linguistic to this deeper ground. In the Eucharist, to use St. Paul's striking phrase, they again saw Christ "visibly depicted crucified," [3] in the breaking of the bread, and His holy action was made meaningful and powerful in the fellowship which shared His life and was willing to be identified with Him in treading the path of love and in witnessing (martyrdom).

III

All this which, in its essence, is essentially Hebrew in character, moral and personal, and not theosophic, is not different from the doctrine of the Church and sacraments which we find in St. Paul. In his doctrine St. Paul gives it more coherent expression, but he does not depart from personal and moral ideas. It is no mere figure of speech when he calls the Church "the body of Christ." He is speaking of something real. The Church is that concrete reality by which Christ becomes manifest in the world, and by which He acts in history. He goes even further when, more than once, he suggests that "the Christ" is not simply the historic Jesus glorified, but the glorified Christ plus the Church.[4] It is this daring *identification* of the Christ with the Church which underlies his discourse on Christian marriage in Ephesians—"We are members of His body, of His flesh, and of His bones." And it underlies, too, his amazing statement in Colossians—"Now I rejoice in my sufferings for your sake, and fill up on my part that which was lacking of the afflictions of the Christ, in my flesh, for His body's sake, which is the Church." [5] But it is all in the personal realm, for he is speaking of an experience of fellowship so real and so close that it involves that inter-penetration of personality which is the hidden secret of reality. In the Corinthian Epistle this is all related to his discourse on the Eucharist, and in Romans and Colossians to Baptism.

Now this is not the theologising of St. Paul, borrowed from

[3] Gal. iii. 1.

[4] See 1 Cor. xii. 12, where "so also is the Christ" would seem to mean "so also is the Church."

[5] Col. i. 24.

pagan sources; for, in the first place, its personal and eschatological character differs from what we know of either Greek or Oriental influences surrounding the Church.[6] And, in the second place, it is implicit in all the showing forth of God in the Old Testament from the time that Abraham went forth, not knowing whither he went. We catch the authentic notes of it in "the suffering servant" and "the Son of Man." We see it in the action of Jesus in choosing the Apostles "to be with Him," and we see it in the life of the pre-Pauline Church, which regarded its own life as a continuation of the action of Jesus, the beginnings of which alone had been given in the Gospel story.[7]

IV

Here we may turn aside to contemplate the rich devotional meaning which the two sacraments must have had for many Christians of St. Paul's day, and might have for us if regarded in the same way; and incidentally we shall see how essential to this meaning is the action and symbolism of the sacraments, and how necessary it is to retain that symbolism intact. The facts of the Gospel—the birth, death, burial, and resurrection of Jesus—which declared Him to be the Son of God, were *simple,* and yet they were *sublime.* What a simplicity there was about the birth of Jesus! Could any one ever have imagined that the high God, acting in history, would act like that? No earthly monarch would dare to do so. Where is the great high God of heaven when He penetrates into history? A Babe is born in a stable, and cradled in a manger, and the parents are simple country folk from the despised village of Nazareth! It is so simple that it seems ridiculous. Who but God could ever have devised such simplicity of action (and yet such overwhelming grandeur of the true and right kind) that a Baby should be born to redeem Israel, not with trumpet and pageantry, not as a king, but an infant laid in a manger, and as a Man upon a Cross? How simple, and yet how sublime!

Again, in this action of God, we note the *intimacy,* when Jesus is able to be *with* people, so moving and so intimate; and yet, at the same time, the paradox is complete, for not only was there intimacy, but remoteness also. We remember, for instance, how on the last journey up to Jerusalem, as He neared the city, He was going on before and they followed, *for they were afraid.* There was always about Him something of *intimacy* and of *ultimacy,* of *simplicity* and of *sublimity.* And so the redemption rites which embodied the facts of the Gospel had about them

[6] See an article I contributed to *The Interpreter,* April, 1924.
[7] See the prologue to Acts.

the air of simplicity and of sublimity, of intimacy and of ultimacy. They used the simple substances of water and of bread and wine; and yet there was about them that sublimity, that beauty of character, that wonderful fulfilment and transcendence of all that is temporal, that penetrating power which they have of taking us into the very presence of God Himself. We notice also the sense of intimacy. The most intimate thing we do is to eat and drink together, to share the same bread and the same cup. Think of the intimacy as relating to Baptism, in which we surround ourselves with the element of water, we are immersed in it, penetrated by it—such intimacy! It is an intimacy which in any other setting would be almost too intimate, whether we think of sharing the same bread and the same cup, or of the very nakedness almost of our Baptism. Yet about these rites there is also the remoteness of ultimacy; for that which we do in the sharing of the bread and the wine we know also to be the sharing of the Body and the Blood of our Lord. And that which we do in the intimate act of being plunged in the font of water, being overwhelmed by the element, we know also to be our death and our living again. To tamper with the symbolism not only means that we are in danger of destroying the power of the sacraments to witness to the Christian Gospel—to show forth the death of Christ—and of opening the door for their witnessing to quite a different gospel; but it also means that we take upon ourselves the prerogative of improvers of art which, in its simplicity and sublimity, is beyond improving, and so impair, pervert, or destroy the devotional value of the sacraments.

V

The identification of the Christ and the Church in the moral-personal form in which it appears in the New Testament is closely related to sacramental doctrine and practice. The key-notions lying behind sacramental theory in the New Testament are "personal," "ethical," and "concrete," as over against "mechanical," "legal," and "abstract-mystical." In sacraments, rather than in creeds, at first the Faith (in the sense in which I have described it) was preserved and dramatically set forth. In Baptism and in the Eucharist Christians saw the Crucifixion—the death, burial, and resurrection of their Lord—repeating itself in the life and profession of the disciples, and proclaiming to the ages that He who was to come had come (the eschatological note). Christianity was the Good News about God's action as Holy Energy, *personally* directed and morally conditioned. Such Holy Energy, acting in the field of human experience, was bound to act sacramentally, allowing for what was objective (God's

part) and for what was subjective (man's response). So far as objectivity was concerned the work of grace could not be left to depend upon man's psychological condition, for this might leave him in a perpetual state of doubt as to whether God had acted at all. Rather, it depended upon the fact and nature of God's holy action, which is an eternal reality, but which is set forth on the historical plane in the life and death of Jesus Christ, God's personal response to our need. And this holy action was perpetuated and actualised in the dramatic action of the sacraments. So far as subjectivity was concerned, it was sufficiently guaranteed by faith and penitence in the disciples, which constituted the moral response to the *given* thing. It was the *Real Action* of God in the sacraments which was central in early Christian thought, rather than the *Real Presence*. Thus we see what St. Paul meant when he said to the Galatian Christians, "before whose eyes Jesus Christ hath been evidently set forth crucified among you." In the original language he uses the strongest terms, "Jesus Christ was placarded crucified before your eyes." Now, the Galatians had never seen Him crucified. They had been living in Galatia at the time. When, therefore, had they seen Him visibly depicted crucified? They had so seen Him every time new converts had been won for the Faith, and had descended into the bath of water. They had seen there enacted the very tragic act of the crucifixion of their Lord; for the convert had died, had been buried, and had risen with Him, and the whole drama of the crucifixion had appeared before their eyes in reality. And, again, it was this they had seen every time they had gathered for the Lord's Supper. The Bread had been broken and the Wine out-poured, and in an eschatological moment they had joined themselves in history to that moment when His body had been marred and broken on the Cross, and His blood had been shed, and at the same time had stood within the moment of its fulfilment in His coming again. So Christ had been once again visibly depicted crucified. He who had died thus once for all had set within their midst that which was ever to unite them to the one act which was the act of God eternal.[8]

[8] In the developed rite as it appears in the earliest liturgies the whole life of Jesus is made to appear before the worshippers as act succeeds act. This is still the *motif* so far as Eastern liturgies are concerned. In my own Church this simple primitive rite is still the rule. Our first act is to stand together in the presence of God in penitence and adoration. In this we identify ourselves with those in Israel who were awaiting the coming of the Holy One. In this act we make our confession of sin. Then follows an act of praise objective in character, and here we identify ourselves with the angel choir who hailed His coming. After that the Word of God is read in our midst, both the word of prophecy and its fulfilment in the Gospel. This symbolises the Word made flesh dwelling

VI

Finally, in primitive Christianity, the sacraments had no meaning apart from the corporate society. They were corporate, not individual, acts; but corporate in the sense of *fellowship*, and not in the sense of mass-controlled or mass-delegated actions. They were the Church at worship. The whole Church was the priestly body and the worshippers were in and with the action. Worship was fellowship, fellowship between God and man as between man and man, the place where the heavenly and the earthly planes met in sacramental action. Even in its most primitive form, the Eucharist, which had its origin not only in the crisis-experience of the Last Supper, but in the daily fellowship meals which Jesus had shared with His intimate followers (which themselves were of an eschatological nature), appears to have been a great Churchly service, in which the Church, as a royal priesthood, offered worship, but not of a pattern of her own designing, nor one determined by her own preferences. Rather, she offered worship through her great High Priest, who was there set forth in His holy redeeming act as *sacrificium*. Upon this sacrifice the Church spiritually fed in communion, which was God's giving and their receiving, something essentially personal. It was that which had divine character which was being done; and, whilst faith was necessary for obedience in such a truly personal relationship (an emphasis which has been weakened where legal and metaphysical notions have been substituted for personal conceptions), yet the value of what was being done did not depend upon anything so fluctuating as the psychological states of the worshippers—it was not primarily to be measured by "spiritual uplift." It would appear that the early Christians—in line with Jewish thought generally—were

in our midst. We then join ourselves in prayer in "the prayers of the brethren"—the *oremus dilectissimi* of the most ancient liturgies—which represents the disciples coming to Jesus with all their wants. Then is delivered to us the Word of Exhortation, which symbolises the teaching Jesus in the midst. Then the mood of the service changes. We move from the happy events of the life of Jesus to the point where He set His face steadfastly towards Jerusalem, joining ourselves with Him, determined to go up with Him. This is symbolised in the Offering, followed by the Offertory Prayer. This means that we offer ourselves, as well as our substance, completely identifying ourselves with Him in His sacrificial act. Then there is silence. We are with Him in the agony of the Garden, and now at the foot of the Cross. The Bread is significantly broken, and we are joined to Him in the moment of His death. The Wine is significantly outpoured, and we join ourselves to Him in the act of eating and drinking, identifying ourselves with Him in His supreme act of self-giving. Finally we move on to the climax of the service when, at the very close, we celebrate in a hymn of triumph the great act of His resurrection. Not a dead Christ, but the risen, living, triumphant Christ is the Christ whom we worship.

quite clear that there must be divine action on and within the historical plane, and that both *events* and *things* had significance for such action. But it would also appear that they safeguarded themselves against superstition and against reducing divine action to the level of the sub-personal because things were for them significant only as they were within the realm of action. But within that realm they *were* significant, not in the sense that they acted as memory-quickeners, but in the sense that the whole action effected what it symbolised. We can best think of it as a kind of realised eschatology. Past, present and future were gathered together, as it were, at a single point. Thus the believer experienced everything that Christ experienced: he suffered *with* Him, he died *with* Him, he was buried *with* Him, and he rose *with* Him. It was not simply a recollection of a *past* experience, nor a foretaste of a *post* experience. It was *co-experience*, experience with Him here and now, and yet a "here and now" in which the past, present and future were gathered together in significant action which transcended the limits of time and space. In such a moment conflict might still be going on in the time process, but the victory was already won as an eternal reality and *actually realised*.[9]

W. Robinson.

[9] Hence the name Eucharist, which at an early date became universal, and the mood of praise and victory which pervaded the early liturgies, and still pervades Eastern rites as contrasted with the penitential mood of Western rites.

Dr. Walter O. Lewis, the General Secretary of the Baptist World Alliance, in recently sending his annual subscription from Washington, wrote: "I am interested in the recording of Baptist history. I am more interested in the making of history. The Baptists of Britain are making history now that I hope may be recorded for the inspiration of future generations."

Young Mr. Wells Anticipates.

FORTY years ago—in 1901—Mr. H. G. Wells wrote a book which was published under the alluring title, *Anticipations*. It was an engaging attempt to forecast the development of civilisation up to about the year 2000. All the now familiar Wellsian characteristics are displayed in the essay—clarity, pungency and verve, immense gusto, a *penchant* for acute but superficial judgments, and a certain yeasty adolescent mood of assurance, pugnacity and (the schoolboy term is insistent) *cockiness*. For us to-day the interest of the book lies, not only in its really brilliant forecast of modern mechanisation, including military mechanisation and "total war," but also in its indication and even advocacy of some of those theories of the State which now challenge our civilisation, and which have to-day in Mr. Wells himself (as champion of the Rights of Man) a strenuous opponent. For in some important aspects *Anticipations* may be regarded as a blue-print of modern totalitarianism, and it is possible for us now to appreciate, as young Mr. Wells and his readers could hardly have appreciated at the time, the full significance of those outpourings—inspired oracles as they were, of the half-educated of four decades ago.

In the first place, then, the Mr. Wells of 1901 announced the coming collapse of Democracy. So far, that is to say, from its being the opening phase of a world-wide movement destined to proceed and develop along liberal and humanitarian lines, modern Democracy, according to young Mr. Wells, was no more than the first vague impulse of social and political forces, which presently would swing sharply round into a very different course. And Mr. Wells was in favour of the swing round. "I know of no case," he cheerfully assured his public, "for the elective Democratic government of modern States that cannot be knocked to pieces in five minutes." In 1901 such a judgment must have titillated the youthful mind with a pleasant sensation of novelty as of something rather daringly "progressive" and "advanced"; to-day the theme is crucial, and it is all the more interesting to observe how Mr. Wells developed it.

Naturally, he saw the genesis of modern democracy as intimately connected with the expansion of mechanical production. In the eighteenth century the traditions of the old aristocratic monarchy were knocked awry by the intrusion of the new manufacturing and artisan classes, and the incapacity of the governments of the day to control the new factors called for a new theory of society. What actually emerged was the theory of the Rights of Man, liberty, equality and fraternity: or, as young Mr. Wells prefers to state the case—because kings and nobles

could no longer function effectively, society was presented with the doctrine of "the infallible judgment of humanity in the gross." It was absurd but convenient. But the important consideration was that these formulations proceeded from powers and agitations which were themselves formless and confused; so that it may be said that the democratic formulations were little more than the froth and bubble thrown up through the deliquescence of the old order and the pouring in of new elements not yet settled and defined. Says Mr. Wells:

> "I have compared the human beings in society to a great and increasing variety of colour tumultuously smashed up together and giving at present a general and quite illusory effect of grey; and I have attempted to show that there is a process in progress that will amount at last to the segregation of these mingled tints into recognisable, distinct masses again."

Democratic populations, therefore, were "the people of the grey," and the democratic theory was no more than a temporary and illusory social-political pattern worked upon this same temporary and illusory grey—this smudge of various types and classes thrown together by the industrial revolution. Democracy, according to Mr. Wells, was really a negative symbol: it meant no more than that the old régime was no longer competent to manage this new agglomeration. On its positive side it was absurd, particularly in its theory of equality of legal rights: "neither men nor their rights are identically equal, but vary with every individual"; and Mr. Wells expands this postulate, with immense assurance and vigour, into a doctrine of "superior" and "inferior" types and peoples—

> "It has become apparent that whole masses of human population are, as a whole, inferior in their claim upon the future to other masses, that they cannot be given opportunities or trusted with power as the superior peoples are trusted, that their characteristic weaknesses are contagious and detrimental in the civilising fabric, and that their range of incapacity tempts and demoralises the strong. To . . . protect and cherish them is to be swamped in their fecundity."

This may have been strong meat for the Liberal stomach in 1901, but young Mr. Wells's doctrine was hardly so novel as to have been entirely unfamiliar to Jefferson Davis and the pro-slavery ideologists, half a century earlier. But then Mr. Wells's point was that the reforming humanitarianism of the nineteenth

century had left the line of true progress to explore a *cul de sac.*

> "The confident and optimistic Radicalism of the earlier nineteenth century, and the humanitarian type of Liberalism have bogged themselves beyond hope. . . . Liberalism is a thing of the past, it is no longer a doctrine but a faction."

The resemblance of all this to the war-cries of modern Fascism and Nazism is not to be denied; but forty years ago young and impetuous Mr. Wells, shaking a free lance, was no doubt a more diverting and gallant spectacle than the mobs of black-shirts and brown-shirts of our own time.

But having now disposed of liberalism, humanitarianism and democracy, young Mr. Wells turns to the new order which was to take their place. He had indeed already prepared his readers to some extent, for the new revelation. For if there were whole masses and peoples who ought not to be entrusted with the responsibilities of power "as the superior peoples are trusted," and if, moreover, these masses, the People of the Abyss, must be regarded as pariahs and untouchables, their weaknesses being contagious and their fecundity dangerous (except under conditions of strict surveillance and repression), then it reasonably follows that the new order must be the order of the strong and superior people. These—the scientists, engineers, captains of industry, writers and organisers—would presently, then, emerge from the grey confusion of democracy, form themselves into a new Party, seize control of the entire apparatus of power and become—the State. It is interesting to have this in Mr. Wells's own terms, written twenty years before the Fascist "march on Rome," and thirty-two years before the burning of the Reichstag. The new Party, as a dominant colour emerging out of the grey, would, he says,

> ". . . take its shape as a scientifically-trained middle class of an unprecedented sort. . . . This class will become, I believe, at last consciously *the* State, controlling and restricting very greatly the . . . non-functional masses. . . ."

This seizure of the political and administrative machine by a specially-trained and capable body of strong and superior people, "inspired by the belief in a common theory of social order," was, said Mr. Wells, inevitable; and naturally, since liberalism and humanitarianism had been dismissed as obsolete superstitions, Mr. Wells's disciples were prepared for the announcement that the new order would exhibit a certain quality of scientific ruthlessness. For obviously the new Party of the strong and superior people would have no humanitarian compunctions; it would stand no nonsense from the inferior classes,

the People of the Abyss. On the contrary, it would judge the masses by such standards of fitness as conformed to the new theory of the State, insist upon a régime of mechanised efficiency, and mercilessly sterilise, transport or destroy the rejects. Nothing could excel the lucidity of Mr. Wells on this point:

> "The law that dominates the future is glaringly clear. A people must develop and consolidate its educated efficient classes or be beaten in war. . . . It must foster and accelerate that natural segregation which has been discussed . . . or perish. . . . The nation that produces in the near future the largest proportional development of educated and intelligent engineers and agriculturists, of doctors, schoolmasters, professional soldiers, and intellectually active people of all sorts; the nation that most resolutely picks over, educates, sterilises, exports, or poisons its People of the Abyss; the nation that succeeds most subtly in checking gambling and the moral decay of women and homes. . . . The nation, in a word, that turns the greatest proportion of its irresponsible adiposity into social muscle, will certainly be the nation that will be the most powerful in warfare as in peace, will certainly be the ascendant or dominant nation before the year 2000."

What is not discussed—and the omission is significant—is how a nation which has been appropriated by, and is identical with, a ruling Party of "intelligent engineers and agriculturists, doctors, schoolmasters and professional soldiers," and which claims the right to "pick over, educate, sterilise, export or poison" the members of the inferior classes—how a nation which is deliberately organised into a strong, superior and all-powerful ruling class on one side and the "non-functional" People of the Abyss on the other—can achieve that tough and flexible unity and that invincible *morale* which are necessary to enduring power. For there is no effort to conceal the contempt in which the inferior classes are held.

> "Recruiting among the working classes—or, more properly speaking, among the People of the Abyss—will have dwindled to the vanishing point; people who are no good for peace purposes are not likely to be any good in such a grave and complicated business as modern war."

And so young Mr. Wells hurries forward to present his public (it was at the time of the Boer War) with a brilliant forecast of modern warfare with its aerial navies, its parachute descents, its deadly collaboration of air and ground attack, its forward-sweeping columns of mechanised units. It would be

all-in, total war, in which, "as the recording telephones click into every house the news that war has come," the State would be found to have "organised as a whole to fight as a whole." "Everything will have been pre-arranged—we are dealing with an ideal State. Quietly and tremendously that State will have gripped its adversary and tightened its muscles—that is all."

The "ideal State!" This was young Mr. Wells's adjective for the State in which apparently scientists, "intelligent engineers" and professional soldiers rule, pick over, educate, sterilise, export or poison the People of the Abyss and drive forward with mechanised armies and aerial fleets to impose their New Order upon the world. But in 1901 this was a diverting dream.

And so, having brought his readers thus far, young Mr. Wells goes on to indicate, but without enthusiasm, possible vistas of an era of Caesarism—of Napoleonic war-lords and dictators; and if his telescope fails to focus upon Mussolini and Hitler there are some near misses. One hastens to foretell, he says (but dismisses the forecast with some impatience):

> ". . . that either with the pressure of coming war, or in the hour of defeat, there will arise the Man. He will be strong in action, epigrammatic in manner, personally handsome and continually victorious. He will sweep aside parliaments and demagogues, carry the nation to glory, reconstruct it as an empire, and hold it together by circulating his profile and organising further successes. . . . The grateful nations will once more deify a lucky and aggressive egotism."

But this, at all events, did not agree with the Wellsian scheme, and the vision was dismissed as improbable or parenthetical. Even if it happened it would be no more than an interlude, for (a bad miss this) it is "improbable that ever again will any flushed, undignified man with a vast voice, a muscular face in incessant operation . . . talking, talking, talking, talking . . . tireless and undamnable," rise to power; for "the day of individual leaders is past." Hitler, then, it is evident, somehow eluded the Wellsian telescope. But this was not due to Mr. Wells's predisposition to turn a blind eye to orators, and to admire instead the equally tireless and undammable writers who go on writing, writing, writing, writing; rather it was due to his eagerness to focus upon the coming World State. For it must be remarked that with all his Fascist anticipations, young Mr. Wells stood very much outside the vicious circle of racial and national egoism which the actual totalitarians of our own day have described for themselves. What he desired was not a triumph for this or that empire, but "a Republic that must ultimately

become a World State of capable rational men developing amidst the fading contours and colours of our existing nations." Nevertheless, we have noted enough to recognise that this Wellsian New Order, whether under the title "Republic" or any other, was to be an order imposed by a master-class whose devotion to scientific and mechanical efficiency went with a repudiation of the equality of human rights and of liberal or humanitarian sentiment and a general contempt for the inferior "non-functional" classes as the People of the Abyss.

* * * *

Now what, it may well be asked, is the point of calling attention to this perhaps forgotten little book, long since heaped over and buried out of sight by its author's immense and varied output? The point is that though the little book may be largely forgotten, its author continues, through the intervening decades, to warn, counsel and exhort the English-speaking public with undiminished vigour; and this little book, as well, perhaps, as any other, helps us to estimate his claim upon our confidence. For to read *Anticipations* after an interval of forty years is to admire again the astonishing nimbleness and fertility of Mr. Wells's mind and the accuracy of his superficial foresights, but it is also to see the fatal defect which disqualifies him as a teacher. For his jejune philosophy, spiced with scientific anthropology, fails him when he deals, as he is eager to deal, with the fundamental problems of the world and of Man. He sees mankind as an engaging biological experiment, and he has been ridden for the greater part of his active life by the cheerful obsession that modern scientists, "intelligent engineers," and secularist propagandists like himself, are the only competent persons to conduct the experiment to a successful conclusion. It is simply a matter of putting these gentlemen in control of the machinery of government, and the effect will be a civilisation speeding forward to a mechanised, diagrammatic paradise. This is still about as far as Mr. Wells's insight and foresight carry him in the matter of human nature, human society, and their ultimate needs, even though his confidence in *homo sapiens* has sagged in recent years. Man was made for the mechanised, scientific State, and the State is—the strong, superior, scientific, engineering, military and managing class. It is true that when he is faced with the approximate actualisation of this kind of State—when faced with Fascism and National Socialism—Mr. Wells dislikes it intensely, and returns hurriedly to the Rights of Man; nevertheless we are left with the uncomfortable feeling that somehow the Wellsian oracle has failed us. We have been let down.

It would no doubt arouse the ire of Mr. Wells in his latest phase to suggest that the reason why his judgments, penetrating

and brilliant in all matters that pertain to the *mechanics* of society, and effective in critical analysis, are hopelessly superficial and liable to the exposure of events when they attempt to grapple the deeper problems of human life—it would rouse his ire to suggest that the reason for this is that they lack the realism and inwardness of that Christian view of Man and of the world, the very mention of which, these days, seems to irritate him beyond measure. Nevertheless, the crucial issue to-day lies between the belief, on the one hand, in the supreme sovereignty of the scientific, mechanised modern State over individual man as a *person,* and over collective man as a society of persons, and the belief, on the other hand, in the supreme sovereignty of a universal moral law which protects the spiritual values alike of the individual and of mankind as superior to all the machinery of government and of material progress. Faced with this issue in the form of Totalitarianism *versus* Democracy, Mr. Wells returns instinctively to the side of Democracy: but his defence of it is an embarrassed defence, for it has no inner lines, no base. He cannot fall back upon the naturalistic optimism of the French Revolution, and he is right in believing that there is no valid sanction either for liberalism or democracy in the fiction (who ever believed it?) of the infallibility of human judgment in the gross, nor even in the milder myth of the competence of the collective will and intelligence as something that functions mystically through the ballot-box to achieve a perfect civilisation. These things he knows, and, rejecting the categories of holiness and sin, of soul and conscience, of divine law and divine grace, he takes his stand with agnostic science, materialistic anthropology and the Biological Experiment. He detests Hitler and Mussolini as leaders in the rebellion of clumsy louts against all that is fine in civilisation, but he is only less disturbed to reflect that in China the resistance against Axis aggression is directed by a leader who professes the Christian faith, and that in this country we have "praying Generals." Meanwhile, as he draws up his new charter of human rights, the Biological Experiment view of Man for which he stands, calls loudly for the laboratory methods of the strong and ruthless scientific State, with its vivisectional or lethal interest in "the people of the grey," the children of the Abyss; and Democracy and the Rights of Man cannot be defended from this position—Blake's "dark Satanic mills" cannot be loop-holed for the defence of the human spirit. No doubt it is true that up to now the case for popular liberty and representative government has rested upon a too easy and superficial view of human nature as upon the competency of the average man to reach right conclusions upon any question under the moon. But this cannot be corrected by any attempt to re-state

the case in terms of an agnostic scientific anthropology. Such an attempt is more likely to point, in the end, to an order of regimented and mechanised efficiency in which men in the mass are picked over, educated, sterilised, exported or exterminated in the interests of the Super-State. The issue seems to lie between some approximation to the Christian doctrine of Man, which, with all its tragic realism, guards the central dignity of the human spirit, and the doctrine of the Biological Experiment which entrusts civilisation to a hierarchy of scientists, "intelligent engineers" and technological and military experts.

Of course exception may be taken to any suggestion that the issue may be expressed in terms of "doctrine" at all. If we are fighting a fixed, schematised, doctrinaire, ideological Totalitarianism, if we contend that insistence upon a rigorously planned and patterned civilisation inevitably leads to intolerance and tyranny, how can we escape from it by exalting another doctrine, another pattern, another scheme? The spirit of freedom, says Rauschning, is fighting its way to-day out of the egg-shell of the doctrinaire. But here we are forced, as in any serious discussion about life we are always being forced, into the region of paradox. We cannot escape from the moral nihilism of Totalitarianism by seeking refuge in the stultifying nihilism which exists in a doctrinal vacuum. If what we desire is a régime of sane toleration, an "organised equilibrium," a condition in which man's mind and soul can breathe without being imprisoned in the iron lung of Totalitarian or ecclesiastical authoritarianism, then we must have a serious conception of man and of the State in which this freedom can be developed under recognised moral sanctions. This is the tension in which we live, and it involves what Rauschning expresses as "the eternal call to Sinai." Mr. Wells would echo Rauschning's interrogatory: "Is there not an end of blessedness in the order in which a crowd of toughs manoeuvre themselves into power and then use the people simply as the material, and the social order as the instrument, of their domination?" What Rauschning, after his experience of Nazi Germany, also sees, but Mr. Wells does not, is that there is no less certain an "end of blessedness" in an order in which the people are used simply as the material for biological, sociological and utopistic experimentation. He does not see that his world of scientific "free-thinking" and mechanised beatitude is as out of date as the optimistic, naturalistic humanism of the nineteenth century. He does not see, what Rauschning sees and affirms, that "enlightened atheism has long ceased to be a stage in the liberation of the human spirit. . . . It is being transformed by the force of its own logic into the deepest subjection of thought and conscience."

GWILYM O. GRIFFITH.

The Preaching Baronet.

IN the early part of the year 1797 the editors of the *Evangelical Magazine* expressed their "wish to collect, arrange and publish Hints and Plans on the Means of doing good." Later, they suggested four distinct subjects on which they would welcome information, viz. "1. Sunday Schools; 2. Societies for Spreading the Gospel; 3. Societies for the relief and instruction of the sick; 4. Societies for printing and distributing Religious Tracts." In 1798 they acknowledged "with gratitude the reception of many valuable papers, chiefly on the first of these subjects." These four topics suggest the chief concerns of many Christian people of that day. We remember, of course, that many societies devoted to these different objects came into existence at that time. In 1785 a society had been formed in London for the support and encouragement of Sunday Schools in the different counties of England, and in 1793 they were able to report that they had helped 892 schools, in which 56,820 children were instructed, and that they had given away 76,705 spelling books, 21,010 Testaments, and 4,756 Bibles. Beginning with the B.M.S. in 1792, the Missionary Societies were in process of formation; and the Religious Tract Society came into being in 1799. Thinking of these great concerns, and of the widespread interest which they aroused, of the preaching career of John Wesley, then at its close, of Christian attention, and action directed, by Christian leaders to questions such as slavery, prison conditions, etc., one gets the impression of a strong, virile Christian community, and of a mighty urge to evangelise both new lands and new spheres of life.

Into such an atmosphere came a young man from America. He bore the name of a family which had been settled in Cheshire before the Conquest. One of his ancestors had been Lord Mayor of London during the momentous year in which Mary died and Elizabeth became queen. His grandfather had had to leave the country, but had been given an honourable position in South Carolina. His father possessed considerable estates there, but, espousing the King's cause at the outbreak of the War of Independence, he lost everything. Consequently, the son, young Sir Egerton Leigh, returned to England to seek possession of the family estates in this country. Not much remained, however, and he settled at Little Harborough Hall, in Warwickshire. By some means not recorded this young baronet was brought into contact with those evangelical circles. Some genuine experience of conversion is hinted at in the contemporary description of him

as "a signal monument of sovereign grace." The reality of his spiritual life is further evidenced in the work of itinerant preaching which he commenced, and which proved for a time most successful. Large crowds gathered to hear him, conversions followed, and also opposition. At the village of Wolston his opponents pulled down during the night that part of the new chapel which had been erected during the day. Missiles were thrown at him as he journeyed between the villages, and on one occasion a number of men waited at a narrow lane through which he was accustomed to pass in order to kill him; but his horse refused that night to enter the lane, so he returned home by another route unharmed. In recording the opening at Lawford of a chapel which Sir Egerton Leigh erected, the *Evangelical Magazine* for 1797 states: "The honourable baronet . . . feeling the power of the Gospel and the pleasures of religion, retired into the country and began to preach to the poor ignorant villagers in the several parishes round his seat. In this laudable work he was greatly opposed; but amidst violent persecution and sometimes at the hazard of his life he zealously persevered with diligence and success. The good effects of his itinerant labours are evidenced in the conversion of many and the reformation of more. The inhabitants of Lawford, among other games, took great delight in the barbarous custom of throwing at cocks on Shrove Tuesday; but after the Gospel found a residence among them, the religious people on one of the returns of this day resolved to employ the whole of the afternoon in prayer at several parts of the village. Though twenty-five cocks were brought from other places for the purposes of the sport, the innocent animals were carried back in whole skins, as their owners could not find a solitary individual so inhuman as to throw at the poor unoffending creatures." Twenty-seven ministers assembled for the opening of this chapel; evidently a gala day.

This work of preaching brought Sir Egerton Leigh into prominence among Independent circles. On May 9th, 1797, he was ordained by Rowland Hill to "an itinerant ministry." When the Honourable Baronet, among other questions, was asked why he chose ordination in that way in preference to a particular charge, he answered, 'That as God called me to itinerant labours, I think this kind of designation more congenial to the nature of my work than the other'."

This interest in the work of evangelism led to a close association with the work of missionary societies, then in its infancy. He was one of the first directors of what was known as The Missionary Society, took the Chair at some of the business meetings, and also shared occasionally in the public gatherings of the Annual Assembly in London.

The same spirit is shown in his connection with an interesting movement which originated in Bedford. On October 31st, 1797, a meeting was held at Bedford for the purpose of forming an extensive union of serious Christians. A month later, a second meeting was held at Little Harborough, Sir Egerton Leigh's country seat. Four resolutions were unanimously approved, of which the following three may be of interest:

1. That the universal union of serious Christians of all denominations is highly desirable, and ought to be attempted.
2. That this meeting, earnestly wishing to promote such an union, do approve of the general plan proposed by our brethren at Bedford.
3. That the ministers present engage to make their respective congregations acquainted with the proposed union, and endeavour to excite their attention to it.

On April 24th following this, "the Second Assembly of the Union of Christians at Bedford" was held. Among those who took part were John Sutcliffe of Olney and Andrew Fuller of Kettering. It was reported that forty-five ministers of various denominations, Baptists, Independents, Church of England and Methodists had joined; that 250 private Christians had been active in conducting services for prayer, teaching children, etc.; that 200 towns and villages had been "supplied with opportunities of evangelical instruction and devotion." The deep sense of fellowship which this Union provoked is worth recording in the following quotation from the *Evangelical Magazine* of 1798. "The solemn engagements of the day sufficiently evinced that the hopes entertained at the formation of this union among Christians of all denominations in the neighbourhood were grounded upon the foundation which God had laid in Zion, and that they had been prepared by His signal blessing. At a subsequent conference many of the servants of Christ avowed, with genuine humility and love, their shame and regret for the prejudices which had formerly separated them from their brethren, expressing their gratitude to the Lord for the spiritual blessings they had experienced in their mutual fellowship and united exertions."

Enough has been written to indicate the wide interests of Sir Egerton Leigh. About this time he appears to have experienced some change in his convictions, dissociating himself from the Independents, and adopting Baptist views. The erection of several Baptist chapels resulted from his labours, including one at Rugby, a town—or village—in which, apparently, he had experienced difficulty in finding an opportunity. This little chapel

was considerably enlarged in 1803, and a dusty grey stone still exists on which we may see, rather roughly carved, the words: "Foundation Stone laid by Lady Leigh, 1803." To this church at Rugby Sir Egerton Leigh devoted an increasing amount of attention. His spiritual outlook at this time may be judged by a paragraph which appears on the first page of the old Minute Book. "Sir Egerton also proposes that there be no articles to the Church, it being formed upon the plan of Particular Redemption, to be wholly guided by the Doctrines and Discipline set forth in the Holy Scriptures." Then follows the quotation of Romans viii. 28-31; Ephesians i. 3-11; Matthew xxviii. 10, 19, 20. But the opening paragraph of the church Minute Book reveals that all was not smooth progress, even with a popular preacher. "The Baptized Church of Christ formed at Little Harborough was dissolved at Rugby Chapel 27th March, 1808, by Sir Egerton Leigh, as the only deacon had thrown up his office, and there being no officers, nor that kind of communion between the minister and members by which it was likely without contention to appoint any. No member offered any objection to the church being dissolved, and the Baptized Church of Christ now at Rugby was then formed by most of the old members. . . ." The church at Rugby made good progress after this, having Sir Egerton Leigh as pastor till 1811. During the later years of his ministry he felt some concern for the future of the church, and this showed itself in two ways. In 1809 he published a little book entitled, *The Answer of God addressed to the Baptized Church of Christ at Rugby*. The book consists of about 400 questions, with the answers given in words of Scripture. Here are some examples:

Q. In what state are the elect before they are called?
A. Behold I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me.

Q. Have they good hearts?
A. Every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually.

Q. What is the real state of the human heart universally?
A. The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked: who can know it?

Q. Can any one with a heart in that state go to heaven?
A. Except a man be born again, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God.

Q. Who is the builder of the Church?
A. Jesus answered, I will build My Church.

Q. Is the Church ever called a city?
A. He (Abraham) looked for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God.

Q. Is the Church capable of being inhabited, and by whom?
A. In whom ye also are builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit.

Q. Has the Church a foundation?
A. Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.

Q. Of what materials is the Church built?
A. Ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house.

Q. Is the Church of God, then, people?
A. Feed the Church of God, which He hath purchased with His own blood.

In his preface he stated the purpose of this catechism. "In all your meetings with each other, especially on a Lord's Day, instead of idle conversation have your book with you, and exercise each other's memory by asking the questions. Teach them to your children and neighbours, use them at your family devotions, and use them in secret. . . . " "If you make a good use of this little book I shall, as the Lord may enable me, proceed in my endeavours to serve God and you in this way." However, no second part was ever issued. His concern for the church was also shown in the maintenance of a young man of his congregation, one Edward Fall, at "Dr. Ryland's Academy in Bristol." Edward Fall succeeded Sir Egerton Leigh as pastor, and he it is who records in the church Minute Book that Sir Egerton Leigh "died at Bath, happy in Christ, on the 26th April, 1818."

This account gives some indication of one of those small movements of spiritual awakening of which many hundreds must have occurred in the history of the Church; not great outpourings of the Spirit, but seasons of refreshing for numbers of individuals. Behind this movement we see an earnest, energetic and enlightened figure, who endeavoured to direct the movement from vague experience to the useful channels of an ordered life in Christian communities, and who possessed a genuine love for the churches he founded, so that he endeavoured to instruct them himself, and to provide for their ministry after his retirement.

L. G. CHAMPION.

The Tune Book of 1791.

WHILE Baptists were absolutely first in England to practise the singing of hymns in public worship, and to publish a book which was actually used for the purpose by many congregations, they balanced this achievement, exactly a century later, by issuing a large collection of tunes, drawn from many sources. It was the same Church that led the way; under Keach it had worshipped in Tooley Street, under Rippon it met in Carter Lane, Southwark. The first edition seems, by internal evidence, to have been compiled by the Precentor, Robert Keen, correspondent and executor of George Whitefield; the seventh edition, within nine years, was prefaced with an introduction by Thomas Walker, who, like many editors, contributed about thirty tunes. The enterprise, the risk, and the profits, accrued to Rippon, but the actual work is probably due to the two musicians, who should receive the credit. Their wisdom is evident in that, after 150 years, no fewer than ninety-seven out of their 320 hymns and odes are still in use. If in A.D. 2091, one-third of the tunes in any collection to-day shall still be sung, that may parallel the achievement of Keen and Walker.

The musical value of the book was estimated in detail five years ago in these pages by Dr. Orlando A. Mansfield, F.R.C.O. But it has two other values to a Historical Society; to show which parts of the world had Baptists interested keenly in songs of praise, and to show in which directions the denominational thought was trending.

Bristol was a great Baptist centre. The Broadmead Church chose as its first teacher Nathaniel Ingello, much given to music both at home and with the gentry of the city; in later days he became Bachelor of Music, and master of the band to Charles II. While he never brought the use of instruments into their worship, the church was accustomed to sing so lustily that a formal complaint was laid by an ex-sheriff that he could hear them from their meeting-place in Broadmead as far as his house in Hellier's Lane. Later on a hymn-book, compiled by Ash and Evans, had greatly promoted the worship of song; so it was fitting that in Rippon's book a hymn from it should be assigned the tune called *Broadmead,* while to balance it was another entitled *Pithay.* This latter was by Z. W. Vincent, who contributed three others; we should like to know the church whose praise he led; as one tune is called *Francis,* it may have been Shortwood. The tune *Horsley,* however, is due to Isaac Tucker,

from whom came also *Devizes, Westbury, Westbury Leigh,* besides one simply named *Tucker's.* In the area of the Western Association we are pointed also to *Painswick,* to *Bourton,* where Beddome had put forth many hymns, to *Bridgwater Cheriton* and *Horsington,* to *Calne,* where Andrew Gifford, senior, had preached, and where Isaac Taylor, from the Academy, was writing a history, to Chard, where the pastor *Rowles* was complimented with a tune bearing his name, composed by Z. Wyvill. Wiltshire, always a Baptist county, celebrated *Trowbridge,* where the pastors had conducted another academy, with *Salisbury* and *Bodenham. Southampton* was commemorated by Isaac Smith, who had published his own collection as early as 1770, before the Hampshire church had revived. Keen had taken pains to gather tunes actually favourite in many districts, as the introduction avows.

Other old churches were in the Thames Valley. Smith remembered *Henley,* besides a *Sprague* of the West Country. *Burford* was borne in mind, recently revived from Coate. So, too, with the old church at *Faringdon;* but as its composer, Wyvill, named another *Eaton,* where no Baptist had flourished since Paul Hobson had been a Fellow of the College, the name was evidently due to the fact that Wyvill, church organist, of Maidenhead, took pupils all over the district. Similarly the Surrey villages of *Ewell, Mitcham, Sydenham,* were not the homes of Baptist churches, but may have been homes of some pupils of Walker, who entitled three of his tunes after them. It is different with the Kentish *Eythorne,* which had housed Baptists ever since 1653; its name was given to a tune by Thomas Clark, Precentor of the still older church at *Canterbury.* (It may be added that this is in the florid style best known in Handel's works, with an ingenious bit of canon for four voices, and another for two; after which the melody bounds up from C below the line to the top F, to end with a run completely down the octave.) There is a name, *New Cranbrook,* which hints at the changes of Baptist life in Kent, where the old General Baptist churches were dying, and new churches were rising on a Calvinistic basis. In this tune, Walker fairly let himself go, writing for five parts, antiphonally, with repeats, semi-quaver phrases; as if he exulted in the new church which was replacing the old Cranbrook, where singing was never practised.

At first sight the country north of the Thames had not yielded much to the compilers. *Abridge* had been commemorated in a single tune by Isaac Smith, though no church took that village as headquarters. But an elaborate ode by Walker, beginning for three parts and differentiating for four, sometimes Larghetto, then Vivace, with strains to illustrate "dew" and

"early dew," and repeats which indeed set forth "perpetual" blessings, is named *Harlow.* That little town was centre for an old church, where, at this time, two sisters were born, one of whom went on the stage, then wrote an opera, but is known in religious circles as author of "Nearer, my God, to Thee," while her sister edited books of hymns and anthems for a London church; both are buried in the Baptist ground at Harlow. Across country is Hitchin, whose pastor, *Geard,* was commemorated in a tune by Keen, wedded to his famous hymn, "How firm a foundation." Geard's church had been used to very few tunes, but was led to "pucker in" a long metre to fit a short metre tune. It was time Keen came to the rescue.

In the midlands was Coseley, and Job Turner contributed a tune, *Darkhouse,* in memory of the church there. Why Grigg, of Launceston, entitled one *Stamford,* is still unknown; Philpot had not yet risen. At Clipstone, Thomas Jarman had not yet begun to spawn his 1,500 tunes. There were special reasons for the titles *Bradford* and *Fawcett,* to be noted directly; they do not connote musical practice there; indeed, the intense love of music in the hills and dales of the north seems to have been unknown even to Walker. And the only two tunes with Welsh names are clearly due to non-Baptist associations.

The reflections of Baptist life in London are many, as is but natural. There is a *Carter Lane,* for there Rippon presided every Sunday, while Keen led the praise. There is a *Tooley Street,* where Keach had won his people to be the earliest congregation which sang hymns. There is a *Maze Pond,* where Abraham West had bargained that they should sing before he accepted their call to the pastorate. *Limehouse* recalls another of Keach's foundations, near his home and his book-shop. The most famous preacher of the eighteenth century was James *Foster,* who had come from *Milbourne Port* in the west; man and place are both commemorated. Next to him ranked Gifford, and there is an *Eagle Street,* while the rebuilding of the meeting-house is reflected in *New Eagle Street.* The church at Little *Alie Street* had a famous Precentor, and Isaac Smith had actually taken a fine tune, which he credited to Handel, naming it for his church; we, however, know it as *Hanover,* and know it is by Croft. The senior church of all was at *Prescot Street,* whose pastor indeed had been earlier than Keach to advocate hymns; the tune named after this church was so old that no tradition remained as to its composer.

Rippon had opened up communication with *New York,* where his books were selling capitally, as was shown in the first volume of our *Transactions* in 1908; it was natural to remember this and help his salesman by a tune with that name. *Vermont* had

wavered for a short time whether it should continue part of the British Empire, or should throw in its lot with the new United States; it had been politic to remember her. *Boston* had had a famous tea-party, but had seen also the British victory at Bunker Hill; in these happier days it had a great preacher in *Stillman;* place and name are both here. *Providence College* celebrates the enterprise which, in emulation, produced the Bristol Academy, which trained Rippon; its president now was Manning, to whom is assigned a tune professedly from Handel. *Baltimore* is not neglected, where emigrants from Leicester recently founded a new church. *Kentucky* was already marked out as a Baptist area, and is complimented here. There are many other tunes bearing American titles, but they are all due to the work of George Whitefield, the close friend of Precentor Keen. We have to consider the revival he had accomplished of the old Baptist passion for missionary enterprise.

In Keach's time the most active of evangelists were Baptists and Quakers. Keach dotted East London with churches, as Bunyan did in Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire, Mitchell in Yorkshire and Lancashire. But early fervour had languished, till Gill killed it outright. It was left for a young clergyman from Oxford, George *Whitefield,* to revive that tradition, and extend it across the ocean. Close by Kiffin's church, he drew thousands, till a wooden *Tabernacle* was erected for winter use; at the West End, just beyond Eagle Street, a place was built on the road to *Tottenham Court.* The Countess of Huntingdon gave him a scarf as her chaplain, and found new openings at *Bath, Brighthelmstone, Tunbridge Wells,* with other fashionable watering-places, then founded a college at *Trefecca.* All these places gave names to tunes in Keen's collection. Whitefield went overseas as chaplain in the new colony of *Georgia,* and after starting an orphanage in its capital of *Savannah,* he rode repeatedly all along the coast preaching, in Baptist meeting-houses sometimes, as at *Charleston* in *Carolina,* in towns like *Richmond* of *Virginia, Baltimore, New Haven,* as far as *Newbury* Port, where he ended his career five days after writing his last letter, which was to his constant correspondent, his executor, Robert Keen, first editor of our tune-book. Is it any wonder that all these places, and others in *America* less known to us, gave names to new tunes? or that the whole movement was summed up in the title of another, *Missionary?* Surely this book of tunes was no mean factor in stirring the spirit of Whitefield afresh in Baptist circles.

John Thomas, a surgeon employed aboard ships of the East India Company's vessels, baptised at Eagle Street, began preaching in Bengal, translating a gospel, advertising for helpers.

When he came back he found that others had been thinking on the lines of Keach a century earlier:

> Nay, precious God, let Light extend
> To China and East India;
> To Thee let all the people bend
> Who live in Wild America;
> O let Thy Blessed Gospel shine
> That the blind heathen may be Thine.

A few men in the Midlands had formed a Particular Baptist Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Heathens; the youngest of these enthusiasts being a student at Bristol, William *Staughton.* On the advice of Booth, pastor at Prescott Street, Thomas applied, and was accepted, as the first missionary of the Society. Resigning his post with the East India Company, he went out with a minister from Leicester—not the Henry *Carey* whose well-known tune figures here. The Society at once rallied many other supporters, notably young Samuel *Pearce* of Birmingham, and old William Crabtree, of *Bradford;* the former soon gathered £70, far outshone by Bradford's £200. This excited Thomas Walker, who wrote an ode more than nine times the usual length, far the longest in this book, and gave it the title of the Yorkshire town.

Before long an offer came from a fellow-member of Thomas at Eagle Street, John *Fountain;* he had been a chorister, and was an enthusiast about music, so he soon sent back a *Hindoo Tune,* which was not only put on a large frontispiece to the second number of the Periodical Accounts of the B.M.S., but was incorporated in Walker's collection for English Baptists to sing. Except for the old Hebrew Yigdal, known as Leoni, it is the first case of Asia enriching European song; the precedent has been almost neglected. Then a young printer of *Derby,* who had been to hear Carey preach in Rippon's pulpit, and had been told to prepare himself for consecrating his trade by printing the Bible in Bengali, wrote from *Halifax,* where, at Ewood Hall, he had put himself under the tuition of *Fawcett,* that he was ready, and was starting in 1798. Thus our foundation of modern missions is enshrined in Rippon's book.

The B.M.S. did not limit itself to Bengal. There is a little-known chapter in its early history which is illustrated by Rippon, for three tunes here, named *Stamford, Elim, Tiverton,* are derived from Grigg. Who he was has puzzled many enquirers, who only agree that he was not the Rev. Joseph Grigg, a pedobaptist who had died at Walthamstow in 1768; that minister had indeed written hymns, but there is no word of his composing tunes. We call attention to Jacob Grigg, student at Bristol,

pioneer missionary to Sierra Leone in 1795, and hope thus to solve the puzzle. His story deserves telling at full length, so that at this point we leave awhile the tune-book, with its crystallised history, to concentrate on the enterprise of one of its contributors. He was deeply wronged in his life, and it is time to rescue from oblivion the first musical missionary, victim of the Slave Trade. Many of the facts were discovered on the spot by a member of our Historical Society, Captain F. W. Butt-Thompson, and were published in his elaborate volume on Sierra Leone.

A sermon on the Slave Trade was preached in 1788 by James Dore, of Southwark, from the Baptist Academy of Bristol, which had also trained Rippon. It attracted much attention, and was reprinted the same year, also in 1790. Great interest was excited, and the news that many slaves in America had been freed during the Revolutionary war, and were not happy in Nova Scotia, gave a practical problem which was soon attacked. One of the chief centres of the trade in Africa was at Sierra Leone, where a mulatto, educated in England, had built up a huge business. He bought and sold on what Americans are teaching us to call the cash and carry basis, giving £10 each for every man delivered at his barracoons, so that the largest of these was presently worth £30,000. One of his lieutenants, Signor Dominguez, started for himself at the head of a narrow gulf, in Port Lokko.

Now many of the Nova Scotia freedmen had been kidnapped from this very district, and Englishmen decided to make a brave gesture and repatriate them in their old homes, with protection. Colonists were sent from England, land was bought at the mouth of the gulf, and a town was built, called Freetown. Not only the Nova Scotians were convoyed hither, but another band from America. They included many Baptists, who left in the Maritime Province a regular Baptist church; while the main body in Africa, before the end of 1792, built on Rawdon Street in Freetown, the first place for Christian worship. Their pastor was David George, so capable that he soon won his way to a seat on the Council of the Governor; while the church had also two elders and three deacons. Within two years they had built canoes and even schooners, were farming, fishing, dealing in rice and camwood and livestock, or proving good mechanics. Thomas Peters, who found his family still in the district, erected a stone house, and was chosen Headman for the town.

Meanwhile a Sierra Leone Company had been chartered in England, at the instigation of Granville Sharp; it sent out 119 officials by the end of 1792, with a Governor, William Dawes. He had been a Royal Marine, and so far had some qualifications,

for there were the slavers to deal with, and the coast to the north was French, so that war was quite likely. But the only other experience of Dawes had been at the convict colony recently started in Australia. From the very start he was a misfit, trying to govern as though these free negroes were convicts or under martial law. Fortunately a capable man named Zachary Macaulay came from Jamaica, where he had managed an estate, and had seen both actual slavery and a flourishing church of negroes under another Baptist pastor. But at first he had not the supreme authority. The white men, moreover, were at cross purposes with the aborigines; they had "sold" land for the settlement, but had not at all meant to abdicate all their rights and go away; whereas the colonists thought they had acquired absolute rights in the whole district. Thus trouble was due not only from the French Republic, from the slavers close at hand, but even from the very natives whom the colony was meant to protect.

The Baptist church in Jamaica opened communication with the nascent B.M.S. in England, and though no white man went thither as yet, the committee at Arnsby on April 7th, 1795, heard two pieces of news which dovetailed wonderfully. The only two missionaries of the Society had been sent to Bengal, John Thomas and William Carey. Enquiry was being made as to openings in other parts of the world, and Carey had expressly pointed to the "free settlement at Sierra Leone," as to which the new Company was now publishing reports. Also Jacob Grigg, student at Bristol, who had already written to ask for an appointment, had been commended by the authorities of his Academy; he was therefore appointed the third missionary of the Society. It was felt as desirable as it was scriptural that he should have a companion, and at the next meeting, in Kettering on June 11th, his fellow-student, James Rodway, who had had a short experience at Burton-on-Trent, offered and was accepted. At Birmingham, on September 16th, it was recited how a letter had been sent to the Sierra Leone Company about the intentions of the Society, and of these two men. Credentials were drawn up to the Baptist church under David George, then the young men were ordained, with the laying on of hands, by Andrew Fuller and John Ryland; and in the afternoon they both left for London, to embark forthwith. Is it an accident that Rippon's tune-book contains *George's* and *Ryland*.

Grigg and Rodway landed at Freetown on December 1st, and met Governor Dawes. Within three weeks he introduced them to the Headman at Port Lokko—the very centre of that Trade he was there to oppose! Grigg was heroic enough to think of settling where Satan's throne was. On the short trip Rodway

had been horrified to pass a Slave Factory run by Englishmen, where hundreds of poor Africans were condemned every year into perpetual slavery. They did arrange with the Headman for one white man to come and keep a school at Port Lokko, another man to keep a factory. So Grigg took up with him a Nova Scotian to run this store; and began to understand the astute measures of the slavers, for they steadily undersold the free Baptist, who could make no headway; and they stirred up such misunderstandings that Grigg's work was grievously hindered. Yet he learned enough of the language to converse, and he wrote home that he hoped soon to be able to preach to the Timmanies. He asked for more men to be sent; and indeed, the mortality was frightful, so that the place was already nicknamed at the head of letters, " White Man's Grave." He declared that they would be welcomed by the natives, who wished to be taught reading and writing, and promised to send their children to school. Even the local Headman, a Mahometan, who would not change his religion, would send his children, with leave to pray in the white man's fashion.

Grigg, however, found that there was some peculiar double-dealing as to the old-established Slave Trade, even involving the servants and friends of the very Company chartered to break it up. Details are perhaps entombed in the archives of the B.M.S., but the committee had to report to the Society that not only had Rodway been invalided home, but that Grigg had imbibed some prejudice against a principal person in the colony, and was embroiled in unhappy disputes. He was actually expelled, and the Governor gave him three options as to his destination. He took the first ship for America, and was thus lost both to the mission-field in Africa and to English life generally. It is a grave pity that Zachary Macaulay had not replaced Dawes a few weeks earlier. Details as to some of the scandals at Freetown are in a letter from Grigg to John Sutcliff at Olney, written on April 25th, 1796, and now preserved at the National Library of Wales, where it was summarised and the précis published in the *Baptist Quarterly*, VI., 220.

Grigg found a welcome in Virginia, and Rippon's last news was that on May 23rd, 1801, he preached at Nottoway in Dinwiddie County for the Portsmouth Association; Register IV., 787. Portsmouth had been a naval centre for a generation, and to-day is the second largest such port in U.S.A., quite matching our own Portsmouth or Grigg's Plymouth. From a Baptist standpoint, the district had been leavened by Robert Norden and other settlers since 1714. In the great Revival due to Whitefield, Methodists established themselves at the town, while Baptists formed a church of sixty-eight members in 1798. Its second

pastor was a negro, and by 1809 it had a membership of over two thousand, having enrolled all the negroes of the neighbourhood. This was just the sphere for Jacob Grigg, who became the fourth pastor. It is delightful to see that our pioneer in Africa, the third missionary of the B.M.S., when expelled from Freetown because of his opposition to the slavers, chose to go with and to the slaves in America. His love of music would be a bond with them, and the meeting-house may have rung with his sturdy English tunes, alternating with their plaintive African spirituals.

Immediately above the summary of his last letter home is one concerning Robert Keen, the Precentor. Singing had been put on a new footing by Whitefield. As early as 1739 he had preached on the mount near Bristol to thousands; "Last Sunday evening we sang the hundredth Psalm and all could hear; it is much like singing at a scaffold or stake with multitudes around." When being piloted across the New Passage, he and Seward sang hymns most of the way. Within a year he changed the colliers of Kingswood so that their usual evening diversion was singing praise to God. He headed scores of men riding from Evesham to Tewkesbury, who cheered the way with Psalms and hymns and spiritual songs. When he laid the first stone of a new Tabernacle at Plymouth, it was with prayer and song, and this was repeated at an early service there. On his last voyage he wrote that, if he died, the hymn-book was not to be cashiered, and that he was glad to hear of the Amens at Tottenham Court. That letter was to Robert Keen.

John Wesley, too, illustrates this musical temper. He mentions in his *Diary* thirty visits to Launceston, the home of Jacob Grigg; many of them show that while the next stage westwards was Tiverton, eastwards the next was Gwennap. There they poured out their souls together in praises and thanksgiving; and he rejoices in the sound of many thousand voices when they were all harmoniously joined together in singing praises to God and the Lamb. Wesley was a great organiser, and the Discipline ordered, "In every large Society let them learn to sing, and let them learn our tunes first." Every person in the congregation was to sing, not only one in ten. So Jacob Grigg knew well the value of song, and the value of writing good tunes for his own denomination.

The tune *Tiverton,* published by Rippon of Tiverton, recalls that the town had, in 1657, entertained the Western Association, which then discussed "whether a beleeven man or woman being head of a family in this day of the gospell, may keep in his or her house an instrument or instruments of musicke, playing on them, or admitting others to play thereon?" A long minute contains the sensible clause, "We cannot conclude the

use of such instruments to be unlawful." Next year two western leaders put forth a pamphlet concerned with Tiverton, which declared that men of God should be "merry in the Lord with melody in their hearts, and a distinct and cheerful voice expressed either in the songs of Moses, David, or otherwise as the Spirit bringeth things to their remembrance and gives them utterance." The scruples of a few were borne with at Tiverton, till in 1732, on June 25th, "First began to sing the praise of God in the Publicke assemblys of this Church." In January, 1761, after debate as to the "decency of ye posture," it was decided to stand during singing of hymns. These minutes were published by H. B. Case, in his *History of the Baptist Church in Tiverton*, 1607-1907.

John Rippon was a loyal son of this church, and it must have been with joy that when his Precentor, Keen, recognised the merits, the strength, of this tune, and he heard it was by a student of his own Academy, the pioneer missionary to Africa, he gave it the name of his old musical church. The ore mined in the stannaries was recognised in the Minories as true metal, and with the mint-mark of Carter Lane, it soon became current coin in the world of music. Indeed, it is the only composition of that age that has worn till this day.

The strains that Jacob Grigg first sung,
  Approval gained from Keen,
Who placed them Rippon's tunes among,
  To liven many a scene.

So when from Freetown Grigg was hurled,
  And Slavers thought to boast,
He found his way in western world
  To Portsmouth on the coast.

And thus he spent his riper years
  Across Atlantic waves,
In wiping the indignant tears
  From kidnapped negro slaves.

Though purchased, and no more their own,
  He taught them Moses' song;
For God who sits upon the throne,
  To Him they now belong.

W. T. WHITLEY.

Robert Hall of Arnesby: 1728-1791.

"THE year 1779, on account of the following circumstance, was, I consider," wrote Joseph Ivimey in his well-known *History of the English Baptists*, "the commencement of a new era in the history of our denomination." The circumstance to which he referred was a meeting of the Northamptonshire Association held at College Lane, Northampton, when the Rev. Robert Hall, of Arnesby, preached a sermon on Isaiah lvii. 14, "Cast ye up, cast ye up, prepare the way, take up the stumbling block out of the way of my people." In response to numerous and pressing demands Hall published the sermon in the form of a small book entitled, *Help to Zion's Travellers*. He described it as an attempt to remove various stumbling-blocks relating to both doctrine and practical religion. With that sermon a new age began in the splendid story of Baptist life and witness.

For fifty years the Baptist churches in this country had, in the face of great opportunities, suffered from spiritual paralysis. It was an era of torpor and stagnation. Irrelevant controversies, heresy-hunting, preoccupation with matters of organisation and doctrinal speculation had absorbed the attention of the churches. It was a most unimpressive and uninspiring period. One of those who helped to bring this melancholy era to an end and to inspire vitality and awakening, was Robert Hall, Baptist minister at Arnesby, a village near Leicester.

Robert Hall was born on April 26th, 1728, at a village near Newcastle-on-Tyne. In his earlier youth he was sorely troubled by feelings of sinfulness and guilt, making himself thoroughly miserable by introspection and by allowing his mind to dwell unhealthily upon the prospect of damnation. Upon his conversion at the age of twenty-six he experienced great spiritual and mental relief by the knowledge of God's love and mercy, and a load of anxiety fell away. Convinced against his own inclinations of the truth of Baptist principles by a reading of Wilson's Scripture Manual, he presented himself for baptism in January, 1752, at Hamsterley, after which he became a member of the church at Hexham, and, five months later, he was called to the ministry.

The little Baptist church at Arnesby was already nearly a hundred years old when, in 1753, its people invited Robert Hall to the pastorate. While they awaited his arrival from Northumberland, the Arnesby Baptists felt certain they had made a wise choice in calling Robert Hall. In addition to their own

knowledge of him they had heard that his ancestors were farmers, a fact which promised stability of character and firmness of mind. From the first days of his ministry among them they saw that their hopes were fulfilled. The zealous pastor showed a balanced judgment, a sound grasp of fundamentals, and displayed a pleasing eloquence in the pulpit. For nearly forty years he laboured among them, their leader, counsellor and friend, revealing all those qualities which combine to make a sound minister of the Word of God. For several years the poverty of his people prevented them from raising any more than a mere pittance of £15 a year for his support, and he was obliged to augment his stipend by cultivating a small farm. "I found my heart so united to the people that I never durst leave them, though I often thought I must. . . . It appeared pretty clear to myself and my wife that we were where God would have us be," he said on one occasion. Hall quickly established himself as one of the strongest pillars of the Association, and from time to time he was invited to write the circular letter which that body sent out to its churches, the most notable of these letters being his work on the Trinity, which ran into several editions.

But Robert Hall was to have a far wider influence than that of a mere local celebrity. Generally speaking, the denominational theology of the time was cast within the rigid moulds of an iron Calvinism. Any prospect of advance was held up by the barrier of an inflexible theology. Predestination to the point of fatalism meant eternal life for a selected few, the rest being condemned to damnation. With such a doctrine there was no motive for the elect minority to go forth and evangelise the remainder. To God was left the gathering in of those upon whom the eye of His favour fell. Among the Baptists two men set themselves to the task of liberation, and under their influence the fetters began to fall. They were Andrew Fuller and Robert Hall. The way was opened by Hall when he preached the sermon which Ivimey rightly judged marked the beginning of the new era. Hall, with his *Help to Zion's Travellers,* and then Fuller, with his *Gospel Worthy of all Acceptation,* mellowed and broadened Baptist theology and proved that the old doctrinal power of Calvinism could be united with practical evangelism to the revival of fervour, the salvation of souls and the glory of God. Without Robert Hall, and the lead he gave, the course of Baptist history would have been far different, and the little gathering in a Kettering parlour on October 2nd, 1792, could never have taken place.

In Robert Hall's congregation at Arnesby there could occasionally be seen a young man who frequently walked more than

twenty miles to hear Hall preach. His name was William Carey. Robert Hall was Carey's hero, and it was from him that the father of modern missions learned to preach. Carey once wrote: "It was one of my chief privileges to be favoured with the kind advice, and kinder criticism, of men of the greatest eminence, and their friendship was a jewel I could not too highly prize." No doubt while the cobbler-preacher was listening to his hero preaching, his mind went back to the time when, at twenty years of age, he was trying to formulate his spiritual experience into a creed which would satisfy both the intellect and the soul, and his friend, the Rev. Thomas Skinner, put a little book into his hands of which Carey later declared: "I do not remember ever to have read any book with such raptures." The volume which helped him so tremendously and cleared his doubts, while confirming his self-wrought views, was Hall's *Help to Zion's Travellers*. The same copy, well-thumbed and worm-eaten, with careful notes in his own neat handwriting on the margin of every page, was found amongst his possessions in India after his death.

How much the Baptists, and indeed all Christendom, owes to the saintly village pastor, Robert Hall, cannot adequately be assessed, and it is to be hoped that when the B.M.S. celebrations are held next year due honour and praise will be accorded to his name. In addition to his influence over Carey, and upon the doctrinal thought of his day, Robert Hall's part in shaping the mind and character of his great son, himself a powerful advocate of the B.M.S., cannot be overlooked. When Hall had been at Arnesby eleven years his fourteenth child was born and given his father's name. The younger Robert Hall was to become the Chrysostom of the British pulpit, the greatest Free Churchman of the age, and, as the *New York Observer* declared, "the boast of Christianity and the pride of learning." The son outshone the father in intellectual genius, pulpit power and universal fame, but the formation of his strong and lovely character, his theological convictions, and his decision to consecrate his unique gifts to the service of God, can be traced to the unconscious example, as well as the direct teaching, of the worthy minister of Arnesby. It may be said without exaggeration that the greater Robert Hall would not have been the giant he was had it not been for his venerable father. His father's wise teaching in theological matters, upon which the younger Hall once said he regarded him as "not less than an oracle," the sage advice he gave in those long, intimate talks they had together by the kitchen fire in the old home, the guidance in preaching, the ever-present example of Christian beauty of character at its best, all contributed to make Robert Hall the younger, the man, the thinker, the great preacher that he became. And it was certainly fitting

that when Carey's pulpit at Leicester fell vacant Robert Hall junior should be invited to the pastorate, to add yet more fame to the church at Harvey Lane. The younger Hall's influence upon the life of the Free Churches and upon the entire nation, from the most eminent to the lowest ranks of the humble, was truly incalculable. The two greatest figures of the religious life of that day may well be claimed to have been William Carey and the younger Robert Hall. All that they were in character and in power, all that they achieved for the Kingdom of God, may be traced to a humble, saintly village pastor in the obscurity of the Leicestershire countryside.

On Sunday, March 13th, 1791, after he had preached to his little congregation, Robert Hall was taken ill. To a friend who had called to see him he said, "Fear nothing: do not be afraid of trouble, trials, nor even death: if the Lord is with you, you will do." They were almost his last words, for in the evening he collapsed at the feet of his wife and quietly passed away. On the following Thursday the little chapel proved too small to hold the crowd which had gathered to pay tribute to his memory, and Dr. Ryland was obliged to preach the funeral sermon in the open air, taking as his text the words, "It is finished." In the course of a lengthy delineation of Robert Hall's character, his great friend, Fuller, declared: "He appeared to the greatest advantage upon subjects where the faculties of most men fail them, for the natural element of his mind was greatness." He concluded his testimony to the all-round nobility of his friend by saying, "Upon the whole, if a strong and penetrating genius, simplicity of manners, integrity of heart, fidelity in friendship, and all these virtues consecrated by a piety the most ardent and sincere on the high altar of devotion, have any claim to respect, the memory of the deceased will long be cherished with tears of admiration and regret by those who knew him." Twenty-three years later the memory of his father's spiritual greatness was still fresh within the mind of the son, for he stated, "I shall ever esteem it one of the greatest favours an indulgent Providence has bestowed upon me, to have possessed such a father, whom, in all the essential features of character, it will be my humble ambition to imitate, though conscious it must ever be—'*Haud passibus aequis.*'" To-day, a hundred and fifty years later, we thank God, as did those who mourned his death the more deeply because of their personal knowledge of his qualities, for the witness, the influence and the memory of Robert Hall the elder, the village pastor who travelled triumphantly to Zion and led many along the same joyful pilgrimage.

GRAHAM W. HUGHES.

An Anthropologist and Baptist Missions.

DR. VON FÜRER-HAIMENDORF is an Austrian anthropologist who went out to India in 1936 to spend a year among the Nagas, on the north-eastern frontier of Assam and Burma, and who has published in *The Naked Nagas* (Methuen, 1939) an account of his experiences, and of the life and customs of the people. The author states in the Preface that this is not a scientific book, and that his scientific material is being published elsewhere. One of its chapters consists of an attack on the work of the American Baptist Mission among these hill folk, away beyond our own Lushai Mission. This appears to have been the only Mission with which the author came into direct contact, and his complaints are against things which are not peculiar to the outlook of the missionaries of a single station or mission. His chapter is headed "Heathens and Baptists," and is embellished with some sneers against Baptists and baptism.

A more modest man would have hesitated before launching this attack against men who, instead of spending a short time amongst these people in the pursuit of their own private interests, had made their home amongst them with the single desire to serve them. Dr. von Fürer-Haimendorf professes a deep affection for these primitive people, but he has no word of tribute for these missionaries, who have given clearer evidence of a lasting affection for them. He prefers to leave them to their self-sacrificing service, while he pours scorn on them in another land, where they cannot even reply. Happily he has provided the reply to his own strictures, and the pages of his own book are sufficient to expose the hollowness of his attack.

In the old days, he tells us, the older boys and girls were not allowed to sleep in the houses of their parents, lest it led to incest; the boys were educated in the *morungs,* and there they slept. Now, however, the Christians condemn these institutions, and where the Mission works the *morungs* are falling into decay, with the consequent disintegration of the social life of the community.

The nature of this social life the author describes with great frankness. It is marked by utter immorality, and his gentle suggestion that the missionaries were removing a check on incest offers a grossly unfair implication that they were relaxing the control of sexual purity. Amongst the Nagas, we are told, a

woman first goes to the house of her husband when she has borne a child. Prior to that, even after her marriage, she remains in her father's house. There, both before she is married and after, she receives the favours of her lovers, and even after marriage is by no means limited to her husband. When her child is born, and she goes to her husband's house, he must receive her child as his, even though he knows it is the fruit of an illicit union. In his Preface the author refers to "their promiscuous love affairs," and he tells how the boys steal off at nights to the granaries to dally with the girls, and how, in one district, the girls put glowing ash under their beds as a sign that their lovers may share them. These are the charming customs that are being undermined by the missionaries.

To an anthropologist, perhaps, it is of importance that these customs should be preserved in the world, but scarcely to a lover of men. For the author gives us glimpses into the bitter pain that these customs bring. He tells us of one Shankok, of whom he became very fond. When still a boy he was married to a pretty girl, who did not lack lovers while she lived at home. She came into his house when she had borne a daughter, who was not his child. Shankok had no interest in her, or in her child, and treated her with studied contempt. He already had two children of his own, who were growing up in other homes as the children of other men, and now he had a love affair with another married girl, named Shikna. When Shikna was about to become a mother by him he knew that she would have to go to her husband's home, and be lost to him for ever, and he was filled with deep sorrow at the prospect. "His heart aches for his love, Shikna," says the author, "and his spirit revolts against a fate which, I must admit, is in no way enviable." That unenviable lot, and the yet more unenviable lot of his despised wife, are the fruit of the customs the anthropologist finds so full of charm, and the missionaries who are seeking to liberate the people from those customs are working to spare the Shankoks of another generation this needless suffering.

The missionaries are also attacked because they forbid their converts to drink rice-beer, which refreshes on hot days, encourages to carry harvest-baskets, and loosens the tongue. The author tells us how, in the harvest fields, boys and girls work together, the girls being, more often than not, the mistresses of the boys, who take a pride in making their companions so drunk that they must carry them home. "One evening," he writes, "as I was coming home with Shankok through the ripening fields, we heard peals of laughter coming from one of the field-houses. Shankok whispered to me, it must be an 'end-of-the-weeding feast.' Sure enough, the next moment out tottered a girl, who

subsided almost at once on the ground. Boys tumbled screaming out of the hut, and with roars of laughter tried to drag the fallen girl to her feet; but they were not very successful, for she only stayed weakly where she was, and seemed incapable of making any effort herself. The six other girls, who one after the other appeared in the doorway, did not seem to me any more sober than the first, the pretty Meniu, of Shankok's clan, by now hanging helplessly round the neck of a Bala boy. He made short work of it, and taking the half-unconscious girl laughingly on his back, walked triumphantly ahead, while the other tottering girls followed, very much with the support of their friends. The light of the deep yellow moon creeping over the mountains shone full on this rollicking bacchanal, and the evening stillness was rent by shrill, drunken laughter. 'Look, Sahib,' whispered Shankok, 'the boy there with Meniu on his back is Henyong. Until a few weeks ago he went with Liphung, the daughter of Yona, every night; but she has married, and now he runs after Meniu. The poor girl, she has had too much rice-beer to-night. Only look! now she is being sick—oh, look! all that beer on Henyong's shoulder. He will be proud of that!'" It takes an anthropologist to lament that missionaries are working to bring to an end such disgusting scenes.

Dr. von Fürer-Haimendorf reinforces his criticism here, however, by venturing into the field of economics. The missionaries are displacing rice-beer by tea, he tells us, and this disturbs the economic balance of the village. "Rice-beer is brewed from the superfluous rice," he says, "while tea and sugar must be bought in the plains with hard cash. . . . The disturbance of a well-balanced economic system often induces the Naga to seek employment in the plains as a coolie, so that he may be able to buy those 'cultural goods' the missionary has taught him to covet."

The author takes a different view of trade with the plains when it suits his purpose, however. He describes a great head-hunting feast, whose preparation takes some weeks. Much that belongs to the ceremonial dress worn on the occasion has to be imported into the district, and for this money has to be found. Hence the people carry their "pan" leaves and plaited mats to the markets of the plains. "Thus," we are told, "the bringing in of a head not only furthers, in a magical way, the fertility of the village, but also in a more concrete manner acts as an incentive to trade and production. In fact, the prohibition of head-hunting deprives the Nagas, not only of an exciting sport, but also of a stimulation to increased economic efforts." Apparently, therefore, the author thinks trade is an economic evil if it brings imports of tea, but an economic boon if it brings

the materials for a head-hunting feast. He rightly confesses that his book is not scientific. It is not even consistent.

It is clear from the last quotation that Dr. von Fürer-Haimendorf laments the passing of head-hunting. He tells us how some of the Nagas hold the prohibition of head-hunting responsible for many evils, and declares that they are right. "Since head-hunting has been forbidden," he says, "the intercourse between villages has become safer and more frequent, and disease, so easily carried from one village to another, takes greater toll than any of the old wars." Yet with fine inconsistency we find that when the author goes with a Government punitive expedition to Pangsha, and shares in the burning and plundering of the village, he takes a different view of head-hunting. "All these heads," he says, "convince me that we do no wrong to Pangsha in plundering the village, for what, after all, is the plundering of an evacuated village to the massacre of Saochu and Kejok? For every pig our coolies spear to-day, five human heads at least can be reckoned on that infamous raid." Apparently he did not reflect on the great stimulus trade must have had!

The Pangsha men were slave-raiders as well as head-hunters, and we are told that "the slave-raider horrifies the head-hunter just as much as the head-hunter horrifies his more peaceful neighbours." The victims of these slave raids do not work for their captors, however; they are destined to provide human sacrifices. Here, once more, Dr. von Fürer-Haimendorf displays his catholicity. "It is difficult to distinguish clearly between head-hunting and human sacrifice," he says, "for the main importance of taking a head is not the glory of war, but the gain of the magical forces inherent in the skull. Why, therefore, should these forces not be acquired in a less dangerous way?" It will be observed that these practices of head-hunting and human sacrifice are directly associated with the religion of the people—that religion which the learned author finds so superior to that of the Baptist missionaries. He even describes the human sacrifices, and tells us, "The worst fate awaits those slaves who are sacrificed at the sowing of the rice, for it is said that the victim is bound to a stake, from where he must watch the flames creeping up the dry, felled jungle, roaring as the wind fans them. The spirit which leaves the poor charred body is believed to fertilise the crops." And so this diabolical cruelty springs directly out of their religion.

We are told that the converts to Christianity wear sullen faces, and that they are mere shadows of Nagas, and that where the Mission is, the radiant crowd and merry feast have gone, perhaps never to return. It is perhaps a pity Dr. von Fürer-

Haimendorf was not able to look on the faces of those victims of human sacrifice, to describe the radiance he found there. He did, however, look on the faces of some slaves destined for such a fate, who were released by the Government expedition to Pangsha. Of these he says, "I have never seen more miserable creatures than these five slaves." He tells us of a slave boy who was bought from the Chongwe people. "A few old men went to Chongwe," we are told, "to fetch the slave; it was a small boy, and he had no idea what was going to happen. They put a feather head-dress on his head, and led him away with friendly words, for they felt sorry for the boy. There below, near the river, our young men lay in hiding; when they saw the boy they rushed up to him and cut him into pieces." Even heathen pity is stirred by the victims of customs whose passing a scientist deplores. For heathenism means sadder scenes than the faces that seemed to this author sullen.

Again, the missionaries are criticised because they oppose the "feasts of merit." At these, he tells us, the rich give from their plenty to entertain the whole community, and this should be recognised as the fulfilment of very Christian teaching. Now, however, the rice of the wealthy does not serve as food for the poor, but is either sold, or rots in the granaries; and one convert boasted to the author of the fullness of his granaries with blackened rice. He would seem not to allow the possibility that this rice might have been saved from the rice-beer, since the Christians do not make it; he will only have it that it was selfishly taken from the mouths of the poor, through the suppression of the truly Christian "feasts of merit." Yet the author describes one of these "feasts of merit," when rice-beer flowed freely "in enormous quantities," and "a fortune in animals" was slaughtered, and when a fertility ritual was observed in connection with the erection of two stone menhirs. Later in the book he recognises an association between these menhirs and some other stone monuments, also of fertility significance, which he saw. These were very realistic phalli, with symbols of the female complement. One would suppose that an anthropologist would be able here to see evidence that in the "feasts of merit" there is something not quite characteristic of Christianity, and that he would understand why the missionaries opposed them.

The author complains that boys who attend the school of the Mission often leave the village and go to Kohima to find work as clerks or teachers—posts that his brother-Nagas describe as "eat-and-sit work." It is surprising, therefore, to find that when Dr. von Fürer-Haimendorf was in Kohima, he was glad to find one of these Mission products, though from a different Naga district, and to engage him as his teacher. The Nagas, he

tells us, can neither read nor write; but this young man of twenty spoke, in addition to his mother tongue, Assamese, English, Hindustani, Bengali, Ao Naga, and a few words of Gurkhali. Moreover, he was a thoroughly competent teacher, "a hundred times more efficient than my learned Bengali." Here is excellent testimony to the effectiveness of Mission schools, and it may occur to fair-minded readers to wonder why the author should so dislike missions for providing what he was so glad to find. It may also seem surprising that a scientist should lament that minds so capable of learning should not be left in ignorance and stagnation.

Finally, Dr. von Fürer-Haimendorf tells us how he did not hesitate to set himself up as an authority on theology, and to advise the natives not to listen to what the missionaries told them. Perhaps it was because he carried an Oxford Bible about with him, which he used, he tells us, as a kind of book-rest to Goethe's *Faust*, that he felt able to do this. At any rate, his incursion into the realm of theology only led him into the crudest syncretism. "Lunkizungba," he told them, "is the same as the God of the Christians; only the names are different." If *The Naked Nagas* gives any fair impression of the religion of the Nagas, much more than the names are different.

Much more might be added to show how baseless are the complaints, on the evidence of this book itself, against the missionaries. They are held responsible for the prospective disappearance of the native art, which again is associated with the religious and moral ideas of heathenism. They are, admittedly, working for the extension of the Christian faith and its expression in Christian standards of life. Head-hunting, and all that is associated with it, fertility ritual and sexual licence, obscene symbolism and rollicking bacchanals, are necessarily and inevitably undermined by the success of their work. If they were not, they would be unworthy of the name of Christian missionaries. It is no dishonour to American Baptist missionaries to be scorned by an anthropologist for their loyalty to their mission.

H. H. Rowley.

Fifty Fruitful Years.[1]

THIS title covers the story of the founding of the Sunday School Board by the Southern Baptist Convention in 1891, and of developments during the following half-century. The book deserves all praise as a careful and well-written presentation of facts. It is also excellently printed and illustrated.

Visitors to Nashville and to the present headquarters of the Sunday School Board have been impressed with the amazing growth of an enterprise that began from nothing, but has been so skilfully guided that it now counts among the most successful of commercial undertakings and religious publishing houses. It is closely linked with every section of Southern Baptist work. Indeed, nothing has contributed more powerfully to the popularity and success of the Board than the generosity with which it has allocated from its profits huge amounts for the promotion of Baptist causes outside its own control. Between 1892 and 1940 some six and a quarter million dollars were thus given (over £1,500,000 at present rates of exchange), in addition to enormous sums applied to its own rapidly developing departments.

Dr. Burroughs tells of the steady and notable expansion of the Board's activities; but the reader is impressed still more deeply by the courage, devotion, and evangelical spirit of its leaders, and by the ever-widening and deepening unity of Southern Baptists in its support. When we recall that no organisation within our communion has increased so rapidly as the Southern Baptist Convention, which now includes about five million church members, we understand that the Board had a vast potential *clientele;* and a large part of its story reveals the skill with which it used its great opportunities, adapting its machinery and output to the constantly enlarging needs of its natural constituency.

It would do British Baptists good to read this book, if only for the glimpses of leaders among the Southern Baptists from the Civil War onwards. Dr. Burroughs has prefaced the narrative of the Board with an account of earlier publishing efforts; and through his pages move such figures as James P. Boyce, John A. Broadus, and Basil Manly, whose names are heroic in Baptist history. (The last two are commemorated in the "concertina" title "Broadman Press," which appears on the title page of the Board's publications.) Here, too, are many

[1] *Fifty Fruitful Years: The Story of the Sunday School Board of the Southern Baptist Convention.* By P. E. Burroughs (Nashville: The Broadman Press, $1.00 net).

who in later years became well known in Britain—among them J. B. Gambrell, E. Y. Mullins, R. H. Pitt, and J. R. Sampey, the last-named still in active service. Dr. Truett has a place of his own; as far back as 1898 he already appears as chairman of a committee dealing with the affairs of the Board at a critical time. The crowded pages stir me as, sometimes in almost every line, I encounter the names of men whom I know and esteem. The records of the Sunday School Board not only involve contacts with every phase of Southern Baptist life, but with interests far beyond the U.S.A. I find its funds supporting the Baptist World Alliance, and I come upon the name of Dr. Frank H. Leavell, the leader of its "Student Union" department, who has done so much in conjunction with the Young People's Committee of the Alliance to further the international fraternity of students.

Amid a multitude of competent and devoted workers a few men stand conspicuous. The first is Dr. John Marion Frost, the true father of the Board and its first secretary, who served—with but a short interval—from 1891 until his death in 1916. His term of office covered the most critical period in the history of the enterprise—in 1896 its actual existence was in question—but before his death it was firmly established. Nineteen-seventeen saw the election as secretary of I. J. Van Ness, who had already served the Board for seventeen years as Editor, and under his leadership it attained new levels of prosperity and usefulness. Dr. Van Ness retired in 1935, and was immediately succeeded by the energetic and magnetic Dr. T. L. Holcomb, who is still in office. In selecting these names I have indicated those whom the Convention has itself honoured by calling them to accept the supreme responsibility. But when I think of the Sunday School Board, it is of so many gifted workers and personal friends that no passing reference can compass more than a few. Hight C. Moore stands out, not only chairman of the editorial division, but a secretary of the Convention—the most genial of men. Dr. Burroughs, who writes the book lying before me, heads a division known as "education and promotion," and it covers not only Sunday School and young people's work in a bewildering variety of forms, but branches out into such sub-divisions as "church architecture" (originally set up to ensure that in church planning adequate provision should be made for the young) and "survey and statistics." This last sounds strangely, but has been of extraordinary value; I have for years regarded Dr. E. P. Alldredge, who looks after it, as one of the greatest of living statisticians. The business division under Dr. J. O. Williams is a vast affair, in spite of the fact that the Board confines itself to publishing and distributing and does not print. (Its printing bills run to over $600,000 annually.)

Let me emphasise that the story of the Sunday School Board is not merely that of a prosperous business concern. All through its existence it has been definitely a missionary enterprise, concerned for propaganda in the true sense (see John xx. 31). This dominant purpose is the secret of its prosperity; and so far as *Fifty Fruitful Years* finds its way into the hands of British Baptists it will be found crowded with suggestion.

J. H. RUSHBROOKE.

HISTORY is a series of happenings, not a logical process; and those who try to explain it by the popular slogans such as are inspired by the words "evolution" and "progress" are not to be trusted—least of all when they, consciously or unconsciously, slip in philosophical or moral deductions from their observation of world-annals.

There are many who will try to reconstruct what they must needs call a "Philosophy of History." I can only see a series of occurrences—and fail to draw any constructive moral from them.

Against vague theories of "Progress" and "Evolution," in which I disbelieve—holding that history is a series of happenings, with no inevitability about it—we have to set the hard fact of the appearance of occasional individuals, of the few men who have turned the stream of events into unexpected courses.

Sir Charles Oman, K.B.E., Hon. D.C.L., Oxford, Hon. LL.D. Cambridge and Edinburgh, F.B.A., Chichele Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford.

Reviews.

Mind and Deity. By John Laird. (George Allen & Unwin, 10s. 6d. net.)

This is the second of a series of Gifford Lectures delivered at Glasgow University by Dr. Laird, who is Regius Professor of Moral Philosophy at Aberdeen. Dr. Laird is a sincere and honest, as well as a competent thinker, as those of us who have read him before are aware. In the present instance he is dealing with the foundations of all religious faith, and his closely-reasoned argument never allows the mind of the reader to slacken.

In what he calls "an ennead in three triads," that is to say nine lectures in three sets of three, Dr. Laird discusses the Ontological argument in its various aspects. He first analyses the Nature of Mind with the implications for Idealism; thereafter he deals with the Nature of God, His Omniscience, Divine Personality and Providence; and finally he examines the whole subject in the light of Metaphysics where we look at Value and Existence, the Moral Proofs of Theism, and Pantheism. A final chapter of Concluding Reflections completes the book.

As can be gathered from the summary, the book is hardly a bed-time companion. It demands close attention, and even if one feels the conclusions to be, from the Christian point of view, somewhat negative—Dr. Laird, for instance, inclines to an impersonal rather than a personal theism—one cannot but be stimulated by contact with so able a thinker. In some personal words at the end Dr. Laird admits that he himself "did not appreciate the force of theism" when he began his enquiry, and he adds that, as the result of his close analysis, while he does not think any theistic argument conclusive, he inclines to the belief that theistic metaphysics is stronger than most. It may not seem much, but from so honest a thinker it means a great deal.

HENRY COOK.

The Night is Far Spent, by Kenneth Ingram. (George Allen & Unwin, 5*s.*)

In the circumstances which now challenge the world and the churches alike leading Christians fall into three main groups. The first perceive the crisis but not the vital issues; the second stridently accuse the Church of incompetence and her officials of being traitors to Christ; the third appreciate the real forces at work, largely understand the situation and believe the Church is capable of rising to grasp the opportunities before her. To this

third type Mr. Ingram evidently belongs, for his book proves he is alive to the changes taking place and to the possibilities lying ahead. He maintains that only Christianity, shorn of non-fundamentals, expressed in terms the mind of the new age can understand, realising that because God is in history social and spiritual issues cannot be separated, can supply the dynamic necessary to build a new and better civilisation, and he deals with a variety of topics in passing, all in a thoroughly interesting manner. Convincing, yet not offensively dogmatic, reasonably and clearly expressed as this stimulating book is, it should appeal not only to those younger clergy and ministers who are "afire with discontent," but to all who want to see the Church spiritually reborn and making a triumphant impact upon the coming age.

GRAHAM W. HUGHES.

The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages. By Beryl Smalley. (Oxford University Press, 17s. 6d.)

In this learned and fascinating study Miss Smalley has contributed much to our knowledge of the subject of her research. That subject is somewhat narrower than the title might lead the reader to expect, for she terminates her work at about the year 1300 A.D., and imposes upon it the geographical limitation to England, northern France and the Rhineland. But within the limits she sets herself, she has carried out intensive and detailed research, much of it on the basis of unpublished manuscripts, and she unveils a surprising amount of activity in Biblical study in ages that we commonly, and unjustly, label "dark." She is particularly interested in the influence of Jewish writers on Christian exegesis, and especially in the influence of Rashi. She shows how the allegorical method of interpretation that had become completely divorced from the plain meaning of the text, and lifted the Biblical revelation out of the history in which its feet are so firmly set, gave place in this age to a return to sounder and more sober principles, and she ascribes the credit for this in no small measure to the Jewish scholars who were frequently consulted. To many readers it will be a surprise to learn that Old Testament scholarship was more soundly based than New, and that there was a much greater interest in the original Hebrew of the Old than in the original Greek of the New Testament, though interest in the latter was not entirely wanting.

About a quarter of the book is devoted to a writer whose work has suffered an undeserved neglect, and who is almost unknown, Andrew of St. Victor. Miss Smalley has devoted herself to the study of manuscripts of his works, from which she quotes considerable extracts in an Appendix. While there is no

definite evidence in support of the tradition that Andrew was an Englishman, Miss Smalley believes that it is sound, and certainly much of his work was done in England. He was a man who loved the Bible for itself, who was given to "explaining Scripture in terms of everyday life," and who made it live with fresh beauty and vigour for his readers, and he appears to have exercised a much greater influence than his forgotten name would suggest.

The chapter on Andrew is preceded by a short treatment of the Fathers, an account of Biblical study in the monastic and cathedral schools, and an account of Andrew's predecessors in the school of St. Victor, while the later sections of the book deal with Peter Comestor, Peter the Chanter, Stephen Langton and the Friars. In her concluding chapter Miss Smalley observes how large a part in her story was played by Englishmen—Bede and Alcuin, Stephen Langton, Robert Grosseteste, Roger Bacon, William de la Mare and Nicholas Trivet—and observes that "Englishmen have always preferred a concrete thing, such as a text, to an abstract idea." It would be a fitting sequel to her study if she could trace the influence of the spirit of the circles she describes on the ages that followed their own. In a sentence she declares that there was a continuous sequence from Andrew of St. Victor to the nineteenth century Benjamin Boothroyd, but it lies outside her purview to show how this deep interest in the meaning of Scripture lies behind the work of Wiclif and Tindale. It is not surprising that the successors of Englishmen like Andrew—if he was an Englishman—who sought to get behind fanciful exegesis to the meaning of the text itself, should be eager to put that text into the mother-tongue of their fellows, to become in its turn the direct inspiration of that devotion to Biblical religion, of which our Baptist faith is one of the fruits. It is highly probable that our own roots lie more deeply in the period Miss Smalley studies than we commonly suppose. But whether so or not, she has performed a real service in dispelling some of our darkness concerning it, and in unveiling the active interest in the Bible which marked the mediaeval cloister. "If a man does not bring his common sense to bear upon Scripture," said Anselm of Laon, "the more subtle, the madder he is." To the strain of common sense restored to Biblical study in the period to which this work is devoted we owe a lasting debt.

H. H. Rowley.

Let's Try Reality, by W. Rowland Jones (George Allen & Unwin, 3s. 6d. net).

The author is a Manchester vicar, and he indulges in much plain speaking against the churches, politicians, bankers and

others. He can tear a passion to tatters, "I am tired of shams . . . and I am sick of them," but he cannot so readily construct the new world. Before he published this book he wrote weekly articles for a newspaper; perhaps he had better return to the newspaper.

The Upper Room, by R. A. Edwards (Methuen & Co., 7s. 6d. net).

Christ lived and spoke in the Jewish world and talked to Jews. When this is remembered, the story and meaning of Christianity is seen in a fresh and sometimes in a more useful light. So the author bids us enter the Upper Room and listen to the Master Himself as He talks to His disciples.

The Incarnation, the Atonement, the Lord's Supper and the Kingdom, are discussed, and an effort made to understand what the terms conveyed to the disciples. The Bible student will find this book repay careful study.

Christian Reunion, A Plea for Action, by Hugh Martin (Student Christian Movement Press, 6s. net).

Mr. Martin is the flaming apostle of Christian Reunion, although when he thinks of the indifference of the average church member he may feel himself a voice crying in the wilderness. He believes that what he describes as the disunion of the churches means waste and ineffectiveness, and that reunion is an urgent necessity. He suggests that few of the causes that led to our denominational divisions exist to-day. Is that so? Surely the Establishment, Baptismal Regeneration, Episcopacy, Priesthood, and the like, divide Anglicans and Free Churchmen as strongly as ever, and are a complete stumbling-block to organic reunion. Mr. Martin admits that, concerning baptism, Baptists raise acute and fundamental problems which demand more careful consideration than they have yet received in Faith and Order discussions. He himself outlines the Baptist position quite fairly, and endeavours to advance a reconciling point of view. He is an optimist, however, if he thinks that Baptists will accept that "the total action in infant baptism and confirmation is the same as in believer's baptism." This *Plea* deserves careful study: it is more than a brief and sketchy book (which is Mr. Martin's own description of it). We do not recall another book which deals so competently and fairly with the various issues involved.

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With the Officers.

Contents

Essays.

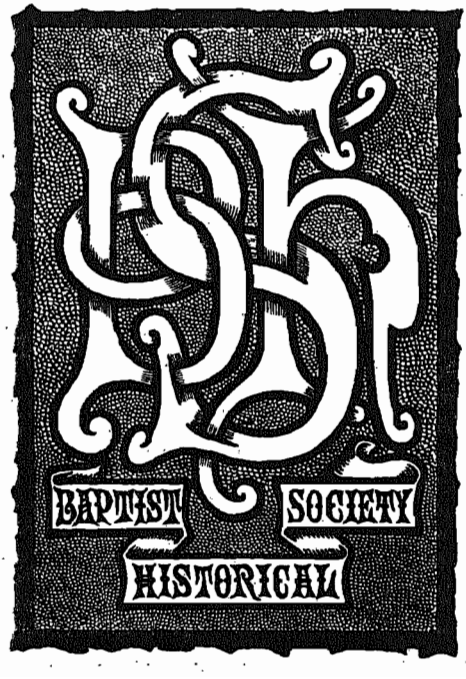
Baptist History and Biography.

SHORT NOTES.

REVIEWS.

Contributors

Plates



Index

to Persons, Places, Subjects and Incidents connected with Baptist History.