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Editorial Notes

THE Baptist Historical Society will hold its ANNUAL MEETING on Monday, 23rd April, from 4.30 to 6 p.m., in the Lounge at Bloomsbury Central Church. Following a short business session there will be an address by the Rev. GORDON RUPP, M.A., B.D., tutor in Church history at Richmond Methodist College. It is hoped that a light tea at a moderate charge may be provided, and it will simplify catering arrangements if those who intend being present will, well beforehand, notify the Secretary, Rev. G. W. Hughes, 156, Reinwood Road, Lindley, Huddersfield. These meetings are greatly appreciated by those who attend and we trust that everyone who can will make an effort to be present this year.

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At the Assembly of 1925 the minister of St. Andrew's Street, Cambridge was appointed Secretary of the Baptist Union. At the Assembly of April, 1951, the Rev. M. E. Aubrey, C.H., D.C.L., LL.D., will hand over the Secretaryship to his successor, the Rev. Ernest A. Payne, M.A., B.D., B.Litt. The twenty-six years during which Mr. Aubrey has occupied the secretarial chair have been among the most difficult in the history of the denomination. The first Assembly for which he was responsible was held during the General Strike, six others were held during the tumult and tragedy of war and the whole period has been characterised by tension and disorder abroad and changes of a revolutionary nature at home. Those twenty-six years have seen the work of the Baptist Union multiply enormously and become increasingly complex. They have seen great denominational enterprises inaugurated, culminating in Baptist Advance. Significant developments have taken place in many directions, interest in the work of the Union has grown, the sense of Baptist fellowship has deepened and the denomination has taken its rightful place in the formation and work of the Free Church Federal Council, the British Council of Churches, of which Mr. Aubrey is a Vice-President, and the World Council of Churches, of whose Central Committee he is an honoured member. To have remained at the helm throughout these significant years has been itself no mean achievement. A lesser man could not have endured the strain. In the high and onerous office which he has filled with

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distinction, Mr. Aubrey has manifested rare gifts and exercised statesmanlike leadership which the Assembly will salute with gratitude as a memorable Secretaryship comes to a close.

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The American weekly, *Time*, is not a journal in which one expects to meet British Baptists. But casually glancing through a copy some time ago we were agreeably surprised to see smiling from the open page the unmistakeable, genial features of "scholarly Dr. F. Townley Lord, pastor of Bloomsbury Central Church in London, England." That week, in Cleveland, the greatest honour in the gift of Baptists—the Presidency of the Baptist World Alliance—had been conferred upon the Burnley-born editor of the *Baptist Times* who is, incidentally, a member of our own Committee and has been prominently associated with the Historical Society for some years. As far as Baptists in this country are concerned no more popular choice for the B.W.A. Presidency could have been made. Dr. Lord will deliver his Presidential Address at the Jubilee Congress of the Alliance in London in 1955.

Before this issue of the *Quarterly* is published, Dr. Lord will have crossed the Atlantic for a three months' presidential journey in the course of which he will take the chair at the meeting in April of the World Alliance Executive and visit the Northern Convention in Boston, the Southern Convention in San Francisco and the Ontario and Quebec Convention in Hamilton. He will take part in various college and university celebrations, ministers' conferences and in the evangelistic campaigns which are being held simultaneously in 20,000 churches of the Southern Convention. In addition he will be preaching on Sundays in churches in the North and South. As he undertakes this formidable programme, Dr. Lord will be accompanied by the good wishes of all British Baptists.

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By the sudden death of Dr. Percy W. Evans (reported while this issue was printing) not only has the Baptist Historical Society lost an honoured Vice-President but the denomination is deprived of a leader whose scholarship, wisdom and personal character had gained for him widespread admiration and affection within the Free Churches and beyond. The influence of his distinguished twenty-five years' Principalship of Spurgeon's College will long remain. We hope to print a commemorative article in due course but, meanwhile, we mourn the passing of a great man the denomination can ill spare.

An Anabaptist Meeting in Zollikon, 1525

Translated from the German by Prof. John Allen Moore, Ph.D., Professor of Church History and Missions, Baptist Theological Seminary, Rüschlikon-Zürich, and published with Prof. Fritz Blanke's approval.

ON the twenty-first of January 1525, the Zurich authorities dealt their first serious blow against the new Anabaptist movement. They forbade the "special schools," that is, the meetings of the innovators, and condemned the six leaders of the movement. Konrad Grebel and Felix Manz, both citizens of Zurich, were forbidden to speak publicly. The non-Zurichers were dealt with more harshly: Wilhelm Roeubli of Rottenburg on the Neckar, Ludwig Haetzer of Thurgau, Andreas Castelberger of Graubunden, and Johannes Broetli, whose place of origin is unknown, were exiled; they had to swear under oath that they would leave the canton within eight days, reckoned from January twenty-first.

Ruedi Thomann, an old peasant from a well-known Zollikon family, did not want this period to pass without having in his home two of the banished men with whom he was apparently connected; he invited Roeubli and Broetli to a farewell supper. Wilhelm Roeubli, pastor in Witikon near Zurich, had been the first to bring the attack against infant baptism into the pulpit (March, 1524). Broetli, formerly a chaplain in Quarten on the Lake of Wallen, and since the summer of 1523 living without benefice in Zollikon, had from the summer of 1524 carried on open opposition to the church's baptismal practice. The two former Catholic clergymen, now aggressive representatives of Anabaptist thought, had been before going over to the Anabaptist cause just as impetuous disciples of Zwingli, evidenced by the fact that they were among the first priests to marry (in the spring of 1523).

The farewell dinner takes place on Wednesday evening, 25th January, 1525, in the home of Ruedi Thomanns in the so-called "Gstad" section of the village of Zollikon near Zurich. Beside the two theologians and the host, Marx Bosshart, the son-in-law of Thomann who lived with his father-in-law, is present. While the four of them are still eating, Manz and Blaurock come in.

Georg Cajakob, called Blaurock (Bluecoat), from Bonaduz in Graubenden and at that time about thirty-three years of age, soon became one of the best known of the Anabaptists. Like Rouebli and Broetli he was a former Catholic priest. He was a zealot; his friends called him a "second Paul." As the son of a peasant he understood very well the feling of the country people. Ruedi Thomann had not known Manz and Blaurock personally before this. Why do they come on this evening to this house in spite of that? Not because of him personally, but because there is to be in his house this day a (forbidden!) religious meeting. Whether this meeting was suggested by Thomann himself or by Broetli and Roeubli, we do not know. In any event, Ruedi Thomann makes his room available for it.

After supper three other visitors appear: Heinrich Thomann, Ruedi's brother; Jacob Hottinger, an old man from one of the best-known Zollikon families; and Hans Bruggbach from Zumikon, a village near Zollikon. Nine men—five farmers, three theologians, and one educated in the secular sciences (Manz)—sit at a table and have a Bible hour. They read from the New Testament and discuss what they read. (Notice that Felix Manz is also taking part, though he has been ordered by the authorities to keep silent.) What are they reading and what are they speaking about? Apparently they speak of the lostness of man's soul in sin and the fact that according to the Scripture only those are saved who repent and are baptised. Suddenly then Hans Bruggbach stands up. He bewails his sin, even "wept and cried out what a great sinner he was." He implores his friends that they should pray God for him, and he desires to be baptised as a sign of his conversion. This strong outbreak of feeling and consciousness of sin on the part of Bruggbach is explained only by the assumption that on this evening they spoke of guilt and conversion, doubtless in an evangelistic manner. (It is likely that Bruggbach was spiritually prepared by similar impressions before this.)

Bruggbach's plea for baptism is granted. The baptismal ceremony is simple, but not without form. Rather is baptism framed in a short liturgy, which is spoken by Blaurock and Manz in turn. First Blaurock directs to Hans Bruggbach the question whether he earnestly desires baptism (Blaurock calls it "grace"). Bruggbach says that he does. Manz now speaks, wording his question in a form similar to that in Acts x. 47: "Who will forbid that I baptize him?" Blaurock answers, "No one." Now Manz takes a ladle (called a "Gaetzi") such as was then used in the kitchen, pours water over the head of the candidate, saying at the same time: "I baptise you in the name of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit."

A second baptism follows the first in this same meeting. Jacob Hottinger, who in recent weeks had proved himself an enthusiastic follower of Manz and Grebel, gets up and has Manz baptise him also. These baptisms were surely the most important purpose of the meeting. It was not a devotional meeting in the usual sense, but an evangelistic service which was intended to lead those present to repentance and baptism.

The evening concludes with the Holy Supper. Blaurock points to the bread and wine which are on the table, then breaks the bread into pieces. He precedes the distribution of the elements with a speech from which fragments are preserved for us. Blaurock says (according to the report of Ruedi Thomann): "Whoever believes that God has redeemed him with his death and rose-coloured blood, let him come and eat with me of this bread and drink with me of this wine." The Supper is therefore, according to these words, a celebration by those who know themselves to be saved. Heinrich Thomann testifies that Blaurock said: "Whoever will be counted as belonging to our communion (that is, to our circle) should eat of this bread." According to this statement, those may partake of the Holy Supper who are willing to join the congregation of the Anabaptists. This readiness, not yet baptism itself, is what is required of the guests at the Supper. So it was that all those taking part in the meeting, including those also who had not been baptised (probably with the exception of Heinrich Thomann) partook on this evening of the bread and the wine.

The meeting at the house of Ruedi Thomann was a Bible hour, a preaching service, a cult celebration. But not the least of its purposes was that it should be a means of winning new members for the newly-formed Anabaptist fellowship. From the point of view of this last, the evening was not exactly successful. Two of those present had themselves baptised and were received into the communion. But the others? Manz, Blaurock, Roeubli and Broetli had received baptism a few days before—on the 20th January and likewise in Zollikon. Three remained therefore who could not at this meeting make up their minds to be baptised: Ruedi Thomann, Heinrich Thomann, and Marx Bosshart. As for Heinrich Thomann we know that he was repelled by the events of that evening, which had been designed by its organisers to attract him. When he saw the administration of baptism and the Supper, he said that he perspired; if he had been obliged to take part he would have run out the door. It was the sweat of fear which came through the pores of the old man. No wonder! What he saw he regarded as blasphemy. A layman here administers holy baptism, without any liturgical accompaniments, even to adults who have certainly been baptised once already,

while Pastor Zwingli and the Zwingli preachers baptised infants, and still at this time even with breathing, exorcism, making the sign of the cross, and applying spittle and ointment—that is, according to the old Catholic usage. And here one breaks ordinary bread in a farmer's house and distributes it with the wine, while Zwingli and the other evangelical preachers, still presiding at the altar and dressed in priestly vestments, administered the wafer but not the cup to the congregation; that is, they celebrated the Supper in one kind according to Catholic custom.

Heinrich Thomann is the only one to whom the meeting of 25th January was uncomfortable. Apparently he was far in spirit from this circle; perhaps he had joined the pious company only out of curiosity. His brother Ruedi stands near the Anabaptist movement; otherwise he would not have asked Broetli and Roebli to his home. Marx Bosshart also is in contact with the reform movement. It is true that Bosshart was not able on this evening to make up his mind to allow himself to be baptised, but what he had experienced (in the group meeting) continued to work in him. After the visitors had left—only Blaurock and Manz remained at Thomann's for the night—Marx went to his room. But he could not sleep. In the night also "it troubled him," as he expresses it; that is to say, he remains disturbed: he knows no other way out except to ask God that He give him understanding. Toward morning the prayed-for understanding broke forth with irresistibly convincing power. (Marx explains to the judges, "It moved him so powerfully in his spirit that he could do nothing else.") It is a certainty now: he must be baptised. He gets up very early on Thursday, 26th January, and wakes his father-in-law, then Manz and Blaurock. There is a conversation between him and Blaurock about his spiritual condition whose main content is reported by the eyewitness Ruedi Thomann. Blaurock remarks to Marx: "You have been until now a gay young man," then exhorts him (in reference to Ephesians iv. 22-24) to put away the old Adam and put on the new, and repent. Bosshart is ready to do it. After such contrition on the part of the convert (the most important condition preliminary to the act of baptism itself) it is possible now through Blaurock for baptism to be administered to Marx Bosshart. Bosshart meets us again in the same year as a wandering Anabaptist preacher in the Zurich highlands.

Next in order is Ruedi Thomann. He has hesitated until this time, but now Blaurock urges him strongly: "You are an old man and near to death; you also must repent and desire baptism!" Ruedi is willing, and so Blaurock can admit him to the new congregation. Thus the circle is complete. Of those

who took part in the meeting of 25th January all have now, with the exception of Heinrich Thomann, received the sign of baptism. But Blaurock is not satisfied with that. Is it not reported in *Acts* (xvi. 33) of the jailor that he himself and all his house together were baptised? And must it not be in a society such as that of the Anabaptists, which desires to follow the early Christian example, that this characteristic also must be taken into account? That is Blaurock's conclusion and he therefore urges upon Ruedi Thomann that he should also undertake to have his relatives and entire household baptised. Thomann is agreed, and so the farmer's house in Gstad on this January morning sees the renewal of group or community baptism (*Gemeinschaftstaufe*) according to apostolic practice.

FRITZ BLANKE.

The Eschatology of the Epistle to the Hebrews, by William Robinson, M.A., B.Sc., D.D., S.T.D., Professor of Christian Doctrine in the Selly Oak College, Birmingham. 20 pages, 1s. 3d.

This pamphlet, which has the sub-title "A Study in the Christian Doctrine of Hope" contains the fourth Joseph Smith Memorial Lecture, which Dr. Robinson delivered at Birmingham on October 14th, 1950. Its contention is that the Platonic element in the Epistle has been greatly exaggerated and the eschatological element (see especially i, 2; ii, 5; vi, 5, 11, 12, 18-20; ix, 28) unduly neglected. Dr. Robinson maintains that the Platonic interpretation rests upon the references to "copy" and "shadow" in viii, 5; ix, 23; x, 1; which, according to Dr. Robinson, point "not to the difference between the unreal and the real in the Platonic sense, but to the difference between the Law and the New Covenant as eschatological realities." (p. 7).

The evidence for Platonic influence in the Epistle is actually much more extensive than this writer admits. Echoes of the book of "Wisdom" and the works of Philo are numerous, and the philosophy of that literature was largely Platonic.

A. W. ARGYLE.

Professor Oscar Cullmann on Baptism

CULLMANN'S *Die Tauflehre des Neuen Testaments* (of which *Baptism in the New Testament,* published by the S.C.M. Press at 6s., is the English translation) first appeared in Zurich in 1948. It was intended as a reply to Karl Barth's *Die Kirchliche Lehre von der Taufe* (E.T., *The Teaching of the Church regarding Baptism,* S.C.M. Press, 1948, 2s. 6d.), and has been hailed by paedo-baptists with an eagerness that betokens the anxiety widely felt amongst them. There can be no question that it is an important contribution to the vexed question with which it deals. Cullmann regards Barth's attack upon infant baptism as the most effective and searching that has ever been made, either from within the main Christian tradition or from the ranks of those whose churches practise believers' baptism. In his view the attack must be met by New Testament scholars or the whole position is lost.

Like Barth, Cullmann accepts *Romans vi.* as the fundamental passage for an understanding of the Christian rite of baptism. Christian baptism is rooted in the death and resurrection of Jesus. How are these to be understood? Cullmann's exposition starts from the baptism of Jesus by John. This represented, according to the Swiss scholar, our Lord's acceptance of the roll of the Suffering Servant, as set forth in the prophecies of Isaiah, one taking upon himself the sins of his people. To be baptised meant for Jesus to suffer and to die for His people. This view is confirmed, in Cullmann's opinion, by the only two occasions on which, according to the Synoptic tradition, Jesus used the word "baptise." "Are ye able to be baptised with the the baptism that I am baptised with?" (*Mark x.* 38). "I have a baptism to be baptised with; and how am I straitened till it be accomplished" (*Luke xii,* 50). In both these passages, says Cullmann, Jesus equates His baptism with His death. But—and here it is that Cullmann reaches the crucial point of his exposition, here it is that he tries to turn the flank of Barth's attack on the baptism of infants—Jesus by His death accomplishes a general baptism "once for all and for all." "It belongs to the essence of this general baptism effected by Jesus, that it is completely independent of the decision of faith and understanding

of those who benefit from it" (p. 20). Christian baptism, as employed after Pentecost by the Church, was not a return to John's baptism, but a baptism into Christ's death and resurrection.

When Cullmann comes to consider more closely what is meant by baptism as reception into the Body of Christ, he argues that the New Testament gives us no clear evidence either for or against the view that children were baptised (p. 24). Theory and practice must be based, therefore, on one's general view of what the baptismal teaching of the New Testament implies. There was, he thinks, a distinction made from the very beginning between children born after the conversion of their parents and those born before. This had been the case with Jewish proselyte baptism. When Gentiles desired acceptance into Judaism, their children had to be submitted to proselyte baptism. Those born later were not baptised; they were reckoned as made holy by their parents. Cullmann cites 1 *Cor. vii.* 14 as a Christian analogy, and claims that there is actually less evidence in the New Testament for the baptism of the grown sons and daughters of Christian parents than there is for the baptism of infants (p. 26).

In passing, one is inclined to ask whether this argument from silence is really more than a clever debating point, since we have so few personal or family details about those who made up the early Church, and we are dealing in the main with the literature prepared by the first Christian generation. The New Testament presumes that all the members of the Church have been baptised. Moreover, both Continental and British Old Testament and Rabbinic scholars advise great caution in drawing analogies and arguments from proselyte baptism. There are strong grounds for thinking that it was only in the first century A.D. that it took its place beside circumcision and, in that case, it is very unlikely to have determined Christian practice.[1]

To return to Cullmann's argument, however. He thinks that Barth is too much under the influence of the twentieth century situation and the difficulties now facing national and confessional churches. It is more important to determine the true New Testament doctrine of baptism. Cullmann admits that in apostolic times baptism was the occasion for giving expression to the profession or confession of faith of the candidate. He does not however, draw from this the conclusion that this aspect or element is *necessarily* involved in baptism, or that personal faith and confession are inseparably bound up with a meaningful and correct baptismal practice (p. 28). Though he admits that faith is necessarily *related* to baptism, he does not agree that it must be present at the moment of the baptismal

[1] Nor that of John. Cp. W. Michaelis, 1949 (quoted by Jeremias).

act itself. Both baptism and the Lord's Supper are sacraments of the death and resurrection of Christ. The one places the individual within the fellowship where these acts of God may become operative for him; it is unrepeatable. The other is to be constantly repeated by believers, as the rite separating them from unbelievers and from those not yet capable of faith. Cullmann argues that in I *Cor. xii.* 13 ("For in one Spirit were we all baptised into one body") and *Gal.* iii. 27-28 ("For as many of you as were baptised into Christ did put on Christ") the candidate is "the passive object of a divine act, that he is there really set within the Body of Christ by God" (p. 31). The German is: "dass er passive objeckt dieses göttlichen Handelns ist, dass er von Gott eingeordnet wird," (German p. 26). He compares those who "were added" (Acts ii. 41) to the Church on the day of Pentecost. Faith is, for Cullmann, the resulting answer to God's act, not its pre-condition. Faith must follow baptism or its divine gifts are disdained and outraged, its fruits annulled; but faith is the result of a man's incorporation into the fellowship of the Church, not its cause (p. 33.) Cullmann rejects the view, which has often been held, that the faith necessary for the legitimating of the rite of baptism is present vicariously in the sponsors or in the Church as a whole. Faith must of course be present in the praying congregation (p. 54), but what is of greater importance is the presence of the Holy Spirit, which is what really makes it a Church (p. 43). Baptism, then, for Cullmann, is not bound up at all with personal decision. Like circumcision, it is the seal set by God on His Covenant with His people as a whole. Cullmann is prepared to describe Christian baptism as the fulfilment or completion (erfüllung) of circumcision and proselyte baptism (p. 70).

In further discussion of the relationship of faith to baptism, Cullmann places considerable emphasis on 1 *Cor. x,* 1*f.* where Paul applies the term baptism to the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea.[2] He emphasises also the importance of marriage and the Christian family. Christian parentage cannot guarantee the faith which must later be manifested by the child himself, but it is a godly demonstration of or pointer towards faith. In the case of adult converts from heathenism or Judaism, it may be right to say that faith leads to baptism. In the case of those growing up under Christian influences, baptism may be said to lead to faith (p. 54). A minor point of interest in Cullmann's discussion is his suggestion, first made in 1937, that the words "Forbid them not (Μὴ κωλύετε, *Luke xviii,* 16), which Luke puts into the mouth of Jesus when young children

[2] Cp. Kummel, *Theol. Rundschau,* 1950, pp. 40f. for critical comments on Cullmann's line of interpretation.

were brought to Him, may have reference to baptism and may find an echo in the earliest baptismal liturgies (Cp. *Acts viii*, 36, *x*. 47, *xi*. 17, *Mark x*. 13-14). This is approved by Joachim Jeremias in *Hat die Urkirche die Kindertaufe geubt?* 1938, ²1949).

Cullmann's arguments have been summarised somewhat fully, and as fairly as possible, for his name is being widely invoked by paedobaptists and his standing as a New Testament scholar demands that what he says be most carefully weighed. His is an interesting and ingenious argument. We fail to find it convincing for the following reasons:—

(1) It turns on a doubtful linking of *Mark x*. 38 and *Luke xii*, 50 with our Lord's understanding of His baptism by John, and the interpretation of the latter and of His death as a "general baptism." Such an approach at best reads into a metaphor far more than is really legitimate.[3]

(2) It depends on the doctrinal separation from baptism of the element of personal confession and faith, which Cullmann himself has to admit is present in the majority, if not all, the instances of baptism recorded in the New Testament.

(3) It rests to a considerable extent on a strained exegesis of 1 *Cor. xii*. 13, *Gal. iii*. 27 and *Acts ii*. 41. If the line of argument adopted in regard to the reference to baptism in 1 *Cor. xii*. 13 is correct and the stress there is on God's act to the exclusion of the human response, then surely this must also apply to the second part of the verse—"and have all been made to drink into one Spirit." But in that case there falls to the ground the distinction between baptism and the Lord's Supper, which Cullmann tries to establish. With regard to *Gal*. iii. 27, the immediately preceding verse—"For ye are all the children of God by faith in Jesus Christ"—seems to us to rule out Cullmann's interpretation. His use of the word *hinzugetan* ("were added, προσετέθησαν) from *Acts* ii. 41 appears to the writer entirely arbitrary and unjustifiable.

(4) At several points Cullmann's argument seems to prove too much. If he is right, why should the children of Christian parents ever have been baptised? Why should the Church have adopted this practice, if 1 *Cor*. vii. 14 means all that Cullmann suggests? As a matter of fact the passage deals with the children of mixed marriages of believers and unbelievers and has nothing whatever to do with the question of infant baptism.

(5) These and other difficulties seem to follow from a strange

[3] But note that Alan Richardson, *Science, History and Faith*, 1950, p. 117 connects these passages with *Romans* vi. and carries back to Jesus Himself the reinterpretation and enriching of John's baptism of repentance. "Through baptism into Christ's death the New Israel recapitulates the exodus of the Old Israel through baptism in the Red Sea." (Cp. Luke 9, 31.)

by-passing of John's baptism which has surely far more to do as a foreshadowing and prelude to Christian baptism than either circumcision or proselyte baptism. One of the most important characteristics of John's baptism—decisively and deliberately separating it from circumcision—was that it was a "baptism of repentance." There seems no evidence that the early Church intended to abandon personal penitence—or that it ought to have done so.

(6) Cullmann avoids any reference to the situation which has arisen in churches practising infant baptism just because they have taken the line that personal understanding and faith are not constitutive elements of the rite. The present situation suggests that something is wrong. It is this which has driven Barth and Brunner, and many others, to ask whether the response of the candidate is not an essential factor in New Testament baptism. Even those unwilling to go as far as this, might be led, on Cullmann's own principles, to ask whether at the present time most of those who are baptised ought not to be treated as the heathen and the Jews were, in his view, in apostolic times, and the order restored; faith leading to baptism.

ERNEST A. PAYNE.

Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society. October 1950.

An article by Rev. H. Lismer Short shows how important was the seventeenth century in Unitarian history, and states that Unitarians are still fundamentally children of that age. Dr. Dorothy Tarrant writes on the connection of Bedford College with Unitarianism. The founder of the College, Elisabeth Reid, was the daughter of William Sturch (1753-1838) who came of a line of General Baptist ministers. Items from a diary, identified as that of Charles James Darbishire, a Bolton layman and benefactor of Owens College (now the University) Manchester, are reproduced by the editor, Dr. McLachlan. Sidelights on chapel-going in the early nineteenth century are provided by extracts from the diary of Samuel Mason, a Prestwich farmer.

George Macdonald

FOUR years ago, Mr. C. S. Lewis, M.A., the author of *The Allegory of Love* and *A Preface to Paradise Lost* but known to a wider public by his religious writings and his broadcasts, published *George MacDonald. An Anthology* (Bles, 5s.). This book, with its introduction and its ample selections from an almost forgotten writer, must have been a revelation to many; the discovery of a profound religious thinker and teacher of a bygone generation, but whose words are of enduring wisdom and spiritual value. Some readers of Mr. Lewis' books will have recognised the dependence, but others will be impressed by the confession: "In making this collection I was discharging a debt of justice. I have never concealed the fact that I regarded him as my master; indeed I fancy I have never written a book in which I did not quote from him," and he proceeds to a great tribute to his acknowledged teacher. It seems worth-while to give some account of one, whose books have been treasured for many years by the present writer, as a fuller note to Mr. Lewis's choice and valuable anthology.

George Macdonald's grandparents were Charles Edward Macdonald and Isabella Robertson. His grandfather was born just before the Battle of Culloden in 1746, and was named after the Young Pretender. After the final defeat the family, which was descended from fugitives from the massacre of Glencoe, hid for months in caves on the coast. His grandmother was of a family whose religion was stern even for that stern time. She was allowed to learn to read, but not to write, "for fear she would be writing to the lads." She was the original of Mrs. Falconer in her grandson's great novel *Robert Falconer*. She and her husband attended the Parish Church at Huntly. The parish, on account of its religious condition, was known as "the Dead Sea." The edifice itself, dirty and falling into disrepair through neglect, was a fit symbol of the spiritual state of the parish. And though her husband remained a member of the Establishment to his death, his strong-minded wife took the family to the "Mission Kirk," a Congregational Church, whose minister, George Cowie, had been expelled from the Presbyterians because of his evangelical sympathies.

There is no doubt that her religion was austere. When her

husband died in 1819 she burnt his fiddle to prevent her sons from using the ungodly instrument; an incident which reappears in *Robert Falconer*. But the portrait of her in this book, some known facts of her life, and the deep affection she won, contradict Mr. Lewis' description of her as "a truly terrible old woman." Probably he is repelled by the narrowness and harshness of her creed although her grandson saw past it, and loved what he saw. The beautiful story of the saving of Shargar in the book is more than paralleled by the fact that Mrs. Macdonald took charge of the family of a beggar-woman to save them from physical and moral ruin. Her daughter-in-law (George Macdonald's mother) once wrote to her: "If I know my own heart I think I can say that, nearest to my own mother, there is not another I love and esteem more than my second mother—for you have been a mother to me ever since I came with you." [1] God satisfied the family with much honey out of the rock, or what seemed so to unseeing eyes. Shortly before her death in 1848 she said to her eldest son, William: "Laddie, the papers say that amon' a' the changes takin' place i' the warld, they haave gotten a gweed Pope a' Rome, and I ha' been prayin' to the Lord a' nicht that he wud gie him a new heart an' a gweed wife."

Her son, George, was a member of the Huntly Mission Kirk, and the character of David Elginbrod in the novel of that name is drawn from him. David's famous prayers, the loveliest passages in the book, are modelled on the memory of his in phrase and spirit. He was a very remarkable man and the tributes his son paid to him do not measure the full extent of his influence. In the Dedication of his second poem, *A Hidden Life*, to him the son says:

> All childhood, reverence clothed thee, undefined,
> As for some being of another race;
> Ah, not with it, departing—growing apace
> As years did bring me manhood's loftier mind,
> Able to see thy human life behind—
> The same hid heart, the same revealing face—
> My own dim contest settling into grace,
> Of sorrow, strife, and victory combined.

And in *The Diary of an old Soul* he wrote as late as 1880.

> Whole-hearted is my worship of the man
> From whom my earthly history began.

In 1822 he married Helen MacKay who wrote the letter quoted above. She died in 1832, leaving him with five boys—Charles, George (then eight years old), James who died at eight, Alexander,

[1] *George Macdonald and his Wife*, by Dr. Greville Macdonald, p. 32 (*The Life*).

and John Hill. The last was the original of Eric Ericson and author of the striking poems included in *Robert Falconer*. In 1839 he married Margaret McColl the daughter of an Episcopalian clergyman, by whom he had three daughters: Isabella, who died of tuberculosis at fourteen, Louisa, and Jane. She proved a devoted mother to the boys. The father died in 1858, aged sixty-six, having been preceded by two sons, Alexander (twenty-five) and John Hill (twenty-eight). Margaret, his widow, lived until 1910, dying in her 102nd year.

George Macdonald was born at Huntley in 1824, and the district is made the scene of some of his earlier novels. It is the background of *Ronald Bannerman's Schooldays;* and *Alec Forbes,* one of his greatest books, contains memorable portraits of some of its people. In childhood he was very delicate and a great reader, but his strength grew as he grew older, and in 1840, winning a bursary of £15 a year, he entered the King's College, Aberdeen. In 1845 he left with the M.A. degree. While he was there he spent some months cataloguing the library of a great house in the North of Scotland and, on leaving, he found employment as a tutor in London. There is little doubt that this period, though little is known of it, was a formative era in his life. It was then most probably that he became acquainted with the great mystics, from Boehme to Law, with Novalis and other German writers; and finally escaped from the Calvinism in which he was reared. His thoughts almost inevitably turned to the Christian ministry. His father tried to dissuade him and pointed out the bleak prospects of a Congregational minister. Possibly he foresaw that his son would find special difficulty in that vocation. But he was not to be discouraged, and in 1848 he entered the Congregational College at Highbury. As a Master of Arts his course was shortened to two years. In the following year the College was moved to Belsize Park and became the New College. It was from here that, in 1850, when Macdonald was leaving, Hale White ("Mark Rutherford") and two other students were expelled for denying "Verbal Inspiration." Macdonald evidently did not come under this ban, his spiritual interests being in another direction. In that year he received a "Call" to the ministry of the small Congregational Church at Arundel, Sussex; and in March 1851, he married Louisa Powell at the Old Gravel Pits Congregational Church, Hackney, the happiest of unions.

He was minister of this church for only three years. Strong exception was taken to his teaching by an important section of his congregation, and in May 1853, he resigned. Mr. Lewis says that the charges were that "he had expressed belief in a future state of probation for heathens, and that he was tainted with German theology." Robertson Nicoll says that "he puzzled

a simple-minded congregation with his mystical sermons." [2] There may be some truth in this, but the fact that he had the loyal support of the poorer members of the church suggests that these explanations are, at least, inadequate. More revealing is the comment of his wife on the death of Robertson of Brighton in the same year. She had gone to her family in London, and wrote to her husband: "He has been hunted to death for his liberality and goodness. Is it not fearful to think of the *piety* of the churches?" [3] Macdonald, however, left Arundel without any rancour on either side.

While still there he became a contributor to various periodicals such as *The Eclectic Review* and *The Christian Spectator* (the last a monthly of great religious and literary quality and interest). In 1853 he wrote an able review of Browning's *Christmas Eve* which, many years later, was included in the collection of articles and sermons called *A Dish of Orts* (1893). And at Arundel in 1851 he wrote his first book *Within and Without. A Dramatic Poem,* though it did not find a publisher until 1855, a few months before T. T. Lynch issued *The Rivulet. A Contribution to Sacred Song,* which occasioned much wild and foolish controversy. *Within and Without* is a work of genius. It is often imperfect in form as is most of Macdonald's poetry, but the winds of poetry blow through it, and its spiritual intensity is felt in almost every line. It contains some charming lyrics such as:—

My child is lying on my knees;
The signs of heaven she reads:
My face is all the heaven she sees,
Is all the heaven she needs.

and

Love me, beloved; the thick clouds lower;
A sleepiness filleth the earth and air.

As these particular songs were written originally for his wife, it is understandable that she parted with them with "a real touch of heartbreak." [4]

The poem at once won the attention of many who became his friends, including Tennyson and Lady Byron. Its drama is a romantic story of parted lovers which Macdonald makes the vehicle of a soul's quest for God. The following passage is quoted for its bearing on his teaching at Arundel:—

I sought my God; I pressed importunate;
I spoke to him, I cried, and in my heart
It seemed he answered me. I said, "Oh! take
Me nigh to thee, thou mighty life of life!

[2] *Daybook of Claudius Clear,* p. 336.
[3] *Life,* p. 203.
[4] *Life* p. 224.

I faint, I die; I am a child alone
'Mid the wild storm, the brooding desert-night".
"Go thou, poor child, to him who once, like thee
Trod the highways and deserts of the world."
"Thou sendest me away then, wretched, from thy sight!
Thou wilt not have me—I am not worth thy care!"
"I send thee not away, child, think not so;
From the cloud resting on the mountain peak,
I call to guide thee in the path by which
Thou mayst come soonest home unto my heart.
I, I am leading thee. Think not of him
As he were one and I were one; in him
Thou wilt find me, for he and I are one.
Learn thou to worship at his lowly shrine
And see that God dwelleth in lowliness."

. . . . . .

I came to Him; I gazed upon his face;
And, lo! from out of his eyes God looked on me!
Lord of thyself and me through the sore grief
Which thou didst bear to bring me back to God,
Or rather, bear in being unto us
Thy own pure shining self of love and truth!
When I have learned to think thy radiant thoughts,
To love the truth beyond the power to know it,
To bear my light as thou thy heavy cross,
Nor ever feel a martyr for thy sake,
But an unprofitable servant still,
My highest sacrifice my simplest duty
Imperative and unavoidable,
Less than which *all*, were nothingness and waste;
When I have lost myself in other men,
And found myself in thee—the Father then
Will come with thee, and will abide with me.[5]

The whole of Macdonald's own life and abandonment to Christ in complete surrender to His will is in those closing words.

The passage, though far from being the best, indicates the spirit and teaching of the poem. And it contains in substance or in suggestion, what must have been his teaching at Arundel; and was till the end of his life the soul of all he said and wrote. Its religious centre was the Fatherhood of God and not the so-called "plan of salvation" which was the common theme of Evangelical preaching. Robertson Nicoll allows that "in a sense it is true that he preached the love of God to a generation that needed it."[6] John Foster, the great Baptist essayist, had, in *On the Aversion of Men of Taste to Evangelical Religion* long before (1805) uttered a grave warning against the "accustomed diction of evangelical religion":—

"It gives the gospel the air of a professional thing, which must have its peculiar cast of phrases, for the mutual recognition of its proficients, in

[5] *Part* iii, *sec.* x.
[6] *Op. cit.* p. 349.

> the same manner as other professions, arts, crafts, and mysteries have theirs . . . It is giving an uncouthness of mien to a beauty which should attract all hearts. It is teaching a provincial dialect to the rising instructor of a world. It is imposing the guise of a cramped formal ecclesiastic on what is destined for an universal monarch."

The warning was unheeded, and by Macdonald's time the gospel had become bound up with a narrow system of phrase and dogma in which the amplitude of the love of God was lost. Consciously or not, Macdonald had returned to an older and nobler tradition. He was not, of course, the only one. We have but to recall such names as Erskine of Linlathen, Robertson of Brighton, Maurice, Kingsley, John Pulsford, F. W. Farquhar, Dr. S. Cox, E. H. Hull, and others, not to mention Tennyson and Browning, to recognise his shining company. And these followed an older band which included Whichcote, and Smith, and Cudworth (whose great sermon before the House of Commons on 31st March, 1647 is of the very spirit of Macdonald), John Norris, and William Law. And beyond them a great company of saints and mystics and poets innumerable.

He took his stand on the divine words: "He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father." The centre of all his thinking and his faith was the Incarnation of God in Christ; and *Within and Without* tells of his own pilgrimage to His feet. "I know of no other way of knowng that there is a God" one of his characters says in *Thomas Wingfold*, "but that which reveals *what* he is—the only idea that could be God—shows him in his own self-proving existence—and that way is Jesus Christ as he revealed himself on earth, and as he is revealed afresh to every heart that seeks to know the truth concerning him"[7] Macdonald had seen the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ, and the light had shone out of darkness into his own heart to illumine it forever.

It was the glory of the holy love of God. But that holy love was a consuming fire. It was "easy to please, but hard to satisfy," for nothing could satisfy it but the complete destruction of sin in every soul. There is no conflict between justice and mercy because it would not be merciful to leave a man still a sinner. At any cost to Himself or the man sin must be burned away. "Christ died to save us, not from suffering, but from ourselves; not from injustice, far less from justice, but from being unjust. He died that we might live—live as He lives, by dying as He died who died to Himself."[8] It was for this that "He cast Himself into the eternal gulf yawning between the children and the Father."[9] "Love is the final atonement, of which

[7] p. 88.
[8] *Unspoken Sermons*. Third Series, p. 96.
[9] *Ib.*, p. 157.

and for which the sacrifice of the atonement was made," he says in another place, "And till this atonement is made in every man, sin holds its own, and God is not all in all." [10] Salvation is a costly thing to God and to the redeemed; but the inexorable Love will not be content with less than a whole redemption.

It could not be said that all evangelical preachers ignored the gospels, though the "plan of salvation" tended to obscure their importance. Macdonald's biographer says: "My aunt Angela remembered one ministerial guest declaring a propos of the Atonement, that if Jesus Christ had been born one day and crucified the next, his work for the world would have been accomplished." [11] Probably few would have expressed themselves so crudely, yet was it not implied in the current doctrine of the redeeming work of Christ? There was no vital connection between the words, the works, and the fierce oppositions of the Ministry of Jesus, and the Cross. They had nothing to do with redemption. In one of his books Macdonald tells a true story of a young preacher who was rebuked by an old lady for "preaching works"; and, on his pleading the Sermon on the Mount, was answered: "Ay, but He was a varra yoong man when He preacht that sermon." [12] But the ministry was not a mere interlude, essentially irrelevant, to the saving work of Christ; nor was His teaching discontinuous with His sacrifice for men or His living Presence. He came to reconcile sinful men to the Father; and that meant to bring the forgiveness of sins and to reveal the mind of the Father to which they must conform. There is no true reconciliation with God which is not reconciliation to the will of God. To be saved is to be brought into obedience, to cease to be a prodigal and to become a loyal child in the Father's house. It is to be in the Kingdom of God. And, as in His ministry of love and His Passion Christ manifested the forgiveness of the Father, so in His teaching He revealed the mind of the Father to which the children must be faithful. "Be ye perfect even as your Father in heaven is perfect." That this might involve persecution, that it did mean war with the spirit of the world wthin us and without, Christ made abundantly clear. "If any man would come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow Me." This suffering and death to self were not the mere accompaniments of salvation, they were salvation, for salvation is conformity to the Will of God as Christ revealed it, and it is through "much tribulation" that we must all enter the Kingdom. Macdonald wrote in *Within and Without*:

[10] *Alec Forbes*, p. 269.
[11] *Life*, p. 193.
[12] *What's Mine's Mine*, p. 61.

> Go thou into thy closet; shut thy door;
> And pray to Him in secret: He will hear.
> But think not thou, by one wild bound, to clear
> The numberless ascensions, more and more,
> Of starry stairs that must be climbed, before
> Thou comest to the Father's likeness near.

And in his many books, which are all expositions of the way of Christ, Macdonald expounded the gospels.

It was said that at Arundel Macdonald had expressed his belief in a future probation " for the heathen." It must be doubted if at that time he had reached his conviction of the ultimate salvation of all men which the popular mind specially associated with him. It does not occur in *Within and Without* or in his earliest work. It may be implied in all, but except in his *Unspoken Sermons* (1867-1889) it is astonishing how little it finds direct expression in the main body of his writing. It is never emphasised, and was not the subject of any of his books. But it was part of his faith. G. K. Chesterton has a characteristic mention of it in his reference to Macdonald. He associates him with Stopford Brooke as a teacher of an " optimistic theism." He says " It was a full and substantial faith in the Fatherhood of God, and little could be said against it, even in theological theory, except that it rather ignored the free-will of man. Its Universalism was a sort of optimistic Calvinism." [13] As so often, Chesterton was genially inaccurate. Macdonald had, doctrinally, nothing in common with Stopford Brooke who was a Unitarian. And his universalism was not a " sort of optimistic Calvinism," which might, perhaps, be said of Thomas Erskine who avowed his preference of Calvinism to Arminianism. But Macdonald discarded Calvinism in every form, and stressed free-will to the point of pain. For stringent analysis of sin and severity of judgment no writer excels him. Like Meredith's *The Egoist*, his books compel their readers to search their own hearts. They convict of sin. We know that he loathed sin because of the loathing he excites in us. He arouses fear—and even despair. " There can be no such agony for created soul, as to see itself vile—vile by its own action and choice." No one can read, without a shudder, the chapter " The Final Unmasking " in *Unspoken Sermons*.[14] The freedom of the will is a datum for Macdonald. For God to coerce man would be to deny Himself, and to fail of his purpose in His creation. Man must be made to condemn himself. "He flattereth himself in his own eyes until his iniquity is found to be hateful " (Ps. xxxvi. 2, A.V.). And, through whatever suffering and unveiling, the Inexorable Love

[13] *Autobiography*, p. 172.
[14] *Unspoken Sermons*, Third Series.

of God will eventually destroy every refuge a man seeks from the truth. Repentance is the only way left; and Macdonald believed that every man would come, early or at long last, to repentance. This is far from an "optimistic Calvinism." It is an heroic faith; but Macdonald was a man of unusually heroic faith; and perhaps only those of a like heroic faith have a right to dispute with him.

Macdonald did not, as Mr. Lewis suggests, immediately abandon the ministry. Leaving his wife with her friends in London, he went to Manchester. There he became intimate with A. J. Scott, Principal of Owens College; who had been expelled from the Church of Scotland in 1831, along with MacLeod Campbell, and Scott introduced him to others. He soon gathered round him a company of worshippers in Renshaw Street, and about the same time he accepted a Call to a working class church in Bolton. He continued to write to the journals, and did some lecturing. But his health was always precarious. Immediately before going to Arundel he had a severe haemorrhage, and soon after coming to Manchester he had another with congestion of the lungs. He was also desperately poor. But he was a man of powerful will and faith in God.

> Health, my means to live—
> All things seem rushing straight into the dark.
> But the dark still is God.[15]

His wife said long afterwards, "we hung on by our eyelashes, or rather I hung on by his."[16] But help was forthcoming. Among the admirers of his work, and especially of *Within and Without*, was Lady Byron, and it was chiefly through her generosity that he was enabled to resign his work in Manchester and Bolton; and in 1856 he went to Algiers. It was with great grief that the poor church at Bolton parted with him. They offered to keep the position open until his return!

Among the friends Macdonald had made was Frederick Denison Maurice, who in 1858, recommended *Phantastes; a Faerie Romance* (first edition added "for men and women") to Smith, Elder & Co, and it was published. This was his first prose work. Mary Coleridge has called it "the most exquisite fairy-tale that ever was written,"[17]—she surely had forgotten *Undine;* and Mr. Lewis says that it was to him "what the first sight of Beatrice had been to Dante; *Here begins the New Life.*"[18] It is the story of the soul's escape from materialism,

[15] *Diary of an Old Soul.*
[16] *Life*, p. 468.
[17] *Non Sequitur*, p. 80.
[18] *The Great Divorce*, p. 60.

false romance, and the self, "the shadow," into the true life, via the "good" death. "I learned that it is better, a thousand-fold, for a proud man to fall and be humbled, than to hold up his head in his pride and fancied innocence. I learned that he that will be a hero, will barely be a man; and he that will be nothing but a doer of his work, is sure of his manhood." The book is very beautiful and contains same lovely lyrics notably:—

> Alas, how easily things go wrong!
> A sigh too much, or a kiss too long
> And there follows a mist and a weeping rain,
> And life is never the same again.

But it was not until he wrote *David Elginbrod* (1862) that Macdonald won the ear of the public. In Mrs. Oliphant's *Life* it is told how she, after reading the Ms., urgently recommended Hurst & Blackett to publish it as "a work of genius." It more than justified her and established his fame. David the Scotch peasant dies early in the book, but like Julius Caesar in Shakespeare's play, his figure dominates it to the end. His prayers became famous. At a Memorial Service after Macdonald's death,[19] Dr. Clifford read the following and said: "I know nothing finer than that in the English language":—

> "O thou, wha keeps the stars alicht, an' our souls burnin' wi' a licht aboon that o' the stars, grant that they may shine afore thee as the stars for ever and ever. An' as thou hauds the stars burnin' a' the nicht, when there's no man to see, so haud thou the licht burnin' in our souls, when we see neither thee nor it, but are buried in the grave o' sleep and' forgetfulness. Be thou by us, even as a mother sits by the bedside o' her ailin' wean a' the lang nicht; only be thou nearer to us, even in our verra souls, an' watch ower the warl' o' dreams that they mak' for themselves. Grant that more an' more thochts o' thy thinkin' may come into our herts day by day, till there shall be an open road atween thee an' us, an' thy angels may ascend and descend upon us, so that we may be in thy heaven, e'en while we are upo' thy earth: Amen."

This book Macdonald dedicated to Lady Byron "with a love stronger than death."

In *David Elginbrod* there is a long passage written in defence of the teaching of F. D. Maurice who is the unnamed preacher of whom it is said: "I always feel I am in the presence of one of the holy servants of God's great temple not made with hands. I heartily trust that man. He is what he seems to be."[20] Macdonald and his family were now worshipping at his church at Vere Street, London; and in 1860 he became a lay member of the Church of England. Doubtless the influence of Maurice counted for much, but he believed he would find greater freedom

[19] *Life*, p. 234.
[20] p. 332ff.

in that Communion. His experience at Arundel had not been happy, and others besides himself felt the atmosphere of the Nonconformity of that time uncongenial. There was too much justification for the criticisms of Matthew Arnold. Mrs. Oliphant in her master-piece *Salem Chapel*, and Mark Rutherford in the *Autobiography* and *Revolution in Tanner's Lane* presented an unattractive picture of its church life. This was not the whole truth, as Macdonald knew well, and as he proved by his continuing to preach, as health and opportunity served, in Nonconformist Churches. As time went on he gained increasing welcome in them, much to the irritation of Dean Plumtre and other Anglican friends. But Macdonald was not the man, nor his mind the type, to be troubled by ecclesiastical distinctions. Shortly before joining it he said: "I count the Church as much a sect as the Independents";[21] and writing later—"I am a member of the Church of England, but care nothing for that or any other denomination as dividing or separating."[22] He belonged, and rejoiced to belong, to the whole Church of God. Of his preaching we are fortunate in having an account by Bishop Phillips Brooks: "As I listened, I seemed to see how weak in contrast was the way in which other preachers had amused me and challenged my admiration for the working of their minds. Here was a Gospel. Here were real tidings. And you listened, and forgot the preacher!"[23] It is the same with all that he wrote. He is, as Mr. Lewis says, "a supreme preacher." He is humble and absorbed in his message. "The best of men" he wrote, "is unworthy to loose the latchet of His shoe, yet the servant must be as his Master. Ah me! while I write it, I remember that the sinful woman might yet do as she pleased with His sacred feet. Desert may not touch His shoe-tie: Love may kiss His feet."[24] His health was always uncertain and he had a large family. He told Mrs. Cox, of Bluntisham, who knew him well, that he had "one less than the perfect number," i.e. eleven. Sometimes the family was on the very edge of destitution. But his trust in God was indomitable, and help came when it was most needed. It is important to realise that the reiterated teaching of his books came out of his own experience. Once when he and his were on the brink of starvation he was delivered by an unexpected legacy. He tells of it in *The Annals of a Quiet Neighbourhood*: "In the morning his wife gave him a letter which their common trouble had made her forget, and which had lain with its black border all night in the darkness unopened, waiting to tell him

[21] *Life*, p. 269.
[22] *Ib.*, p. 367.
[23] *Lectures on Preaching*, p. 16
[24] *Annals of a Quiet Neighbourhood*, p. 234.

how the vanished friend had not forgotten him on her death-bed, but had left him enough to take him out of all his difficulties, and give him strength and time to do far better work than the book that had failed of birth. Some of my readers may doubt whether I am more than a 'wandering voice,' but whatever I am, or may be thought to be, my friend's story is true." [25] This is autobiography, for in his extremity a legacy of £300 from Lady Byron arrived. Other legacies helped him. Crabbe Robinson left him £300; and Russell Gurney, £500. In 1887, it is said at the request of the Queen, he was placed on the Civil List for a pension of £100. It was mainly by contributions from admirers that, when his health compelled him to live much out of England, he was able to build the villa "Casa Corregio," in Bordighera, Italy. It was there that Mrs. Cox saw him and his family acting his own dramatised version of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, Macdonald labouring under his heavy burden as *Christian*.

And yet, with all his ill-health, his industry and production were prodigious. He preached and lectured so long as he was able. His lecture-tour in the United States, during which Phillips Brooks heard him, had to be curtailed owing to a serious break-down. He wrote numberless articles, published volumes of sermons, and a fine study of *Hamlet*. His collected poems fill two volumes. He wrote nearly forty novels; and made a great and lasting reputation with his *Fairy Tales*. These were in every way unique in that, while generations of children loved them, they were not primarily written for children. "I do not write for children" he said, "but for the childlike, whether of five or fifty, or seventy-five." [26] While interesting as tales, they are semi-allegorical, parabolic, suggestive of meanings beyond. Mr. Lewis describes his art as "mythopoeic," and says "this, in my opinion, he does better than any man." *Phantastes* may be regarded as the first of them; but the "children's books" are *The Back of the North Wind*, the "Curdie" books (*The Princess and the Goblin* and *The Princess and Curdie*), and the Collected short *Fairy Tales*. The Curdie books have been reprinted during the last year by two publishers. *The Back of the North Wind* contains the famous and exquisite "Where did you come from, baby dear?" G. K. Chesterton[27] says of *The Princess and the Goblin*, "I for one can really testify to a book that has made a difference to my whole existence, which has helped me to see things in a certain way from the start; a vision of things which even so real a revolution as a change of religious allegiance has substantially only crowned and confirmed." A later book,

[25] *Ib.*, p. 376.
[26] *A Dish of Orts*, p. 317.
[27] Introduction to the *Life*.

obviously written for children of older growth, was *Lilith*. All these books contain, in their mythopoeic form, Macdonald's religious teaching.

Attempts have been made from time to time to trace in them the influence of William Blake. But those who are familiar with both scarcely needed the assurance of his son that Macdonald had but the slightest acquaintance with Blake. Their teaching on God, Man, and Nature, are fundamentally different. Blake was almost a pure mystic and visionary, the greatest in our literature. Macdonald was not a mystic except in so far as a "mystical" element enters into Christian experience, and religion and poetry have in them what goes beyond words.

The two volumes of his collected poems contain much that is very beautiful. Some of them, like "They all were looking for a king" have found their way into hymn-books, and others like "When thou turn'st away ill" make a direct appeal to Christian experience. Many have the simplicity of Blake's *Songs of Innocence*, and many are but impromptu verses. Macdonald was, however, a very bad reviser. Not only did he include much that was not worth preserving as poetry, but he corrected his poems, smoothing out the lines, sometimes re-writing the whole, and generally destroying the vigour and life of the original. Although he wrote some poems that will probably live, it is beyond question that there is far more poetic thought and diffused poetry in his great prose works than in the collected poems. Their appeal, however, as religious verse is another matter.

The main work of Macdonald is in the long series of his novels. Of these his best is to be found in *David Elginbrod*, *Alec Forbes*, and *Robert Falconer*. They are richest in autobiography, in characters, in incidents, and as stories. *Robert Falconer* contains his fullest teaching. A sentence from it sums it all up: "The Lord's easy pleased, but hard to satisfee"; and it is repeated in other books. There are few pages that are without some "winged word" or memorable sentence or passage, which falls into the mind like seed to germinate and increase there. To these books may be added *Sir Gibbie*, though Gibbie himself has surely come out of some Christian fairy-land. But though these books are his "best," none of the long list is unworthy of them. The interest may vary from one to another but the spiritual quality never varies. The spirit of holiness breathes through them all. As Robertson Nicoll wrote: "No one could lay them down without thrilling to the thought that truth and goodness and God are alone worth living for. They are books of the true prophetic quality, and ought not to be forgotten."[28] This applies to the "dullest" of them. In truth, it is only in form

[28] *Op. cit.*, p. 345.

that his books are novels. George Macdonald was pre-eminently a spiritual genius and religious teacher, and it is as such that his readers have always revered him and his works.

His closing years were clouded by great sorrows. In 1878 his daughter, Mary Josephine, died aged twenty-five; his youngest son, Maurice, died at fifteen in 1879. In 1884 Caroline Grace died at thirty, and in 1891, the greatest blow of all, Lilian Scott, the mainstay of her mother, died at thirty-nine. All died of tuberculosis. His wife's reason gave way under these blows, and she died in 1902. It was in these years that Macdonald wrote his *Diary of an Old Soul*. It was printed at first for private circulation only. It is not a book to criticise. It is the record in verse, sometimes halting, of his aspirations, his prayers, his confessions, his struggle for Christlikeness, his sorrows, and his tears for his lost children, his unfaltering faith, and his unshaken hope of Immortality. It can only be read humbly, and as a devotional treasure.

The last five years of his life were years of a strange silence. In addition to his bronchial troubles, he had suffered for many years from a torturing eczema. Suddenly this disappeared and with it his power of speech. A mist seemed to gather round his mind. He accepted gratefully and gently the loving service of those about him. When told of his wife's death he wept. His son writes: "He spent much of his time in bed, but he was always waiting, always beautiful to behold, in spite of the cloud upon the snow-clad mountain. If anyone came to the door for entry, he would turn and look, and then seeing it was not my mother would sigh deeply, and begin his waiting again."[29] He had written in the *Diary*

> Stumbling through the night,
> To my dim lattice, O calling Christ! I go,
> And out into the dark look for thy star-crowned head.

The long-lingering twilight darkened at last to night; and the stars came out; and he was with his beloved and his Lord. He died at Ashstead, Surrey, on 18 September, 1905.

B. G. Collins.

[29] *Life*, p. 562.

Christian Conduct in Bunyan and Baxter

THE seventeenth-century rule of the spirit held sway over a wide territory, extending its ground far into the realm of social obligation and household morality. To develop these claims, there existed a large library of tracts and booklets which defined the importance of holy living. The instruction offered was eminently practical and kept an eye on rewards both here and hereafter, having in addition the virtue of constancy in its opinions. This strength of conviction was of greater worth in the face of shifting social values than it had been in a period ruled by Catholic authoritarianism and justification by works. From the accession of the Tudors until the time of their Stuart successors, the advice of popular handbooks of moral theology was almost without change. Robert Bonyonn who as late as 1579 commended his soul in his will to God and "our blessed Ladie St. Mary and to all the holy company of heaven"[1] would have respected the advice tendered by the Brother of Sion Monastery, Richard Whitford, who published his *Werke for Housholders* (1532) during Bonyonn's lifetime. His great descendant John Bunyan needed to depart but little from these ideals when he composed his own *Christian Behaviour* (1663). Robert's failure to advance theologically with the times, as shown by his retention of idolatrous views, is a symbol of a general failure to evade the prepotent influence of the Roman Church in practical matters.

Turning to the seventeenth century we experience little surprise in finding by comparison how closely related Bunyan is to William Perkins, the "apostle of practical divinity." This great theologian's *Christian Oeconomie* (1609) was the inspiration of many younger ministers who lacked the qualifications of a Cambridge Lecturer. The extent of all Perkins' writings may have prevented Bunyan and the poorer men from possessing them, but this could not prevent his emphatic dogmatism from being the most satisfactory exposition of Calvinism in England. As Louis B. Wright has put it: "He was one of an extraordinary group of preachers who helped make more articulate

[1] John Brown, *John Bunyan*, p. 2.

the feelings of multitudes of Englishmen who were thinking vaguely about their relations to God and to their fellows." [2]

The order in which these relations are taken in this quotation is deliberate because the preacher was occupied primarily with the spiritual life of his people. He was able to speak of social duties which stem from them afterwards but would not entertain discussion with any other than the elect. If difficulties arose, a man like Perkins was well equipped with examples of case-divinity to apply to each man, and in his advice he was asserting the peaceful life of the Tudor Puritan who must labour diligently to fulfil his part in the pre-ordained plan. The peace of antiquity was about these words, and among the Puritans, the works of Perkins and a few others came to possess the authority formerly ascribed by the Catholic Church to Tradition.

Bunyan's own contribution to this genre seems indeed meagre beside those of Perkins, William Gouge and Richard Baxter. Gouge's manual, a volume of 700 pages entitled *Of Domesticall Duties,* is most comprehensive[3] and Baxter's is divided into two parts. The first of these *Christian Directory* (1673) is the last complete Medieval *summa,*[4] and its sequel, *The Poor Man's Family Book* (1674), designed as a Modernisation of *Plain Man's Pathway,* was written in simpler terms. Its simplicity was in a way its own undoing. Baxter was always a copious author, and in the interests of clarity he took so much space over his task that the resultant book was too long for sale at a cheap price. He therefore begged the rich to buy copies for the poor, so that his labour might not be wasted. These writers, and many more, show once more the immediacy of pastoral advice to the problems of the flock and the implicit faith in the theologian's advice in quotidien affairs which animates the life and society of the century.

Bunyan prepared a simple catechism *Instructions for the Ignorant,* in a "plain and easy dialogue", which dealt with the elements of faith. It was a prepatory course to his *Christian Behaviour* and is handled in a non-denominational manner. It may be debated whether such general principles are advisable in a catechism or whether a pervasive specialist tone should not be introduced at this early stage. However, its application to Bunyan's major writing is of more concern to us at present. Its most noteworthy questions concern fatal procrastination and

[2] Louis B. Wright, "William Perkins," *Huntington Library Quarterly.* (Vol. iv., 196.)

[3] Cf. C. L. Powell, *English Domestic Relations,* 1487-1653 (New York) 1917, esp. App.D. for an analysis of the scope of Gouge's book.

[4] Vide quotations from Baxter in R. H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism.* Selections of interest to the economic historian were made by Jeannette Tawney and published in 1925.

spiritual laziness or, in allegorical terms, remaining at home in the City of Destruction:

> Q. But if I follow my play and sports a little longer, may I not come time enough?
> A. I cannot promise thee that, for there be little graves in the church-yard; and who can tell that thy young life is short?[5]

The catechism grows away from this note (reminiscent of *Everyman*) towards a preliminary sketch of Christian's dialogue on conversion with Hopeful, which represents the spiritual summit of *Pilgrim's Progress*:

> Q. Pray tell me now the manner of (faith's) coming.
> A. It comes through difficulty . . . a sense of unworthiness, guilt of conscience, natural reason, unbelief, and arguments forged in hell and thence suggested by the devil into the heart against it.
> Q. How doth faith come gradually?
> A. Perhaps at first it is but like a grain of mustard seed, small and weak.[6]

Christian Behaviour itself expounds Works in a rule of Faith. Its social compass is the patriarchal society, ruled over by a Christian Rich Man, whose family and servants are viewed as a microcosm of the order of the universe and whose community is treated as a private Church. Bunyan accepts social graduation without hestitating and without leaning towards democratic ideology. He shows an unchanging acceptance of the church and of good rich men[7] attacking in *A Few Sighs from Hell* only those whose riches are outweighing their power for goodness. Such inequalities had always been noticed and justified; they were not grievances but natural acceptances to be met with prayer lest privileges should be abused.[8] Otherwise, the medieval distribution of wealth was acceptable to the lower classes of Bunyan's day.

The duty of the master of the household comes first into Bunyan's world-view. He is taught the reason for his eminence in the world and shown the restraints of his office. Perkins, with a wider philosophical experience and vocabulary dicusses the illegelity of polygamy:

[5] Bunyan, *Works*, (ed. George Offor) ii. 680.
[6] Ibid. ii. 685.
[7] Cf. "The church is above all as the lady is above the servant, the queen above the steward or the wife above her husband's officers." *Solomon's Temple Spiritualised, Works* iii, 473.
[8] Cf. Wilhelm Schenk, *Social Justice in the Puritan Revolution*, "the central and dominant tradition of Christianity has always accepted social as well as natural inequality, but it has demanded the permeation of all social relationships by the Christian spirit". I am deeply indebted to this book in the present article.

> That two and not three or four shall be noe flesh. And for this cause, the fathers, who had many wives and concubines, it may bee through customs they sinned of ignorance, yet they are not in any wise to be excused.[9]

The correct approach is established in all conduct books; it is in this concept that the pressure of change was being felt in the seventeenth century. The original approach to matrimony: *melius est nubere quam urere,* was passing into an *affaire de coeur.* From an exploitation of the young couple for economic ends the age passed to a consideration of their own views. Restoration preachers permitted greater latitude than their predecessors (cf. Baxter's words: "If it is *necessary* to marry, an ungodly partner might do"—a distinctly novel adaptation of apostolic doctrine!) Whatever freedom was allowed to the participants in their choice of partner, the Church retains its right to direct their private lives. It sought to regulate their indulgence in the sensualities of matrimony and proclaimed fiercely against anything that resembled sanctified lust and whoredom. Baxter and Perkins have a wealth of observation behind their utterances and blame the natural *imbecillitas* of the female sex for many marriages that need ministerial direction. The Puritan preacher had only his pulpit: there he had to deal in general with matters of delicate privacy formerly the province of the confessional.[10] Bunyan's chapters appear, by comparison, simple but sound.

It is known with what indulgence Bunyan treated his own children; in print he testifies to it by discouraging the excessive use of the rod and, positively, by symbolising in Badman Senior the duty of Christian Fatherhood. He exalts a large family in all his works, hoping thus in his own mind to refute Catholic and Quaker asceticism. With all his concern for the welfare of the child Bunyan omits all mention of schooling. Nor does he offer an explanation of this surprising lapse, which is all the more strange when it is considered how much Nonconformists have always believed in the provision of worthily educated ministers. John Dury, himself a preacher, was in contact with Hartlib and Comenius, offering as a result of his discussion with them plans for a school of vocational practice. He put forward in his *Reformed School* (1640) a place for commerce, agriculture and administration in the education of the young. This was not mere technical training, for its syllabus was formed with the aid of Discretion, Prudency, and Rationality and included ample allowance of curricular time for Prayer and religious exercises. The

[9] William Perkins, *Christian Oeconomie,* in *Works,* 111 (1613) *p.* 670.

[10] However there seems to be nothing in these writers which compares with the Persoun's prohibition of contraception and abortion in *The Canterbury Tales.*

movement hereby inaugurated for reformed education reached its pitch in the practice of the Dissenting Academies, which became rivals of the universities in the provision of scientific and modern subjects.[11]

Servants are treated next as subject to ministerial direction. Their status makes them dependant upon the good-will of their master, and the first concern is that they shall be well treated spiritually and never left hungry, thirsty and cold. Bunyan feared (or as he put it impersonally, "it stinketh") that godly men were not always ahead of the profane in providing for their subjects. Although he offers no example of this in *Mr. Badman,* Bunyan was clearly well-apprised of servant behaviour, for he alone of our three authors voices his protest against their malicious habit of caluminating their masters. From his words the reader can imagine preachers who protested vainly against the practices of domestics, their demand for "vails" which made attendance at a rich man's table as expensive as buying the meal at an inn, and the interminable indiscretions of the Comic Servant in eighteenth century novels.[12] Bunyan and Baxter were trying still to see the servant as a "soul" who must be protected from alehouses and that complex tangle of sin arising from drunkenness.

The female members of the family have their own place in the firmament of the domestic handbook. The divine was asked to intervene in disputes of wife and husband and Bunyan laid it down frequently that the woman has an inferior place in the household. Casuistic divinity took its interventions a long way.[13] Should a wife, it asked, have jurisdiction over common property? The reply was affirmative only if it could be proved that she was trying to perform charitable actions which her husband was not in a position to assist in. Bunyan took his belief in feminine *imbecillitas* to its logical conclusion. He allowed no escape for the wife: with a bad husband she was permitted to seem cool in her behaviour, but she had to remain loyal. Mrs. Badman herself, clinging to a reprobate husband and family is the symbol of a Calvinist Griselda who had no release until death. There

[11] Cf. R. B. Schlatter, *Social Ideas of the Religious Leaders,* 1660-1688, pp. 31-59 for a mass of contemporary education theory; and Irene Parker, *Dissenting Academies of England* for the syllabuses of these establishments, of which Daniel Defoe is a typical product.

[12] Cf. Dorothy Marshall, "Domestic Servants of the 18th Century" in *Economica,* April, 1929.

[13] Cf. Edward Dering, *Godly Private Prayers* advised the man never to discuss his affairs with his wife. Many women would have sided with that wife who added to the copy now in Huntington Library, the words, "if thy wife be a foolish woman or a whorish woman". (L. B. Wright, *Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England,* p. 246n.)

were no seventeenth century suffragettes or deaconesses to rewrite these instructions, although divorce was being discussed in academic circles. Perkins, in his same *Christian Oeconomie* gave expression to theological gropings. His provisions included divorce in cases of desertion, "malicious dealing" and adultery, and it was to his *Oeconomie* that another great Christ's graduate, John Milton, turned when re-opening a subject which Bunyan himself felt no need to discuss.

Bunyan's social philosophy penetrated little further in 1663, but we hardly read his work for these views. They find acceptance in the context of *Pilgrim's Progress* and *Mr. Badman* where practical divinity is freed from its theoretical fetters. Bunyan's virtue as a writer lies rather in the creation of characters and symbols than in the proposition of concepts. He was, I am sure, aware that the domestic guidebooks were counsels of perfection, for in his *Holy Life, the Beauty of Christianity* he regrets how difficult his standards are to follow. What these guiding principles are, he explained near the end of *Christian Behaviour* as Christian Brotherhood and Civil Neighbourhood. He appends thereafter a number of sins which prevent orderly social living: covetousness, pride and adultery, signs of the false backslider. He shows that to deify gain is to disallow of "God's way of disposing with his creatures," and touches upon the punishments prepared for those who seek to disrupt divine providence:

> I have observed that sometimes God . . . doth snatch away souls in the very nick of their backsliding, as he served Lot's wife, when she . . . was looking over her shoulder to Sodom. An example that every backslider should remember with astonishment.[14]

Such a belief in God's providence was essential to Puritan theology. Writers were assured that to heed the world too greatly was to court disaster in eternity.[15] The rich, particularly, had to guard their souls from a pre-occupation with Civil Neighbourhood. Large estates depended upon amicable relations with tenants and the rest of the countryside, but to surrender one's whole attention to the provision of feasts was to create a debit in more than one balance-sheet:

> they have so many fine cloaths and ornaments to get and use; and so any rooms to beautifie and adorn, and so many servants to talk with and that attend them, and so many flowers to plant and dress, and walks and places of pleasure to mind, and so many Visitors to entertain . . . and so many hours to sleep, that the day, that year, their lives are gone, before they could have while to know what they lived for.[16]

[14] *Works*, ii, p. 574.

[15] Cf. cases of conscience regarding those who flee before the plague, and deliberations in 18th century of the morality of joining sick-clubs. (See *Trans. Bapt. Hist. Soc.* v, pp. 121-2.)

[16] *Christian Directory*, p. 632.

It was commonplace that the poor were fortunate in their lack of worldly temptations, but their poverty did not totally exculpate them. Like Bunyan dwelling upon Lot's wife, Baxter wrote:

> think on these things, think of them once a day at least . . . Heaven is not a May game and Hell is not a fleabiting. Make not a jeast of Salvation or Damnation.[17]

With such forthright language, Baxter and Bunyan deal with the temptations of The World and warn their readers of the virtues of Christian Behaviour.

At this point Baxter turns to *Christian Politicks*, a field into which Bunyan was not equipped to follow. Some of his brief statements in *Antichrist and his Ruin* were issued[18] as an anthology to discourage Nonconformist opposition to George III. Political statements in Bunyan's work are rare; when they are found, their tone is one of acceptance or partial rejection in favour of divine providence. Where he mentions the provision of social justice in England, one may detect a satirical note, but it does not proceed from a spirit of Republicanism, as some modern accounts might have us believe, or from a desire for the Millenium:

> We have seen a great deal of [trouble] in our days . . . especially since the discovery of the Popish plot, for then we began to fear cutting of throats, of being burned in our beds, and of seeing our children dashed in pieces before our faces. But looking about us, we found we had a gracious king, brave parliaments, a stout city, good lord-mayors, honest sherrifs, substantial laws against them, and these we made the object of our hope, quite forgetting the direction in this exhortation, "Let Israel hope in the Lord".[19]

Dr. Schenk has shown (we would add, conclusively) that most recent critics have been vitiated by their *parti pris* in their estimates of political thought during the Interregnum. Winstanley the Digger, and Bunyan the Baptist, share a common view of Nature and of God's disposition of its fruits, but Bunyan, nourished in the peaceful tradition of Tudor Puritanism, would never have supported him in revolt. He was as reactionary as the Surrey parson who figures as villain in the story of the Digger adventure on St. George's Hill. Nor can one accept the current academic view, most memorably stated in Mr. Eliot's phrase from *Little Gidding*, "united in the strife that divided them," which errs too much in the opposite direction. Dr. Schenk's conclusion that the undertakings of Winstanley and other republican leaders most closely resemble the Fraticelli, Lollard and Hussite revolts, is, we are sure, justified. By reading the history of the revolutionary period, not as a modern but as a contemporary, Schenk foregoes

[17] *Poor Man's Family Book*, p. 266.
[18] John Martin, ed., *Political Sentiments of John Bunyan* (1798).
[19] *Israel's Hope Encouraged*, *Works* i, p. 585.

the advantage of working from a dialectic in historical thought. He is able the more readily to expose modern falsification, both in interpretation and in quotation of original documents[20] and also to discard those of our contemporaries who have been deceived by their own enthusiasm. To express history as a series of revolutionary cycles which approach through the era of 1789 the maturity of 1917 is to have failed entirely to ask what motives led to any of these revolutionary precedents and to sweep into one receptacle the anticlericals Langland, Chaucer and More, agricultural reformers like the Diggers,[21] pseudochrists, anti-sectarians, Bunyan, Baxter, George Fox and many others: to unite in the strife that divided them and with a vengeance. Only those who appropriate to their own scholarship a monopoly in critical analysis of men and history, could demand so many past adherents to justify them.

Bunyan's conception of unity, Christian Brotherhood, sought to return prodigal children to an ever-loving Father, of whom Badman's father was a convenient prototype in his writing. It had no intention of socialising or of rejecting individuality in favour of a stereotype. All mankind should be brothers but should continue to accept their different positions in the body politic, where their proper gifts were needed. Those ministers who proposed theories of equality[22] were seeking to answer moral questions and to create an ideal. Their practical sense told them that sinful expressions of personality could not be always removed: they had the technique of reprobation to meet these emergencies, and their conduct-books applied only to the elect. All of them employed the book of domestic guidance to encourage householders to establish under their roof a family as pleasing to God as the church itself. Their advice was not new for the tradition extends from the Medieval *Summa* to Baxter and Bunyan. When we study *Christian Behaviour* or *Christian Directory,* models for social deportment in Restoration England, we should remember that they owe their form not only to William Perkins' *Christian Oeconomie* but to the earliest English version of all, the Lollard *Of Weddid Men and Wifis and of Here Children,* and beyond that to Thomas Aquinas, whose dogma

[20] Cf. Schenk's comments upon Petegorsky's version of *Tyranipocrat* in *Left-Wing Democracy in the English Civil War* and upon Leonard Hamilton's edition of Winstanley, with introduction by Christopher Hill.

[21] Schenk underestimates the importance of agricultural motives in Winstanley's revolt. Cf. R. C. Latham, "English Revolutionary Thought, 1640-1660," *History,* March, 1945.

[22] Cf. I. Grubb, *Quakerism and Industry before* 1800 (Chap. v.), which shows how the equality of the Quakers in worship was reflected in their common simplicity of dress and their prohibition of luxury articles was in the interest of Christian Brotherhood.

found its most satisfying literary analogue in Dante's description of *l'amor che muove le sol e l'altri stelle.*

Bunyan's pattern of behaviour, his Brotherhood and Neighbourhood, depends upon a tradition which could reconcile a Church with its Lollards, and Hussites. Therefore although his Calvinism forced him to dismiss many weak brothers, Bunyan surveyed all estates and callings and rejoiced when they conformed to his order. Then, Brotherhood and Neighbourliness led, step by step, logically along the plain pathway to God. He concludes his theoretical discussion in *Christian Behaviour* with the magnificent analogy of garden flowers:

> Christians are like the several flowers in a garden, that have upon them the dew of heaven, which being shaken with the wind, they let fall their dew at each other's roots, whereby they are jointly nourished, and become nourishers of one another. For Christians to commune savourly of God's matters one with another, it is as if they opened to each other's nostrils boxes of perfume.[23]

This will perhaps explain why Christian was provided with a companion for his journey to the next world.

The ethical propositions in Bunyan's work come to life most in the dramatisation and charactery of *Pilgrim's Progress* and *Mr. Badman.* In the latter most strongly, we are given his rule of life from a negative position, in the sections devoted to lying, swearing, drunkenness, concupiscence, and extortion; positively, too, we have (in the careers of Mrs. Badman and her father-in-law) the duty of good parents. In Badman's own life the correct behaviour of the appreciative, the theory of the just price and the ethics of bankruptcy are all implied; these are some of the fruits of Bunyan's widening experience.

In allegories and in this one superb novel Bunyan gave concrete embodiment to his theories. Setting them forth thus, *sub specie eternitatis,* Bunyan is capable of commanding greater respect from modern readers. To appreciate his precise control over his symbols we should occasionally look into his lesser booklets. There, in simple terms, and in his novel less directly, the universal importance of Bunyan's writings is made explicit, for the literary student and Nonconformist reader alike.

MAURICE HUSSEY.

[23] *Works* ii, 570. Cf. also Henri Talon, *John Bunyan, L'Homme et L'Oeuvre.* (Paris, 1948), pp. 352-3.

REMINDER.

Members of the Historical Society who have not already done so are asked to send their subscription for 1951 without delay to the Treasurer, Mr. A. H. Calder, 78, Marshalswick Lane, St. Albans, Herts. (Note change of number.)

The Ministry According to Ezekiel

(*continued from p.* 38)

The message of Ezekiel may be divided into two parts, separated by the fall of Jerusalem in 596. In the few years prior to that calamity, he felt called to continue the work of Jeremiah in proclaiming the ultimate destruction of the city and collapse of the State. Again and again he reviews the history of Israel and Judah, and again and again drives home the conclusion that their sins have merited the destruction that is to befall them. Since he judges the whole of their history in the light of the later Deuteronomic standard, it is not surprising that he finds them so sadly lacking. It is to this period of his ministry that his most bitter denunciations belong, as it is to this time also that his unpopularity belongs. If the bitterness of his denunciations seem hard, let us remember that he was, in fact, performing a valuable pastoral duty. He was seeking to prepare his fellow countrymen for the blow that was to fall, and was seeking to justify the ways of God to men. He reminds them that the destruction of the temple is not the same thing as the defeat of Yahweh. His picture of Yahweh leaving the temple and sitting on the Mount of Olives to watch its destruction, may be a trifle anthropomorphic for us. But at least it declared that in the defeat of His people, Yahweh Himself was not defeated.

After the fall of the city, his message became one of hope and confidence. Here speaks the wise pastor. Looking upon his people he sees that their need is for reassurance, and that need coincides with the message that he has received from God. In face of the calamity which must have well-nigh broken their spirit, he declared that Yahweh was to gather Israel back again into the Promised Land, that Ephraim and Judah were to be re-united, and that the Kingdom was to be restored. But there was to be a difference. His reviews of history reveal clearly enough that he felt the trouble with Israel to have been the failure of the secular power to enforce true religion. Henceforth, Israel is to be more a church than a nation. Supreme authority is to be vested in the religious leaders, and the supreme ruler is to be a priest-king, invested with both ecclesiastical and secular power. It is significant that in his blue-print of the new order, which is drawn with great precision of detail, the nation's life is to be centred literally as well as figuratively around the Temple. Thus

he bids his fellow-exiles lift up their hearts with hope. Yahweh has not deserted his people and the future is to be more glorious than the past.

Ezekiel spoke, as all the prophets spoke, to the needs and conditions of his own time. Yet there is an assumption behind all that he has to say which is greater significance than the local and temporary. The key to Ezekiel's preaching ministry is his conception of the greatness and holiness of Yahweh. His glory had been sullied by the sin of His people, and the shame had to be wiped out and restitution made. The redemption which was to come, this too is inexplicable apart from the greatness of Yahweh, for it was to come for the vindication of His holiness, and to give glory to His Holy Name. Moreover, it was to be all His doing. The house of Israel was broken and dead. No apter simile could be conceived than that of the valley of dry bones. It represented exactly the situation in which Israel found herself. Her hope utterly cut off, unable to move her lifeless soul to return to God. She could be revivified only by the creative act of God, and when the wind of God blew, then would His people revive. This is Ezekiel's word to his world; God is supreme in judgement and in redemption.

This was no new conception in the history and religion of Israel. Indeed the greatness of Ezekiel does not lie in the fact that he was an innovator. That he clearly was not. His greatness lies rather in the fact that inspired by his vision of the transcendance of God, he was able to take the gems of truth laid up in store by those who had gone before him, and apply them to the circumstances and conditions of his own time.

A few illustrations of the way in which he did this will make a profitable study in the technique of sermon-making! Some generations earlier, Isaiah of Jerusalem had developed the idea of the righteous remnant of Israel, which was to be the true nation. Later still the idea was to be invested with an even richer meaning by the Second Isaiah but here, in the hands of Ezekiel, it has already become the means by which Yahweh, the Holy and the Great, will preserve a people fit for His possession. To demonstrate the doctrine of the remnant with vividness the Prophet shaves his hair and divides the cuttings into portions, scattering and destroying some, but preserving a portion. So will God deal with Israel. This, for Ezekiel is no theoretical doctrine, but among people who themselves have felt the judgement of Yahweh, the meaning of his act becomes plain and clear.

Again, Ezekiel's immediate predecessor, Jeremiah, had, through his own bitter experience, been led to a new understanding of the religious relationship. He had been led far from the hitherto commonly accepted notion that the religious unit was the

national group, and from the depths of his own experience he had learned that man stood in a personal and individual relation to his God. Ezekiel, amid the break up of the national unit experienced the truth of this, and made more explicit the development not only of a new religious relationship, but also of a new ethical and moral relationship. Just as the true religious unit is the person, so also is the ethical unit. A person is responsible for his own sins and not for those of another. Indeed he goes so far that his conception is almost atomistic, denying the influence of heredity and environment. But at least this much is plain, that the greatness of Yahweh is such that, reaching out to a man in his sin, it can turn him from his evil ways and cause him to live, whatever may be happening to the world around him.

Ezekiel clearly saw too, the implications for his own time of the teaching of Hosea about God; and he anticipates much of the Christian doctrine of salvation. Redemption is to precede repentance. Looking out upon his world he saw that repentance was far away, and if redemption depended upon that, then redemption was a long way off. But God will not wait until His people repent before He restores them to their own land. In His own good time He will so restore them, and then from the security and safety of the Promised Land, they will turn unto Him. However unduly optimistic this may seem, it does in some measure anticipate the words of St. Paul: "While we were still sinning, Christ died for the ungodly," and it does declare that the initiative in redemption is always God's. When men's hearts are far from Him, and when with the feet of a Gomer they wander far from the pathways of virtue, God is always seeking them out, and it is by His power and by His alone, that they can be restored.

Ezekiel's Messianic teaching stems from his conception of God, and is related to the predicament in which his people find themselves. Although in vision fair, he foresaw a time when ecclesiastical and civil government should be closely allied, he was enough of a realist to recognise that these things were not yet. In the meantime, he has plenty to say about the government, both ecclesiastical and civil. The false and faithless shepherds of Israel are denounced in no uncertain terms. They had been concerned solely with their own power, prestige and possessions, while the flock of God had been neglected and scattered. The shepherds themselves had turned wolves. Such shepherds as these were to be superceded. Yahweh Himself, through His vice-regent would be their shepherd. This is a passage of great beauty, in which the fierce denunciations are matched by the compassion of a great pastoral concern. Yahweh shares that concern, in fact he promotes it. The scattered sheep are to be gathered into one flock beneath the care of the One

Shepherd. This is indeed a noble conception of Messiahship, enriched by his experience of God, and related to the needs of his time.

So one might go on illustrating the truth that Ezekiel's ministry of the Word consisted in the application of truths that he had experienced about God, and all of them stemming from the highest traditions of his people. But it is sufficient to establish the principle, and the principle is this, that the ministry of the Word consists in relating the truth that we have experienced to the needs and situations of our own day. For most of us, as for Ezekiel, that really means seeing anew the relevance of things that are not new.

In short, Ezekiel was not a daring religious innovator. He does not stand like a Jeremiah or a Second Isaiah, on the mountain peaks. He is an illustration—perhaps a somewhat highly-coloured one—but still a true one, of what most of us are. We are not innovators in the realm of theological truth, we are conscious that most of what we have, we have received from those who have gone before, and that all that we have of good has come from God. It is for us like Ezekiel, to understand the implications of the truths that we know for the world of our time. Neither are we men of superlative spiritual perception—we are but servants of God striving with sympathy and understanding to minister to the needs of our people, ready to make the message our own, and by the grace of God persisting in the proclamation of the Word, both in season and out.

It remains only to ask what are the truths which God is seeking to make known to our day and generation through us. What aspect of God's truth needs fresh application in the world of our day? In such a matter as this we must be patient to hear the Voice of God, and be ready to follow the guidance of His Spirit. But Ezekiel has something to say to us here. Do men recognise the holiness and the majesty of God? Can they know true peace until they do? We may not like Ezekiel's way of putting things. After all, his tongue has been silent these 2,500 years and more. Sometimes we may even be repelled by the picture which he paints of a God who seems over concerned for the honour of His Holy Name. Still less can we share Ezekiel's view of a holiness that is contagious and quasi-physical, or the national exclusiveness which pervades much of his thinking. But these things are the local and the temporary, and when all those things have been recounted and set aside, it still seems that in this day of human perplexity and human failure there is laid upon us the necessity to make known to mankind the supremacy of God, both in judgement and in redemption.

J. C. WHITNEY.

Reviews

The Catholicity of Protestantism. Edited by R. Newton Flew and Rupert E. Davies. (Lutterworth Press, 5s.).

As debates about Church Union are likely to proceed for years to come it is desirable that we should be well versed in the topics treated here. An indispensable guide to present discussions, this is a book to study. Issued by a group of Free Church theologians (Baptists represented by R. L. Child, P. W. Evans and E. A. Payne) this Report is concerned with the essential insights of Protestantism. While it has much to say about Lutheran, Reformed and Anglican Confessions and Articles, its main purpose is to set forth the convictions common to the Free Churches.

Perhaps it is a sign of the times that it was the Archbishop of Canterbury who asked for this Report. His object was to obtain as complete a picture as possible of the variety of views on the essential marks of the Church. One Report, entitled *Catholicity,* was published by the Anglo-Catholics three years ago and the Evangelicals of the Church of England are shortly to publish theirs under the title *The Fullness of Christ.*

The Catholicity of Protestantism is in some respects a reply to *Catholicity* for time and again it has to point out flagrant misrepresentations of the Protestant position and, indeed, distortions of historical facts. The Free Church authors have a clever way of turning defence into attack, though it is done in a spirit of Christian charity. What strikes us most is the plea that Catholics should honestly recognise that, whatever their theories as to how the Spirit of God should act, He has acted and acts still in the Churches of the Reformation.

This Report boldly affirms that the Reformers were out to restore the lost "wholeness" of the Church, accepts the views of Dr. T. W. Manson in *The Church's Ministry* as to what is the essential ministry of the Church and traces the differences between Catholics and Protestants to the doctrine of Authority. Much that is not readily accessible elsewhere (e.g. the Declaratory Statement of the Free Church Federal Council and citations from the 1927 Evangelical Free Church Catechism) is contained in this volume. P. S. Watson's detailed knowledge of Luther's works has obviously been of great service to the group not only

to refute the amazing ignorance of Luther's position shown by the authors of *Catholicity,* but also as a background to the various points at issue. The chapter on Justification is particularly important in view of the Anglo-Catholic group's objection to Justification by faith *alone.*

Of the many comments that might be made, the following must suffice. Have we really got clear the relation between the visible and the invisible Church? "We assert today," says the Report, "the faith of the Reformers that outside the Church there is no salvation." How much is meant by this? There are passages regarding the Sacraments which go beyond the valuation placed upon them by Baptists, and one rather suspects that a major task for our denomination is to give heed to ourselves as regards the Sacraments if we are to be true to Pauline and Reformation doctrine. "We ask," says the Report "for a more extensive interpretation of the meaning of the living presence of Christ with His people. . . . The Free Churches may have largely forgotten this part of their inheritance. . . ." If this confession is to be taken at its face value we cannot be complacent, for our whole claim to Catholicity is founded on the presence of Christ, realised and acknowledged.

For the moment we must leave our Anglican brethren to decide whether they are to return to Hooker and their XXXIX Articles and so stand clearly as a Church of the Reformation. If they so decide—and we may expect *The Fulness of Christ* to pull hard in that direction—we shall find them speaking the same language as ourselves. But on us Free Churchmen there is surely an obligation laid: if we have as much in common as this Report suggests we ought not to rest content with the present denominational set-up. Communions which are as agreed on the essential marks of the Church as this document maintains should surely take federation far more seriously and pray God to hasten the birth of a united Free Church.

K. C. Dykes.

The Prophetic Faith of our Fathers: the Historical Development of Prophetic Interpretation, by Le Roy Edwin Froom. Volume I. (Review and Herald, Washington, D.C. $5.00.).

The second and third volumes of this massive essay in the history of interpretation appeared before the present volume, and the second has already been reviewed in this Journal (January 1949, pp. 41ff.). The fourth and final volume has yet to be written. The author is chiefly interested in the interpretation of the books of Daniel and Revelation, and has set himself the task of traversing the whole course of Christian interpretation from the

earliest days down to the present time. The work involved is truly enormous, and it has been carried through with a care and thoroughness that is deserving of the highest praise.

In the present volume the story is carried down to the Middle Ages, and we have a vast panorama of exegetes through all the Early Church period and down to the Waldenses. A generous measure of biographical information about the various writers is given and a clear and accurate summary of their views on the fundamental significance of these portions of Scripture as a forecast of the future. No reader can fail to learn a vast amount from the study of this book. The author claims that the assembling of his materials has occupied more than sixteen years, and it is certain that they have been years of unresting labour. A much longer period would not seem excessive to any who have had experience of this kind of work.

Needless to say, the author has not undertaken this labour in the interests of objective study alone. He belongs to a particular school of prophetic interpretation, and holds that in these portions of Scripture we have a blue print of the course of the ages. He knows, however, that while this has been a common view amongst interpreters throughout the years, they have differed very widely from one another in their interpretations, and even in the principles which they have followed in those interpretations. The principles of the school to which the author belongs were not clearly formulated until after the close of the period here covered, and therefore the study is wholly objective throughout this volume. The anti-papal interest, however, which is one of the major characteristics of his view, already figures in not a few of the writings which are here examined. In the succeeding volumes, though the author is chiefly interested in a particular strand running through the complex pattern, his work has still very high objective value, and it is for that that the reviewer holds it in such high esteem. He himself wholly repudiates the author's own school of interpretation and finds every school that sees here a reliable blue print of future history to be discredited by its own record. The commendation of this work is therefore the more sincere because it is given by one who does not share its point of view.

H. H. Rowley.

The Whig Interpretation of History, by H. Butterfield, M.A. (G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., 7s. 6d.).

The widespread interest aroused by Professor Butterfield's broadcast lectures *Christianity and History* has naturally stimulated the demand for others of his writings. The volume before

us is a re-issue of an essay first published in 1932. It consists of a lively and sustained criticism of "the tendency in many historians to write on the side of Protestants and Whigs, to praise revolutions provided they have been successful, to emphasize certain principles of progress in the past and to produce a story which is the ratification if not the glorification of the present." What Professor Butterfield attacks may be described more briefly as the study of the past for the sake of the present or the offering of moral judgments by historians. In his view the historian should use his art to emphasize not the likenesses of the past to the present, but the unlikenesses; he must not impose a pattern on history, but must recognise that the whole past produced the whole present. History is "a clash of wills out of which there emerges something that probably no man ever willed." Too often the historian castes himself for the rôle of judge and forgets that he is really only an expert witness or a detective. The true task of the historian is detailed research; his art is a descriptive one. All this is well, if provocatively, put, its main application being to the study of the sixteenth century. In the last section, Lord Acton is severely criticised for some of the judgments he offered.

This is a book which all who read or write history should know and ponder. Is it, however, quite fair to describe as the Whig and Protestant interpretation failings that are also evident in the writings of not a few Tories and Roman Catholics (as is in fact implied on page thirty)? Is there not also in this essay a little more fervour and righteous indignation than is really consonant with the principles it sets out to expound—though it may be confessed that it is these qualities that make it such pleasant and stimulating reading? And could not Professor Butterfield have indicated to us in a new foreword how he would reply to the criticisms of his book which Professor H. G. Wood offered in his 1933-34 Hulsean Lectures, *Christianity and the Nature of History*?

ERNEST A. PAYNE.

The Problem of Christ in the Twentieth Century, by W. R. Matthews. (Oxford University Press, 7s. 6d.).

The four chapters which make up this slim but important book were delivered as Maurice Lectures at King's College, London. The distinguished author is convinced that Christian theologians must attempt to wrestle with the doctrine of the Person of Christ in the light of branches of knowledge of which those who put together the traditional formulas were unaware, in particular psychology and psychical research. Dr. Matthews

urges that the definitions of the ancient creeds should not be regarded as dogmas, but as starting-points for further reflection. He admits that, in drawing upon recent studies of the nature of personality, he raises more questions than he answers. The final lecture offers a tentative approach to a modern Christology which discards the older idea of substance and thinks in terms of "behaviour events" or willed actions. "The pattern of the Father's will, on this hypothesis, is the essential reality of the temporal personality of the Son." But there is an eternal aspect of human personality. The uniqueness of Jesus lies in the fact that inspiration, which for the rest of mankind is intermittent, was for him constant. "Jesus is the one completely inspired person, and, because he is completely inspired, he is the temporal manifestation in a human life of the Eternal Word." This is a brave book, written with the Dean's characteristic clarity and forthrightness, and it should appeal to many who desire to make use of modern concepts. Whether its conclusions are as revolutionary, or as far removed from those of the Fathers as the earlier pages suggest, may perhaps be doubted.

ERNEST A. PAYNE.

The Philosophy of Religion: A Consideration of the More Profound Aspects of Religious Thought, by William S. Morgan. (Philosophical Library, New York, $6.00.).

The writer here claims "to present the philosophy of religion from the viewpoint of a unitary conception of the universe." The first section of the work deals with the nature of philosophy and of religion. Evidence is collected for defining philosophy as the search for a unitary principle underlying all experience, and religion as "the realisation that we are essential and contributory participants in God, nature and humanity." Book two is devoted to epistemology, with chapters on Kant and T. H. Green. Both are commended for their search for a principle of unity; and their failure to find it is examined in detail. In Book three the idea of causation is considered historically, metaphysically and psychologically, with a view to finding a unitary system incorporating our conceptions of God, nature and man. The important point brought out is the connection between theories of causation and the subjective experiences of volition and activity. In Book four ethics and aesthetics are treated, with sections on the problems of evil and freedom. The last book, on the phenomena of the religious life and the destiny of man, is an interpretation of religious experience and belief in the light of the position which the writer has sought to establish. The book concludes with the confident and optimistic assertion that "higher and

higher shall the human soul ascend, realising more and more its unity with the infinite and participating more and more in the ideal work of the whole creation."

The most valuable quality of this book is its development of the notion that the universe and ultimate reality cannot be comprehended at all apart from the whole range of personal experience. Emotion and volition as well as intellect are keys to its understanding. But the cheerful optimism of the conclusion is achieved by a complete disregard of the experiences of remorse, failure and sin, and there is no consideration of personal relations, affection and sympathy. In the preface the writer expresses the hope that his viewpoint will do justice to the demands of the intellect and the needs of the heart. He makes a valuable attempt to keep the needs of the heart before the notice of the intellect, but it is very doubtful whether they could be satisfied by his highly metaphysical version of the Gospel.

G. ELWIN SHACKLETON.

St. Francis in Italian Painting, by George Kaftal. (George Allen & Unwin, 12s. 6d.).

This is the fourth volume in the new series "Ethical and Religious Classics of East and West." In the first half of the book the author gives a brief account of St. Francis and the sources on which our knowledge of him is based. The latter and more distinctive and interesting part consists of thirty-nine photographic reproductions of paintings by Italian masters from the twelfth to the late thirteenth centuries, with appropriate extracts from early "lives" of the saint. The aim of the book is said to be "to show that the religious and ethical values that St. Francis was striving after are as essential today as they were in his time." It cannot be said that much direct help is given in this direction.

ERNEST A. PAYNE.

Christ in the Early Church, by A. F. Titterton, Book ii in the series "The Bible and the Christian Faith," edited by C. B. Firth. (Ginn & Co., Ltd., 5s.) Reference Book, 5s.

The title of this volume, by A. F. Titterton is *Christ in the Early Church* and it tells the story of the Church from the Ascension to the Edict of Milan in 313. To say that it is as good an example of skilful and vigorous writing as any other volume of this admirable series is to give it high praise, and this it certainly deserves. The illustrations, thirty-six in all, are wholly admirable.

As with the rest of the series, the text book is accompanied by a reference book for teachers. This is thorough and well documented, and faces teaching difficulties courageously. Some useful analogies are suggested, for example, in dealing with the Trinity, the author adduces the illustration of "a human being, who may be at one and the same time, say, a doctor, a father, and a son." Theologians will purse their lips and murmur "Sheer Sabellianism!" but the children will be helped nearer an understanding of the Faith.

G. E. BENFIELD.

Walgrave Baptist Church, 1700-1950, by F. C. Lusty. (Billingham & Son, Northampton).

The History of the Baptist Church, Dartmouth, by J. W. Binmore. (Tozer & Co., Dartmouth).

A Southwark Ship. A Southwark Church, by A. D. Belden and W. M. Field. (The Pilgrim Church House, Great Dover Street, S.E.1., 1s., postage 2d.).

These three local histories have, each of them, an interest for others besides the members of the churches concerned.

The first pastor of the Walgrave Church shared in the formation of the Northampton Association in 1764. The second minister was present in Kettering at the formation of the Baptist Missionary Society, though by then he had moved to Braybrooke. Like so many village churches, Walgrave has been the nursery of a long succession of men and women of conviction and character. It was the scene of the first pastorate of Dr. S. W. Hughes, who is now again in residence in the village and the beloved *Pastor Emeritus*. Mr. F. C. Lusty, a greatly honoured nonagenarian, who as long ago as 1896 was appointed assistant minister to the late Dr. Thomas Phillips at Kettering and whose continued vigour and enthusiasm belie his years, has edited and brought up to date an earlier history of the church. He reprints in full the Church Covenant of 1783. His valuable record is well illustrated and excellently produced.

The little church at Dartmouth dates from the early years of the seventeenth century. The original deeds and other records were destroyed in the air raids on Plymouth in 1941. The present pastor has drawn on an account of the church prepared in 1883. It is good to read that this historic cause looks forward to a share in the opening up of work on the new Townstal Estate.

Mr. Binmore suggests that there may have been Baptists in Dartmouth in 1620, when the Pilgrim Fathers had temporary

shelter there. The "Antient Church" of Southwark, of which Mr. Belden and Mr. Field gave a brief account, provided a small London contingent to the *Mayflower*. With this church were associated many of the early Separatist leaders and martyrs, and from it there came in 1633 the first Particular Baptist Church. In the nineteenth century Dr. John Humphreys and Dr. John Waddington were Congregationalist pastors in Southwark. The building erected under the leadership of the latter was destroyed by enemy action in 1940. Dr. A. D. Belden, once a scholar in the Sunday School, is now the Honorary Superintendent. Plans have been made for the erection of new premises.

ERNEST A. PAYNE.

Lord of All, by J. Trevor Davies, M.A., B.D., Ph.D. (Independent Press, Ltd., 184 pp., 7s. 6d.).

Dr. Davies examines the claim of Christ to absolute Lordship, and in a series of studies, based on incidents and sayings in the Gospels, makes plain what this involves in daily living. He writes with sympathy and understanding, and the simplicity of his language does not conceal the thought and conviction behind it. It is not a superficial book. Though avowedly written for "the wayfaring man," any reader will find his spiritual life enriched by its pages. He deals shrewd blows at our common failings and satisfactions but opens the way to a deeper experience of the redeeming power of the Risen Lord.

FRANK BUFFARD.

Faith that Moves Mountains, by C. H. Powell, B.A. (Independent Press, 12s. 6d.).

This is an excellent piece of workmanship. The writer is deeply concerned with the lack of spiritual power in the modern church. His thesis is that the key which opens the door into the divine resources is faith. The book is a detailed study of faith as it is seen in the words and acts of Christ and in the pages of each book in the New Testament. He finds evidence in the later books that already the scope of faith is being narrowed and that belief in "The Faith" as a body of doctrine is replacing trust in a living Saviour. The nature of faith, the aids and hindrances to its growth, are lucidly expounded.

The average minister will find its pages will repay study. They stimulate thought, quicken conscience, and provide much that could be usefully passed on to a congregation.

FRANK BUFFARD.

The Free Church Tradition in the Life of England, by Ernest A. Payne. (S.C.M. Press, 8s. 6d.).

When this valuable and enlightening study first appeared in 1944 it justly received a warmly appreciative welcome. Such has been the continuing demand that a third edition has now been issued. For this the work has been completely revised and reset, a few new paragraphs added and the bibliographical notes brought up-to-date (to such an extent that *The Catholicity of Protestantism*, reviewed elsewhere in this issue, is included). In a prefatory note to the new edition Mr. Payne states that during the years that have passed since the book was first written certain indications have appeared which lead him to believe that the period in Free Church history he entitled " Hesitancy " is now coming to an end. At least one of those indications is surely the renewed interest in the story and witness of Nonconformity partly evidenced by the various books on the subject which have appeared in recent years. To these this revised issue of Mr. Payne's notable volume is a welcome addition, displaying as it does the perception, balanced judgement, historical knowledge and skilful writing which we have learned to expect from the new Secretary of the Baptist Union. Those who unwisely omitted to obtain for themselves a copy of the earlier editions now have the opportunity of repairing the omission.

GRAHAM W. HUGHES.

Baptist Union Diploma.

The Baptist Union Diploma in Religious Knowledge is soon to be instituted. The purpose of this new venture is to promote a deeper understanding of the Christian Faith, equip men and women in our churches for more effective service and help school teachers to fit themselves to give religious instruction. Divided into three parts, the syllabus is designed to provide systematic Scripture study, some knowledge of Church History and fundamental Christian doctrines. Baptist History and principles and training in various forms of Christian service are also included. Normally three years study will be needed to gain the Diploma, and its possession is to be in future the recognised qualification for accredited lay-preachers. Rev. A. S. Clement, 54, Spencer Avenue, Coventry, has been appointed Organising Secretary, and he will gladly forward full particulars regarding the Diploma to those who apply to him.