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

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

Editorial Notes.

THE celebrated Anglican clergyman who writes in the *Manchester Guardian* under the name of "Artifex" stated, after reading *The Lord's Supper: A Baptist Statement* (Carey Kingsgate Press, 2s. 6d.), that if there were no Parish Church near and if he were invited he would be prepared to take Communion at a Baptist church. He appeared to think, however, that the group which drew up the Statement were unduly hesitant in drawing out the sacramental significance of the rite. The Statement, which is mainly the work of a committee representative of the staffs of the eight Baptist Theological Colleges in the United Kingdom describes the practice and interpretation of the Lord's Supper in our denomination and deals with some practical issues. The group is to be congratulated upon its work.

On the whole it has been the habit of Baptists throughout their history to have concerned themselves with questions relating to the practice rather than to the meaning of the Lord's Supper. Since less than a third of this Statement is devoted to interpretation and more than two-thirds to practical matters many will doubtless feel that a more theological treatment was desirable. In the section on the order and conduct of the normal Baptist Communion Service the fact that many northern churches hold a separate afternoon Communion monthly is not mentioned. It might also be said that in this section it is the ideal rather than the actual which has been described. In practice is it the church or the church secretary who normally invites a particular layman to conduct Communion where there is no pastor? Is the form taken by the prayers of most ministers and deacons that of "confession, thanksgiving and consecration" before the distribution and "prayers for the Church Universal and for the communion of saints" following it? The importance of conforming to the ideal might have received greater emphasis, particularly in view of Inter-Communion discussions. The Statement rightly insists that, as the Lord's Supper is an act of the Church, occasional observances ought not to be arranged as thoughtlessly as they sometimes are. With the conclusion that broadcasting the service is to be rejected most Baptists will agree.

As the Statement makes clear, a variety of interpretation of the Lord's Supper—within the Reformed tradition—is to be found among Baptists. To what extent is one's theological interpretation of the sacraments determined by temperament? For some attendance at The Lord's Table is far more a richly sacramental

experience than Baptism, whereas there are those for whom Communion is simply a memorial rite commanded by Jesus and who feel the presence of the Lord in a much more real sense at Baptism than at the Table. But there are many questions which throng into one's mind as one reads this very useful little book, in the pages of which ministers and deacons particularly will find much that is helpful, and one would be glad to know that among them the Statement will be widely read and pondered.

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Congratulations to the Welsh Baptist Historical Society upon attaining its Jubilee! In the celebration issue of its *Trafodion* ("Transactions") the present secretary, Rev. Richard Edwards, looking back over the fifty years of the society's existence, claims it to be the oldest historical society of any religious denomination in Britain. (But the Congregational Historical Society claims to have been founded in 1899.) Formed at Porth on 16th July, 1901, with Principal William Edwards, of Cardiff, as President, the society began to publish its "Transactions," with Rev. Thomas Shankland as editor, in 1907. This continues to flourish today under the editorship of the distinguished historian, Dr. Thomas Richards. A generous donor made it possible for a prize to be awarded for historical essays of outstanding merit and, each year since 1905, a historical lecture has been delivered during the annual meetings of the Baptist Union of Wales. Additionally fortunate in having always enjoyed, as the secretary points out, the active support of the best men in the Welsh denomination, the society has thus been able to do much to stimulate among the Baptists of Wales a practical interest in their history. That it may long continue to prosper will be the wish of the members of the society's opposite number in England.

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Enviously watching a certain eminent divine depart for the Dorchester, with an anticipatory gleam in his eye, to be lunched by the British Broadcasting Corporation in celebration of the appearance of its new hymn-book, one could only conjecture whether the contents of the book would equal the quality of the luncheon. Since then, however, *The B.B.C. Hymn Book*,[1] beautifully produced, has come to hand. In some quarters it will probably be questioned whether the B.B.C. should have undertaken the publication of a volume of hymns. But it owes its existence to the numerous demands received by the Religious Broadcasting Department from listeners to studio services and has been in course of thorough preparation since 1937.

[1] Oxford University Press: Geoffrey Cumberlege. Music edition, 12s. 6d. Words edition, 6s.

There are 542 hymns all classified under definite headings, of which thirty-four are metrical psalms, fifteen are Biblical paraphrases and forty-five are choir settings. To make the book suitable for use in churches, hymns for Baptism, Communion, Marriage etc. have been included. (The conception of Baptism held by the world's largest Protestant communion has, however, been ignored.) The choice of hymns is ecumenical; there are even translations from Chinese and Swahili. A number of new ones make their appearance, three of which are, incidentally, by John Arlott, the popular sporting commentator. Anne Steele appears to be the only Baptist hymn-writer represented (unless Bunyan and Milton may be claimed), but Watts, Wesley, and Doddridge account for about fifty hymns between them. Many old familiar tunes are here—of the "good popular" type as distinct from the "bad popular"—and there are numerous new ones, some very good indeed. It was a bold action on the part of the editorial committee to include so many tunes composed by three of its own members. In several instances, however, but by no means in all, this action is justified. On the whole this is a very fine hymn-book, perhaps the best now existing in this country. In any case, in view of the influence of the radio on congregational hymn-singing its publication is an event of great importance. To listeners to studio services it will be a real boon and to the musical libraries of choirs, organists, choirmasters, ministers, and all who have a love of hymns, it will be a valuable addition. Its helpfulness as an aid to private devotion should not be overlooked. Naturally this will not be a substitute for denominational hymnals, but its influence is bound to be—and deservedly—wide and far-reaching.

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In 1897 the Sunday School Board of the Southern Baptist Convention (U.S.A.) published a missionary biography. Southern Baptists now look back on this event as the beginning of The Broadman Press, a great publishing enterprise which today occupies a position of commanding importance and influence in the religious publishing world of America. With Dr. William J. Fallis as Book Editor, the Press, whose headquarters are in a twelve-storey building at Nashville, Tennessee, employs a large staff and distributes its books through thirty-nine Baptist Book Stores operated by the Sunday School Board, and over two thousand other shops. Last year forty-eight titles were issued. In the illustrated brochure which describes the Press one noticed with interest that the Broadman publication held in the hands of a copy-writer in one of the pictures, is Dr. Townley Lord's *The Faith that Sings.*

The Holy Spirit.

I. BIBLICAL DATA.

THE doctrine of the Holy Spirit is one on which the classical Creeds give us little if any guidance. Those Creeds deal with the nature of God and the Person of Christ and were the result of years of strenuous thinking by the early Church, faced as it was by opponents without and by heretics within. It is one of the curiosities of the history of Christian Doctrine that the one doctrine on which so much if not everything rests, appears to have been relegated to the appendix, and stranger still that this appendix, however much inflamed, was never thought worthy of theological surgery. It was perhaps only natural that the great doctrinal controversies of the early Church should be concerned with the nature of God and the Person of Christ. Thus the Creed of the Council of Nicaea was content merely to affirm a belief in the Holy Spirit. Only when the Arian Controversy was drawing to its long drawn-out conclusion did the question of the Spirit arise, and the solution then arrived at owes much to the Cappadocian Fathers, Basil and Gregory, who taught that the Spirit, like the Son, is of one substance with the Father and is to be accorded the same worship. This conclusion finds expression in the so-called Nicene Creed of common use, which affirms that the Spirit is the Lord, the life-giver, who proceedeth from the Father, who with the Father and the Son together is worshipped and glorified. In the West the Three Persons were regarded with complete equality and the Holy Spirit was accorded that double procession which was the avowed cause of the split between East and West. We are all aware of how the word "Person" has hampered development along this line of thought, and the difficulty has always been to safeguard the personality of the Spirit and at the same time avoid any monarchian heresy. Hence, we in our day, whose work it is to proclaim a full and adequate Gospel, are called upon to rectify this omision on the part of classical Christianity.

A further and even more important consideration can be added to these two earlier considerations—whether in theological study, or in the preaching of the Word, or in pastoral duties we are all the time dependent, and entirely dependent, upon the Holy

Spirit. Never a day passes but we are under obligation to the power of the Spirit. Therefore any reverent attempt to come to some understanding of the nature and work of the Holy Spirit cannot but be good for ourselves and of value to the Church which we love and serve. The work of the ministry is threefold, like the Doctrine of the Trinity itself; it is a work of meditation, of pastoral care and of prophetic-priestly operation within the Church and all three activities are dependent upon that life-giving Spirit which Jesus incarnated and which is continued in the work of the Holy Spirit in the mind and heart of the believer.

In the realm of Biblical scholarship we have passed through a very difficult and dreary period, when the results of scholarship appeared to be so dry and negative and when, as Dr. Hodgson pointed out, the devout believer had to choose between scholarly commentaries which provided no nourishment for his soul and devotional commentaries which rode roughshod over his doubts and questionings. Those were days of mental agony for thinking Christians, and we owe a debt of gratitude to our fathers whose perseverance in honesty has brought us through those times to the firm ground on which we stand today. Scholarship and piety can today unite in expounding God's Word as addressed to us for our salvation and one of the assured results of those difficult times is the conviction reached today by all Biblical scholars that God's revelation is given not so much in words as in deeds. The Bible is the inspired record of the deeds of God. God has always been active in history, and we recognise this more clearly today than at any previous stage in the history of the Church. The emphasis today as we study the Bible falls on what God has done and is doing in the world. Behind the words of the prophets are the deeds of God. In spite of the Fourth Gospel's wonderful description of our Lord as God's Word we must insist that our Lord was God's Word written in flesh and blood, and that Christ saves by what he does more than by what He says. In fact, what He says is based on what He does. Hence, if the major contention of the Bible is the deeds of God in human history then the medium through which God works is of major importance for us, and that medium is the Spirit. Our concern today is with God's action in history in general and in the experience of the believer in particular. Materialistic Communism and other such attempts to interpret history must be met by the Christian with the contention that history is the arena of God's saving activity. But we cannot make that affirmation with any sense of conviction until we ourselves have come to some understanding as to how God has worked and still does work in history, and that obviously involves us in the formulation of a doctrine of the Holy Spirit.

Our own beloved Wheeler Robinson wrote: "Why is it that there are so many books about the Holy Spirit and so few that help us towards a real understanding of the Doctrine?" He then proceeded to give us one of the best books on the subject in our language. To his book may be added that of a scholar who does not always agree with Wheeler Robinson, viz. Dr. Leonard Hodgson, of Oxford. Meanwhile, we have to examine the Biblical data. We begin with the Old Testament which by being part of our Bible is a constant reminder that the Spirit of God cannot be confined to the Christian Church. Let us grasp that truth very firmly. The Holy Spirit was not born on that memorable Day of Pentecost. So many preachers on Whit Sunday speak as if Pentecost was the very birth of the Spirit, forgetting that if that were true we cannot make sense of God's deeds in the older days of the Old Testament. Beyond doubt the events of that great day were unique in character and lasting in influence. So much is not in dispute. What is disputed is the easy assumption that on that day the world for the first time experienced the Spirit of God. God's Spirit was active in creation, brooding over the chaos and, out of that chaos, producing order. Any doctrine of the Holy Spirit must therefore begin, not with Pentecost, but with the Creation. Christianity is a particular revelation of the Spirit of God and hence our enquiry begins, not with the New Testament, but with the Old Testament.

In the Old Testament two words are used, both of which are translated Spirit in our English versions; the words *ruach* and *nephesh*. Of *ruach* it can be definitely asserted that it was originally used to describe a non-moral energy, which could be both good and evil. For instance, the author of *Judges ix.* 23, says: "And God sent an evil spirit between Abimelech and the men of Shechem and the men of Shechem dealt treacherously with Abimelech." *Numbers v.* 30 speaks of a "spirit of jealousy which cometh upon a man," and even Hosea can speak of "the spirit of whoredom which hath caused them to err." In only one instance is this *ruach* definitely personalised, and that is in 1 *Kings xxii.* 21: "And there came forth a spirit and stood before the Lord." Here, too, it is a lying *ruach* employed by Yahweh to inspire the optimistic prophets. It can be said generally that in the Old Testament, when God is active this activity is nearly always described by the word *ruach*. Wheeler Robinson's conclusion here cannot now be doubted: "The careful study of the Old Testament in its true chronological order will reveal that as wind became Spirit in relation to God, so Spirit became Spirit in man." The term *ruach* appears to have developed along the lines of first being wind, either natural or figurative, then some supernatural influence acting on man for

good or ill; then as the very principle of life itself and then, finally, to describe that life in its psychological aspects. In no document which is pre-exilic is *ruach* ever used to describe the breath-soul in man. That was invariably described by the word *nephesh*. May we say, in an attempt to put into simple language this evidence, that *nephesh* is that which enables man to live and *ruach* is that through which God communicates with man? Which comes to mean that after the Exile the human *nephesh* becomes the divine *ruach*—God's spirit in man's consciousness. One realises that this is but a working simplification of the evidence, but it does, I think, provide an entrance into the teaching of the New Testament.

The point of stress for us must always be the prophetic consciousness as this is manifested in the pages of the Old Testament. The experience of the prophet was a real experience, however much we have to make allowance for the mode of its expression. The prophet was able to proclaim: "Thus saith the Lord" because he rightly believed that God was not merely speaking through him, but was actually using the whole of his personality, which for the Hebrew included his body, in order to perform His gracious acts in history and also His judgments in history too.

When we come to the New Testament we have to watch the further development of the doctrine until we arrive at that point where we realise that Agape is human life at its best when, that is to say, human life has been wholly transformed by the activity of the Spirit. Our evangelical belief in a new birth can only be explained when the vitality of that new birth is traced to the action of the Holy Spirit in the experience of men. The term Holy Spirit is the inclusive New Testament name for the activity of God in the soul and in tracing this activity to the life, ministry, death and resurrection of Christ the New Testament writers were on sure ground.

There must be some correspondence between God and man otherwise God could not as Spirit communicate Himself to man. How could God through the Spirit make Himself known unless in man there was something akin to spirit to which God could "tune in"?

But in dealing with the New Testament evidence there is one important observation which must be made, and that relates to the fundamental difference of approach between the Hebrew and the Greek ways of thinking. The Hebrew always thought of the Spirit of God in its relation to man by way of invasion. It was something which came from outside—"The Spirit of the Lord is upon me"—whilst the Greek always tended to think in terms of Immanence. Gone are the days when the thought of the New Testament had to be interpreted in terms of Greek ideas. The

Greek of the New Testament led us astray, for although it is written in Greek the thought is Hebraistic throughout. The Baptism of our Lord, with its description of the descent of the Spirit, is an outstanding example of the Hebrew idea of invasion. The Spirit came upon Jesus, but here too we must not be led into any adoptionist theories in regard to the Person of Christ, and if we remember this fundamental concept of Hebrew thought that danger will never be too great to be overcome. The Gospels present us with a world in which spirits, both evil and good, are very real. Spirit and Power are ever closely related. Our Lord casts out evil spirits and He himself is the incarnation of the very Spirit of God.

We can divide the Gospel evidence into what might be called the four stages in discipleship. The first is that between the calling of the disciples to the Crucifixion of their Lord—a period when Jesus was present with them in the flesh and they were wholly dependent upon His physical presence. It was a period of fluctuations; at one time their faith would be strong and true and, at another time, it would be so weak as almost to be non-existent. The second period is that of the time between the crucifixion and the Ascension, a period during which the Resurrection was a fact for those disciples, but a fact which they could not comprehend, for they are still asking the same uninspired questions: "Lord, dost Thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?" The third period was that short time between the Ascension and Pentecost. During this period there seems to be no essential change in their outlook; they are sitting about waiting for something to happen, although even sitting about is sometimes, and certainly was then, an act of faith. Then came the Day of Pentecost and the ushering in of the fourth period of discipleship. Those men now have a Gospel to proclaim and a power with which to proclaim it and they set about turning the world upside down. That the disciples did not arrive there and then at a full and complete understanding of the work of the Holy Spirit is a fact clearly seen in the evidence supplied in the *Acts* and the Epistles. But this much can and must be claimed; they began at Pentecost a new experience of God's power, an experience which is continuous in Christ's followers today. This brings us to what is the characteristic work of the Holy Spirit, viz., the creation of fellowship. What is it which differentiates the Church from all other forms of human fellowship? Is it not that in the experience of the Church her members not only enjoy communion with each other, but also communion with the Risen Lord, and that this double communion is in the Spirit?

We are accustomed to regard the Holy Spirit as a subjective experience of the individual member of the Church, but much

more than this is implied by the New Testament evidence. According to the New Testament the Holy Spirit is an objective experience of the whole Church. Whenever and wherever the Church is, there is also the Holy Spirit. Nor do we mean by this any idea of a group mind. It is only by a figure of speech that we can speak at all of a group mind. What we mean is that the Holy Spirit is really present in the experience of the Church. Here we are frankly at a loss to distinguish between Christ in the midst of His people and the presence and power of the Holy Spirit. For all practical purposes the two are one. Wheeler Robinson writes: "The members do not so much join a Church which exists completely without them; they help to constitute it, in their own intrinsic degree, by awakening to their own share in the welfare of the Body," to which we must add, neither are they completely the Church. They do help to constitute it, but they are limbs of the Body of which the Head is Christ. It is in and through the Spirit that Christ exercises His Headship. We might say that the Holy Spirit is the cement which holds the Body together. The Holy Spirit guides the Church into truth i.e., into a deeper and richer experience of Christ. The authority of the Spirit is real whenever the members have patience and humility, both of which are necessary to reveal the Spirit's guidance. That the Church has not always accepted the Spirit's guidance gives rise to that Kenosis of the Spirit which is the natural outcome of the Self-emptying of Christ Himself.

In the Church the Scriptures have a very special place, and here too we must recognise the work of the Holy Spirit. The uniqueness of Scripture is seen in this experience of being led into truth by the Holy Spirit. The Scriptures do not appeal to all men, for the simple reason that the Scriptures of themselves are powerless to save. It is Scripture plus Holy Spirit which is the medium of saving truth. Now just as we have seen that there is a development of thought regarding the Spirit of God in the Old Testament so too there is a development of thought regarding the Holy Spirit in the New Testament. That development can be seen in three and very possibly four stages.

The first stage is that indicated by the account of Pentecost in the early chapters of *Acts*. It is clear that the author is describing events which were beyond him, and there is no surprise in this for something very wonderful had happened. Of its happening there could be no possible doubt. His emphasis, however, is as we should expect, on the outward effects of that experience, in the fire, wind and tongues, and he understood those tongues as the gift of languages. The second stage is that described in 1 *Corinthians*. There the problem facing the Apostle is the misuse of what had begun as a real experience. Members

of the Church were abusing what had come to be regarded as proof of the Spirit's presence, the ability to speak in tongues. Paul warns them they are over-emphasising what is after all only a passing phase. So it was Paul who led the Church to that third stage, where the operation of the Holy Spirit is seen in the normal life of the Church and the individual Christian member of the Church.

"The harvest of the Spirit," he writes, "is love, joy, peace, good temper, kindliness, generosity, fidelity, gentleness, self-control." Every one of those virtues named by Paul is social in character. Every one has direct reference to the communal life of the Church. Not everyone can speak with tongues, but everyone can love, have joy in fellowship, show good temper and that self-control without which fellowship life is not possible.

In regard to these three stages there will be no dispute. But what about the fourth stage? We are all aware of the emphasis which the Johannine Literature places upon the Holy Spirit. We also know that the Johannine Literature is the final flowering of canonical scripture. Can it be that here the Holy Spirit takes the place of what is usually called the Second Coming of Christ? There will, of course, be differences of opinion here. T. F. Glasson, in his book on the Second Advent (p. 211) writes, in relation to the Johannine teaching: "Its theme is the One whose glory has already dawned upon the world, who is even now the light and life of men. God's great help and deliverance for men is not something to be hoped for; it is offered now in Christ, and those who receive Him have eternal life as a present possession. The irruption of the divine order is inaugurated, not by the Parousia, but by the Incarnation. Through the cross, Christ will draw all men unto Himself. He died to gather into one the children of God that are scattered abroad (xi. 52) including other sheep "who are not of this fold" (x. 16). His finality is not static, for the Spirit will continually take off the things of Christ, unfolding new truth from this inexhaustible source as men are able to bear."[1]

HERBERT CLARKSON.

[1] *The above is the first of three articles on the Holy Spirit, based on Lectures given at a Ministers' Retreat. In our next issue Mr. Clarkson will deal with "The Holy Spirit and the Sacraments."*

The Union Church at Launceston, Cornwall.

III. JACOB GRIGG.

JACOB GRIGG was born in the parish of St. Stephen's by Launceston, Cornwall, on 19th June, 1769, where in the baptismal register is recorded: "Jacob, son of John and Mary Grigg, was baptised July 9th, 1769." The family had long been established, and there are records of it as far back as 1582, then spelt "Grigge". Other branches of the family lived not far away in the parishes of Warbstowe and Dunloe. A memorial tablet in St. Stephen's church records the generosity and worth of John Grigg—probably a cousin of Jacob—who was born in 1792, and died in Philadelphia, America, in 1864, having been shepherd, sailor, wool merchant, draper, shop-keeper and book-seller successively.

We do not know what led Jacob to turn from the parish church and become a Dissenter. But there was a new movement in the religious life of the land. Despite the exceptionally bad roads of Cornwall, George Whitfield had visited Launceston in 1750, and John Wesley was making frequent visits to the district. It was on St. Stephen's down that he had first preached in 1747, and the effect of his work was becoming evident when Jacob was a boy. As Jacob grew he would also know of the group of people who met for "religious exercises" in the parish of St. Thomas, at the foot of the hill on which St. Stephen's stands, looking across the valley to Launceston, then the county town, and he seems soon to have joined with them. In 1791, when he was twenty-two, he was one of the foundation members of the little Baptist Church which had separated from this group.

This church, with its membership of three women and eight men—two of whom were not long after to be removed from membership—began as a lively body. Thomas Eyre, brother to Rev. John Eyre (associated with the *Evangelical Magazine* and the London Missionary Society) was the leading figure of the church, and eminent in the life of the town. A month after the church had been constituted they "called our brother Jacob Grigg

in public work of the ministry of the Word of the Lord. . . . We believe that he is possessed of spiritual and natural gifts, as we have frequently heard him with pleasure and profit dispence the word of God among us. . . ." One of his natural gifts was musical ability. Keen's tune-book for Rippon's collection of hymns contains three of Grigg's tunes, and one of these, "Tiverton" (named after Rippon's birthplace), is still in use. This was in April, 1791. In August allegations were made against Grigg and Sarah Bounsall by Richard Dymond, who the following month "was excluded for speaking things to the Hurt and prejudice of our brother Jacob Grigg and Sister Sarah Bounsall." In January 1793, Grigg was registered (at the Quarter Sessions?) as the teacher of the Church, although no record of his ordination has been traced. The following May—in 1793, Grigg made a request "to go to the Academy at Bristol for a Term of one year for instruction, and then to return for to reside among us in preaching the Word as usual." This request they warmly commended to Isiah Birt, of Plymouth, who was frequently in contact with the Church, and in response Grigg wrote to them:—

> "My Dear Bretheren,
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> "Sencible of my own weakness and Inability for such an important work, I desire to depend entirely on the Lord for Instruction and Strength, not doubting His aid and assistance to carry me through that Ardous Employ. I submit to your Desire and Request, and at the same time desire your prayers on my Behalf both as to my Conduct and in the Church and in the World, and on my Labours in the Lord amongst you—That this is my real desire, before God, Angels, and you my Bretheren, for your satisfaction I hereunto set my name this 26th day of May 1793."

There can be no doubt that at this time Grigg did in fact intend to return to Launceston and continue his ministry. If that had happened the future of the Baptist church there might have been altogether different. As it was, the church was to suffer the deep disappointment of losing his services, and finally to languish through the lack of adequate oversight. Although he never permanently returned to his home, he seems to have influenced his family with his own convictions, for in 1809 Joanah Grigg became a member of the Independent Church, while in 1810, John Grigg became a trustee for the new Wesleyan Chapel. Later, in 1888, Mr. James Grigg was actuary of the local savings bank, while A. H. Grigg, manager of another local bank, became through the marriage of his daughter, father-in-law to Dr. A. M. Chirgwin, who has rendered such valiant service for the London Missionary Society.

Jacob Grigg began his studies at Bristol in 1793, as the church minutes show. Once there, new influences would begin to affect

him. We cannot doubt the broadening of outlook that would come to this country lad, to whom Plymouth, twenty miles away, was probably the only town even infrequently visited. Added to this, the ferment of the new missionary spirit began to work in him; it might already have begun, for it was his older friend, Isaiah Birt of Plymouth, who had influenced Samuel Pearce. By the time Grigg reached the Academy, Robert Hall had left, but his influence lingered. The new head was Ryland, now about forty years old and one of the leaders of the recently-formed Baptist Missionary Society. Hall had taken a quite uncompromising position as to the duty of Christian men to participate in public questions and would have nothing to do with quietism. At Bristol, Grigg would also learn something of the slave trade, for the city took a prominent part in it, sending ships with cargoes of cloth and muskets which were traded favourably for slaves, who in turn were carried to the colonies and sold for profit, thus providing good cargoes of colonial products to bring back to Bristol. The trade was not popular with sailors, and in Bristol anyone with an enquiring mind would begin to learn the horror of it. The first movements against the trade were in fact begun in Bristol, where Thomas Clarkson and the group he led had been campaigning against it.

Just at this time, David Bogue, of Gosport, wrote a letter in the *Evangelical Magazine* wakening the missionary spirit; since Thomas Eyre, elder of the Church at Launceston, was brother to Robert Eyre, who had founded the magazine, it could hardly have escaped the notice of Jacob Grigg. In Pearce and Sutcliff, Bristol College had sons who were eager to support the Baptist Missionary Society. All this would play on the mind of the young man from the Duchy. He may, too, have heard of the missionary work being undertaken among Negro slaves in America, who had never heard the name of Jesus till they reached that land. Possibly he knew, too, about the new Sierra Leone company. He would know that the Western Baptist Association had passed a resolution against the slave trade, and was making an annual subscription to the society of Clarkson and Wilberforce.

While we can only speculate as to the factors which influenced him, Grigg made his decision not to return to Launceston, but instead to offer himself for service with the B.M.S. The Society was already contemplating the possibility of work in Africa, and in 1793 had considered a letter from a Negro minister, educated in England, but working in Sierra Leone—Mr. David George. At Sierra Leone, many years before, a group of escaped slaves had successfully defended themselves and built a settlement. In 1787 as a result of the pleading of Granville Sharpe, the idea of building a larger settlement there for ex-

slaves had been accepted, and despite difficulties the enterprise had been begun in 1792. Correspondence with the colony strengthened the mind of the B.M.S. to undertake their project. At this point, Grigg's offer of service came, and soon that of another young minister, James Rodway of Burton-on-Trent. The offers were accepted, and at the general meeting of the Society in Birmingham on September 16th, 1795, the two were solemnly dedicated to their task. The charge was given by Ryland, who bade them reclaim a savage people accustomed to the worship of idols and to enslave and sell one another to the more wicked and obdurate Europeans. They sailed for Sierra Leone on November 2nd in the same year, bearing with them a letter of introduction to the pastor there, David George. Search had also been made for a schoolmaster to accompany them, but in vain. How different the story of the B.M.S. might have been had Marshman volunteered at this stage.

The story of what happened at Sierra Leone makes sad reading; it can be reconstructed from letters reproduced in the *Periodical Accounts*. Three days after they landed the Governor called on them and "conversed very freely concerning the mission; assuring us that nothing should be wanting on his part to further the work." At his suggestion, and with the approval of Rodway, Grigg settled at Port Logo, a town about four miles up the river, while Rodway seems to have made his headquarters on the Isle of Bananas. Both these places were centres of the slave trade; this separation was contrary to the B.M.S. policy which was to send men in pairs. The Governor, Zechariah Macaulay, had had experience on a Jamaican plantation which had given him great sympathy with slaves. Unfortunately, just at this point his health gave way, and William Dawes, a former governor, had to take his place; the latter had come from the convict establishment at Botany Bay and was inhuman and inflexible.

Grigg soon met with strong opposition; through misrepresentation and malevolence the impression was fostered among the natives that he was there to take advantage of their ignorance. He was not the first to evangelise in this area; of 2,000 Christian slaves recruited by the British Forces in the American war, and subsequently liberated and settled in Freetown by Granville Sharp, half were members of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, and were vigorously preaching the Gospel. But the colony was predominantly Anglican, and Church of England chaplains were already at work. The solitary Baptists were despised. After a few weeks Grigg went back to Freetown for about six weeks, but found on his return that the natives continued to view him with distrust. Accordingly he returned again to

Freetown in despair, although "persuaded that nothing can frustrate the designs of God." He was able to take with him two children of the headman to give them some education, so he had at least some slight gain.

Grigg and Rodway were on good terms with the local Baptist church and its pastor, David George, preaching for him frequently and also preaching to the Methodists before their own chaplain came out to them. Grigg seems to have become quickly acclimatised, and after a few weeks wrote that he could "converse with the people of the Tammany country in their own language." He had good hopes of quickly being able to preach to the natives. Rodway on the other hand soon experienced ill-health and as a result of a series of fevers, was compelled to return to England. On reaching Bristol he was able to give a report of the work.

Left to himself, Grigg soon found himself in trouble. In December, 1796, after only eight months in the colony, he wrote of the sight on "Bance Island, on which there is an English slave factory, where hundreds of poor Africans are annually condemned to perpetual slavery, with all its attendant horrors." Another letter, written not long afterwards, tells of his good relations with the wife of the headman, and goes on to tell of her enlightened treatment of her slaves, who were chained and prepared for sale. "She always disowned that she had any part in the trade, and whenever one was brought chained to the house, she would come to me, and, knowing that I was an enemy to the trade say 'it is none of me, Mr. Grigg, it is none of me, it is Mr. T—'s Slave'." Before long Grigg was embroiled in difficulties with the authorities of the colony. There is no reference to the root of the trouble—it is carefully avoided—but it seeems clear that it lay in Grigg's opposition to the slave trade, which was the commercial foundation of the colony. Despite the ideas of the company, nearly everyone in the colony, Europeans and natives, themselves once slaves, possessed their own slaves. The climate undoubtedly contributed to this state of affairs, for no European could undertake any heavy work for long. Grigg was of a particularly sensitive nature, and would weep openly at the sight of the suffering. His house soon became full of native malcontents, and since he was already unpopular, the rumour spread that he was "going native."

The B.M.S. report on the affair is a lengthy one, and speaks of the disappointment which they felt about Mr. Rodway being small as compared

> "with that which respects his colleague. It is with pain and grief that we inform the friends of the undertaking, that after all the encouraging appearances in Africa, a cloud has covered our affairs in that quarter, which threatens for the present a total suspension of

> our labours. In the second letter that we received from Mr. Grigg we perceived that he had imbibed some prejudice against a principal person in the colony at Sierra Leone, who had treated him kindly while in England, and had shown much cordial respect to our society. We were at a loss to account for such a prejudice . . . we lost no time in writing to him . . . But it seems that, before our letters could arrive, he had acted with so much imprudence and embroiled himself in such unhappy disputes, that the Governor conceived it necessary to insist upon his leaving the colony . . . He may, ere this, have left Africa, and the mission in that quarter have, for the present, consequently terminated."

It seems that Grigg, under "house arrest," was given the choice of remaining at Port Logo, outside Sierra Leone, or of returning to England or going to America. The last course he chose, and left the colony with hardly a friend to bid him God-speed. He arrived at Norfolk, Virginia early in 1797. In England the B.M.S. reflected upon the strange providence whereby the apparently successful missionary was compelled by health to return home, but the man of good health "should incapacitate himself by the impropriety of his conduct. . . . While we utterly disapprove of Mr. Grigg's conduct, in interfering in concerns foreign to his mission, we cannot but entertain a hope that this painful event may be ultimately profitable to him." Since this event was based on his opposition to slavery, it did not prove profitable in the sense that the Society hoped, but was to be of great importance in determining his later conduct in America.

The subsequent story of Grigg's career in America can only be sketched, and often with serious gaps. But the minutes of Association Meetings help draw the main outlines. His first charge was at Court Street Baptist Church, at Portsmouth, Virginia, where he exercised a "public gift"—which may refer to his preaching ability, or be an allusion to the extreme powers of memory with which he has been credited. It is interesting to know that only a few years earlier this church had, in an emergency, called to be its pastor a former slave, Jacob Bishop, who had been able to buy his freedom. But his pastorate was not long, as one might expect with a coloured pastor at that time even though, as was customary, the church had a gallery for the Negroes. Grigg's arrival at a critical moment seemed providential. During his pastorate in Portsmouth, Grigg met and married a Miss Littledike, who seems to have been a local citizen, and who outlived Grigg by a few years. Round about the end of 1798 he accepted a call to the church at Upper Bridge, in the south-eastern part of Norfolk County, but still in Virginia. Here he was breaking new ground, and like other evangelists would be travelling widely. As with Paul, he preached to bond and free, and not without success, for he secured the conversion of some 4,000 negroes in this district. Throughout this period he was

active in the Virginia Portsmouth Association, being one of their two representatives in 1798 at the meetings of the Kehukee Baptist Association. In 1803 he left Virginia to go to Kentucky, to the church at Mayslick, in Mason County. At this period there was a great movement of Baptists from Virginia over the mountains to Kentucky: life was rough; men and women alike dressed in leather or skins, living in the open-air, sleeping in log cabins with earth floors, and with rifles at hand in defence against animals and Indians. This was the period of the great Revival of 1800, which affected most of the states in the South and the West. It would be impossible for Grigg to remain aloof from the movement, although we do not know to what extent he was directly committed to it and to the extremes of religious excitement which accompanied it. Forty years later the church at May's Lick was the largest in the District.

Soon after this revival came the first distinct anti-slavery movement. No doubt the heightened religious consciousness of the Christian community and the new interest in foreign, as well as domestic, missionary work made many people acutely aware of the challenge of slavery. Already individuals had been agitating against it, such as Joshua Carman, who would not have any Christian fellowship with slave owners. In 1787 the Ketocken Association had declared that heredity slavery was a breach of the divine law and ten years later the Dover Association not only supported the Abolition Society's programme, but showed itself alive at least to the present evils. In 1804 a number of Baptist ministers started a crusade against slavery, and within a few years six Baptist Ministers in Kentucky had followed their example; one of these was Jacob Grigg. They came in for much attention, not all sympathetic, and their churches were opposed to them. In consequence they withdrew to a separate local association, curiously called "The Baptist Licking-Locust Association, Friends of Humanity"! The group was known for long as the "Emancipating Society" and held its first formal meeting in 1807.

There is no evidence to suggest that Grigg was at any other church than the one at May's Lick during his stay in Kentucky. The spirit of the day was unfavourable to the progress of the movement in which he took so prominent a part, and this probably accounts for his removal to Ohio in 1804. After he had left the May's Lick Church it returned to the Bracken Association. His stay in Ohio was brief. He lived in the town of Lebanon where one of his brothers had already settled. Here he opened a classical school, in which his unusual faculty for teaching must have served him well, for he obtained a high reputation as a scholar in all branches of English Literature, and from this

school came some who were afterwards to be distinguished citizens of the district. In addition he preached from time to time, though no evidence of a regular pastorate is forthcoming. Perhaps, too, Grigg was realising that as slavery was forbidden across the Ohio river, slaves could escape with aid! Such a movement in fact developed later, and was known as the "Underground Railroad."

In 1807 he paid a visit to his wife's widowed mother in Virginia, and was persuaded to remain there, moving to the city of Richmond, where he again opened a school and served the churches as a part-time preacher. His preaching was very acceptable, and a letter to him is preserved in which the writer declares roundly that a sermon Grigg preached at the previous association meeting "opened his eyes to seek and serve the living and true God." From 1809 until 1814, Grigg was active in the life of the Dover Association, as its minutes show, preaching for them in 1813. That year fell in the period of the war with England, and Grigg, with others, was charged with the responsibility for forwarding a resolution about National Prayer to the President. However embarrassing or painful it was to be an immigrant from England, he spent his time in most active evangelism. The following year he was again preaching to the Association, and such was the impression made that the sermon was ordered to be published. The records are lacking for the next year, so we do not know exactly how long before 1816 it was that Grigg moved to Philadelphia, a stronghold of Baptists, to become pastor of the Lower Dublin Church. We do know that he was one of the Virginian delegates to the Philadelphia meeting in May 1814 from which ultimately sprang the American Baptist Missionary Union, and that two months before this meeting Dr. Samuel Jones, pastor of the Church, had died. Some connection between the events seems probable.

After two or three years, in September 1817, he took charge of the newly-formed New Market Street Baptist Church, in Philadelphia. This church had been founded as a result of a division within the Second Baptist Church, arising from allegations made about its minister. Grigg took over the work as soon as he was called to it and supervised the erection of a church building, which was opened on the first Sunday of 1818. His ministry here was not a long one, and its end is obscure. The following year his name is not given on the Association Minutes, though there is no reference to his having been called elsewhere. Between 1816 and 1818 he seems to have taken a prominent place in the life of the Association, three times being the preacher at Recognition services. After that his movements are not known, although it is presumed that he returned to Virginia, prefering

its rougher life to that of placid Philadelphia. No trace of him can be found at all until 1834, sixteen years later when he is again at the General Association in Virginia.

A contributing factor may have been that for a period he fell under the influence of drink. It was not unusual for a minister to drink at that period and many church members drank spirits excessively. In his case he acquired the habit when a doctor prescribed spirits for a depressed condition. The habit gained control over him, so that at times he was discovered completely under its influence. Later in life he overcame it, and became a temperance advocate.

During this period he acted for a time as the agent for Columbia College, in Washington. Rev. William Staughton, who as a youth had been present at the meeting in Kettering when the B.M.S. was formed, was the first President of Columbia in 1819. He had been minister at Sansom Street, Philadelphia, while Grigg lived in that city, and in fact had preached when the New Market Street church was first opened and dedicated. This friendship probably secured the appointment for Grigg. Staughton died in 1829, and subsequently a Virginian college was founded on a farm (with farming as part of the curriculum!) near Richmond. It may well be that for much of this time Grigg had embarked upon an entirely itinerant ministry, somewhat like that of a man in the bush in Australia today.

Other movements had begun which must have given him a good deal of pleasure. The Free Baptists began their campaign against slavery, while the news from Sierra Leone was heartening; missionary work had been finally established there, principally by the Methodists.

In 1834 Grigg's name again appears in the minutes of the meeting of the General Association of Virginia as the representative of the Portsmouth Association (although he is not included in the appended list of ministers), but it is for the last time. The following year, on October 9th, 1835, he died in Sussex County, Virginia, being sixty-four years of age. He left the reputation of being an able preacher, but with little practical judgment; lacking social graces, he was yet a man most acceptable to his friends. In his first year as a missionary he proved as bold as Knibb. Without the glamour of a platform, he had proved equally tenacious and held on his course not for the twenty years in which Knibb laboured, but for twice that period; Grigg rejoiced at Knibb's success without living to see his own desires for the slaves' liberation realised.

Though few in this country know the story of the Cornish missionary, Jacob Grigg is still remembered in Negro circles in America. During the last war some coloured American soldiers

were for a time stationed in Launceston. While they were there, their chaplain, in conversation with Alderman Gregg and his wife, remarked: "I wonder if you are descended from a man called Jacob Grigg, who came from Cornwall to America many years ago, and is still remembered for all that he did for the slaves." [25]

KENNETH E. HYDE.

[25] Material for the study of the life and work of Jacob Grigg will be found in: Minutes of the first Baptist Church at Launceston; *The Baptist Periodical Accounts*, Vol. I, No. II; "Jacob Grigg, Missionary," by Howard Grimshaw Hartzell in *The Chronicle* Vol. VI, 203 (The American Baptist Historical Society); Notes made by the late Dr. W. T. Whitley.

CORRECTION (see *Baptist Quarterly*, Vol. xiv. pp. 152 and 157). Rev. K. E. Hyde writes: "I am grateful to Rev. C. E. Surman, of the Congregational Historical Society, for pointing out that according to the *Evangelical Magazine* (1834, 512) John Saltern, on leaving Launceston in 1872, entered Taunton Academy before settling at Bridport, Dorset, in 1786. He served this church until 1831 and died there in 1834. When he left Launceston, his brother accepted the oversight at once, although not ordained until 1790. (*Evangelical Magazine*, 1796, 45) Ronald Cope, minister of the Independent Church 1800-1820, should have been described as Richard Cope.

None Other Name, by A. S. Herbert. (Livingstone Press, 1s. 6d.)

This attractively produced little book of some fifty pages, in the "Broadway Books" series, consists of four lectures given at the London Missionary Society's annual conference at Swanwick, 1951. Professor Herbert's theme is that the missionary enterprise is an integral and inescapable part of the whole Christian revelation and that, therefore, total self-committal to God and His saving purpose is demanded from the redeemed community. The publishers have done well to make these interesting, enlightening and challenging lectures available to a wider public. Questions for discussion are included and, for church study groups this meaty little book—excellent value for the price—should prove admirably useful.

Baptism and Circumcision.

IN the active reconsideration of baptism which is going on in Paedo-Baptist circles great emphasis is being laid upon the argument from circumcision in justification of infant baptism. For example the findings of the Oxford Conference of Evangelical Churchmen on "Baptism Today" (*The Times* May 31st, 1950) include the statement: "Infant baptism, following naturally from the admission of children into the old covenant by circumcision, also fully accords with the principle of the covenant of grace." W. F. Flemington in *The New Testament Doctrine of Baptism* (1948, p. 62) writes: "What circumcision meant under the Old Dispensation that, and no less, is the meaning of baptism for those living in the New Age."

Many, though by no means all, of the writers are now inclined to grant us the argument from the New Testament, so far at any rate as explicit references are concerned. But they argue that the New Testament must be read in the light of its Jewish antecedents. Baptists, they say, turn apostles into nineteenth century Englishmen with liberal and individualistic beliefs, and read their New Testaments on that assumption, ignoring the corporate conceptions behind Jewish thought. Baptists, it is said, never refer to the Old Testament in their discussions of Baptism and "forget that both our Lord and the apostles were brought up in the Jewish faith" (Rev. Frank Colquhoun, *Record* 26.11.43). That is why according to Mr. Colquhoun in *The Record* (15.8.47), Baptist "tenets appeal so strongly to simple folk who have little or no insight into the great Biblical principles concerning the Church and the Covenant and do not want to be bothered with such considerations as the continuity of the new Israel with the old. That is why the Baptist movement is making such rapid progress among people who do not possess great intellectual depth and whose knowledge of the Bible as a whole is decidedly limited." If the Bible began with *Matthew*, "then indeed there would be little Scriptural justification for the practice of infant baptism." It is not a question of citing proof texts from the New Testament, but of establishing the scriptural principle concerning the relation of the children of believing parents to the Covenant and the Church. Baptists teach that "the child, though dedicated, is still outside the Church. He cannot be regarded as

a disciple. Yet if this is true, then it means that the child of Christian parents today is worse off than the child of Jewish parents two thousand years ago! It means that the New Covenant is inferior to the Old with regard to the position and privileges it assigns to infants! That is the logical and inescapable deduction to be drawn from the Baptist hypothesis." (Colquhoun, *Record* 26.11.43). (Some paedo-baptists argue that the children of believing parents ought to be baptised because they are already within the covenant of grace; others, because it is only by baptism that they can be brought into it. Mr. Colquhoun apparently holds the latter view.)

An unsigned article in *The Record* on "The Order of Baptism: Towards an Evangelical Solution" says: "The starting point when we turn to the teaching of Scripture is naturally the practice of circumcision. . . . By the ceremony of circumcision the infant child was received into the family of the Chosen People, it was brought into the Covenant, and unless it was circumcised it was cut off from the covenant mercies. . . . The parents had most solemn obligations to teach and train their children, and it was followed in later years by a ceremony corresponding to our confirmation. When we seek to apply the principle to baptism we must remember that in O.T. times God was dealing with a nation; in N.T. times God is dealing with the Church. That surely is one of the fundamental mistakes in our Anglican practice, that we treat the nation as a church, a viewpoint which finds no justification in the New Testament. . . . It is essential that only children shall be baptised whose parents are members of the household of faith and will bring their children up in the faith. . . . When we turn to the New Testament, although we find no direct teaching on infant baptism, the only teaching we can justly claim is agreeable to the institution of Christ is the baptism of the children of the household of faith." Then follow references to household baptisms and to 1 *Cor. vii.* 14.

A similar approach is made in *Baptism in the Church* by J. R. S. Taylor, Bishop of Sodor and Man, and F. J. Taylor. (Church Book Room, p. 12). They are puzzled by the silence of the New Testament regarding infant baptism and say that "it is difficult to determine what significance to attach to this silence. It may be that the incorporation of infants into Israel was so familiar a fact that it never seemed to call for special comment. A great deal of the difficulty which occurs in any discussion of this part of the subject arises from the intense individualism of later Western theology and the failure to recognise the corporate context of the Christian life. The primary reference of baptism is not to individual salvation, but to the relation of the individual to Christ in His body the Church. . . . Thus baptism is to be

regarded as circumcision (*Col. ii.* 11-13; *Gal. iii.* 29) was in the old dispensation as the divine method of recruitment for the Church." In *The Churchman* (*March* 1948), Mr. Musgrave Brown writes: "The presumption drawn from the analogy of the two covenants is that they (the children of Christians) would be baptised, and therefore if the analogy was not to hold good a definite statement to that effect might have been expected." H. G. Marsh in *The Origin and Significance of New Testament Baptism* (p. 192 and elsewhere) is much more cautious in his assertions, but points in the same direction.

The latest to join in the discussion, provoked by Karl Barth's attack on infant baptism, is Oscar Cullman in *La Baptême des enfants* (Delachaux and Nestlé; E.V. *Baptism in the New Testament* translated by J. K. S. Reid, S.C.M. Press). Unlike those referred to above, he bases his position on the New Testament. Let us try to summarise his argument, reserving comment till later.

Infant baptism as the fulfilment of circumcision is explicit in *Col. ii.* 11 and implicit in *Rom. ii.* 25ff, *iv.* 1ff., *Gal. iii.* 6ff., *Ephes. ii.* 11ff. There is a correspondence at every point between the act of admission to the Old Covenant and the act of admission to the New. Barth says that circumcision meant only admission to a natural succession, while for Christian baptism the prerequisite is individual faith. But this does not agree with Paul's understanding of circumcision. According to *Rom. iv.* 11ff. it was given to Abraham as the seal of righteousness obtained by faith in the promise that he should become father of many peoples, not merely of the Jewish people. In *Gal. iv.* 21f. Paul shows that the principle of natural succession did not hold for Isaac. Christians are inheritors of the promise to Isaac. (*Gal. iv.* 28). Circumcision thus looks to the incorporation of the Gentiles in the Covenant and we cannot see in it only admission to a natural succession.

Again, properly understood, circumcision is not only external and made with hands (*Ephes. ii.* 11. *Col. ii.* 11), but is a circumcision of the heart (*Rom. ii.* 29) and is directly continued in baptism, which is the circumcision of Christ (*Col.* ii. 11). That is the argument of *Rom. iv.* 1ff. and *Gal. iii.* 6. Abraham is thus father of the members of the Church of Christ, not by virtue of natural descent, but by the divine plan of salvation. Circumcision is the seal of a covenant open to all peoples. Through the unfaithfulness of Israel the nations were not actually brought in, but that does not remove the essential meaning of circumcision, which is universalist in intention.

In the New Testament times the Jewish mission to the Gentiles was on a large scale, and pagan adult proselytes were first circum-

cised, and then underwent a bath of purification in proselyte baptism. John the Baptist introduced a revolutionary novelty by demanding that Jews, and not only Gentile proselytes, should be baptised. That was the first step in the passage from circumcision to baptism. The children of proselytes, born before their conversion, were baptised at the same time as their parents, though children born afterwards were not. One must agree with Grossmann that the New Testament would contain an explicit instruction against infant baptism if the Church had not practiced it.

There is no incompatibility between infant baptism and John's baptism because he demanded repentance. He was concerned with a missionary situation. His ministry did not last long enough for the question of later born children of converts to arise. But Paul in 1 *Cor. vii.*, 14 follows the Jewish practice in dispensing them from baptism. That is what is meant by the children of Christians being "holy" from birth They already belonged to the Covenant because one of their parents did. But Christians could not rest in that position. Christian baptism was the fulfilment not only of the bath of purification, but also of circumcision so far as that signified admission to the people of God. Just as Judaism did not baptise the sons of proselytes already "holy" by birth, but did circumcise them, so the Church must seal children "holy" by birth by the seal of baptism, which was able in the nature of the case to include female as well as male.

John the Baptist demanded only baptism because he was addressing those circumcised already. They must purify themselves anew by baptism (*Matt. iii.* 7). But his baptism, like circumcision, was an act of admission to the people of God awaiting the fulfilment of the promises. Christian baptism thus unites the content of circumcision and John's baptism: it introduces into the Church and it purifies.

So far we have been trying to give a faithful, though necessarily condensed, account of Cullmann's argument so far as it concerns circumcision. (For a discussion of other aspects of Cullmann's book see article by Dr. E. A. Payne in *The Baptist Quarterly*, April 1951). Now we have to ask ourselves as Baptists what weight ought to be given to these arguments.

We may legitimately derive some quiet amusement from Mr. Colquhoun's picture of us as simple and unscholarly and deficient in Biblical knowledge. No doubt many of us are, but we have not been—and are not—without Old Testament scholars of some international repute. At least one of these, Wheeler Robinson, devoted himself not only to producing books of outstanding worth in Old Testament scholarship, but also to the exposition of the

Baptist position. It was certainly not ignorance of the Old Testament that made *him* a Baptist.

Nevertheless it must be admitted that in our statement of the Baptist position in the last generation or two we have mostly left these questions of the Covenant and circumcision out of the argument. We have tended to forget the Old Testament background of the New Testament and we have sometimes been too individualistic in our conceptions of salvation, baptism and church membership. That charge could not have been brought against many of our fathers. For example, Adoniram Judson in his famous exposition of his Baptist views, acquired after much study and painful thought, devotes a large part of his space to such questions. (*A sermon on the nature and subjects of Christian Baptism*). Isaac Hinton in a once well-known *History of Baptism* (1864) has a lengthy chapter on circumcision and baptism.

We must also admit that there is more to be said for the existence of proselyte baptism in New Testament times than many scholars, Baptists and non-Baptists, have been prepared to recognise. The evidence is not clear, but it has been established with a high degree of probability that proselyte baptism was practised before the time of Christ; if only because it is very difficult to imagine Judaism copying it from Christianity. John the Baptist's innovation was in extending baptism to Jews as well as proselytes. The main facts about proselyte baptism appear to be that (*a*) it followed circumcision; (*b*) the method was self immersion; (*c*) it was administered to convinced and instructed converts; but (*d*) children of proselytes born before their parents' conversion (and only those) were also baptised; (*e*) it achieved levitical purification and marked a break with the old life, "a new birth" in the language of the Rabbis. We can certainly no longer dismiss proselyte baptism out of hand in considering the origins of New Testament baptism.

As for the elaborate argument concerning circumcision, with the corollary that infant baptism should be the Christian practice, we must still assert that it has no sound biblical basis, whether in the Old Testament or the New. It is an after thought. "Here is infant baptism. How are we to justfy it since it is not explicitly supported in the New Testament?" Given its existence, it is possible to find all kinds of interesting analogies with the practice of circumcision, though it is an analogy which the New Testament for obvious reasons never draws. Circumcision and infant baptism are both administered to infants, though circumcision only to males. Both are regarded by those who practice them as recording, or perhaps even as being the instrument of, the admission of those infants to a community. But the difficulty

is that the New Testament never says that baptism is the entrance to the New Covenant as circumcision is to the Old, though there are many occasions on which it would have been natural and even imperative to say so.

It would have been a knock-out blow—if we may use such an expression—in the Judaising controversy which so sorely troubled the early Church. Though the Judaising teachers complained that circumcision was not enforced on Gentile converts, the Jerusalem Council (Acts xv. 1-20) does not point to the substitution of baptism, which would have been a complete answer. Nor in the letter to the Galatians, which is written expressly to meet the influence of these teachers, does Paul drop the slightest hint that baptism for the Christian is the equivalent of circumcision. How easily could the apostles have ended the whole dispute: These Gentiles Converts received Christian circumcision when they were baptised, and therefore it is unnecessary for them to be circumcised. But there is no trace of any such statement in all the discussion.

Again, the practice of the apostolic Church does not support the idea that baptism takes the place of circumcision. It is natural, perhaps, that circumcised Jews on becoming Christians should be baptised. But apparently Christian Jews were encouraged to continue the practice of circumcising their children. More remarkable still, Timothy was circumcised at Paul's bidding after his baptism—an incomprehesible act if the apostle believed that baptism had taken the place of circumcision.

The argument from 1 *Cor. vii.* 12-14, if it has anything at all to do with the subject, which is very doubtful, would surely apply to the unbelieving husband or wife as much as to unbelieving children. The Apostle says they are all "sanctified" (whatever that means in this context) by the believing partner. Cullmann, with some others, holds as we have seen, that it actually means that such children should *not* be baptised! It is much more likely that the passage is a pronouncement that such a "mixed marriage" from the Christian point of view is lawful and should continue. This seems borne out by the discussion in 1*Thess. iv.* 1-7, where the same word for "sanctify" is used. When Paul writes at length about circumcision and the relation of the Old Covenant to the New in *Romans iv.* he is surely not interpreting circumcision from the Christian point of view, as Cullmann maintains, so much as putting it in its place. His whole point is that circumcision of the heart involving repentance and faith, is what matters, and not any rite at all, whether circumcision or, as he might well have added, baptism (*Rom. ii.* 29; *Gal. vi.* 15). In the record of the covenant with Abraham in *Gen. xvii.* 1-14, the main emphasis is on the conveyance of Canaan to Abraham's

descendants, who were to be attested as such by circumcision, which would ensure them a place within the national covenant. Cullmann is surely pressing the plural "nations" in *Gen. vii.* 4, in Rabbinic fashion, far beyond what it will bear. He makes it a statement of the universality of God's purposes. That universality is happily a glorious fact. But all this verse can be held to mean is the inclusion of "the Arab tribes descended from Ishmael, and from Abram's sons by Keturah, Edom (Esau) and Israel" (so W. H. Bennett. *ad loc.*). But cf. *Gen. xii.* 3.

Abraham, Paul reminds his readers, entered the covenant of grace, not by circumcision, but by obedience to God's call to leave Ur of the Chaldees. Faith was reckoned to Abraham for righteousness, "not in circumcision, but in uncircumcision: and he received the sign of circumcision, a seal of the righteousness of the faith which he had while he was in uncircumcision: that he might be the father of all them that believe, though they be in uncircumcision" (*Rom. iv.* 9-11). In other words circumcision could be a seal of the covenant of grace only where faith already existed. Circumcision followed and did not precede the faith of Abraham. For his descendants the rite was merely a mark of national separation, "a ritual tribal mark" as Bennett puts it.

"It (circumcision) was nothing more than a ratification of Abraham's faith. Faith was the real motive power; and as applied to the present condition of things, Abraham's faith in the promise had its counterpart in the Christian's faith in the fulfilment of the promise (i.e. in Christ). . . . The true descendants of Abraham were not so much those who imitated his circumcision (i.e. all Jews, whether believing or not), but those who imitated his faith (i.e. believing Jews and believing Gentiles)" (Sanday and Headlam *Rom. ad loc.*) In short, in the Christian dispensation faith takes the place of circumcision. That is hardly an argument for the baptism of infants, who, in the nature of things, cannot exercise faith.

E. F. Scott writing on the passage says that "Paul argues in the Rabbinical manner, deducing a large principle from an incidental hint in scripture, but the principle, however, he arrives at it, is unquestionably true. The forms of religion have value only in so far as they express a heart-felt conviction. Prior to any forms there must be the trust in God, the desire to know and serve Him. So it is with Abraham, and so it must be with everyman whose religion is worth anything" (*Paul's Epistle to the Romans*, p. 40) cf. also *Galatians iii.* 6-7.

And is it not surprising from the point of view we are discussing, that the writer to the Hebrews devoting himself mainly to this very topic of the relation of the Covenants should have nothing at all to say about this alleged replacement of circumcision

by baptism? Instead, like Paul, he has much to say about faith.

In his *Aids to Reflection*, S. T. Coleridge, after dismissing the argument for infant baptism from the baptisms of households, writes: "Equally vain is the pretended analogy from circumcision, which was no sacrament at all, but the means and mark of national distinction, nor was it ever pretended that any grace was conferred with it or that the rite was significant of any inward or spiritual operation."

The only passage in the New Testament where circumcision and baptism are mentioned together is *Col.* ii. 11-12, a passage on which those we are discussing lay great weight, but it is a rickety foundation for their argument. Paul tells his readers that they do not need the circumcision of the flesh, because they have received the circumcision of the heart, of which the bodily rite of circumcision is the type. (cf. *Deut. xxx.* 6, "The Lord thy God will circumcise thine heart to love the Lord thy God with all thine heart." See also *Jer. iv.* 4; *ix.* 25; *Deut. x.* 16.) What is put in the place of the old circumcision is not baptism, but this inward and spiritual circumcision. Baptism follows upon this change of heart. Lightfoot (*ad loc*) says: "The distinguishing features of this higher circumcision are threefold: (1) It is not external, but inward, not made with hands, but wrought by the Spirit. (2) It divests not of a part only of the flesh, but of the whole body of carnal affections. (3) It is the circumcision not of Moses or of the patriarchs, but of Christ." This circumcision of the heart, "not made with the hands" clearly cannot be identified with the baptism of believers, still, less with infant baptism. Yet, as Lightfoot points out, the series of aorists suggests that the new circumcision should be regarded as taking place at the moment of baptism. Paul cannot be identifying the spiritual circumcision with any outward rite, not only because of his explicit statement here, but in the light of his total teaching. It seems that faith and spiritual cleansing are in his mind so inseparately wedded with baptism that he here speaks of them as one. The reference to faith in verse 12, and the verses that follow make it clear that he cannot at least be speaking of infant baptism.[1]

The practice, much favoured by a certain school of mainly Anglo-Catholic scholars, of a revived typology which finds New Testament analogies for Old Testament events, officials and practices is a very dangerous one. It is argued that "there *must* be a close analogy between the way of admission into the old Covenant and the way of admission into the New." "Analogy" is not the right word for the relation between the Old Testament

[1] A. S. Peake (*Expositors Greek Testament*) and Marsh (*op. cit.* p. 192) agree in this interpretation of the passage.

and the New. Of course the Bible does not begin with Matthew's Gospel. God's eternal purpose of human redemption goes far back before New Testament times. The main stream of His revelation of Himself runs through the Abrahamic Covenant and His historic dealings with Israel, which was, as Athanasius put it, "the sacred school of the knowledge of God for all mankind." But as the great prophets saw—notably Jeremiah—the old covenant based upon physical descent from Abraham must give way to a new spiritual covenant, written on the heart and not on tables of stone. And in that new covenant, as again the greatest of the prophets saw, notably second Isaiah, the other nations were to have their share. Israel rejected the divine calling, and Jesus, the Messiah, the one who accepted and incarnated the divine purpose, had to begin again by building on the faith of Peter and his fellows. The Christian Church was a new beginning, and yet it was the continuation of the old purpose.

There is thus a close relationship between the two Covenants. But the contrasts are as notable as the similarities. "Ye have heard" said Jesus, "But I say unto you." It is certainly not legitimate to take all the features in the Old Covenant and insist that there *must* be some similar rite or practice or belief in the New. And, as this article has tried to show, the attempt to prove that infant baptism must exist in the New Covenant because circumcision was there in the Old, is not convincing.

According to Paul, the sacrament of baptism is a representation of the burial and resurrection of Christ and of the incorporation of the believer into Christ by dying to the past and rising again to a new life in Him: at once an acted parable and a means of grace. There is no true analogy at any point between this baptism and circumcision, and the New Testament gives no hint that the one has taken the place of the other. Circumcision was one thing and baptism is quite another.

HUGH MARTIN.

Of particular interest to Baptists in the *Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society*, October, 1951, is an article by Dr. J. McLachlan on Thomas Collier (1634-1691) the liberal-minded Superintendent of the Western Association, and the reproduction of a letter written by the General Baptist, Benjamin Marten (1769-1823) of Barfreston, Dover.

Matthew Arnold and the Bicentenary of 1862.

THE controversy which stirred the English religious world nearly ninety years ago is now almost forgotten, but it seems to have had an influence on Matthew Arnold, and especially on his relations with Nonconformity, which gives it an added claim to attention. In October 1861, the Congregational Union, meeting in Birmingham, decided that in the following year they would commemorate the bicentenary of the ejection of two thousand clergy from their livings under the Act of Uniformity. A conference of Nonconformists was accordingly held in London, and plans were made. The Evangelical Alliance, whose membership was drawn from the Church of England as well as from the Free Churches, would only promise support on condition that no controversial application should be made, but the Nonconformists could not agree to this impossible situation. The Church of England was alarmed, and in Birmingham it made the first move with a lecture in the Town Hall on the Church and the Liberation Society by an Anglican minister, the Rev. Joseph Bardsley. He was followed by Dr. J. C. Miller, Rector of Birmingham, whose lecture was entitled, " Churchmen and Dissenters : their Relations as affected by the proposed Bicentenary Commemoration." His attitude was that of the Evangelical Alliance, and the lecture was afterwards printed.

Feeling now ran high on both sides. The local Bicentenary Committee approached the Rev. R. W. Dale, the great Congregationalist leader and minister of Carr's Lane, Birmingham, and Dale, agreed to lecture for them. He spoke in the Town Hall, which " was thronged from end to end . . . men stood packed in a solid mass . . . the very embrasures in the windows of the deep gallery facing the platform were filled to overflowing; even then many hundreds were turned away from the doors, so deeply had the controversy stirred and agitated the town." [1] The tone of the lecture[2] was temperate but firm. After an historical survey, Dale dealt with the charge that modern Dissenters had no right

[1] Sir A. W. W. Dale *The Life of R. W. Dale of Birmingham* (1898), pp. 166-7.

[2] R. W. Dale, *Churchmen and Dissenters. A lecture delivered at Birmingham*, 1862.

to commemorate these Nonconformists of 1662. They were not commemorated, he said, on the ground of identical faith, but because of their heroism; because their action had helped to secure religious liberty; and because many Nonconformist congregations took their origin from them. Moreover, nineteenth century Dissenters did share many of the principles which led these men to leave the Establishment. As a contrast, Dale pointed to contemporary Anglican clergy of all parties, many of whom he maintained, preached, or acted on, principles which their conscience could not approve. He defended so-called "political" Dissenters; and finally he affirmed his desire for unity between all Churches, which ought not to be broken by frank criticism: "Religious fellowship between Christians belonging to different Churches is not merely a pleasant luxury, it is an important aid to religious knowledge and spiritual growth . . . it is a means of grace." Dale's lecture spread the controversy over the whole country. The meeting broke up in wild enthusiasm, and afterwards "in pamphlet form [the lecture] ran through edition after edition, and made its way into all parts of the country. The religious newspapers on all sides took note of it; friends and foes alike combined to make it known." [3]

In Birmingham the dispute continued, both beween the Church and the Nonconformists and within the Church itself, where the different parties attacked each other with Dale's words. For many weeks the newspapers were crowded with letters reflecting every facet of the dispute. Sir Culling Eardley, Chairman of the Evangelical Alliance, spent several days trying to make terms between the antagonists, but without success. Dr. Miller had withdrawn from the presidency of the Bible Society, and Dale could not now be moved. He continued to take part in the Commemoration, lecturing at Chester, where Joseph Bardsley replied, and at Kidderminster, where his opponent was Dr. Charles Wordsworth, Bishop of St. Andrews. He also gave a course of lectures on "Nonconformity in 1662 and 1862," and spoke at a mass meeting in St. James' Hall, London, as well as at many demonstrations in various parts of the country.

The leading journals took an interest in the controversy. The *Edinburgh Review*,[4] in a survey of some Anglican publications on the subject, mentioned the preparations being made by the Nonconformists. It supported the Anglican contention that the Nonconformists had little in common with the ejected clergy and ought not to stir up dead disputes. "This retrospect" said the *Edinburgh*, "ought to be one of humiliation to all parties,

[3] *Life of R. W. Dale*, p. 175. The British Museum copy of Dale's lecture bears on its cover the words "sixth thousand."

[4] "Clerical Subscription," *Edinburgh Review*, April, 1862.

rather than of self-gratulation to any." The Tory *Quarterly Review* published a hostile article[5] stating that the Dissenters were staging the Bicentenary to support their dying cause. The Commemoration, according to this journal, was dangerous and exaggerated, "distinctly announced as the commencement of a great political agitation." In May, 1863, *Fraser's Magazine* published an article, "The Future of the National Church," which, though it does not mention the Bicentenary, was probably written with it in mind. The writer sounds a warning: "let prudent Churchmen . . . before it is too late, enlarge the boundaries of the Church." This counsel is the opposite of that proffered by the *Quarterly Review*, which thought that if Dissenters were admitted into the Church of England, unbelievers would follow, and the Church be destroyed. Of the weeklies, the *Spectator* mentioned the Bicentenary,[6] stating very fairly the Dissenters' case against the Establishment. Of the Act of Uniformity it says "Never in English history has an indictment been more solemnly drawn up against liberty of conscience or more pitilessly carried out." Yet it thinks Puritanism is dying out, and gives Arnold's reason: "Puritanism is inflexible and unchanging, or it is not . . . it rests upon one faculty of the soul," while "Christianity was based on a living truth, and nothing here will less preserve or restore it." This is very close to Arnold's teaching, and we know from his letters that he was a regular reader of the *Spectator*. The *Examiner*[7] reported the celebration of the Bicentenary, which was held on St. Bartholomew's Day, 24th August, 1862; it also reviewed sympathetically the documents prepared by the Bicentenary Committee. In the opinion of this paper more good than harm was likely to come of the celebration; but it reminded Nonconformists that they themselves persecuted when in power. The *Times*[8] devoted a good deal of space to the matter, giving full reports of meetings and lectures. On the eve of the Bicentenary it carried a leading article on the subject; it was in sympathy with the commemoration, and understood the Nonconformist claim to be celebrating, not the views of the ejected, but their action: "a hearty sympathy for the sufferings of the expelled clergy, a deep admiration for their heroism, and a qualified respect for their opinions and their cause." We are indebted to the *Times* for a report of the service held at the Weigh House Chapel in London on August 24th, at which the Congregational leader, Dr. Binney preached. The report says that the sermon "was listened to throughout with very marked attention, and

[5] "The Bicentenary," *Quarterly Review*, July-Oct., 1862.
[6] "Modern Puritanism," *Spectator*, Oct. 25, 1862.
[7] 30th Aug., 1862.
[8] v. especially 23rd and 25th Aug., 1862.

appeared to make a profound impression on the vast congregation." The High Church *Guardian* gave full and frequent accounts of the many Bicentenary meetings,[9] one of which has an interesting connection with Matthew Arnold; this was the meeting at which the Evangelical John Charles Ryle, later first Bishop of Liverpool, entreated Churchmen not to believe all the Dissenters said, comparing them with the fox who lost his tail and wanted all other foxes to cut theirs off. Arnold was later to use the same fable in the preface to *Culture and Anarchy*.

Today the whole controversy seems remote and tinged with a bitterness now happily gone; but for the student of Matthew Arnold it has great interest. We have no direct evidence that he knew of these events; but the press comments mentioned above were taken from periodicals that he would be likely to see,[10] and it is hardly likely that, with his knowledge of other religious disputes, he remained ignorant of this one. The nearest thing we have to evidence is Arnold's reference to Dale, many years later, in his lecture on the Church of England.[11] In this lecture he calls Dr. Dale "a brilliant pugilist," and continues, "He has his arena down at Birmingham . . . and then from time to time he comes up to the metropolis, to London, and gives a public exhibition of his skill. And a very powerful performance it often is." We cannot be sure that the Bicentenary lectures were in Arnold's mind when he said this, though it was the agitation of 1862 that launched Dale on hs "pugilistic" career.

Dale charged the Evangelical clergy with compromising their conscience, and one of the strongest arguments of the Nonconformists was that the ejected clergy of 1662 had been more honest and courageous than their nineteenth century counterparts. In the preface to *St. Paul and Protestantism* Arnold strongly defends the Evangelicals, and it looks as though the Bicentenary charges were in his mind. He does not think that the future lies with the Evangelicals, but he supports their action in staying within the Establishment: "The Evangelical party in the Church of England," he says, "we must always, certainly, have a disposition to treat with forbearance inasmuch as this party has so strongly loved what is indeed the most lovable of all things—religion." They have avoided becoming "political Dissenters"; they have "avoided that unblessed mixture of politics and religion by which

[9] v. especially 26th Feb., 12th March, 26th March, 6th April, 14th May, 11th June, 18th June, 23rd July, 20th Aug. Arnold said of the *Guardian*: "It is a paper I like, and generally read."

[10] Much valuable research remains to be done on the Nonconformist periodicals in connection with the Bicentenary.

[11] Published in *Macmillan's Magazine*, April 1876, and afterwards included in *Last Essays on Church and Religion*.

both . . . are spoilt." They have not added unsound action to unsound opinions; they have maintained contact with the main current of national life and retained the possibility of development, staying within a church which has a Catholic as well as an Evangelical heritage, and thus avoiding the narrowness of Nonconformity.

The whole question of separation from a Church was in Arnold's mind when he wrote *St. Paul and Protestantism;* he held that separation for what seemed to him "matters of opinion" was morally indefensible. Religion aims at moral practice, edification; the bandying about of opinions should be left to specialists. The claim made here is that the Bicentenary of 1862 probably had its effect on Arnold, influencing his attitude to Dissent but not, unhappily, in the direction of greater understanding. Matthew Arnold might have been kinder towards those who "separated for opinions" if he had realised how they said,

> "We dare not call every child regenerate that can but have godfathers. . . . We dare not refuse [the Sacrament] to good men who think that to receive it kneeling would be to show idolatrous reverence for the material symbols . . . we dare not, at the burial of every wicked man that is not unbaptised, excommunicate, or a self-murderer, solemnly pronounce that God 'hath taken to himself the soul of this our dear brother'."[12]

The Tercentenary of the Ejection is now on the horizon. If it is celebrated it is not likely to cause such strife as the commemoration of 1862, yet the issues of that old controversy are by no means dead. The question of establishment, for example, is now very much discussed, and the different denominations, while drawing closer together and working for the reunion of Christendom, are at the same time each re-discovering what is of value in its own tradition. The past twenty years have seen, on the one hand the advance of Anglo-Catholicism in the Church of England, and on the other the reinterpretation of Calvinism by such theologians as Karl Barth, with a consequent return to vigorous orthodoxy within the Reformed tradition.

It is not likely that any of this would have pleased Matthew Arnold, to whom religion was "morality touched with emotion"; but he would surely have welcomed that change in Nonconformity which was perhaps hastened by his influence: the bringing of the Free Churches into "the main stream of the national life," so that throughout our land they stand on an equality with the establishment, and are "the Church of the Philistines" no longer.

JEAN A. SMALLBONE.

[12] R. W. Dale, *Nonconformity in* 1662 *and* 1862, a lecture delivered on 6th May, 1862.

Bunyan's "Map."

VISUAL symbols, whether in word or in drawing dominate the religious literature of the Middle Ages. Few who have studied the subject have not come upon the colourful reds, blues and golds, and the verbal descriptions of trees, branches, roots and angels' wings which controlled men's thoughts on religion. When Calvinism replaced Catholic discipline, its formulations were rigid and impersonal, and the warm colouring tended to die away: any church which entitled dogmatic theology to so high a place in its provisions had to come to terms with the Catholic method whether it used, adapted or rejected it. So it is that the charts of religious instruction which I have recently been studying came into being; if we are to understand the popular presentation of theology and the effect of it upon the English mind, we must give these black and white maps and charts more attention than has been the case heretofore.

Medieval manuscripts exist which are veritable spiritual encyclopedias in artistic form and reach beyond mere categorisation of spiritual states into a depiction of social and economic grievances in the same way as Langland did when he composed *Piers Plowman*. The best example of this type of manuscript is that discussed at length by F. Saxl in *Warburg Institute Journal* (Vol. v.) to which I must refer my reader. This contains many things: a psychomachia, a *danse macabre* and various groups of allegorical figures representing clerical piety and impiety, greed and poverty, Christ and Antichrist. These pictures were to be "read" for their literary and didactic content, and so, too, were the Calvinist maps and charts. Our experience of reading pictures in this way—abhorrent to those who hold isolationist theories of art—may perhaps be confined to the study of cartoons in the press. Do we realise that this most popular form of entertainment-art has traditional roots which may be descried in the artistic appreciation of Medieval religious orders?

How the sectarians came to adapt Medieval notions demands widespread research. In the case of religious illustration one influence is the logical work of Petrus Ramus. One has merely to open his most popular books to see the architectonic structure of his discussion procedure: the influence which this had on religious thought is much more debatable. The logic of Calvinism demanded that someone should represent the divine

decrees in this immutable and scientific pattern. Theodore Beza, the second dictator at Geneva, himself published a chart entitled *Summa Totius Christianismi*[1] which might have been suitable for work upon a blackboard and designed *et ad clerum et ad populum* in different ways. The seminal mind in English Calvinism is William Perkins and it is to his *Survey* (of which I hope to publish an account elsewhere) that we may look for model of English engravings upon the same pattern. Beza and Ramus may indeed have both influenced Perkins, but it is the former that would have carried greater weight The connexion between Perkins and Medieval allegorical pictures is not an obvious one. The *Survey* consists of no pictures, but is a large sheet covered in vertical lines and chains of circles, divided prim-arily into the two dispensations for the human soul with the life-line of Christ stretching down the centre. At a rapid glance, the chart by John Bunyan is of the same pattern; both are fine examples of the restrictions upon religious art in the 17th century.

Bunyan's *Map showing the Order & Causes of Salvation & Damnation* is not known to exist in a contemporary edition, so that we cannot compare originals of the two English charts. It is headed by the triangle which is the emblem of the Trinity; at the foot are the twin destinies of Everyman. The middle of the chart is covered with small circles with numerous commentaries within and without them, in prose, doggerel verse and scriptural texts. The line of Christ is omitted altogether, and with it, by comparison wtih Perkins's publication, vanishes evidence of the author's mental distinction. Beneath the Trinity extend two lines, one in outline and the other in thick black, and these two lead to the Covenants of Grace and Works. As in a doom painting the elect are on our left and God's right, and opposite them the reprobate with a legend :—

> These lines are black and so are those
> That do eternal life oppose
> Which those will do most willingly
> Whom God doth leave to live and die
>
> So would those on the other side
> Also if God did not them guide
> He helps the one then by his grace
> And leaves the other to his rage.

The moment of creation is distinguished by a circle placed immediately beneath the Trinity which represents another human one—Adam, Abel and Cain. Divine decrees are entirely independent of personalities and precede creation—this, which Bunyan might have learned from Perkins, was a simple spatial method of

[1] In *Theodori Bezae Vezelii Volumen Primum* (Geneva, 1582) p. 170.

handling the central tenet of Calvinism, for the chart is drawn to depict this time-lag between concept of creator and creation itself. The central line which proceeds from these symbolic men is marked "Passage into and out of the World," and it concludes laconically enough with "The End" and a small circle divided between rays of glory and flames of hell.

It is convenient to consider the elect first of all. Twenty-four circles arranged in horizontal branches tell the story of the successful ones of God. Of these the one numbered (3) brings the miracle of election down to the individual soul with the phrase "effectual calling". Texts and verses for which we have no space accompany this statement. Circles (4) and (5) stand together and lead to that conviction of sin which Bunyan also expressed (earlier or later we cannot tell) in Christian's scene at the wicket-gate. Circle (7) is labelled "which occasioneth Satan to despair" (referring to the working of Grace in the soul) and has the comment beneath: "he goeth about like a roaring lion." Either phrase can be found in Christian's plea for admittance. The next stage in the spiritual progress must be temptation and the "very heart of loss" which are essential to the life of the elect. The elected soul has to find his way out of the morass and this is given on the Map with a group of four circles on faith with "strengthenth faith," "encourageth to pray," "causeth God to hear" and "driveth the soul to the promise." If we wish to interpret the chart again in allegorical terms, it will be the moment after the Valley of the Shadow of Death—that Dark Night of the Soul—when Christian emerges into the light.

The next branch consists of five circles, for they increase in length and content up to this point. This group reads: "working true love to holinesse," "humility at the sight of sin," "watchfulness against it," and patience under the cross" and "which brings more experience of God's goodness." As if to underline the meaning of these four neat oblong boxes are drawn in, stressing humility, love, patience and adoration, and the whole branch is summed up in the marginal poem:

Have love to God
A watchful eye
Bear you his rod
And sweetly die.

Christian exercise and discipline are similar in all souls; their struggles all must undergo.

By the eighteenth circle faith has been permanently confirmed. It will be recalled that Evangelist's task grew unnecessary as Christian sped along on his own feet; that he became the master

of his own fate and had the old mentor there only to urge him onward. This self-sufficiency is presented on the chart in these words: "herein I do exercise myself." Circles (19) to (21) depict the operation of Hope in the breasts of those whose Faith is entirely adequate, for here is enacted in Bunyan's figurations that moment in Despair's castle when Christian used in distress the key which promised deliverance when he was permitted to remember that it lay in his keeping. The essence of Hope is perhaps a form of static contemplation of God's promises and past exemplifications of His word. It is a spiritual exercise which presumes a sophisticated outlook and not within the reach of the "wayfaring Christian" who had much ado to keep himself from falling. For such men the exercises of the mystic are derelictions of practical duty—at least, they appeared to many 17th century secretarians in this light. In Bunyan the contemplative tone is heard but seldom ; an absence which has been noticed and occasioned many attacks from critics who have not accepted the rigours of striving which go to perfecting wtihin the soul the graces and lights which God has supplied and lit.

Circles (22) to (24) lead to the space marked ETERNITY and to the semi-circle of glory, beneath which is written :—

Come, weary saint,
Come into the light
Thou didst not faint
Walk thou in white.

The hero of the Christian journey is received into the company of the men in white robes, and the chart concludes its condensed narrative.

The fate of the non-elect is encircled with black lines, but is otherwise cut to the same pattern and number of circles. The Covenant of the Law which allows no man relief from his conscience stands at the head of the column. In this case the man is allowed a deluded belief in personal sanctity. Perkins in his masterly exposition of the situation calls it briefly "A Taste"; for Bunyan it is a circle labelled "God in mercy gives some tastes of life." Carelessness and looseness of life are entered next under the heading "God hath given them the spirit of slumber," a variety of the sin of security which is personified in *The Holy War*, which he further colloquially characterises "Like the Dog to his vomit." Atheism, contempt for God and final carelessness and heedlessness ensue as the climax of the chart is reached again, together with a desire "to work all uncleanness with greediness." Small boxes beneath the inscribed circles supply the deadening words: Persecution, Apostasy and Sin against the Holy Ghost.

Circle (22) states that the only future for the convicted soul

is its "fearful looking for judgmt." and in the last entry (24), the words "under which the reprobate lies to ETERNITY." Marginal annotations are severe: "That man had better neer have been than to receive this fruit of sin." The final decree comes in the words of the Devil himself :—

Come sinner come
Thou art my right
I am thy home
Grace thou didst slight.

The small scene of fires burning receives the black line at the end, and in order to show God's happiness at the implementation of his plan is a couplet :—

Whether to Heaven or Hell you bend
God will have glory in the end.

If Bunyan's Map were easier to obtain there would be little point in writing upon it in this way. Unfortunately it has been totally neglected by all modern scholars; even the comprehensive account of Bunyan's work by Henri Talon omits mention of it, although with it one understands how the terrifying doctrines of Calvinism made their initial impact on the people. That Perkins and Bunyan, men so distinct in their backgrounds and education, should have both succeeded in this art is remarkable. It was the genius of the former that he could command both extremes in his public and that while writing treatises in Latin (now quite scandalously neglected) he could compose dialogues in colloquial English (similarly so). Bunyan's philosophy or "thought" is negligible, but his adaptations of the tough doctrine in chart form and in words are triumphs which have rarely received sufficient academic study. His Map may be recommended as a good form of popularisation; one which tries to present faith in palatable form without casting a sentimental smear over it or in any other way softening the impact.

This note upon the map is designed largely to recall its existence to the minds of those for whom it may still have its own interest and value. The genre of religious charts is not dead although the only ones that have come my way recently have been confined to the genealogical tables of the creation and consummation of the world. Could an original copy be found it would have great charm as an antique. There or in the reprint to be found in George Offor's three-volume edition of Bunyan, the compression of the author's wisdom would be apparent.

MAURICE HUSSEY.

Baptist Beginnings in Trinidad.

JOHN BUNYAN in his preface to *Grace Abounding* writes: "It is profitable for Christians to be often calling to mind the very beginnings of grace with their souls." This statement is also true of the beginning of Christian Missions and what follows, therefore, is a short survey of the leading events which led to the founding of the Baptist Church in Trinidad.

Mr. George Sherman Cowen, who was the pioneer Baptist missionary, arrived in Trinidad in about 1836 as an agent of the Lady Mico Charity. This Charity originated in 1666 when Lady Mico left the sum of £1,000 for redeeming "poore Christian slaves" who had been captured by the Bey of Algiers. When the Mediterranean had been cleared of pirates and there were no more slaves to redeem, the Court of Chancery ordered that the money should be invested in certain funds and conveyed to Lady Mico's executors. By the middle of the ninetenth century the amount had increased to £160,000. In 1834, Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton suggested that this might be spent on the education of the former slaves. A Charter was obtained and the British Government added a grant of £17,000 for five years for the same purpose. As a result, schools were established in several West Indian Islands including Trinidad. Mr. Cowen, a British Baptist, acted as inspector. In 1842, the funds of the Mico Charity were nearly exhausted and Mr. Cowen, seeing the spiritual needs of the people, made an urgent appeal to the Baptist Missionary Society to appoint him as a missionary, but owing to agreements with the Wesleyan Missionary Society they were unable to answer the call.

It so happened that in God's good Providence there was at this time an English lady named Mrs. Revell residing in Trinidad, who had for many years lived in Amherst, Nova Scotia. Mrs. Revell had been baptised by the famous Dr. Rippon, minister of Carter Lane Church in Southwark, and on being left a widow she had entered business, which during the course of her life, led her to cross the Atlantic some twenty-two times. She, too, shared Mr. Cowen's desire for the establishment of a Baptist Church in Trinidad and by her personal visits to the Mission House, then in Moorgate Street, and her insistent appeals, she persuaded the Society to appoint Mr. Cowen, who took up his office in 1843. The newly-appointed missionary was alert to see

the importance of Port-of-Spain as a strategic centre, and so occupied premises in Corbeau Town, now known as Sackville Street, where he was able to witness to the fishermen who plied their boats in the Gulf of Paria. Among the members of this infant church was Maria Jones, an African slave and daughter of a chief who had first come under the influence of John Thompson, a Presbyterian, and had later been received into membership at Greyfriars Presbyterian Church. At the age of about sixty she began to learn to read her New Testament and, being known to Mr. Cowen, he enlisted her services in distributing tracts—a service in which she delighted. One of these tracts dealt with believers' baptism and Maria became convinced that baptism was clearly taught in the New Testament. Later she was baptised in the sea by Mr. Cowen. Little is known of the other members, but we may be sure that it was a mixed community consisting of the freed slaves from Trinidad and other West Indian Islands as well as some Negro-Americans who came here in about 1816. Property was soon acquired in Pembroke Street which formerly had been a part of the old Spanish Cabildo or City Council: the lower part was used for worship while the upper portion accommodated the missionary and his wife. In the first year, Mr. Cowen baptised twenty and the number at the various stations were fifty-one. In 1845 the Rev. John Law arrived to take charge of this work in the city and, in the year 1854, the Church now known as St. John's was opened on the site adjoining the manse; from this time the work began to increase rapidly. In this brief survey reference should be made to John Law's work as a printer. A poem entitled, "The Baptism" was printed in 1845 on paper made of plantain leaf and when the Portugese refugees came from Madeira in 1846, the Rev. John Law held worship for them every Sunday in Portuguese, and he used his printing press and plantain leaf paper to provide hymn sheets for them.

Mr. Cowen, being released from the north, took up his residence in the south at Princes Town then called "The Mission," where he laboured until his death in 1852 at the age of forty-two. The Baptist church in the south was located in rural districts known then as "The American Villages" and it owed its origin to the Negro-American families who first settled here a short time after the Battle of New Orleans. These loyal slaves who had fought with the British Armies in the American War of Independence were granted sixteen acre portions of land as compensation for their services and they named their districts after their old regimental companies. There is no indication that the second company ever settled here, but the remaining five still retain their names. These loyal soldiers who came from Virginia and South Carolina brought with them their Baptist faith, but

it was not until Mr. Cowen commenced work that the church became properly organised. Many difficulties were encountered in the early days, due to the fact that for many years these settlers had lived in very isolated districts, and as a result, African customs and superstitions became incorporated in their religious belief. Camp meetings were occasions of much disorder and drunkeness, the all-night shouting meetings had also become a common feature. The nature of these meetings consisted in singing and clapping, while many would work themselves up in excitement, and begin to jump up violently and shout until they passed into a kind of epileptic fit and at length fall exhausted to the ground. In this state they were regarded as being under conviction of sin and upon coming out of the stupor were expected to make profession of faith.

Mr. Cowen was assisted in his work by Mr. Augustus Inniss, a schoolmaster and catechist. Property in a number of villages was acquired and schools were started. Preaching stations were established at Mount Elvin, Woodlands, Sherringville, Indian Walk and Mount Hopeful. In 1852 Fourth Company Church was built and became the real centre of the southern district. In addition to preaching, Mr. Cowen was able to minister to the sick, having made some study of medicine. He met with much hostility from the village people on account of his efforts to put down heathen practices.

Mr. Cowen was succeeded in 1856 by the Rev. W. H. Gamble. The name of the Rev. George Cowen thus deserves an honoured place in the roll of Baptist pioneers. His resting place has recently been discovered in Princes Town and we hope at some future date to mark this place with a more permanent memorial; at St. John's a marble plaque has been placed above the pulpit to his memory. This valiant warrior truly fought the good fight and today we thank God for his noble life.

SIDNEY G. POUPARD.

Jubilee Souvenir of London Road Baptist Church, Portsmouth 1902-1952. Prepared by Mr. J. Rawlinson, this illustrated booklet outlines the story of the church which began as an offshoot of Lake Road and owes much to the ministry (1915-39) of the late Rev. John Edmonds. The chapel was erected in 1902, but the church was not formally constituted until 1904.

Reviews.

Morals and Revelation, by H. D. Lewis. (George Allen & Unwin, 16s.)

For the fundamental insight of the Protestant Neo-Orthodoxy of which Barth, Brunner and Niebuhr are the acknowledged leaders there are few who do not give thanks. But it is all to the good that in many quarters attempts are now being made to re-assess the movement and a number of scholars in the Reformed tradition are putting forward their queries. To some exent, Barth, Brunner and Niebuhr, themselves led the way, for on many significant points they have changed their views and have not been slow to say so. But that they have not changed their opinions sufficiently to satisfy the Professor of Philosophy at University College, Bangor. Professor Lewis has rendered a great service by following his *Morals and the New Theology* with this volume of essays which have been contributed to various learned journals. Approaching the issues from the opposite direction, we may nevertheless endorse Dr. A. C. Ewing's comment in *Mind* that this volume might well be made compulsory reading for all theological students.

It is not surprising that as a philosopher, Professor Lewis is particularly concerned about the disparagement of Reason, so characteristic of some phases of Neo-Protestantism, and the yawning gulf between Reason and Revelation. We may agree with him that something has gone wrong when the philosopher who is a Christian cannot make contact with the theologian of the Church. This state of affairs is disastrous for both philosophy and theology and all honour to those who are trying to remedy it. In some ways, Professor Lewis answers the call Brunner sounded in the late chapters of *Revelation and Reason* when he praised the British tradition as symbolised in the Gifford Lectureship, for this at least encourages philosopher and theologian to wave to each other from the opposite sides of the stream that divides them. To some minor points of criticism put forward in this volume Brunner will undoubtedly say "Yes," but to other weightier criticisms the reply is likely to be that Professor Lewis illustrates the adage that Pelagianism is the besetting sin of British Theology. But the author has put his finger on matters of awful urgency, as when he contends that when civilisation is crumbling the Church is failing to make as plain as she should the ethical content of her message, is unnecessarily alienating men

of goodwill who cannot accept orthodox Christianity yet have the deepest concern for the moral issues now facing mankind and, by setting too rigid bounds to her theology, is encouraging the idea that religion is but one little section of life instead of a light to the whole of life.

Of the questions one would like to ask Professor Lewis, two must here suffice. While his method of taking the utterances of theologians and asking: "Is this true to life" "Is this sort of thing vindicated in experience?" lends reality to abstract discussions, has he not carried the empirical approach too far? Apply this method ruthlessly and even an Apostle Paul cannot open his mouth. Do not many shots fired by the author against the theologian's findings on guilt miss the mark, because the moral judgment and the religious judgment are confused? The Gospel preacher must be ruthless in his attitude towards good works when a man is banking on them to put him right with God, but he must be equally ruthless with the justified man who would argue that good works are valueless. In the Christian revelation Paul and James do hang together; the basic positions of each are to be found in the teaching of Jesus.

KENNETH C. DYKES.

A Survey of Syntax in the Hebrew Old Testament, by J. Wash Watts. (Broadman Press, Nashville, Tennessee, $3.75.)

This is an exposition of the main rules and usage of Hebrew Syntax by the Professor of Old Testament and Hebrew in New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary. The treatment is based on the belief that verbal forms and syntactical relationships can be adequately described and understood by an examination of their actual use within the limits, in the case of classical Hebrew, of the Old Testament. As a brief statement, therefore, of the rules of concord, verbal government, and sentence construction the book is of much interest and usefulness. The avoidance of philological discussion, which lends to it a useful brevity and directness, is the trait by which the book will either stand or fall. If the treatment is self-convincing and stands the test of proof in translation, then the details of philological justification can be left aside, but otherwise the arguments require to be built up on a firm foundation based on a study of origins. In any case, the result is one which will invite Hebrew scholars to look once again at their ideas of the Hebrew Tenses. Dr. Watts treats Hebrew as an isolated language without cognates and without parentage. Finding the phenomenon of a perfect tense, the tense of completed action, used sometimes for the past and sometimes

for the future he seeks to show how both past and future significance can belong to the same tense by being correlative. There is, in his view, no separate idiom of the perfect with *waw* consecutive. The use of the perfect with *waw* in passages which have a future reference is explained by the theory of *correlation*, i.e. the perfect with *waw* correlates the direction and tense of the initial antecedent. The phenomenon of the use of an imperfect tense to indicate past time receives a different explanation because in the case of the imperfect, unlike the perfect, there is a distinction in the manner of attaching the *waw*. With the imperfect, therefore, there are two forms of the *waw; waw* conjunctive to subordinate the verb to the main verb, and *waw* consecutive to indicate logical sequence, result, cause or contrast. The imperfect tense is described as being "progressive" and therefore as indicating that which goes on to take place after the initial or main verb has commenced the action.

Apart from philological considerations, it seems to the reviewer that it would have been simpler to have accepted the imperfect with *waw* consecutive just as we *find* it, that is, as a past tense in continuous narrative. and to translate accordingly. That would at least satisfy the desire to treat the form according to its usage. One feels that the author should have given more space to a defence of his rejection of the current theories about the *waw* consecutive idiom which are based on the mixed parentage of the Hebrew language, and at the same time should have said a little more about the problems which his own statements raise. Why, we may ask, is it that "only perfects can be correlated by *waw conjunctive*"? (p. 97). On the same page we read that "all verbs except perfects can be co-ordinated by it" and we wonder why the perfect is so confidently set aside in this way. Moreover, we have already read (on p. 85) that "The relation between the perfects linked by it (the *waw* conjunctive) may be co-ordinate, correlative or collateral.") Recognition of a *waw* consecutive idiom with both tenses is so widespread, and belief that it may have its origin in the mixed parentage of Hebrew so strong, that a very convincing alternative theory will be required to take its place. The book requires a philological supplement in which the claims made can be related to what is known of the origin and history of the tenses.

L. H. BROCKINGTON.

A Book of Festival Services. Compiled by Constance M. Parker. (Independent Press, 5s.)

This book consists of eighteen orders of service for festival occasions, including six for Anniversaries. Suggestions are

offered having regard to the different types of churches that might use them. It should be noted that the reference is to Anniversaries, not to Sunday School Anniversaries, and to the type of church, not the type of Sunday School. This indicates an assumption underlying the presentation of the book. A detailed introductory chapter begins by discussing the purpose of festivals: "There is a great deal of difference between presenting a performance in front of a congregation of interested spectators and a festival service to which every department of the church makes a contribution and in which people of all ages actively share in the worship." For those to whom this approach is new, here is a book whose challenge should be seriously considered. For those to whom it is not new there is much here to encourage further endeavours. Many of the ideas in these pages might well find expression in the religious work and worship of our day schools both primary and modern; certainly the secondary modern schools.

H. Gordon Renshaw.

The Plain Man's Christ, by D. W. Langridge. (Independent Press, 7s. 6d.)

The central theme here is the greatness of Christ. To this each of the thirty-three brief chapters makes its worthy contribution. The author expounds such well-known Scriptures as the account of the Temptations and the story of the Prodigal Son; he discusses the incarnation, the humanity and divinity of Christ, His passion and resurrection; he portrays His strength, enthusiasm and creative power; he deals with familiar modern difficulties in belief. To this familiar material the author brings a freshness of approach and language of a vigour and directness which spring from a sturdy faith which is not afraid to apply theory and argument to the task of daily living. The reader may not always find the arguments convincing or agree with all that is said, but in every chapter he will find something to stimulate, disturb or inspire.

The Land of Beulah, by A. Pilgrim. (Independent Press, 4s.)

Old age can be bitter to experience and pitiful to witness. This book is written by an old man to help his fellow pilgrims find renewed life in their later years. Old age must have eyes open to its opportunities. Bodily powers weaken, but personality abides. Being more detached from active life provides leisure to know ourselves, our spiritual nature and destiny. Abiding values

can be more clearly seen—above all the evil of self-centredness and the worth of love. The inward man, being renewed by divine grace is fitted for the life which is to be. This book will be helpful to those who in their active life have lived with a measure of detachment from this world. It is somewhat diffuse, however, and lacks the practical guidance in spiritual discipline needed by those who would experience "peace at eventide."

The Touch of Healing, by H. E. Berry. (Independent Press, 9d.)

A useful booklet to put into the hands of a sick person. Scripture portions are aptly chosen, the comments helpful and the prayers brief and pointed.

FRANK BUFFARD.

Melbourne Baptists, by Thos. J. Budge. (Carey Kingsgate Press, 3s. 6d.)

In the small Derbyshire town of Melbourne a witness to Baptist principles—in the General tradition—has been steadfastly borne for two hundred years. In these pages the present minister has outlined the history of the church, which began as an offshoot of Barton-in-the-Beans, owed much to the forty-six years' ministry of its first pastor, Francis Smith, and later played a prominent part in the New Connection. Associated with the church were Abraham Booth, the well-known preacher, J. F. Winks, printer and publisher of denominational magazines, J. H. Wood, historian of the New Connection, and, best known to the world at large, Thomas Cook, of tourist fame. In a small book of some sixty pages much has necessarily been omitted, but Mr. Budge, an obvious enthusiast for Baptist history, has selected wisely and told his story simply and well. An index would have been an advantage.

Richard Baxter and Philip Doddridge, by Geoffrey F. Nuttall. (Oxford University Press, 3s. 6d.)

This is the fifth Dr. Williams Lecture given under the auspices of the "Friends of Dr. Williams's Library." Dr. Nuttall's sub-title, "A Study in a Tradition," indicates his theme, that the form of piety common to Baxter and Doddridge set up a "double tradition of eclectism in theology and deep seriousness in religion." Both men were impatient of divisive doctrines, were concerned for Christian unity and that piety in which the sub-

jective and the objective elements were combined. Baptists will note with interest Dr. Nuttall's suggestion that in this tradition stood Andrew Fuller. This is a scholarly, readable and useful study which we commend to all who are interested in the faith of our fathers.

It's All Yours! by G. W. Rusling. (Carey Kingsgate Press, 1s.)

Written at the request of the Baptist Union Y.P.'s department, this booklet clearly and briefly describes the principles and organisation of Baptists in this country. For the older and more thoughtful young people in our churches it should prove a most useful guide. But if, as the cover design and the foreword suggest, it is 'teen-agers the sponsors had in mind, we fear that for the kind of boy and girl found in the average church youth club something still more simple and pithy and with a more arresting lay-out is required. Nevertheless, Mr. Rusling has been successful in supplying much helpful information and guidance within the limits of a 16 pp. pamphlet.

GRAHAM W. HUGHES.

The Master, by Max Brod. (Philosophical Library, New York, $4.75.).

In this story by the Jewish novelist and historian we are introduced to two young students of philosophy in Athens—Meleager, the Greek poet, and a renegade Jew who turns out to be Judias Iscariot. Meleager eventually reaches Palestine and meets Jesus. His report brings Judas to the scene. The second half of the book describes the impact of Jesus on these two young men. Vivid accounts are given of the background of our Lord's ministry. While the author writes with reverence and presents clearly Christ's teaching concerning the Kingdom of God, he takes many liberties with the setting of the Gospel incidents. His story ends with the crucifixion, which helps to explain why his portrayal of The Master is vague and inconclusive. There is much to be learned from this book and its freshness of approach is stimulating, yet one turns with relief to The Master and we see Him in the pages of the Gospels.

FRANK BUFFARD.