
A table of contents for the *London Quarterly Review* can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_london-quarterly-and-holborn-review_01.php

THE LONDON QUARTERLY & HOLBORN REVIEW

APRIL 1968

LONDON
EPWORTH PRESS

THE LONDON QUARTERLY AND HOLBORN REVIEW

Contents

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

JOHN BAKER: Congregational Minister, Wylde Green, Sutton Coldfield

OLIVER A. BECKERLEGGE: Methodist Minister, St. Mawes, Cornwall

ANDREW W. BRINK: Department of English, McMaster University, Ontario, Canada

A. J. JEWELL: Methodist Minister, Cheltenham, Gloucestershire

BRIAN RODGERS: Senior Lecturer in Social Administration, University of Manchester

JOHN STACEY: Secretary, Local Preachers' Department, Methodist Central Hall, Westminster

LEROY WATERMAN: Professor Emeritus of Semitics, University of Michigan and Professor of Semitics in the University's Extension Service

BASIL WILLEY: Emeritus King Edward VI Professor of English Literature, University of Cambridge

EDITORIAL

NEWMAN haunts all who know the outline of his story, or who hear the cadences of his voice in the beauty of his prose, or who, like Professor Basil Willey in his Drew lecture, feel that the *Dream of Gerontius* goes near to vindicating by sheer loveliness (and by Elgar's music) the cosmology of the Roman Catholic Church. To interpret Newman has become almost an industry, especially since there are those who would have him canonized. Some feel that there are too many books about him; yet there has been little on his spirituality, which, at first sight, is strange, for he was a prophet of holiness, and, in the record of his youthful, Calvinist conversion, wrote that it made him 'rest in the thought of two and two only absolute and luminously self-evident beings, myself and my Creator'.

This passage from the *Apologia* gives Hilda Graef the title of her admirable book – *God and Myself: The Spirituality of John Henry Newman* (Peter Davies, 42*s*.). Perhaps she dismisses Charles Kingsley with too easy a contempt on p. 157; perhaps she might have given us yet more to relate Newman's spirituality to its background both Protestant and Catholic; she is obviously anxious to establish him as a precursor of the Second Vatican Council and to that extent her book is a tract. But she has written a clear and perceptive spiritual biography, which, in addition, is to be warmly commended as an introduction to Newman's thought as a whole.

One reason why Newman's spirituality has not been singled out for special study is that it 'is not a separate department of his life and teaching, but integrated with both' (p. 10). Unlike the more sentimental, smaller-minded Faber, Newman did not produce works of piety or set himself up as a fashionable director. He dreaded a conscious, public influence, or to be thought a master of the spiritual life. He preferred to be hidden with Christ in God. 'O Lord, bless what I write and prosper it – let it do much good, let it have much success; but let no praise come to me on that account in my lifetime' (p. 144).

His spirituality pervades all his writings – sermons, theological treatises, and poems. Prayer is not an escape from intellectual struggle, nor is the God who comes to us in the Sacraments or in meditation, different from the One whom the philosopher seeks as life's ultimate meaning. 'Newman makes no distinction between "truth" and "devotion", he does not allow devotion to feed on conceptions that are known to be not true' (p. 132). Miss Graef claims that this makes Newman congenial to our age; it ought to, and, for enlightened Catholics, it will, but hardly for 'religionless Christians', since, for Newman, a conscious and deliberate devotion to and faith in God informed everything, whereas the radical position seems to be that the real *opus dei* is simply to be engaged in secular tasks relevant to the needs of the world without any necessary awareness of God at all. Certainly

some of Newman's Anglican attitudes to religion and life would find no echo among secular Christians. 'It is by no means clear that Christianity has at any time been of any great spiritual advantage to the world at large' (p. 56). 'It is a Christian characteristic to look back on former times' (p. 69). The Christian does not live much in the present, this is worldliness.

But such sentiments come from the Newman to whom cling the vestiges of Calvinist evangelicalism, like the feathers of a cygnet not yet turned into a swan. Miss Graef shows that the idea of development, which played so large a part in his thinking is necessary to interpret his own spiritual life. His conversion to Rome, in spite of his sufferings at the time and in the Church of his adoption, was the Kierkegaardian leap of faith, which saved him and set him free. Had he remained an Anglican, he would have been caged within the limits of the Tractarian controversy and the Establishment. It was ultramontane Rome, with its jealous, uncomprehending English representatives, which gave him spiritual and intellectual liberty.

Would his course have been as it was if he had not been a Calvinist at the beginning? The young Newman had not Wesley's 'Catholic' view of holiness as a process rather than a state and it is hard to imagine him defining perfection as perfect love, or being content with the equation 'holiness is happiness'. 'He preaches, as it were, a perpetual Lent' (p. 59). Of his Anglican days, Charles Smyth's strictures are almost justified – 'for the ecclesiastical historian it is extraordinarily difficult to regard Newman in any other light than as an Evangelical gone to the bad' (*The Art of Preaching*, London, 1940, p. 222). Von Hügel wrote 'I used to wonder in my intercourse with John Henry Newman, how one so good, and who had made so many sacrifices to God could be so depressing' (*Essays and Addresses*, second series, London 1930, p. 242). The Baron compares him with his own director, the Abbé Huvelin, blames Newman's failure to surmount his predestinarian upbringing and concludes 'Newman, I felt and feel, could indeed be beatified, but only Huvelin could be canonized'.

But in spite of all this, it is easy to forget what Miss Graef so beautifully stresses, the reality for Newman of the invisible world. Even in his darkest years, which perhaps his struggles within the Church of England but foreshadowed, the 'angel faces' were not far away and he could turn but a stone and start a wing. No writer is better for spiritual reading and his pages are pregnant with thoughts which may help us to understand far more deeply what is meant by heaven and eternity.

Miss Graef prints as an appendix Newman's introduction to his essay on St Chrysostom. This has some wise words on biography, in which Newman pleads for real life from the saint's own writings, not an artificial arrangement of events under the heading of exemplary virtues, and concludes with reference to 'the endemic perennial fidget which possesses us about giving scandal' (p. 194).

This is far less endemic than in Victorian times and the great ecclesiastical biographies of the past four decades have been frank and open about their subjects' faults. In this J. G. Lockhart's *Cosmo Gordon Lang* and Charles Smyth's *Cyril Forster Garbett* were perhaps outstanding. Now we have

Ronald C. D. Jasper's *George Bell, Bishop of Chichester* (Oxford University Press, 70*s*.).

Bell himself was the biographer of Archbishop Davidson, but most people will remember him as the Bishop who met Bonhoeffer in Sweden to discuss possible peace terms in 1942 and who forfeited the Archbishopric of Canterbury because of his protest in the Lords against obliteration bombing. His Life will be approached with eagerness for he officiated at the making of history.

Dr Jasper writes with the effortless mastery of detail and the meticulous accuracy that one expects from the Chairman of the Anglican Liturgical Commission, who has also made a reputation as the biographer of the very different A. C. Headlam. The story is not perhaps so exciting as one expects. Bell lived in the twentieth century, not the Middle Ages or the seventeenth. His help for refugees, his humanity and his ecumenism involved him more in committees than in physical danger or direct confrontation with evil. But the volume is good for edification as well as Church history for Bell's epitaph is more than justified:

A TRUE PASTOR
POET AND PATRON OF THE ARTS
CHAMPION OF THE OPPRESSED
AND TIRELESS WORKER FOR
CHRISTIAN UNITY.

The time has also come to write the epitaph of *The London Quarterly and Holborn Review*, which began in Newman's early years at the Birmingham Oratory and has been the contemporary of many great men, events and writings. Please God, the new *Church Quarterly* will have the spirit of Newman and the wide interests of Bell and will work for that great Church of all the saints to which they both belong.

GORDON S. WAKEFIELD

Publishers Announcement: the Future of the Quarterly

This is the final issue of the *London Quarterly and Holborn Review*. From July 1968 it will be combined with the Anglican *Church Quarterly Review* and published jointly with S.P.C.K. under the title *THE CHURCH QUARTERLY*. The editors will be Gordon Wakefield of Epworth Press and Michael Perry of S.P.C.K. The price will be 8s. 6d. per copy, annual subscription 36s. (including postage).

Manuscripts for consideration should be sent to Gordon Wakefield at Epworth Press; books for review to Michael Perry at S.P.C.K., Holy Trinity Church, Marylebone Road, London, N.W.1.

A LAYMAN'S THOUGHTS ABOUT IMMORTALITY

*By Basil Willey**

THE 'Immortality of the Soul': What a subject for a mere layman, an Emeritus Professor of English Literature, to tackle! The electors have done me great honour in appointing me to deliver this lecture – especially as this year, 1967, is the Diamond Jubilee of the foundation of the Drew Lectureship – but they have set me the hardest task of my lifetime. When I consider, too, the list of my distinguished predecessors over the past sixty years, and note that it contains the names of many of the leading thinkers and scholars of our time – scientists, philosophers, archaeologists and theologians – I feel humbled and overwhelmed. What can I say on this subject that has not already been said with far greater knowledge, insight and authority? If I were merely to give a précis of all, or some, or even only one, of the previous Drew Lectures, I should probably communicate truths or opinions more valuable than any I can myself attain to. Indeed, I feel that my sole qualification is that I have just reached the age of 70 – just passed that milestone beyond which, as the Psalmist says, all 'our strength is but labour and sorrow: so soon passeth it away, and we are gone'; and therefore I ought to be, in Sir Thomas Browne's words, 'naturally constituted unto thoughts of the next world, and cannot excusably decline the consideration of that duration, which maketh pyramids pillars of snow, and all that's past a moment'.

And do I in fact think about the next world as I should? The poet Donne could say:

> Since I am comming to that Holy roome
> Where, with Thy Quire of Saints for evermore,
> I shall be made Thy Musique; As I come
> I tune the Instrument here at the dore,
> And what I must doe then, thinke here before.

Can I say the same? Not as I should, God knows; not as the saints and mystics have done. But without any spiritual pride I can state, like anybody else of my age, that the rapid shrinkage of my residue of days has been for some time, and is now more than ever, forcing itself upon my attention. How could it be otherwise? It is not as it was in the days of thoughtless youth, when life lay ahead in an endless-seeming perspective,

* The 1967 Drew Lecture on Immortality, delivered on 26 October 1967, is reproduced here by kind permission of the Trustees (New College, University of London). I am also indebted to my publishers, Messrs Chatto & Windus, for permission to print, in advance, what will form the substance of a chapter in a forthcoming book of memoirs to be published by them.

and time could be squandered without a qualm. No; I am now 'necessitated to eye the remaining particle of futurity'; these are the autumn days, the evening hours; winter and darkness are coming soon. This realization, I find, as I peer into the ever-shortening future, invests all existing things and people with a new pathos and preciousness. These aconites and snowdrops, which are flowering now as I write, are no longer just units in an endless recurrence; it will not be so many more times, probably, that I shall see them flower, or the daffodils begin to peer; and not so many years or days may remain of companionship with loved ones. Day succeeds day as of old, hearts beat and nostrils breathe; but these can no longer be presumed upon or taken for granted. Each day, each heart-throb and each breath of my beloved, is one of a numbered and ever-diminishing series; and there is no big balance left in Time's bank from which I can repay the debts of a lifetime. So far am I from feeling any world-weariness, or the *ennui* of a Hamlet –

> How weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable
> Seem to me all the uses of this world! –

that age has brought me a heightened and deepened sense of the value, the inexpressible and irreplaceable value, of each moment that remains. Perhaps this is not quite the mood in which a Christian should approach the end of his allotted span. Is there not in it too much of the pagan regret and wistfulness, the pagan clinging to what is perishable and fugitive? Perhaps I should rather be nerving myself up to say, with Newman's Gerontius,

> And with a strong will I sever
> All the ties that bind me here.

I am not competent to say; but of one thing I feel assured: whatever deepens love, increases tenderness, enhances reverence for life, and shifts attention from self, cannot be wholly amiss.

Since in this Lecture I am only passing on to you some Thoughts of a Layman, not rehearsing the history of the belief in Immortality, nor expounding its philosophy and theology, I shall begin by simply trying to describe what I have been feeling and thinking about it all my life. I must plead the privilege of age if I indulge too freely in reminiscence; my excuse is that sometimes a few concrete examples from an individual life are more instructive than abstract reasoning.

It is not at all easy to say on what presuppositions, or with what purpose or aim, one's life has been lived. Often, perhaps always, the master-currents flow deep below the surface of consciousness. For example, I should not be surprised if a great part of my childhood and youth was unconsciously controlled by the thought of heaven and hell, or, shall I say, by the unquestioned assumption that I should have to give an account of myself hereafter. I did not, of course, reflect much or often on this, but I was brought up in a Christian home in which, although the traditional imagery of the future life was discarded, the eternal significance of every moral choice was never forgotten. I think that in that home the longing to deserve the Eternal Judge's 'Well done, good and faithful servant!', and to avoid

his condemnation, was real and operative, though never mentioned. And what was true of that home must have been true of millions of others, even in those latter days (say, sixty years ago); and if true then, how much more abundantly so in the centuries of faith, when all the doctrine and art of Christendom pointed to the Last Judgement as the destiny of man and the end of history, to Beatitude as man's appointed perfection, and to everlasting pain as its dread alternative. Whatever we may think now about the future life, we cannot doubt that the Christian versions of it, as presented in the New Testament, in the creeds and liturgies, in sermons, in poetry, in sculpture and painting, for at least 1,500 years, supplied the most powerful moral sanction ever known to man. This did not mean that all believers (*i.e.* virtually everybody) lived good lives; but it did mean that they acknowledged their accountability before God. They might forget or evade the thought of the Great Assize, but the tremor of it may be felt in such poems as *timor mortis conturbat me* and the terrible *Dies Irae*.

The evaporation of this belief in a future state of rewards and punishments has been going on, silently and imperceptibly, all through our lifetime; and by now there must be very few Europeans left outside the Christian Churches (and perhaps not so very many within them) who still believe in it or indeed think about the matter at all. For the mass of our neo-pagans today I imagine that the belief in a future life is non-existent, or at most an antiquated fable, like religion itself. They do not believe in it, 'neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the dead'. They would not even welcome it if they were so persuaded. Anyone who looks round aghast upon the contemporary disintegration of morality, is free to attribute it, in the last analysis, to the repudiation of all tradition rules, codes and standards, and above all of this ultimate belief, the former basis of it all.

In early manhood I thought that I had outgrown my childhood belief in a future life; I had put this away, along with Father Christmas and other childish things. I remember the feeling of mingled surprise, incredulity and contempt, with which I heard the reply of a fellow-undergraduate to my disclaimer of all belief in immortality: 'Oh, really? The future life is *very* real to me.' I thought this mere humbug, and could only excuse my friend by reminding myself that he had not been in the War – this was the year 1919 – whereas I had. I also remember the approval with which, some years later when I was a young don, I heard a colleague say, 'I sincerely *hope* death ends all.'

As the nineteen-twenties drew near their close, and I had passed my thirtieth birthday, I came – as I suppose many do at that age – to a turning point in my life. A wave of panic suddenly flowed through me – panic at the realization of youth's departure. It is, I suppose, a feeling that comes to most people, sooner or later: a sense that ahead lie the hurrying rapids of middle age. How could one avoid being swept unresisting downstream? Up to a certain stage we are supported, whether we know it or not, by the assurance that 'This is not yet all; the best is yet to be; there is a glory to be revealed; there are higher peaks beyond.' And then, quite suddenly, we become aware that there is no more in reserve; the path lies straight before

us to the bottom of the hill. Life has done all it was going to do for us; and now it hands over to us the responsibility for what may remain. All that had seemed only exordial to the expected rich unfolding, *was* life itself; there will have been nothing else. How terrible! I felt trapped and scared. Was there any way of escape from the panic? Any way of arresting the flux and the acceleration? In this predicament I turned first – not, I fear, where a Christian should first turn, but not perhaps all unwisely – to writing, which in earlier years had been my habitual solace. I had found, both before and during the war, a way of overcoming the world, not by evading it but by looking more intently at it and through it. And so now I thought to myself: 'if I can only manage to *delineate* the flux, perhaps I shall feel that I have somehow mastered it, fixed it in some unchangeable medium?'

In thus turning to the idea of creative work, I was being led, I believe, by a sound instinct. The activity of creating things, whether of the imaginative or the scholarly kind, is only a first step in the soul's pilgrimage, but it is a step in the right direction. I may say in all humility and sincerity that the original impulse of all the literary work I have done sprang from this awakening, this yearning to transcend the mere successiveness of daily living and feel some distant intimation of immortality. One of my first attempts was a prose effusion (never published) in which I tried to re-enact a Sunday morning service together with the undercurrent of thoughts, more or less digressive and unregenerate, which were running in the mind of 'James' the narrator (largely myself, of course). I make bold to quote a paragraph from this, because it so exactly marks the stage I had then reached (nearly forty years ago):

> '. . . so that at the last', the preacher was perorating, 'we may enter into the life everlasting.'
>
> The life everlasting! Ah, that came near the heart of the matter: deliverance from the time-sequence, from the accelerating wheel of middle life. James remembered that formerly he had considered the question about the soul's immortality to be an unimportant logomachy. So it was, until one got finally trapped by life, caught in its wheel.
>
> In a country churchyard, some evenings before, James had seemed to have an intimation, not of immortality, but of the reason why this belief had for so long been taught as necessary to the religious life. In the still air many sounds were to be heard: farmyard sounds of pigs and geese, cows munching, the voiceless shriek of bats. There was a smell blended of corn and stable-manure. A grey owl beat rapid wings and vanished. Inside the church the death-watch beetle was riddling a grand fifteenth-century roof. In the lane outside, there had been a hedgehog and several toads flattened to the road by passing cars. And here were the gravestones, glimmering white, each with verses commending its dead to the skies. Pathetic, yet somehow right and inevitable. The human soul, driven by sheer panic to distinguish itself from among the beasts that perish, and all the passing shows of things. Trying to link itself to something that is not bone and gut and corruption. Losing one's life to gain it? merging the perishable individual life in something large and abstract:

Church, or *la sua voluntade*? living *its* life, not one's own, and so sharing its immortality? Certainly not preserving one's miserable little separate personality, unchanged, for ever and ever. No; but, in some sense, to believe in the life everlasting did seem a specific human necessity. In *what* sense, James was prevented from more precisely determining, just then, by the concluding hymn, which now sang itself out with a brightening resonance, as of a train nearing the escape from a tunnel.

Let me now, leaving chronology and reminiscence behind, begin to ponder some of the considerations which have weighed with me (as with so many others), tipping the balance sometimes towards belief and sometimes towards incredulity. Perhaps there may emerge some of the senses in which immortality seems incredible and undesirable, and some in which it seems acceptable and desirable beyond all else.

For Christianity, the Life Everlasting has never been in doubt; it has been an unquestioned article of belief from the beginning. 'I believe in the resurrection of the body, and the life everlasting'; 'he that believeth on me hath everlasting life'; 'death is swallowed up in victory' – I need not repeat any more of the familiar utterances. Plato and others had laboured to demonstrate the soul's immortality by reasoning, and had failed; but Christ had brought life and immortality to light. And Christians to this day are committed to this faith, if they mean what they repeat in Church every Sunday; it is not an open question: it is a *datum*. Why then should they still discuss it amongst themselves? Why are books still written, and lectures delivered, on this theme? I think it is because the Life Everlasting is an article of *Faith*, like the belief in God; and like every article of faith, it cannot be proved by demonstration, like a mathematical proposition. The truths of mathematics, as Coleridge said, as such that they cannot be denied; those of religion are such that they *can* be denied, but *will* not be denied by the good man. We do not have to renew our belief in the multiplication table by frequent examination; but religious faith must be daily re-born and re-lived: it must for ever become what it is, and be proved, not by reasoning, but in the refining fires of experience.

Articles of faith, however, are not all of the same class; some, such as the belief in God, are primary; others, like perhaps the communion of saints, the resurrection of the body and the life everlasting, secondary. At least, it has seemed possible for many to believe in God but not in the life everlasting. I was once one of these. Was my position tenable? Perhaps my belief in God was too superficial to reveal all the depth and range of its implications; and perhaps my notions of everlasting life were crude and foolish? Here, at any rate, are some of the difficulties I have felt, most of them - I am sure - shared by others.

First I will refer to the difficulty of believing in the individual soul's survival after the death of the body – and let us be quite clear that survival in this sense is not the same thing as Eternal Life in the true and full religious sense. Soul, mind, life (call them what you will) seem to be so closely dependent upon the brain and body that the death of the one must mean the extinction of the other: We know what happens to the body after

death; we neither know nor can ever know what happens to the soul. We do not even know that 'soul' is a real entity capable of survival; indeed, we have strong evidence suggesting that what we call 'soul' is a function of the body. An injury to the brain, or manipulation by surgery or drugs, can annihilate or permanently change a personality while the body still lives. Genetic science may some day (though God forbid!) make possible the laboratory production of moron-slaves and higher stereotypes (as in *Brave New World*); what sort of heaven could be open to such as these? Putting aside these considerations, however, there are yet other difficulties. We have all known people who in old age have lost, not only sight and hearing, but their memory and virtually their whole mind. If they survive death, what is it which will survive? Not, one feels, the vestigial and almost extinguished personality of decrepitude; and if not, then what? some revived simulacrum of their earlier selves, arbitrarily selected from the best moments of their prime?

Another great difficulty arises, for me at least, when I consider the sheer numbers of the human race. If the latest evidence is valid, and beings classifiable as human have existed on this earth for twenty million years, the imagination reels at the thought of all those souls for whom appropriate accommodation has already had to be provided; and what if we extend our view forward, to the time – alas, nothing like so far distant – when there will hardly be standing-room on this planet for its teeming populations? No doubt there are many mansions in Heaven, but can all these souls, mass-produced and necessarily very much alike, and mostly of a low-grade type, be *worth* preserving? At what point in evolution, moreover, did primitive man rise far enough above the ape to qualify for a soul? Or have we been wrong in assuming a hard-and-fast line dividing 'human' from 'sub-human', and denying immortal souls to the animals – at any rate the more intelligent animals? An Anglican clergyman once seriously asked me whether I thought certain dogs could possibly be refused admittance to Heaven, if certain human beings were eligible. Clearly he would not have put in any such plea on behalf of cats, still less frogs, wasps or bacilli. And so it is with our imaginings about human survival; as long as we confine our thoughts to a few selected individuals, products of high civilization – bishops, sages, men of genius, university professors or just our Christian friends – the idea of a life hereafter for them seems not incongruous; but when we try to take in the larger panorama our imagination turns sick and swoons. How strange it would be if Heaven came as a *surprise* to any of those admitted there! Yet surely it must be so to all those palaeolithic savages of twenty million years ago, not to mention those of today, and of our own country, who have lived their lives with just as little thought of Heaven as their ape-like progenitors. How strange, if Heaven be a Christian domain, for all those proto-men to meet Christ there, having never heard of him on earth! or indeed – to extend that thought a little – how strange, if Christianity be the only true religion, for all the deceased pious Hindus, Buddhists or Mohammedans to find themselves unexpectedly in a Christian entourage!

As long as we remain on this level of conjecture we may meet with another kind of objection – that of those who, while not utterly denying the possibility of survival, regard the prospect as uninviting and even abhorrent. Such people are usually thinking, not of the torments of Hell, but of the *ennui* of Heaven. They will tell you that they cannot endure the idea of sitting for ever and ever on a damp cloud and playing the harp; or the more literary ones may add that Adam ate the forbidden fruit through sheer boredom with Eden, and that even Milton fails to convince us that the loss of Paradise was a bad thing. Some very high-minded sceptics, of the J. S. Mill type, may say that Heaven would be no Heaven for them if a Hell existed too; they would be thinking of the underprivileged all the time. A depressing aspect of the popular image of survival was revealed to me lately, quite by chance, in a remark by Winston Churchill in his booklet on painting. He would like, he said, to spend the first million or so years of the future life perfecting his control of the brush. The thought of a life hereafter which was merely a prolongation, through endless years and aeons, of the sort of life we live now, but in a disembodied state and without the comforts and joys of this too much loved earth, seems to me appalling.

Of course we have no right to assume that the future life, if any, will be of the kind we now think we should *like*. We must not arrive at our belief in immortality by merely putting together all our notions, even our most exalted notions, of what we consider the most satisfactory state of being for a departed soul. God, whose thoughts are not as our thoughts, may have quite other designs. One of C. S. Lewis's insights on this theme was to suggest that many people disbelieve in immortality, not because they find it incredible, but because they find it alarming. They shrink, not so much from the prospect of eternal punishment – this sort of grave *has* lost its sting even for most of the orthodox now – as from the prospect of having to nerve themselves up to a level of spirituality they have hitherto managed to avoid. It is indeed a terrible thing to fall into the hands of the living God. We all know what Lewis meant, I think. The other day I found myself unwilling and unready to say my prayers. 'You'd better get used to God's company while you can,' I said to myself reprovingly, 'soon you'll have no other.'

I remarked a short time ago that we neither know nor can know what happens to the soul after bodily death. As this statement may be challenged by some who are interested in psychical research, spiritualism etc. I must just explain myself briefly on this point. Those who have ready any of the Proceedings of the S.P.R., or such a work as F. W. H. Myers's *Human Personality and its Survival* or any kindred books, will know the sort of evidence that exists for ghostly appearances, telepathic messages, communications with departed souls through mediums, table-rapping etc. I am not qualified to judge the validity of such evidence, though I can see how much disinterested endeavour has gone into sifting it and eliminating, as far as may be, whatever may have been fraudulent or merely superstitious. I can also see that much of this endeavour has sprung, not only from the yearning to keep in touch with departed dear ones, but from the more

philosophical desire to undermine the arrogance of dogmatic positivism. Nevertheless I cannot find any comfort in evidence of this sort, nor any confirmation of the only view of eternal life which I have come to find acceptable. Granted that I knew, beyond possibility of doubt, that the soul of my departed loved one lived on, and could speak to me through a medium, what would this profit me? I should merely know that my beloved was a pathetic ghost hovering round its former habitations; I should not know that he or she was living a new and glorified life in fellowship with God. But this is what I have come to understand by Immortality; I understand it as Eternal Life, life with God, not just as living on and on in some melancholy Sheol or other underworld of Shades. I do not want to go back to the animistic delusions catalogued in *The Golden Bough* or the ancestor-worship of the ancient Romans, I prefer to accept the words ascribed to Christ by the Johannine evangelist: 'This is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.' I want my belief in life eternal to be rooted and grounded in my belief in God, not in any pseudo-scientific results; I want it to remain an article of religious faith and not become a matter of mere knowledge; I want to believe in it because I ought, not because I must.

But before I stop I must try to say, a little more explicitly, what I understand the belief to mean. The vain imaginings I have rehearsed all lead to incredulity or despair: either there is no immortality as so pictured, or it is an undesirable one. But there is another possibility: our speculations may have ended, as they did, in absurdity, because we started with wrong assumptions. One of these assumptions, perhaps the commonest one of all, and the hardest to eradicate, is that the human soul has a natural or inherent immortality in its own right. It was the belief that the soul is a separable spirit, immaterial and undying, which at death floats away from the body and takes up its abode in the grave, or in the underworld, or in other bodies – it was this which formed the basis of most of the notions and practices studied by anthropologists amongst primitive peoples and the civilizations of antiquity. The same belief, immensely refined and sophisticated, underlies the attempts of Plato, and other philosophers both ancient and modern, to 'prove' the immortality of the soul. The One remains, the Many change and pass; and Soul is to Body as the One to the Many. There are two realms: the world of Being, where dwell the eternal and immutable Ideas or Forms; and the world of Becoming, our own world, where flitting shadows are mistaken for realities. Socrates in the *Phaedo*, himself face to face with death, asks to which of these realms is the soul of man more akin? And the answer comes, of course, that the soul, which can reason and remember and know, is akin to the heavenly world and will at last – though not till after many cycles of re-incarnation, and when purged of all its dross – enter upon the life of Heaven. Of all the arguments used by Plato and his followers, most of them quite unconvincing, this is perhaps the best – if only because it is the least argumentative and the most intuitive. The pure and illuminated soul *feels* its kinship with the skies. Never has this kind of insight been more beautifully expressed than by John Smith, the

Cambridge Platonist of the 17th century – Platonist and Christian – who in his Discourse, *The Excellency and Nobleness of True Religion,* says:

> It is not an aiery speculation of Heaven as a thing (though never so undoubtedly) to come, that can satisfy [man's] hungry desires, but the real possession of it even in this life. Such an happiness would be less in the esteem of Good men, that were onely good to be enjoyed at the end of this life, when all other enjoyments fail him. I wish there be not among some such a light and poor esteem of Heaven as makes them more to seek it as a thing to come, then after Heaven itself; which indeed we can never well be assured of, until we find it rising up within ourselves, and glorifying our own Souls. . . . This holy Assurance is indeed the budding and blossoming of felicity in our own Souls; it is the inward sense and feeling of the true life, spirit, sweetness and beauty of Grace powerfully expressing its own energy within us.

It is, then, I think, safer and wiser, and more orthodox, to take our stand here, rather than upon any alleged immortality of soul-substance as such. No argument based on the supposed incorporeal and incorruptible nature of the soul can in itself have much weight; it cannot be carried to the point of demonstration; it is always open to materialist attack; and even if it were convincing it would not prove the *kind* of immortality offered us by the New Testament. 'This is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.' 'He that believeth on me hath everlasting life.' To hold that the soul survives the body because it is made of something undying leads only to the ghostly world of spiritualism, the modern Sheol. To know that my friend's soul survived thus would give me small comfort; I should still wish him a taste of real Heaven.

Are we, then, to commit ourselves to the doctrine of 'conditional immortality' – that is, to the view that the life eternal is reserved for those alone who deserve it, or who can attain to it? There seems to be New Testament authority for that view. Jesus, answering the Sadducees on the question of marriage after the general resurrection, said: 'they which shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world, and the resurrection from the dead, neither marry, nor are given in marriage' (Luke 20:35). And there is St Paul's memorable disclaimer of all legal righteousness in favour of winning life in Christ: 'That I may know him, and the power of his resurrection . . . if by any means I might attain unto the resurrection of the dead. Not as though I had already attained, . . .' (Phil. 3:10–12). If we do adopt this view, we are left with no answer to the question, what then becomes of all those who are *not* 'accounted worthy', and to those teeming millions previously mentioned who cannot be supposed to have attained the saving experience or knowledge? I think we have here come to the extreme borderland of legitimate speculation, and must rest in Christian agnosticism. It does not appear that we have any scriptural guidance on this matter, nor has the Christian Church spoken with a united voice. Not only so, but it is not easy to be sure what particular views the Church holds and enjoins about the soul's destiny after the death of the body. It holds, and has held, differing views at different times, and the various sects have differed from

each other. In New Testament times it seems to have been believed that the departed souls 'slept', perhaps in the grave, until the general resurrection, when they would arise at the sound of the last trumpet, be clothed with spiritual bodies, and receive condign reward or punishment. The Johannine Apocalypse looks forward to a millennial reign of Christ after a first resurrection of the saints and martyrs; then to a second resurrection for the remainder of the dead; and finally to the Last Judgement. The Catholic Church introduced the rational and charitable, though unscriptural, doctrine of Purgatory – that interval of further education and purification for the soul before it can approach its Maker. (It is a doctrine which Newman's poetry and Elgar's music have always tempted me, and almost persuaded me, to accept.) The Protestant Churches have on the whole taught that all souls, on leaving the body, go straight to Heaven or Hell; but that they will be re-united in some mysterious way with their bodies, presumably now rendered incorruptible by divine agency, at the Last Day. Nowadays there is great uncertainty amongst ordinary people as to what they can believe or ought to believe; and perhaps the majority have dismissed the subject from their thoughts altogether. Ask even any average Protestant churchgoer what is the received doctrine in his Church, and he will probably be uncertain what is taught about the meaning of immortality, its distinction from 'life eternal', what happens to the soul between death and judgement, and what is meant by 'resurrection of the body'.

Attractive though 'conditional immortality' may be and is, it offends the conscience of some because of its apparent exclusiveness. 'What!' they say, 'is this a privilege to be enjoyed only by the Best People? Are the lesser breeds and the underprivileged to be excluded? Such critics prefer the universalism of Origen, according to which all are eventually saved, including even the Devil himself. I have already suggested that Christian agnosticism is the only rational, as well as pious, state of mind to cultivate here. 'The souls of the righteous are in the hands of God', and God, not we ourselves, is the judge as to who these are.

> All is best, though we oft doubt,
> What th' unsearchable dispose
> Of highest Wisdom brings about,
> And ever best found in the close.
> (*Samson Agonistes*, 1745–8)

Nevertheless, leaving aside these profitless speculations, we can be sure of our present duty. What we have to do, I think, is to discipline our own lives so as to experience, here and now, some foretaste of the Life Eternal. That this is possible, a whole cloud of witnesses can testify. We can and must *practise* the life eternal, just as we ought to practise the presence of God; indeed the two practices are one, for there is no meaning of 'life eternal' which does not involve God's presence. We are not to expect beatitude beyond the grave if we have not already glimpsed it, however distantly and momentarily, in this life. As Fichte said, 'Blessedness exists also beyond the grave for the man for whom it has already begun here; and it exists there in no other way and kind . . . ; by the mere getting oneself buried, one cannot

arrive at blessedness' (quoted in von Hügel, *Eternal Life*, 1912, p. 176). And, said Sir Thomas Browne, 'if any have been so happy as truly to understand Christian annihilation, ecstasies, exolution, liquefaction, transformation, the kiss of the spouse, gustation of God, and ingression into the divine shadow, they have already had a handsome anticipation of heaven' (*Urn* Burial, ch. v). But we are not bound to be advanced mystics of this kind in order to have that communion with God which is life eternal; the humblest and most unpretending can enjoy it. Adumbrations of it can be found in aesthetic experience, where a sense of deep indwelling order may sometimes supervene upon the multitudinousness of things. A sudden cessation of what has been called 'clock-time', and its replacement by an apparent pause in, or oblivion of, the successiveness of daily living, may come in communion with art or nature. There is a passage in the slow movement of Brahms's Second (B flat) Piano Concerto where motion is stilled and time seems to have a stop, the music taking on the entranced calm of adoration or deep rapture. I am never sure whether this passage means worship or love – but it could well mean both, for what is worship without love? Or Wordsworth can say of his early-morning communing with nature at Esthwaite:

> Oft in these moments such a holy calm
> Would overspread my soul, that bodily eyes
> Were utterly forgotten, and what I saw
> Appeared like something in myself, a dream,
> A prospect in the mind.
>
> (*Prelude* II, 1850, 348–52)

Since I have already used the phrase 'intimations of immortality', and since I am a retired Professor of English Literature (and a Wordsworthian at that), I think I ought here to say a few words about what is, I suppose, the most celebrated poem on the subject in the English language, Wordsworth's great *Ode*. In that poem, as you will remember, Wordsworth laments the passing of that childhood vision which had once invested earth and every common sight with visionary glory. Looking back, at the middle of life's journey, upon his memories of childhood, he knows that 'the things which I have seen I now can see no more'; 'there hath passed away a glory from the earth.' And although for this loss he finds abundant recompense in 'the faith that looks through death' and in 'years that bring the philosophic mind', still the fact remains that 'nothing can bring back the hour Of splendour in the grass, of glory in the flower'; and the poem, though it ends bravely, remains a lament. The point that concerns us is this: Wordsworth values so highly the great imaginative moments of his childhood, and still derives such strength from recollecting them, that he is constrained to express himself in the form of a myth – a myth which shall bring home, in the most vivid possible way, his sense of the contrast between childhood and maturity, and the distance he has travelled from the dayspring. He has adopted one of the myths of pre-existence according to which 'our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting'; we come 'trailing clouds' of glory from our heavenly home, and in the days of our angel infancy we still see earthly things in a celestial light. The visionary gleam lasts for a while, but in due

time years bring 'the inevitable yoke', and finally

the man perceives it die away
And fade into the light of common day.

There is profound psychological truth in all this; no one has known more than Wordsworth about the imaginative consequences of growing up. But do we learn anything from him on the topic of this lecture? No more, I think, than we know already, namely, that there are moments in our lives ('spots of time') when our soul seems more alive, more awake and more creative than usual; moments when 'our noisy years seem moments in the being Of the eternal Silence'; when the flux of time seems arrested, and we have inklings of another, a higher and more enduring, level of existence. As for the pre-existence story, Wordsworth himself did not take it seriously, except as a piece of poetic machinery. In a note dictated late in life to Isabella Fenwick he said:

> To that dream-like vividness and splendour which invest objects of sight in childhood, every one, I believe, if he would look back, could bear testimony . . . : but having in the Poem regarded it as presumptive evidence of a prior state of existence, I think it right to protest against a conclusion, which has given pain to some good and pious persons, that I meant to inculcate such a belief. It is far too shadowy a notion to be recommended to faith, as more than an element in our instincts of immortality . . . when I was impelled to write this Poem on the 'Immortality of the Soul', I took hold of the notion of pre-existence as having sufficient foundation in humanity for authorizing me to make for my purpose the best use of it I could as a Poet.

But these are only hints and glimpses. The truer intimations of immortality are granted to the soul which, in humility, love, repentance and faith finds, not all things absorbed within itself (as in Wordsworth's *Prelude* passage), but the Self extinguished in contemplation of transcendent Being or, as some would prefer to say, in loving identification with our fellow-men. This is that death-in-life which leads us to hope for a life-in-death. For St Paul, as we know, to be made 'conformable' to Christ's death was the necessary prelude to sharing his resurrection. If we wish to be candidates for eternal life we must go into training for it now; and that means not only prayer and spiritual exercises directed towards God, but charity and neighbourliness in all our individual and social relationships. If we love not our brother whom we have seen, how shall we love God whom we have not seen?

I have time for only one more observation. I can well imagine some hearer of these remarks saying to me, 'Ah, yes! you are just like the rest of them. You pretend to know something about immortality, or at least you presume to talk about it in public. And yet what do you give us? The usual evasions and fine words! You don't seem to believe in the after-life – that is, you don't hold out any hope that I shall meet in Heaven those whom I have loved long since and lost awhile, and meet them as the very same personalities, remembering me and their past lives, that I knew on earth. You flinch from this, and make your escape behind a smokescreen of words about eternal life as something already experienced in this life. We all know

that we can lose ourselves in art, or love, or worship; we don't need you to tell us this. What we want to know is whether there is any life beyond the grave, or whether George Borrow's gypsy friend was right when he said, "When a man dies, he is cast into the earth, and there's an end of him, brother, more's the pity." And this you haven't told us.'

No, my friend, I have not, because I don't know; nobody knows; only God knows. All I know, all anybody knows, is that we can begin to know God in this life, and that no eternal life is conceivable or desirable apart from him. Again my objector may say, 'Why speak as if communion with God in this life furnished grounds for believing in its continuance after death? Would not such communion still be worth sharing even if it ceased with this life?' To this last question I can only answer, 'Yes, it would; but experience of this communion, and of the quality of life which belongs with it, renders it very hard to believe in the extinction of all the values summed up in the word "personality".' If we believe in God, we must believe that the world is administered in the interests of all that we value most; that a universe which has produced free and responsible moral agents must itself be morally governed, and that the God who made it will not suffer its choicest products to be extinguished, even if the great globe itself shall perish in the frosts of entropy. Hear again the voice of John Smith, whose words are as much sweeter and more compelling than mine as his faith is more serenely assured:

> [The soul] knows that God will never forsake his own life which he hath quickened in it; he will never deny those ardent desires of a blissful fruition of himself, which the lively sense of his own Goodness hath excited within it: those breathings and gaspings after an eternal participation of him are but the Energy of his own breath within us; if he had any mind to destroy it, he would never have shown it such things as he hath done; he would not raise it up to such *Mounts of Vision,* to shew it all the glory of that heavenly *Canaan* flowing with eternal and unbounded pleasures; and then tumble it down again into that deep and darkest Abyss of Death and Non-entity. Divine goodness cannot, it will not, be so cruel to holy souls that are such ambitious suitors for his love.
>
> [Discourse, *Of the Immortality of the Soul,* ch. VII]

DIAKONIA

Brian Rodgers

THE origin of the diaconate does not now appear to be in much doubt. When the apostles decided that the practical tasks of the daily 'ministration' should not be their responsibility and appointed 'seven men of honest report' they established an order and did so by the laying on of hands, though the order does not seem to have been exclusive, for Philip the deacon was an evangelist, and Stephen preached. This is the only reference to deacons in the Acts of the Apostles and in it the word 'deacon' is not used. The earliest use of the word, according to Professor Bo Reike of the University of Basel, is in the Epistle to the Romans and refers to a deaconess: Phoebe.[1] The second reference is in the Epistle to the Philippians, where 'bishops and deacons' are embodied in the first verse; the last reference is probably the best-known: the famous passage in 1 Timothy 3: 1–13, where the qualities required by bishops and deacons are laid out, though it would appear that the dangers associated with matrimony are closer to deacons than to bishops. By the time these verses in the pastoral epistles to Timothy were penned the order seems to have been well-established and by the end of the 1st century the offices of bishop, presbyter and deacon were so secure that Ignatius of Antioch was able to write to the Trallians: 'You should honour all the deacons like Jesus Christ, the bishop like the image of the Father, and the elders as the council of God and the gathering of the Apostles. Without these one cannot talk of the Church.'

It would appear that deacons were charged with the material side of church organization as well as with the distribution of alms; this gave them administrative power and turned the chief deacon, or archdeacon, into the bishop's administrative officer: St Lawrence typifies the position; he was archdeacon of Rome in the 3rd century and was responsible for the collection and distribution of alms and the care of the poor, and he had to attend in person on the bishop. The deacon's relationship with the priesthood was for a time ill-defined; he had a part to play in the service and claimed to be subordinate only to the bishop, through the archdeacon, but a series of conferences and synods reduced the diaconal powers and the Trullan synod in 692 finally stressed his subordination to the priesthood. From then on, the diaconate degenerated into something like a stage in the creation of a priest; where administrative power had been possessed by the order, this was absorbed into the priesthood in the position of archdeacon and, in the Church of Rome, of Cardinal Deacon. The number of these was for many years kept to seven.

This subordination of the diaconate to the priesthood is important for it seems to have led to the loss of the concept of *diakonia* as an essential part of the Christian ministry, and later on 'almoners' were appointed to do what was originally the duty of this special order. Even when nonconformists came to create their own ecclesiastical systems and a number of them included the office of deacon, this was most frequently regarded as an office for laymen, though some Churches ordained their deacons and in many the deacon had a small part to play in the liturgy. In other words he became something like a lay administrator or a novice in the priesthood. His function was not seen as one of the essential parts of the ministry.

This was not so in the case of the deaconesses. As has already been pointed out, the earliest reference to deacons or deaconesses in the New Testament is to the latter, and it seems clear that women had a greater part to play in the early Church than later on. They not only attended the sick and helped the poor but they had chaperoning functions as well, and Christian women had to be present not only at interviews between priests and adult women but also at the baptism of adult women. Deaconesses were clearly part of the Churches' organization and they are mentioned in the canons of Nicaea and Chalcedon; but from the 5th century onwards the order was condemned at various councils and eventually fell into desuetude. The growth of women's religious orders in the middle ages possibly contributed to this decline by giving an increased opportunity for the service of women in a diaconal capacity.

While the Church remained a minority movement in a society which was by modern standards economically weak, its diaconic duties were limited in range. It was concerned with the needs of its own communion, and the very institution of the diaconate as recorded in the Acts seems to have arisen out of a concern for the needs of the brethren. This was particularly important where the body was a persecuted minority, for there the group as a whole would want to carry part of the burden of those in the front line of persecution. This is also seen in some of the post-Reformation sects: in the Society of Friends, for example, the central administrative system grew out of such a concern and the Society's executive committee is still called the 'Meetings for Sufferings'. When, however, the Church became part of the establishment or of the governmental system a new situation arose, for it was then in a position to influence official action and, by amassing wealth, to act as an agent for the redirection of economic resources. But here the issues for a long time remained comparatively simple, and the exercise of compassion was free from the complications that were to arise later. The Church was concerned largely with relieving the hardships of the sick, the orphaned and the old, and also with education. These needs were dealt with in the simplest possible way and it is extremely unlikely that those of even a simple majority of sufferers were met. The Church was also in a position to influence the well-to-do and persuade them to provide for the needy, and its control over the gates of heaven – and, of course, of hell – were not without their uses in this field. Orphanages, hospitals, schools were established and run in a comparatively uncomplicated manner, and the prob-

lems that did arise were not such as required the kind of analysis that would be needed now. Professor Brian Tierney, the medievalist, has unearthed an intersting discussion among the Decretists on the issues involved in the distribution of scarce charitable resources during periods of severe shortage. He tried to create an analogy with discussions taking place in modern times, but I am afraid that I cannot feel that he really makes his case.

Most monastic orders were in duty bound to aid the poor, though there is little evidence that they created anything like the system for poor relief with which so many textbooks credit them. It is true that the monastic system as a whole provided an opportunity for the service of women that almost brought back the order of deaconesses, but the truest expression of the diaconic attitude was probably found among such groups as the Beguines, an order without vows founded in the 12th century in Liège and devoted very largely to nursing. There were also such similar orders as the Brothers and Sisters of the Holy Ghost (1198) and the Sisters of St Elizabeth founded in the 13th century.

The Reformation saw the end of the orders in most of northern Europe, but there was little halt in the rate of philanthropic action, and in the 17th century there was in some cases a repetition of the situation of the 1st and 2nd centuries where comparatively small persecuted groups provided organizations for looking after the needs of their own members. The Reformation also provided something else: it gave an opportunity for the expression of utopian ideas concerning the organization of society. These varied enormously: they could take extreme forms as in some of the activities of the Anabaptists in their search for a theocratic state; even the 'diggers' and the 'levellers' could be thought of as extremists but utopianism was not necessarily expressed in such extreme forms, for Pennsylvania was, after all, thought of as a 'Holy Experiment' and its capital was to be a city of brotherly love. The interesting feature of these utopian movements is that, in social terms, they were able to start afresh. They were not in the position of a Pontifex Maximus at the time of Constantine who had to work within the apparatus of an existing and viable state, but they desired to create a new state along what they thought were Christian lines. They thus shewed some concern for their neighbours in terms of political responsibility. This is an attitude which was to be of considerable importance in the future and is of growing importance today.

There is, of course, a clear distinction between the personal, face-to-face, act of Christian charity which is what we think of when we quote the text, 'Inasmuch as ye have done it to one of the least of these, ye have done it unto me', and a governmental act such as the passing of an act of parliament; but at times they are tied together by the motives which inspire them and by the ends at which they aim. The act of a slave-owning farmer in freeing his slaves and that of a politician fighting for the manumission of all slaves *can* be the result of the same deep diaconic concern. The anti-slavery movement was in large measure the expression of a desire to remove an injustice and to use the political power of the growing nation to do so, and its inspiration was largely Christian.

It was the coming of the nation state of a modern type with its power to enforce legislation in a standardized form over large areas that opened the way for the growth of legislation that *could* express compassion and even social responsibility. In England our first great social service, the Poor Law, is an interesting example of this, for it shews also the complete secularization of a service which in the past had been thought of as a responsibility of the individual and the Church. No community can tolerate extremes of poverty and wealth so severe as to threaten the stability of society, and in times of war and famine most governments have shown some egalitarianism; but the 'normal' response of the medieval world to the poor was that they should be the concern of individuals or of the Church, and the first attempt to solve the problem of poverty in Elizabethan England was an attempt to hand it over to the Church. After failing to do this over a period of about seventy years the famous Act of 1601 was passed, and this, in effect, turned the ecclesiastical parish into a civil one for this particular purpose. In other words the power of the state was required in order to ensure that *all* those in need should be cared for. For this task not only were the Church's resources inadequate, but possibly also its inspiration. Nevertheless the idea that poverty should be aided only by acts of personal charity was never completely destroyed, and in 19th-century Britain it came back in a new form, and with it the revival of the concept of the deacon.

The best example of this kind of thinking is found in the writing and work of Thomas Chalmers, the Scottish divine who is probably better known as one of the founders of the Free Church of Scotland. Chalmers was a very remarkable as well as an immensely energetic person, and in a new parish in Glasgow – St John's – he so organized affairs that no poor law was necessary. His basic desires were firstly to introduce into the large impersonal city some of the more intimate qualities of the village, for he had also served as a minister in a rural area; and secondly to preserve the personal, face-to-face, relationship which he regarded as essential to charity, and as a beautiful thing in itself. He achieved his ends by dividing the parish into districts of about fifty families each, and he put a deacon in charge of each of these divisions. He thus created a pattern that would be of considerable value now, and would be appreciated by all those who think it important to help those in trouble or suffering from disability, without removing them from their own homes. We now call this 'community care'. Unfortunately, however, he grafted into the system a philosophy that had nothing to do with the organization. He believed that everyone was capable of solving his own problems if given the appropriate guidance and the chance to do so, but that material aid was rarely, if ever, necessary. He believed in this so strongly that the parish fund from which payments could be made to the poor was kept deliberately at a low level, and very few people were given any kind of material aid at all. It is not known how the poor of St John's really solved their problems but it is inconceivable that in the Glasgow of the post-Napoleonic War period there was as little material poverty as Chalmers's figures would suggest.

The deacons in Chalmers's Glasgow met regularly to discuss problems

and to be guided by Chalmers himself, and the effectiveness of his influence was such that the system worked very well while he was there; when he left, however, the power supply went with him and the drive went out of it. He had a certain amount of influence in his own day, but it was much later in the century that his ideas were taken up in influential quarters, and the pattern which he had made was to be the ideal for a number of voluntary social service movements for a long time to come. It never really worked, except in some measure in Germany, but the idea constantly returned.

Towards the middle of the 19th century, new and official diaconates came into being in many Churches. In Germany Johann Hinrich Wichern started an order of deacons based on the Rauhe Haus at Hamburg. This was in 1840, but almost simultaneously Theodor Fliedner founded an 'Institute of Pastor Assistants' at Duisburg, and a little later Pastor von Bodelschwingh created the great organization at Bethel, outside Bielefeld. It was at Kaiserswerth in the Ruhr that the first order of deaconesses appeared, on the pattern set by Fliedner, and it was at this 'mother house' that Florence Nightingale received the only training that ever came her way (the mother house and the order still exist and are immensely proud of their links with the great English social reformer). In 1861 deaconesses were recognized by the Church of England and admitted by benediction and the laying on of hands. Methodists and the Church of Scotland admitted them later – in 1888.

So far it has been more or less possible to think of *diakonia,* the Christian's sense of responsibility for suffering humanity, and the diaconate, its functionaries dedicated to this end, as being in some measure linked together. The original concept of the deacon had largely been lost for many years, and his position had become one of administrative and liturgical responsibility, but the Church had never entirely neglected its function as an instrument for the expression of charitable concern, and in the 19th century deacons came back. But the 19th century also saw the development of something else: it saw the laicization of the whole social service movement and its development to a level of activity that would be well beyond the scope of any Church. There is no doubt at all that a great deal of this activity was the result of Christian inspiration and that people involved in it were Christian people, but the activity was not Church activity and the great bulk of those who participated in it were not in orders of any kind.

Another development very noticeable in 19th-century England was a clearly Christian-inspired battle against social injustice. This could take shape in the activities of a Conservative Lord Shaftesbury fighting for shorter working hours for factory workers, or of a socialist trade unionist Sunday School teacher fighting for the recognition of the unions. They were both inspired with the desire to right a wrong, just as much as was Benjamin Waugh in his battle against cruelty to children. But the kind of wrongs which had to be righted were social and political wrongs; their righting demanded political action, and the sensitivity of social feeling which recognized the wrong needed the whole constitutional apparatus of a highly organized nation state to help it. Morals and politics were again being brought together.

Both of these trends have had an immense effect on modern society. The

great number of what we would now call social service bodies which grew up during the 19th century not only gave a greater degree of help to a greater number of people, but also served as a huge educational force which helped to create a much more sensitive society. They brought into their service large numbers of new people, and slowly, as they came to employ people to do their work, they created something like a new profession of social and welfare worker. The first body to realize the importance of this development and try to do something about it on anything like an adequate scale was the Charity Organisation Society of London, a society with a somewhat unfortunate history in that, for a long time, its philosophy was based on a Samuel Smiles-ish concept of 'self-help' that was out of date even when the society was founded. In spite of this, however, the C.O.S. saw the need of a planned policy in the giving of help by one person to another, and round about the beginning of the present century the process of training social workers began. During the 19th century social workers had been employed by the bigger organizations, and the Manchester District Provident Society which was founded in 1833 (it is now the Family Welfare Association) had had quite a number of paid workers at various times; but the paid worker tended to be somewhat subordinate to the voluntary workers and it was not until the emergence of the professional social worker of the 20th century that this situation came to be reversed. The first of these highly trained professionals were the Almoners (or Lady Almoners) of the hospitals, and they were the result of a theory emerging within the C.O.S. which postulated that serious illness was a vicissitude that did not distinguish between the deserving and the undeserving. In other words, the real hard-luck case which should be the recipient of voluntary aid was more likely to occur in the hospital than elsewhere.

Before the Almoner came into being, however, another and different kind of movement brought the probation service into being. The Almoners were created as lay social workers, and although most of them would undoubtedly have strong religious convictions and explicitly Christian motives they had no official connexion with a Church. The Probation Officer emerged from a Church mission, and a temperance mission at that. The growing probation service was first laid as a responsibility on the shoulders of 'missionaries' and this proved in the end a severe handicap only to be overcome by a complete laicization of the service. The trouble was that the missionary's duty to evangelize, and the duty of the social worker to rehabilitate, were sometimes in conflict. There is no reason why this should have been so, but it can be seen that to the missionary with a simple, straightforward but unvarying pattern of conversion as the cure for absolutely all troubles, the newer analysis of the mind and the emotions that was coming to the aid of the social worker was a mysterious and perhaps dangerous novelty.

The contrast of these two emerging services is interesting for they shew a different kind of diaconic process. The missionaries were something like true deacons, but they achieved their greatest successes when the official diaconic link was broken; the professional social workers – the Almoners – were members of the laity from the word Go but were the outcome of some-

thing like a real diaconic sense of inspiration. There was another difference: the probation service grew out of a deep sense of compassion for real people in real trouble, in the courts. As a result, it expanded very quickly and obtained official recognition very soon. The medical social worker was the expression of an idea that within a given ideology the right kind of people in trouble would exist in certain places. As a result, the workers involved had to fight for recognition for many years and often did not get it. It is interesting to see, however, that both services are now part of the statutory social services of the nation.

In the period between the wars social workers of all kinds grew greatly in number and though most of them were not trained there was also a very considerable increase in the number of those who were. There was also a deepening of the understanding of what training involved, for the rancour which the Freudian revolution had created had now begun to die and it was realized that any understanding of human relationships demanded knowledge – and experience – of irrational and unconscious factors in human behaviour. This development took place first in the United States where the universities began to take an interest and were unafraid to enter the field of vocational training. The Americans developed the concept of degrees in social work at Bachelor, Master and Doctor level, and they also managed, in the course of doing all this, to produce warring schools of thought on social work. They inevitably exaggerated their arguments, in some cases to the point of absurdity, but they were exploring the new half-world where training and indoctrination meet, and in the course of grasping this dangerous nettle were bound to feel pain. In spite of all this they gave a new profundity to the training of social workers in particular, a profundity on which we, in this country, have been glad to draw. After the second world war there was a further increase in the numbers of social workers in this country, and this was coupled with an enormous increase in schemes for training them, and these were almost always based, in large measure, on American experience. The most interesting thing about this increase, however, was that the demand for social workers, and for trained social workers in particular, was coming from statutory services run by government departments and local authorities. It had been found that even a welfare state, with its insurance, assistance and health plans, needs also the aid of servants skilled in the handling of personal problems. This is an interesting, and to some extent, an unforeseen development, for most of the enthusiasts who caught the vision of a welfare state – like the Webbs – tended to think that if the public services were right there would be little need for personal services like social work.

At this point we can return to the other 19th-century development that has already been mentioned: the search for social justice, or, as I would prefer to call it, the fight against social injustice. In England this movement was by no means an anti-religious one, and in this way it differed very much from similar movements on the continent. Even socialism itself in this country was free from anti-clericalism and one could almost say that it has been consistently a form of Christian Socialism. Many deeply religious

people were involved in the founding of the English Labour Party, and though the great bulk of its members were nonconformists it also had Anglicans like George Lansbury, and even bishops were known to be Fabians. To such people the righting of social wrongs by legislative action was an expression of their diaconic sense of social responsibility. Even a Beatrice Webb could be, in part, motivated by this kind of spiritual idealism. It was not, however, the Labour Party which started us on the road to the creation of the welfare state (though it was the Webbs and the Fabians who gave us the first blueprint for one) but rather the legislation of the remarkable series of Liberal governments just before the first world war; and it was the activities of a moderate Conservative, Charles Booth, that were responsible for the pressure that produced our first legislation for old age pensions.

The build-up of legislation justified, in the end, the faith of those who believed that compassion could be exercised collectively with the result that modern governments feel competent to undertake the vast range of activities in the field of social welfare that formerly would not have been regarded as within their sphere. In many cases governments have taken over from voluntary organizations tasks and duties that have been pioneered by the latter, but this is by no means always so, for it is also true that the government has often been the pioneer and has independently opened the way to new forms of service. We owe more than is generally realized to pioneering civil servants and Medical Officers of Health.

Governments, of course, have advantages over all other bodies in activities of this sort, for they can redirect the resources of the whole community towards the needs of the community's weaker members and can ensure help for all people in need of a particular kind. The National Health Service in this country is a good example of this, for though it can be criticized in many respects, it has made the maximum medical service necessary available to all who need it. No voluntary organization, no ancient ecclesiastical foundation, could ever have hoped for any such achievement. It is an example of compassion exercised collectively.

These two developments – the growth of a great profession of social work, with many varieties, and the development of great national social services through which compassion can be expressed – pose serious problems for the Churches.

It is simpler to take the second issue first. It is clear that certain social services can be run only by the state, and with them the Church will have little direct concern. Social insurance is a notable example, labour exchanges are another, and health service is to some extent another. Such services must be universal throughout the country; only a government can plan them, and they demand a redistribution of the national income that no non-governmental body could achieve. The Churches are interested in national plans of this kind only in so far as they are expressions of a desire for social justice and can be judged effective or ineffective by their achievements. At the other extreme are the services which have formed for many years areas of activity for all Churches. Children deprived of normal home care have been the concern of the Churches for years, and even before Barnardo awakened a

new and more extensive concern in the second half of the 19th century there were many local 'orphanages' provided by local endowments and Church groups. Even now, when large numbers of children are being cared for in homes run by local authorities, the numbers being maintained by the huge denominational organizations (and Dr Barnardo's) are still very high. The most notable field in which the Churches had something of a prescriptive right of service has, for a long time, been that of 'moral welfare', though this was a field dominated by the Church of England, and in a report written by the late Miss Penelope Hall it was suggested that a great deal of this work could be handed over to the local authorities. Nowadays, however, there are hardly any fields of social service left which are the exclusive preserve of the Churches or of voluntary organizations, for the welfare legislation of the country has become so extensive and all-embracing that the appropriate authorities *can*, if they wish, enter almost any field of social work. In practice, of course, they don't; they are only too glad to obtain extra labour and they often find it cheaper to grant-aid some other body to do a job than to do it themselves. But this raises the question of whether or not there is a field of social activity to which Churches, in a diaconic spirit, can claim a prescriptive right; in which they can claim that in virtue of their Christianity they can bring a special quality to the work. Not that they would claim that as Christians they have more compassion than others, or that they possess greater skill than others, or that they are better people than others, but simply that, as Christians, they have an outlook on life that should help in the achievement of certain social ends. The Lutheran Church in Germany tends to argue in this way, and for this reason their great (tax-aided) Innere Mission undertakes more social work than do most English Churches. But the point is best made by the Bishop of Middleton[2]:

> . . . we submit that the deeper the level of need, the more 'spiritual' the need (a phrase by no means confined to practising Christians), the more the Christian view of man, his nature, purpose and meaning throws light on the problem. In this sense we believe there is a distinctive Christian insight, not necessarily contradictory to the best secular insights, sometimes confirming them but always throwing light on them.

He goes on from there to argue that there are fields of activity which have a special appropriateness for the Church and can suggest

a. Pioneering projects
b. Projects needing great flexibility
c. Schemes needing many voluntary workers to perform simple, compassionate tasks
d. Where spiritual and moral care is primary.

I do not accept the bishop's conclusions in full, but in the course of his argument he makes another point which I consider very important. He argues that within the social services the Church is represented by its laity, many of whom are working within these services or, through the democratic machine, are concerned with their management or control. This is good, and is what we should expect in a community which has for a long time been exposed to Christian thought, but the bishop goes on to say:

> . . . just because this is theoretically the normative mode and assuming that its operation is important from the Church's point of view, we submit that it calls for some support from the Church by a planned policy, demanding deep understanding of the problems of modern society, theological appraisal and critique of the social services, as well as machinery to ensure easy encounter, communication and dialogue with the statutory services themselves. This could only be fostered by competent personnel representing the Church who could establish informal and close relationships with the whole range of statutory agencies and the personnel serving them.

The Church of England has, in the event, set up a committee to do this very job, but so complex is the task that, though it has been in operation for over two years, the committee is only now beginning to see its own purpose clearly. It is this complexity within the services themselves and the new fields of expertise that have developed within them that have created within the Christian community a sense of being isolated from a movement in which it feels that it ought to be taking part. It is important therefore that to express a Christian judgement in this new situation the Churches should provide themselves with people and organizations competent to talk to those who organize our great services, and to demand a hearing from them. This is also an argument for the Churches to undertake some social work of their own, with the best-trained workers, who, in the eyes of the rest of the new profession, can be regarded as responsible colleagues with whom dialogue is possible. This dialogue is important, but it is only possible between people with a common basis to their understanding – a 'temperance' missionary, for example, however hard working and experienced in dealing with alcoholics, will hardly be able to communicate effectively with a psychiatric social worker who specializes in the same problem, *unless* they have shared something like a common training. To talk, with effect, to the professionals in any field of welfare the Churches must have professionals of their own.

It is not only in the field of social work that this is important, it is true of the social sciences generally. It would, of course, be absurd to expect the Churches to be major instruments in the field of social research – though the Catholics have a social research organization – but it would be good if they had enough people who could handle the technicalities involved in the making of modern social policy. In a remarkable book published by the Christian Institute for the Study of Religion and Society at Bangalore, and by the National Christian Council of India this point has been cogently made. The book is called *Christian Participation in Nation Building* and has been edited by two very able Indians, P. D. Devananden and M. M. Thomas, and their comments are worth quoting in full:

> In the modern world, it is impossible to conceive of any particular moral or Christian responsibility in politics, economics or society without involving ourselves in technical problems which are rarely simple or clear. One may go further and say that it is in the technical decisions that one is moral or immoral and Christian or un-Christian. And without an understanding of the technical issues that are involved in the field in which

> Christians are called to act responsibly, mere goodwill or even piety does not go far. No doubt it is possible to be upright, dutiful and efficient in personal life and be religious too, but that is not enough to influence the institutions of collective living and their techniques and goals. Christian social study must give due attention to the technical aspect of things. It should not be merely technical study; it must be technical study undertaken with the Christian concern to examine the quality of the structure of human relations to which every technique points, either in itself or in its assumptions or consequences. What we need is intensive study of economic, political and social problems as such, and simultaneously of their ethical and religious assumption. This should be done with the help of Christians technically qualified in these fields. Such a study will clarify the Christian responsibility. There is no short cut which can avoid the rather tortuous process of technical study, even for Christians.[3]

This is an important statement to come from any part of the Christian Church, but it is particularly important in that it comes from India where a serious attempt is being made by both government and people to build a new nation and where the Church is obviously seeing itself as a constructive part of this process.

Unlike the Bishop of Middleton, however, I find it difficult to think of an area of social service activity which can be separated off as a special field for organized activity on the part of the Christian Churches, for lay bodies have shewn themselves to be competent in almost all types of work. They can also be incompetent, but so can the Churches, and the important issue is to find the body which does the job best, and to let it do it. Nevertheless, there is one huge area of activity for which the Christian community should be peculiarly suited. This is in the community itself. For many years now it has been felt that handicapped people, delinquents and the abnormal cannot be effectively prepared for life in the community unless they are cared for, in large measure, in the community. This applies also to old people, to deprived children and to those who have been discharged from prison and from mental hospitals. This argument has sometimes been carried too far, for some must be removed from the community, and in other cases the strain imposed on the community in looking after them is too great; but in essence it is a sound idea even though it demands more co-operation from the rank and file of our citizenry than is generally realized. On the whole this co-operation is achieved easily for the old, for the blind, for the spastic, and so on; but it is not by any means so easily come by when the object is not overtly popular; the deaf are not accepted easily, neither are patients from mental hospitals, ex-prisoners are received with suspicion, and this is also true to some extent of those on probation. These are people for whom an accepting and compassionate community is of immense importance, and it is rare that they find it. The creation of a community which can exercise compassion on this scale is one of the fundamental needs of modern society and of our social services, and should be a fundamental task for all Christian Churches. It is the simplest and most direct way in which our diaconic ministry can be exercised.

The second problem posed for the Churches by modern social service developments is that of their relationships with the new profession of social work. The proportion of social workers who are committed Christians is, of course, unknown, but though it is possibly falling, I would hazard the guess that the figure is considerably higher than that of the rest of the community. I would also suggest that the motive for entering on social work is, for the great majority, a religious one, and for many it would be strong enough to be thought of as a spiritual vocation. It is, however, a vocation not recognized as such by the Churches, except, perhaps, for those who ordain a few deaconesses. In medieval times, such people would almost certainly have worked within the framework of an order, even if it was a lay order like the Beguines, and their activities would have taken place within an ecclesiastical setting; now their basic support comes from their own profession and the setting within which they work is entirely a lay one. In one way this does not matter overmuch, for the important thing is that the work should be done, but there are two ways in which it does matter. Firstly we must ask ourselves to assess the importance that we place on this sense of spiritual vocation. If we feel that this is something that strengthens the worker and adds something to the quality of his work, then the Church must find some way of supporting it. It could be argued that these workers are *de facto* deacons, in terms of their approach to their work, and they certainly feel that they are engaged in Christian work. The question is 'Are they part of the Ministry?' They have been very highly trained, as highly trained as many clerics; but it has been lay training throughout, and once their vocation has taken them into the process that leads to social work, their own Churches have no special relationship with them. An interesting situation occurs in the mission field where workers engaged in very similar tasks to some workers at home are accepted as part of the total mission while those at home are ignored. It would appear that such workers are, without any doubt at all, part of the total diaconic process and in so far as a socially sensitive Church wants to share in bearing the burden of the world's suffering it is doing so vicariously through such people: it must recognize their sense of dedication and their skill, and give as much support to a Child Care Officer who happens to be a member of the congregation as they would give to a deaconess employed by the Church itself. In doing so, however, it must realize that the social worker represents something else; he represents a highly developed profession, with a tradition of its own, and a body of knowledge that has grown enormously during our own lifetime; he is, moreover, the result of a training process that has explored deeply in the field of human relationships. The new worker is a long distance from the employee of Church or voluntary organizations in the 19th century. So much so, that many clergy are anxious to learn something of the newer techniques that have been pioneered by the new profession.

No one is yet clear about the Church's position in this new situation. The Church is not a social service organization and its priests and ministers are not social workers, but the concept of *diakonia* demands that it must express its concern for the suffering of mankind. It must act directly where it feels it

must, either because sufficient help is not being given, or because it is not being given in the right spirit; it must attempt to create a community of people to whom compassion has real meaning and who are ready to take the risks that are sometimes required by the exercise of true human feeling; it must have within it people who can enter into the new expertise of service, and perhaps even organizations of its own which undertake research and attempt to influence policy; it must cultivate a new kind of relationship with those who, whether deacons or not, are the vicarious agents of its diaconic ministry.

This may mean the evolution of a new theology of the laity, for it is noteworthy that our social services in this country have, on the whole, become more effective as they have been laicized. Laicization does not mean nationalization, it simply implies a dominance of lay control; it is not anti-ecclesiastical, for all that it demands is that a social service may acquire its own momentum and its own expertise. It is an interesting fact that social services do not die, they do not even fade away; they always grow, and they grow because concerned people come face to face with a problem and are determined to do something about it, but in doing so they learn more about it, they carry other people with them, and they create a more sensitive environment which is less tolerant of human suffering or injustice. The creation of this climate is of immense importance and it is something for which, in the final analysis, only a laity, a sensitive laity, can take responsibility. This is the note on which the Bangalore book ends:

> There is, however, one point at which the Church is being given a new vision of its own nature. If the mission of the Church is essentially to the world, the laity of the Church, working in the secular areas of the world, has the essential role in discharging this mission. Therefore, the ministry of the laity is the central ministry of the Church, and the ministries of the ordained clergy and others within the Church must be considered in relation to that of the laity. This has nothing to do with anti-clericalism in the traditional sense, where the issue is the share of the laity in the government of the Church. Here, however, the emphasis is on the ministry of the laity in the world itself, and its relation to the ministries of the Church. Probably the reformation of the Church resulting from this emphasis will be more radical than the previous reformations in the history of the Church.

I am not qualified to speak of the theological issues that this statement raises; what attracts me about it is that it brings the argument round full circle.

[1] See *The Ministry of Deacons* published by the World Council of Churches in which Reike has written an article on Deacons in the New Testament and the Early Church. He has suggested elsewhere that Luke's use of the story of Martha and Mary suggests a parallel to the separation of apostles and deacons.

[2] In a paper written for an inquiry into the Moral Welfare Service in Manchester; later quoted by me at a WCC Consultation in Germany and eventually published in a pamphlet by the WCC. It later appeared in a volume of essays.

[3] pp. 287–8.

THE OFFICE OF DEACON AND THE LAY MINISTRY

John Stacey

THOSE of us who are concerned with the lay ministry have three problems. One is the shortage of candidates. In April 1966, the Rev. David Francis, then Secretary of the Methodist Local Preachers' Department, wrote in the *Methodist Recorder* that the number of preachers received on trial (as new recruits for training) dropped from 727 in 1964 to 538 in 1965. During 1965 more than 300 preachers on trial either themselves withdrew from training or were withdrawn as unsuitable. In addition, in moving from one Circuit to another, 60 more were 'lost'. The figures for 1966 are only slightly better. 560 were received on trial, 264 withdrew or were withdrawn and 63 were lost in transfer. If this trend continues the lay ministry in Methodism will not be able to meet the demands made upon it.

Another matter of concern is the prevalence of the view that the lay preacher is simply the inferior substitute for the ordained person. 'He (or she) is in reality a stop-gap for the ordained ministry and he or she knows it' (Richard G. Jones, 'Is there a future for the Local Preacher?' *The Preacher's Quarterly*, June 1967). Every congregation prefers an ordained person to conduct its worship and if, for financial or other reasons, it cannot have one then it must suffer a layman with as good a grace as possible. The Methodist 'It's only a local tonight' is matched by the Anglican 'The Reader is a worthy man but it's not the same as having the Vicar.' This view also finds expression in a deficiency of colleagueship between the ordained and the lay ministry.

Thirdly, we are worried about the division between the Ministry of the Word and Sacraments and Pastoral Care which is perpetuated in lay ministries as we now have them. These three are essentially one ministry, for Christ the Living Word operates in all three. He comes to his faithful people when the Word is read and proclaimed, when the Body and Blood are administered and when the shepherd cares for the flock. If this is the full ministry of Christ, we are offering our Local Preachers and Readers only a third of it, and it is hard to resist the conclusion that in doing so we are putting asunder what God has joined together.

The purpose of this article is not to make dogmatic assertions about the future shape of the lay ministry not to argue a case for lay preachers becoming deacons, but simply to ask whether or not in the office of Deacon, both as it has been and as it might become, there is an answer to the concerns we have about the lay ministry.

* * * *

As the text books all point out, the words διακονέω, διακονία and διάκονος have 'service' as their basic meaning. Jesus, giving his life in service to man, (Matt. 20:28), the ministry exercised by the apostles (Acts 1:17), St Paul going up to Jerusalem with aid for the saints (Rom. 15:25): these are examples of the general way in which the words were at first used. Rom. 12:7 is regarded as the first indication of a transition to a specific office, for there 'serving' is listed with 'prophecy', 'teaching' and 'exhortation', but too much should not be read into this, for the list includes the gifts of contributing, giving aid and performing acts of mercy which are not associated with any particular office.

The Catholic view is that Acts 6 recounts the institution of the office of Deacon, and the tradition for this is strong from Irenaeus onwards. The verb διακονεῖν is there used. Against this it is argued that in Acts 6 (or anywhere else in the New Testament) they are not called διάκονοι nor their work διάκονία, and the rank of the Seven there appointed is higher than that accorded to those who became known as deacons. Whatever the truth may be, it does not alter the fact of the emergence of the diaconate as an office in the primitive Church. They were at Philippi, mentioned alongside the bishops (Phil. 1:1), and 1 Tim. 3:8 lists the qualifications that were considered desirable.

The deacon had an administrative function to fulfil as he worked in colleagueship with the presbyter-bishop, and the qualifications of 1 Tim. 3:8 clearly have this in mind. It is specially necessary that those who administer the financial affairs of the Church should not be 'greedy for gain' and be able to 'manage their children and their households well'. This function continued beyond the period covered by the New Testament for in the 2nd century we find in Hermas (*Sim.*, lx, 26):

> They that have spots are the deacons that exercised their office ill and plundered the livelihood of widows and orphans and made gains for themselves from the ministrations which they had received to perform.

Some scholars trace the origin of the office of Archdeacon back to the 1st and 2nd centuries. It is argued that he was something of a specialist in administration. Carrying the title *diaconus episcopi* he was responsible for 'the temporal administration of funds and charities for which the bishop was primarily responsible' (H. J. Thurston, S. J., *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, p. 648). But financial administration of greater or less importance was the responsibility of the whole diaconate.

The administrative function inevitably led to a pastoral one, for it was alien to the basic conception of a διάκονος that he should simply be an official dispenser of charity. An impersonal relationship between a financial organizer and the deserving poor was out of the question. The deacon therefore exercised pastoral care for those who were the recipients of the Church's money. In the *Didascalia Apostolorum* of the 3rd century it is stated that in his ministry 'the deacon stands in the place of Christ' and so the command is given to him: 'Do you therefore minister with love, and neither murmur nor hesitate' (*Didascalia Apostolorum*, trans. R. Hugh Connolly, pp. 88, 150). In

the light of this it would seem that Calvin was making too rigid a distinction when, after commenting on Rom. 12:8, he wrote:

> There will be two classes of deacons, the one serving the Church by administering the affairs of the poor; the other, by taking care of the poor themselves. For although the term διακονία has a more extensive meaning, Scripture specially gives the name of deacons to those whom the Church appoints to dispense alms, and take care of the poor, considering them as it were stewards of the public treasury of the poor (*Institutes* IV, iii, 9)

Pastoral care is of the *esse* of the diaconate. It is pleasing to see so clear a recognition of this in the proposed Draft Ordinal for Anglicans and Methodists. In the *Book of Common Prayer* when the Bishop is announcing what 'appertaineth to the office of a Deacon', he says:

> And furthermore, it is his Office, where provision is so made, to search for the sick, poor, and impotent people of the Parish, to intimate their estates, names, and places where they dwell, unto the Curate, that by his exhortation they may be relieved with the alms of the Parishioners, or others.

This is hardly an adequate description of the pastoral ministry, but the Draft Ordinal makes amends with:

> Further, it is the duty of a Deacon to minister to the poor, the needy, the sick, and those who are in trouble; and to discharge such other pastoral functions as the Bishop and the Presbyter shall require of him. (*Towards Reconciliation*, p. 58)

It is interesting to notice that in the *motu proprio* published by Pope Paul in June 1967, reviving the order of deacons (as a distinct order apart from probation for the priesthood), one of their proposed functions is that they should 'legitimately, in the name of the parish priest and the bishop, give guidance to the scattered Christian communities'. This, one hopes, would involve that element of pastoral care which has been one of the functions of the diaconate from New Testament times.

Neither Acts 6 nor 1 Tim. 3:8 associates liturgical functions with the office of Deacon, but with the development of ordered worship in the Church the deacon is given his proper place in the liturgy. We find him at a fairly early date reading or chanting the Epistle and the Gospel at the Eucharist. A good singing voice was reckoned to be a desirable qualification for the office, but in A.D. 595 Gregory the Great gave many of these musical duties to specialist cantors. The deacon presented the offerings and distributed, or helped to distribute, the bread and wine at the Eucharist. He also directed the prayers of the people at that service. He distributed the blessed bread at the Agape, he brought the oil of exorcism to the Baptism, he marshalled the congregation and told them when to leave – the bidding *Ite, missa est* is, very strictly speaking, a function of the diaconate – and he was responsible generally for order in the Church. ('If anyone misbehave,' wrote Chrysostom, 'let the deacon be summoned.')

Today the deacon still keeps many of his ancient liturgical functions. In Baptist and Congregational churches he distributes the elements at Holy Communion. In the Draft Ordinal for Anglicans and Methodists he is 'to assist the Presbyter in leading the worship of the People, and specially when

he ministers the Holy Communion'. In the Roman Church the special relation to the host and chalice is perpetuated. The deacon is allowed to expose the Blessed Sacrament and put it back into the Tabernacle at Benediction and when the chalice is offered in the Mass he is to support the foot of the chalice or the arm of the priest and repeat with him the prayer, 'Offerimus tibi, Domine, calicem salutaris'. For the performance of these functions he is to wear a dalmatic and a stole over the left shoulder. The deacon can only baptize with special permission, but he can prepare candidates for baptism and be given custody of the chrism. In the *motu proprio* referred to above some extensions of liturgical function may come to be permitted.

As far as the ministry of the Word is concerned, the diaconate has not been pre-eminent. Catholic theologians who accept Acts 6 as the inauguration of the office reckon the speech of Stephen in Acts 7 and the preaching of Philip, who was also an evangelist (Acts 21 : 8), to be exceptions to the general practice. 'Actual preaching by a deacon, however, despite the precedent of the deacon Philip, was at all periods rare' (H. J. Thurston, *Catholic Encyclopaedia,* p. 649). A statement attributed to Hilarius Diaconus in the 4th century – *nunc neque diaconi in populo praedicant* – confirms this, though this did not preclude them from instructing catechumens. The second council of Vaison (A.D. 529) decreed that when a priest was too ill to preach a deacon should read a homily by one of the Fathers of the Church. This seems to have been the position right down to the Reformation, wherever the Order of Deacon was in use, and in the Roman Ordinal still the candidate touches the book of the Gospels and the Bishop says, 'Receive the power of reading the Gospel in the Church of God, both for the living and for the dead in the name of the Lord'. No mention is made of preaching. Deacons in Baptist, Congregational and Presbyterian churches do not normally preach.

In the 1662 Prayer Book Ordinal the Bishop still refers to reading 'Homilies in the Church' but goes on to mention that it is the duty of the Deacon to preach 'if he be admitted thereto by the Bishop'. Today there seems to be a growing intention to make the ministry of the Word a function of the diaconate. In the Ordinal of the Church of South India 'to preach the word' is the first duty that 'belongs to the office of a Deacon' and in the Draft Ordinal for Anglicans and Methodists the Deacon is to help the Presbyter 'in preaching the Word of God' and near the end of the service the Bishop delivers the Bible with the words 'Take this Book, a token of the authority given you this day to set forth God's Word to his People and to serve them in his name' (*Towards Reconciliation,* p. 61). If the national hierarchies of the Roman Church take advantage of the revivification of the diaconate by Pope Paul, preaching is likely to be included in their functions.

Finally, we take notice of the fact that the deacon is a member of an *ordo* in the Church, entering upon his office through the rite of ordination. If the Seven of Acts 6 are the diaconate, then we could not have clearer, or earlier, evidence for ordination to that office. But even if they are not, the matter is not in much doubt. Ordinations to the diaconate, with prayer and the laying-on of hands, began at an early date. They are referred to in the *Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus* in the early part of the 3rd century, the

close relationship of the deacon to the bishop being stressed:

> But the deacon, when he is ordained, is chosen according to those things that were said above, the bishop alone in like manner laying his hands upon him, as we have prescribed. When the deacon is ordained, this is the reason why the bishop alone shall lay his hands upon him: he is not ordained to the priesthood but to serve the bishop and to carry out the bishop's commands.

The bishop then says a prayer which includes the words:

> O God, who hast created all things and hast ordered them by thy Word, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, whom thou didst send to minister thy will and to manifest to us thy desire; grant (the) Holy Spirit of grace and care and diligence to this thy servant whom thou hast chosen to serve the Church . . . so that serving without blame and with a pure heart he may be counted worthy of this exalted office, by thy good will praising thee continually, through thy Servant Jesus Christ, through whom be to thee the glory and honour with (the) Holy Spirit, in the holy Church, both now and always and world without end. Amen. (*The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus*, trans. B. S. Easton, p. 38)

Diaconal ordinations are mentioned again in the *Apostolic Constitutions* of the latter half of the 4th century and they have, in most traditions, continued until the present.

Ordination to the diaconate in the Roman Church has, like the priesthood, the character of indelibility. As Fr Thurston says, 'Although certain theologians, such as Cajetan and Durandus, have ventured to doubt whether the Sacrament of Order is received by deacons, it may be said that the decrees of the Council of Trent are now generally held to have decided the point against them'. He then continues, 'The ordaining bishop does not vainly say "receive ye the Holy Ghost", but a character is imprinted by the rite of ordination' (*Catholic Encyclopaedia*, p. 650).

In the Church of England the deacon is, without question, ordained with prayer, the laying-on of hands, the taking of lifelong vows and the delivery of the Bible. His order is distinguished from the priesthood in that it carries no authority to celebrate the Eucharist, to pronounce Absolution in public or in private or to give the Blessing, limitations which raise the interesting question as to whether or not Absolution and Blessing should properly be thought of as extensions of the Ministry of the Word or of the Sacraments. At present the Anglican diaconate generally amounts to a one-year probation for the priesthood.

Practice in other Churches is somewhat varied. The Church of Scotland ordains deacons, whose predominant concern is for 'things seen and temporal', but the rite of laying-on of hands is missing. In the Free Churches that use the name 'deacon', the usual practice seems to be election, appointment and commissioning rather than ordination.

* * * *

The immediate question is whether or not our lay ministries – and, the ecumenical scene being what it is, we have Methodist Local Preachers and Anglican Readers most in mind – can possibly find a resting place in the

diaconate. It is clear that they fulfil at present many of the traditional functions of a deacon, and some of the others could be included without difficulty if it were thought to be desirable.

The administrative function of the deacon should cause no trouble, even if, as is unlikely, it were decided to give him some responsibility for financial administration. As for pastoral care, some members of these lay orders do now exercise it, as class-leaders (in the Methodist Church), house group leaders and visitors of the sick, and their preaching ministry is deepened and enriched by the experience. Here there is an opportunity for the extension of the lay ministry, though there will be the difficulty, in the Methodist Church, of so organizing the Circuit that a person exercising pastoral care in one place shall not spend his time preaching to different people ten or fifteen miles away.

The problems associated with the lay ministry performing liturgical functions are largely organizational. There could be objections to lay men (and women) administering the wine at Communion by those Methodists who hold to a quaint clericalism, but they are a dying race and the more obvious difficulties would be, certainly in rural areas, releasing Local Preachers from their preaching to share in Communion services. Obviously these difficulties are not insoluble. A useful start could be made in suburban churches where Local Preachers have far less demands made upon them. The Leaders' Meeting could address itself with profit to the question, 'What liturgical functions can we now assign to our Local Preachers?' Many Anglican Readers do administer the chalice and could easily perform the other liturgical functions of the deacon if they were authorized to do so.

It should be noted at this point that if the lay ministries were ultimately to be admitted to the diaconate or if, as a first step, they were given a larger share in pastoral and liturgical functions, the success of the enterprise would depend upon the quality of their colleagueship with the ministers and priests. Perhaps the best way of preparing the ground, and one immediately to hand, is for the full-time, ordained ministry and the lay ministry in any one place to reckon themselves as one unit for the service of the world and of the People of God, and to lay their plans accordingly.

If Readers and Local Preachers became deacons in the Church they would change what we have seen to be the traditional place in the diaconate of the ministry of the Word. The deacon would be a preacher, and though this generation does not exalt preaching, and dialogues and discussions are all the time replacing the twenty-minute discourse, it is hard to believe that the office of deacon would not be improved by such a change. If Stephen and Philip were, as Catholic tradition asserts, deacons, then they would be the New Testament exemplars of the new order.

What would ordination mean for the lay ministry? The answer depends upon the use of words. If 'lay' is equated with 'unordained' then clearly it would mean the end of the lay ministry as we now know it. In the strict, technical sense a deacon is not a layman. He is a deacon. But if everyday language is for a moment substituted for theological precision and the *esse* of being a layman is the occupation of a place in the working world, then the

new diaconate would continue to be a lay ministry. It is not part of this inquiry to suggest that any Local Preacher or Reader should be turned into a full-time professional cleric other than through the normal way of seeking presbyteral orders. Our business is to take a first look at the prospect of the lay ministry doing its work in the secular world but at the same time having the status, authority and responsibility of being an *ordo* in the Church of God.

We must finish by inquiring briefly whether, if such a course were taken, any of the three problems with which this article began would be any nearer a solution.

If the lay ministry became the diaconate and the diaconate continued to exercise its traditional functions, then the divisions between the Ministry of the Word and Sacraments and Pastoral Care would be healed, at least partially. They would not be completely healed because the deacon does not exercise the full sacramental ministry reserved for the presbyter. This raises the question, which is outside the scope of this article, as to whether any ministry which is not a full ministry of Word and Sacrament and Pastoral Care is justified otherwise than on a temporary basis. Whatever answer is given to this question does not alter the fact that such a diaconate as is here suggested does bring Word and Sacrament and Pastoral Care closer together than they were before.

Secondly, ordaining laity to the diaconate should contribute to the elimination of the view that Local Preachers and Readers are inferior substitutes for the clergy and should help towards the establishment of colleagueship. We have quoted already almost all of the paragraph in the Draft Ordinal for Anglicans and Methodists in which the Bishop defines the office of Deacon and its relation to the other two orders of the threefold ministry. It is not reading too much into this to say that the relation between deacons and presbyters there envisaged is one of closer fellowship and colleagueship than at present exists between ministers and priests on the one hand or local preachers and lay readers on the other. And in any case the inauguration of a new project – though it consists of an old office differently conceived – gives an opportunity for creating *de novo* the status and relationships thought to be desirable.

Lastly, one hopes that such a radical change in the lay ministry might remedy the shortage of candidates. For one thing, a new office with a new status, authority and responsibility might cause more of the laity to ask themselves whether God is calling them to this ministry. For another, though a situation of need does not of itself constitute a call, it not infrequently forms the context of one, and the need for men in the working world to participate in a ministry involving liturgical functions and pastoral care as well as preaching, in a relation of colleagueship with 'ministers and clergy' would seem more clamant in the Church today than reading at St Saviour's once a month when the Vicar is at St Mary's or taking the two or three appointments a quarter which is all the suburban circuit can find for its Local Preachers. To call people to the ministry of the Church is of course God's affair, but presumably, if one may say so with irreverence, he takes into account the nature of the ministry to which they are called.

A MISSING KEY-TEACHING OF JESUS

by Leroy Waterman

A TEAM of religious authorities, expert on the situation of Christianity in all lands, has recently produced the sobering thesis that, to use the title of their book, *Christianity's Prospects throughout the World* (Scribner's, 1964) are now dim and that even survival is uncertain. The experts do not relate their conclusion in any particular way to the teaching of the Founder, nor would the vast majority of Christians make such a relationship.

Jesus, nevertheless, not only pointed clearly to this threatened twilight of Christianity but, in contrast to the experts, based its cause solely on the non-observance of the religion he taught: he declared the fate of those who 'on that day' profess, but do not do, the things he said (Matt. 7:22–23). Moreover, one can scarcely doubt that, if what he actually taught had been conscientiously followed by all Christians throughout the centuries, the worst crises and tensions plaguing man and threatening his existence would never have arisen.

What we need is not more incentives to follow the teachings of Jesus but a clearer understanding of what those teachings really mean. Something has happened in human thought that has barred these teachings from our world. What we need is a key to release them. The truth is, we now know, that a basic teaching of Jesus has been lost from sight. The restoration of this item provides such a key.

On one occasion, Jesus said to his disciples: 'go, and learn what this means, "I desire steadfast, forgiving love and not sacrifice" ' (Matt. 9:13). Jesus was quoting to them from the Old Testament book of Hosea (6:6), and he clearly regarded the quotation as sufficiently important to repeat it at least once again, and again to emphasize, without explanation, the significance of its meaning (Matt. 12:7). What probably made Jesus' quotation memorable at the time, and what makes it still unique, is that, contrary to his usual method of stating truths, in this single instance he left the meaning to be determined by his audience. Indeed, he challenged them to find the meaning in what was already an ancient quotation.

His quotation from Hosea (6:6) was no random reference. Hosea's words, 'I desire steadfast, forgiving love and not sacrifice', mark the climax of Hosea's religious thought. Hosea here sets forth for the first time in biblical history and, one may even say, in the history of mankind, the clear formulation of the universal, forgiving love of God. The words are so clear that, once fully grasped, their meaning can be left to any thinking individual, as Jesus left it for the time being.

Jesus quotes only four Hebrew words. The first, 'ḥ-s-d', is like a precious

stone, with many facets. Old Testament scholars have long struggled to translate it adequately, using terms such as 'piety', 'goodness', 'love', and 'mercy'. The first rendering to approach adequacy was the 'steadfast love' of the Revised Standard Version. This, however, leaves out another quality always included: and hence a still better rendering is 'steadfast, forgiving love', since any claim of steadfast love that will not forgive denies itself. Moreover, for Jesus, the forgiving aspect of God's love may well have provided its deeper significance, as his 'forgive us our debts, as we also have forgiven our debtors' of the Lord's Prayer (Matt. 6:12) and his following comments, together with Matt. 18:21–22, strongly suggest.

If we ask 'How does God forgive?', the answer is that God calls for steadfast love and not sacrifices. Do you wish forgiveness? Then give steadfast love to God. But if you do not forgive others who trespass against you, you do not have that steadfast love to give and you cannot have God's favour otherwise. 'That is the way it is', Jesus was suggesting, and consequently 'if you forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father also will forgive you; but if you do not forgive men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses' (Matt. 6:14–15). Matthew preserves only enough of the thought to explain the phrase about forgiveness in the Lord's Prayer (Matt. 6:12), but the background of steadfast love is presupposed.

The assertion that the New Testament has thus far failed to transmit an authentic key-teaching of Jesus is immediately challenging. Yet here is no mystery, finally solved; no sudden flash of light at noonday. We have, rather, an historic breakdown in communications, not only between men but also, as a result of this, likewise between men and God. Because Jesus' quotation from Hosea was brief and cryptic, and because the word ' -s-d' has been inadequately translated, this essential teaching is absent from the New Testament. Its absence from Christianity is also glaringly evident. Christianity, from the beginning and throughout its history, has indeed shown no awareness of this teaching. This precept nevertheless remains as certainly biblical, and likewise as fully in our possession, as anything Jesus is reported to have said and far more certain than many things ascribed to him.

Hosea's concept goes far beyond the range of chosen-people thinking and sets forth a God whose loving concern extends equally to all men, even though they deny him, break their covenant with him, and so become like all other people – cut off from God. And though they turn away to other gods, and do what is morally repugnant and hateful to God – and according to the prophet (Hos. 5–11), Israel had done all these things – yet God's steadfast, forgiving love for them will not fail as long as they live. If they show repentance, God will meet them more than half way with forgiveness (Luke 15:20).

No wonder Jesus ends his quotation sharply with 'and not sacrifice', since sacrifices always carried the assumption of gaining divine favour at a price, by means external to the individual, and therefore sacrifices could have no place in dealing with such a God. In other words, God desires steadfast, forgiving love, and not sacrifice, because this procedure corresponds to God's true nature and character. This conclusion is required by the basic premises of the book of Hosea. But with this as the true inference with respect to God,

the direct statement of the passage asserts God's requirement of this same love in all human conduct with fellow men.

Being thus assured that we have Jesus' meaning – and the more so by reason of his quoting the passage in his native Semitic – we find in our possession one of the clearest-cut antitheses both in form and content to be found in the Scriptures, for it draws the dividing line between two systems of religion, the one, ritualistic, based on the efficacy of sacrifices to gain Divine favour, the other, spiritual, expressing the impossibility of gaining God's forgiveness except by repentance towards God and steadfast love towards all men: this alone, Jesus proclaims, can meet with God's approval.

But Christianity has never been aware of any antithesis in Matthew 9:13, and hence its meaning fades away. The reason is evident, for at this point in the Bible we come to a plain, disrupting, geological fault, as it were, where the newer formation fails to connect with the older structure. This, however, was nothing deep within the earth, but, quite the contrary, it was on the very surface, where there should have been a very well beaten human path. Yet, suddenly there is a break, a deep but narrow fissure. The early theologians, however, laid down a kind of rough planking on which one could always cross, but the difficulty was that when one did so he got nowhere, and hence the path ceased to be used and soon disappeared, and has not been restored to this day.

This is only saying in another way that the word 'mercy' or some synonym in Matthew 9:13 – 'Go and learn what this means, I desire mercy and not sacrifice' – is no translation of a supposedly corresponding Hebrew word in Hosea 6:6. Consequently, 'mercy and not sacrifice' failed to mark any real antithesis, and so both the antithesis and the meaning of Jesus' teaching disappeared – indeed, we might truly say, disappeared in the Bible.

The error in the first place undoubtedly came from some ignorance, but much more from preconceived ideas. The early Gentile Christians probably could not conceive of Jesus as saying anything directly opposed to sacrifice, in view of Paul's writings. The perpetuation of the error in recent times is another matter. Modern New Testament translators have shown themselves quite well content to follow the traditional rendering. Even the most recent translations reveal loyalty to the faulty Greek text rather than to the Semitic contents of Jesus' words, about which, for more than a decade, there has been no excuse for not knowing, even in English, a reasonably accurate rendering, which would have restored the antithesis. Could it be that conservative devotion to the *status quo*, or failure to look beyond the first centuries B.C. for any significance in regard to Jesus could account for this breakdown in translation?

This tragic outcome might have been avoided, and a quite different world-view might have resulted, if the early oral traditions of this key-teaching had reached St Paul in time. The apostle had done advanced work in Hebrew and had sat at the feet of the noted Hebrew scholar Gamaliel of Jerusalem (Acts 22:3). He could have sensed the Hebrew meaning. We know, however, that this teaching never reached him, since instead of 'and not sacrifice', he makes sacrifice, namely the sacrifice of the death of Christ, the basis for God's

forgiveness of sins through the expiation by his blood (Rom. 3:25; 1 Cor. 15:3). He says that Christ as our paschal lamb has been sacrified (1 Cor. 5:7). Paul was unconscious of any antithesis in these claims and believed that they were the claims of Jesus.

Moreover, Paul's proclamation of his gospel of the death, resurrection, exaltation to heaven, and return of Christ to earth raised a fundamental problem for Paul's Gentile converts, which he could not solve. Why should such an exalted person, now at the right hand of God in Heaven, have suffered such a horrible and degrading death as a criminal? They had to believe it necessary and, in a very definite sense, necessary for them. Their natural conclusion was that it had to be as a human sacrifice for the forgiveness of their sins, since they knew of secret Roman cults that sacrificed human victims and partook of their flesh and blood in sacred rites. Once they accepted this sacrifice, they regarded themselves as saved.

But Paul did not have our gospels. He lacked not only the true content of Matt. 9:13, as his defence of the chosen-people concept and the Israel of God (Rom. 11:3, 17) reveals, but also the parables of the Good Samaritan, the Prodigal Son, and the Kingdom of God within men's reach (Luke 17:21).* He could, therefore, only acquiesce in this pagan doctrine and try to bring it into line with Jewish monotheism. He apparently never realized he had not accomplished this alignment, nor that it could not be done.

St Paul accepted the traditional Lord's Supper, as it reached him, as an authentic formulation, going back to Jesus himself and the first disciples. However, the earliest account of the Supper does not come to us from the disciples, who alone partook of it, but from Gentile Christian usage some twenty years later, as reported by St Paul (1 Cor. 11:23–28). As a result, a number of variations in the wording and thought of the Supper appear as time passed and beliefs changed. (See margin of Luke 22:20.)

There is no reference in the three gospel accounts (Matt. 26:26; Mark 14:22; Luke 22:19) to the memorial feature, 'Do this in remembrance of me.' This would be expected from the disciples' report, for whom any memorial feature would have destroyed their faith in Jesus as the returning Messiah ruler and we might well never have heard there was a Last Supper. With the Gentile Christians on the other hand, separated by more and more years from Jesus' death, and hundreds of miles distant from Palestine, in another culture, the memorial feature was an unavoidable addition, yet naturally and inevitably placed in the mouth of Jesus as they thought of him as addressing them.

The same process is observable in the symbolism of the Supper itself. The three gospels give no saving symbolic value to the bread. One of them (Luke) gives no symbolism for the wine, with good grounds for believing that this was originally true of both Matthew and Mark, since both now repeat the substance of 1 Cor. 11:25. And if this were original where it now stands as a part of the Supper, there would have been no need nor place for the 'after supper' verse just referred to. All of this conforms to

* My *Religion of Jesus* pp. 72 ff. Also Article in Press (for Editor's information) T.W.

the requirements of the first disciples' account, since they got no meaning for the death of Jesus (Acts 3:17).

Paul could not have been quoting from Matthew and Mark because neither they nor the other two gospels were available to him. He never saw them. All he had, apparently, was the oral account, told and retold from person to person.

The beginning of the saving symbolism in the Supper may well have come about from the expression in the three gospels, 'This is my body', which thus alone could, in Semitic, convey an exclamatory premonition of Jesus' death and be so thought of by the disciples afterwards. But for the Gentiles, in a Gentile setting, it lacked any real meaning until there was added, 'which is broken for you', that is, for your salvation, and now the whole expression was stated in the words of Jesus and they could feel it was as if expressly directed to them.

The same kind of thinking applied to the wine. The 'after supper' introduction of the wine-blood symbolism reveals its after-thought origin and nature. If likewise, by its wording, makes this now climactic symbol an afterthought of Jesus. This was a heavy price to pay, but it could be allowed if this was the only way open by which Jesus could be held responsible for what they believed he would say to them about their salvation by means of his shed blood.

Such is the complete divergence of early Gentile Christian thought from a basic teaching of Jesus missing in the New Testament. Moreover, the terms in the Pauline letters in which Jesus is reported as declaring the saving efficacy of his sacrificial death represent the only interpretation the Gentile Christians could make of his death, and upon it they naturally made their salvation depend. This must for them, therefore, have been his teaching, since they knew nothing to the contrary. For them, he must have accordingly said so. It was natural to look for this in the symbolism of the Last Supper. Yet it could not apparently be found there, otherwise it would have been unnecessary to employ the embarrassing interpretative procedure of introducing it only 'after supper'. It was as natural for the Gentile Christians, with no source but oral tradition, to reach this belief as it was for the first disciples, believing in Jesus as the coming ruler of a restored nation, to have him say so in Matthew 19:28. We therefore need not question the consistency and straightforwardness of Jesus' teaching.

But the Gentile Christians could not see the inconsistency in making Jesus a human sacrifice, as if to persuade the father to take back his wayward but repentant son. Such hopeless incongruity clearly indicates that the early Gentile Christians had not solved the mystery of Jesus' violent death as they thought they had. God's forgiving love, according to Jesus' key-teaching, always stood ready to forgive the repentant one, naturally on condition of complying with whatever change in conduct that forgiving love calls for. Furthermore, the Gentile converts' acceptance of Jesus' death as a sacrifice for them did not, as they supposed because Jesus' basic teaching was missing, accomplish their salvation, and thereby restore them to God's favour.

Paul and his fellow Christians wrought mightily to achieve beyond all expectations with the light they had, but, lacking the teaching of Jesus that never reached them, they had no means of knowing that they had not solved their problem. For us, they saved all the possibilities of Christianity as a religion. They could not know that they themselves were saved by a forgiving love infinitely greater than any such love to be induced by human sacrifice.

We also as Gentile Christians are called upon to resolve the problem of reconciling Jesus' key-teaching and his violent and ignominious death. This still remains a pioneer task. The obscuring of that teaching in the New Testament has not permitted organized Christianity to see that any problem exists. But this teaching of Jesus brings the problem to light and makes its solution imperative. First, the teaching of 'love, not sacrifice' at once makes clear that Jesus' death could in no sense change God's attitude to man. Second, we have at our disposal also the story of Jesus' life and teachings, which Paul and the early Christians lacked. For them, the question was strictly theological. For us, it is just as strictly historical.

We know that other teachings of Jesus went beyond the Jewish Law and proclaimed a universalism that threatened Jewish nationalism. This stirred official Judaism to want to get rid of him as a dangerous person, partly, perhaps, for the same reasons that Paul persecuted the first Christians: lest they cause a fanatical uprising to be crushed by Rome and then followed by further penalties on the Jews.

Jesus was aware of the opposition. How far it would go would depend on the amount and kind of disturbance he caused. He could not know how far the opposition would go. He could not run away and hide. He could only stand up in his integrity, ready to die for the world message he taught. Had he not been willing to die for it, we might well never have heard of him nor of Christianity. In a true historical sense, therefore, rather than in a supposedly theological one, Jesus died for us. His life-blood was indeed poured out for us. He died to save us by the *gospel of his teaching. Without his death, we could not have known nor claimed it. The steadfast, forgiving love of God gave him no other choice.*

The symbolical language of the Eucharist remains – true, legitimate, and efficacious. It warrants frequent use. Daily is not too often, especially in the early morning, before the day's work begins. Then, in particular, we need to be reminded of those teachings of Jesus for which he died, so that, by knowing them, we might daily strive to keep them, since in so doing is alone our salvation. That symbolism requires no doctrine of transubstantiation. The words beginning 'This is my body' and throughout are all highly figurative. The bread broken at the supper was not his body: his body was still alive and well. The wine poured out was not his blood, which would function normally in his body for another day.

The wording, 'This [is] my body', is therefore no crass literalism but a highly symbolical figure, meaning: this is symbolical of my body's fate. It too, like this bread, will be broken, and pass away. None of those present could have taken that statement literally. Christianity as a whole,

deprived of Jesus' key-teaching, could see in 'for us' only one meaning.

Hence traditional Christianity, since New Testament times, has accepted the verdict of the Pauline Christians that accepting Christ's death provides one's salvation. Whatever else Jesus asked men to do in the gospels would be regarded as important but not vital for salvation. If the earliest conclusion was an error, modern times suffer a still greater delusion, according to the teaching: 'love, not sacrifice'. But if we now ask, 'how was his death then for us?', the answer is inescapable. He died to preserve his universal gospel 'for us', which, he declared, could save mankind.

Only his universal gospel, 'love, not sacrifice', could save men, by their accepting its terms. Jesus offered no other salvation. And thus, for the first time, Jesus' teaching stands out as his sole means for man's salvation. His key-teaching emphasizes this. Indeed, it emphasizes, annuls and conditions all other Christian doctrine, making imperative our classifying it as the greatest single teaching of Jesus.

His message is stated as 'the will of my Father in heaven' and expresses in miniature the clearest-cut summary of Jesus' gospel. These words voice the thought of one who has known and experienced at first hand the steadfast and forgiving love of God. 'The will of my Father in heaven' did not point to something God's will could achieve regardless of men, nor to anything God could impose upon men against their wills. It was rather God's desire as expressed in the words of God, 'I desire steadfast love', that is, God's loving desire for the highest well-being of the objects of that love, to be realized if God's desire were known to men, and its practice accepted. Jesus suggested that if men knew these two things – God's loving desire for man's well-being, and the necessity of man's practising that love in return – little more needed to be said. But mankind had never known these things. This was therefore man's greatest need. This is the truth of which Jesus asked men to go and learn the meaning. This summed up, as well as any four words could, the 'good news' of his gospel, and it was the best news mankind ever had. It is focused upon God and what God desires for mankind, and on the only way it can be made a reality.

Traditional Christianity to date, lacking Jesus' key-precept, has had difficulty in taking Jesus' other teachings at face value. Christianity has thus never accepted Jesus' concept of the kingdom of God within men's reach. Instead, Christianity has produced a system of competing, conflicting, fluctuating, religious feudalism based on castles, fortresses, and stockades called *ecclesiai* (churches) fitted with moats and drawbridges, both to keep men in and to bar them out. Christianity has never been able to rely on Jesus' teachings alone, nor to make their practice the test of salvation. Christianity has accordingly never felt responsible for civilization as such. As a result, war, slavery, racism, economic determinism, and the ruthless use of physical force to decide international relations have run their natural, devastating course, leading to the present world-crisis. And some of the worst examples of these horrors are recorded of Christian civilization.

Only the terror of physical force holds our present world together.

Men's hands hold enough power to wipe out life on earth. Once already we have reached the brink of that abyss, where the fate of mankind rested on the decisions of two men. Christianity sat silent and helpless through that ordeal. Today, vast majorities of mankind – oppressed, suppressed, depressed economically, and deprived of a decent life – are clamouring for recognition as human beings, as citizens of the world. The struggle for human rights regardless of race, colour, or religion has become a world-wide explosive issue.

Christianity did not initiate this struggle, although, certainly, devoted Christians from various walks of life have joined in the effort. The masses of Christians, however, by their silence and inaction, by their non-committal, by their use of economic and political power, have proved valiant supporters of the *status quo*, so that the great massed strength of Christianity stands registered before the world on the side opposed to human dignity. Had the essential teaching of Jesus been exclusively followed, the world would not now face the terrible dilemma of survival or annihilation. Without that teaching, the dilemma is inevitable.

A world civilization is in the offing. It looms on the horizon. Nothing like it has ever been seen by men before. Yet, by itself, it is more threatened than any of those that have long since perished.

High scholarly opinion has asserted that an adequate religion alone can preserve the oncoming world-civilization, but that no one of the current religions is adequate for the task. Some have proposed that Christianity might meet the requirements, but only on two conditions: (1) that it recover its vitality and re-conceive its message, and (2) that Christianity show itself universal and not Western only.

This diagnosis has sweeping implications. It implies a sick religion, which has lost vitality it could still regain. The demand for universality implies a religion that lacks an equal interest in the well-being of all men and the motive to make that interest known. As means to these ends, the same devoted scholarly opinion suggests emphasis on the universal teachings of the Founder. Christianity has always had the universals of the Golden Rule and universal love of neighbour, but these two have rarely, if ever, received full-time Christian employment, and have had to be satisfied with only occasional part-time work, for, after all, as has almost always been assumed, they are not essential, at least certainly not directly essential for salvation.

But we now know directly from Jesus himself that they *are* essential for salvation. Christianity, from New Testament times, has always had the parable of the Prodigal Son. But without further examples of the steadfast, forgiving love of the Father, it was only natural to leave the question open as to his attitude towards the numerous other sons and daughters of the family! Jesus' key-teaching certifies the universality of God's love and guarantees the eligibility and the right of the Golden Rule and the love of neighbour to claim full employment: Jesus' teaching of God's requirement of steadfast, forgiving love in all personal relations with all fellow men, as

man's hope of God's favour and man's salvation, knows no East nor West, no North nor South.

Why have notable thinkers proposed that religion alone can save civilization? Because religion, at the highest level, places all inter-personal relations on the plane of moral responsibility, as if by completely moral beings, and as the only way to save a world-civilization from self-annihilation by physical force on the animal plane. Man, however, as a species, is not a fully fledged moral being. He is still only a moral amphibian, a creature able to live equally well in the moral and the amoral elements.

Homo sapiens has shown that, as an individual, he can live and breathe and reach the highest levels of being in the atmosphere of the moral plane. But on the whole and in the mass, men always have, and still do prefer, to make the greatest and most immediately fateful decisions on the animal plane of physical force, which, in a world civilization, can destroy man, as it has already destroyed numerous species of now extinct animals. This is the particular threat to man's existence in this scientific, materialistic age.

The teachings of Jesus provided for this very contingency. But apparently most Christians do not see that Jesus was challenging all mankind to live and act entirely as moral beings, as the only hope of salvation. Too often men have felt it did not matter how much of life was lived on the physical plane, if only there was left a little spirituality at the top. But when the booster engine of the physical drops away, as it will all too quickly, the question will be whether life and religion have produced enough moral and spiritual reality to bring man into the eternal orbit of God. The teachings of Jesus provide the religion long overdue and now nearly 2,000 years late in its application. His essential teaching provides an adequate plan for solving the problem of human relations on any planet or in any form of personal existence. Mankind on the whole has refused it, has tried to turn it aside, until in this age man finds himself hopelessly entangled, warned by able thinkers that, unless social-spiritual problems can be solved, mankind is doomed.

What then of the religion we know as Christianity? 'Jesus outlived the first form of religion proclaimed in his name. That was in yesterday's world. If he lives on in our world, he may well outlast the second form, which shows certain signs of ageing.' Having written those words a few years ago, I find today that the sombre outlook has been more than verified by fact.

Traditional Christianity, deprived, from the start, of the full message of the Founder, by missing his key-teaching, has been tried in the crucible of history for 2,000 years and has recently been declared wanting. Not only has Christianity failed to provide a remedy in the present world-crisis, involving mankind's fate. Sixteen authorities on world Christianity have declared that it now faces obstacles more formidable in their totality than any it has ever faced in its entire history; that, as matters stand, without spiritual renewal and even without *rapprochement* with its enemies (*sic!*), its survival is in doubt (*Christian Century*, June 1965, pp. 612 ff.).

Naturally, the authorities seek the causes of the fading prospect of the Christian faith's encounter with the world, and try to find them in the reli-

gion's own faults and shortcomings, such as its worldwide sectarianism, its isolationism, its infiltration by secularism and materialism, and its complacency. But, deplorable as these may be, they are more than outweighed by one outward relationship. Christianity in the past has never taken or assumed responsibility for the civilization it shared. It has therefore left man's fierce struggle for survival and for power to run its natural course unrestrained by religion. Accordingly, where some of these forces have gained worldwide acceptance, they are too powerful to be tamed by any existing religious techniques, and the encounter may itself also prove fatal to the religion concerned.

Furthermore, proposals for correcting this deteriorating religious situation call for careful scrutiny. Some suggest that Christians should get nearer to Jesus by bringing all the Christian sects together in a kind of United Front against the world. But even this, if at all possible, would not guarantee spiritual renewal nor nearness to Jesus, who had so little interest in the idea of a church that he never described its structure nor said how one could be a part of it. Some assume that spiritual renewal should be found at the foot of the Cross. This can be, if we recognize that he suffered there only so that the truth he taught about human conduct, which alone can save mankind, might reach our world.

Christianity's hope as a religion in our world, and as a saving religion, depends more clearly than ever upon the full implementation of Jesus' complete message, beginning with his key-teaching, as expressing the 'Will of my Father in Heaven'. Henceforth, no one aware of this teaching who does not make it the professed standard and daily guide of his conduct with all fellow men has any warrant from Jesus to speak or pray in his name or to call him Saviour or Lord. Such clear-cut acceptance of that gospel of the Divine Will by all who have inherited the Jewish-Christian tradition could, if there yet be time, avert man's threatened fate and promote a steady extension of the reign of God on earth to the limits of mankind.

HENRY VAUGHAN AND THE PURITAN DOCTRINE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

Andrew W. Brink

RECENT discussions of Henry Vaughan's poetry have attempted to establish its religious and philosophical contexts. In addition to the hermetic, the mystical and the meditative, it can be suggested that there is a fourth, that of Puritan spirituality with its doctrine of the Holy Spirit. The examination of contexts has helped to explain the richness of Vaughan's themes and imagery together with his awareness of 17th-century religious and philosophical trends. Modern studies make it evident that Vaughan was not content to follow exclusively the hermetic, mystical or meditative ways: to place Vaughan's poems in each of these contexts is to reveal much about them, but it does not exhaust his fund of metaphors or explain the nature of his inspiration. To find the correct proportions between contexts and relate the whole to a central poetic impulse remains a problem of criticism. Vaughan took what poetic materials he needed where he happened to find them, as his large debt to Herbert shows. His eclecticism was an expression of the cultural unsettlement of mid-17th-century England that was so troubling to the religious of all sorts. With the status of Christian revelation in doubt, clarification was looked for in earlier mystical and meditative traditions and in occultism. Vaughan's intensely personal poetry gathers as much spiritual information as promised to help him on his way to a godly peace. We should not be surprised if this included some from Puritan sources, and from the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in particular.

It is by now a safe assumption that Vaughan's religious poetry explores his own spiritual condition. It is not fully autobiographical in disclosing his mystical quest step by step, but it is so rooted in personal feeling that it may be called confessional. The critic is justified in beginning inquiries with the man and his religious quest as it gave rise to the currents running through his poetry. Sources and ideas are understandable only as the poet's desire brings them into play. In Vaughan's case the frustrations and doubts of life in post-civil-war England were especially acute. Vaughan was no ordinary Anglican royalist settled in his assurance, but a poet determined to resolve by imaginative means the contradictions between Christian profession and practice as recent history disclosed them. The use of mystical language should not obscure responsiveness to the religious and political situation which he faced; the degree of concern with it is shown by his devising elaborate means of escape from the civil disorder. Vaughan's eclecticism arose from a burning personal desire for unity outside the political sphere where it had been violently aroused. It is less an oddity of the situation than might seem, that

he sought remedies from such diverse sources, some of them entirely remote from the Anglicanism of Oxford and London. The search was energetic and thorough, and it must surely have drawn his attention to the newer Puritan spiritual writers of England and Wales whose tracts circulated widely throughout the Commonwealth period. Among these writers were some, John Saltmarsh, William Dell, Isaac Penington (to name three), whose inclinations were to continue the reformation by introspective and quietist means. They commented upon the wave of religious excitement that had built up into civil strife and they rejected its means in relation to ends – the settling of a new Jerusalem. They dwelt on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit not as a punitive but as a saving force to which all men might look in their extremity. Action in the world was forsaken for inner heart action whose appeal Vaughan could have felt, despite his dislike of Puritanism as a political force. Though a royalist through both wars, his attitude to civil conflict was not simple. As Canon F. E. Hutchinson points out, Vaughan prayed in *The Mount of Olives* (1652) that he might be kept 'from the guilt of blood', a matter of conscience that appears again in the second part of *Silex Scintillans* published in 1655.[1] Even when the Cromwellian régime took firm hold in his part of Wales, Vaughan's revulsion remained against war itself rather than against the Puritans who were not alone to blame for what had happened. The quietism, the longing to return to a state of innocent oneness with God and nature, so evident in both parts of *Silex Scintillans*, reflect not only experience of combat during the first civil war, but discontent with affairs in his own Church. Puritan victory in 1646 was a humiliation that drained Vaughan of worldly hope, as indeed it did those within the Puritan party who saw the holy crusade turn into harsh repression. Added to this, in such poems as 'Religion', 'The British Church' and 'Church Service' we sense that Vaughan felt the Anglican Church unequal to the spiritual challenge of the time. Thus, deep uneasiness about political and religious affairs turned him in another direction, a direction in which certain Puritans were also turning. The moment for more profound prayer and poetry to evoke the Holy Spirit had come.

The source of Vaughan's theory of immanence is a question which the discussion of contexts has opened. To speak of Puritanism is not to suggest it as an exclusive source. We may wonder, however, whether the tracing of Vaughan's major metaphors directly to the Bible, Church fathers and Christian mystics tells the whole story when their Puritan versions lay closer at hand. R. A. Durr's *On the Mystical Poetry of Henry Vaughan* argues affinities with the language of traditional mysticism, but an analysis of language used by certain Commonwealth pamphleteers would disclose that biblical image patterns were being adapted as metaphors of the soul's experience during Vaughan's productive years. Why look beyond the everyday religious and intellectual context for what it in fact contained in a form useful to the poet? It is true that St Bernard speaks of mystical communion with God through the Holy Spirit whose influence brings charity and joy; to him the Holy Spirit is a fundamental fact of the religious life. Similarly we may find in St Bonaventure the idea of the Holy Spirit as creative power,

a vestige of the divine in man. But it should not be necessary to limit the discussion in this way when Vaughan's world was alive with versions of this same doctrine of immanence, treated as the primary means of grace by Puritans up and down the land.

If we are looking for an easily available tradition, it might seem more to the point to speak first of the hermetic and occult ideas which Vaughan adopted from his brother. Surely here a type of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit can be found. As Elizabeth Holmes pointed out, the medieval Catholic model of the scale reaching from God down to man is paralleled by another, spoken of from the time of Plotinus to the later Hermetic philosophers, which 'saw the living Spirit stoop descending through all things to inform them and link them together – the descent which Thomas Vaughan describes in image as 'that most secret and silent Laps of the *Spirit per Formarum naturalium Seriem*" '.[2] Thomas Vaughan's 'Light of Nature' viewed in this neo-Platonic way is certainly to be considered as helping to form the poetic context for his brother's particular theory of immanence. Thomas Vaughan thought of both original creation and spiritual regeneration in terms of divine light with its life-giving energies. He is explicit about it in many passages of the pamphlets which began appearing in 1650. For example, in *Anthroposophia Theomagica,* the doctrine of the Holy Spirit is found in its completeness when he remarks that

> Christ breathed on His apostles and they received the Holy Ghost. In Ezekiel the Spirit comes from the four winds and breathes upon the slain, that they might live. Now, this Spirit was the Spirit of Life, the same with that Breath of Life which was breathed into the first man, and he became a living soul. But without doubt the Breath or Spirit of Life is the Spirit of God. Neither is this Spirit in man alone but in all the great world, though after another manner. For God breathes continually and passeth through all things like an air that refresheth – wherefore also He is called of Pythagoras 'the quickening of all'.[3]

Here, it could be said, is source enough for the poetic metaphor of the Holy Spirit, the agent active in the universe and in the imagination. But what of the even more commonplace formulations of the idea that divine light may break into and illuminate the soul? When so much heated discussion was given the matter among Puritans we cannot easily dismiss the possibility that Vaughan owed it a debt as well. It can be shown that there was a Welsh school of thought on the question of the Holy Spirit, and that from Vaughan's point of view it could have augmented the writings of Saltmarsh, Dell and Penington whose appeal he would have felt as someone sensitive to all currents of thought on the question of salvation. We may agree with Durr and E. C. Pettet that the study of Thomas Vaughan's hermetic writings tells something, but not everything, about the dominant metaphors in *Silex Scintillans.* The poetry is more devotional than theosophical, and however similar the language, it does not have the arcane tone of Thomas's claims to special knowledge. The poetry is more inward and personal, reminding us of appeals to the heart made by Puritan mystics whose words would have given powerful reinforcement to Thomas Vaughan's speculations about

the Holy Spirit. These in turn suggest connexions with traditional mysticism, but the poet was first of all a man of his time, attentive to current religious opinion. Criticism of the poetry can profit by a closer look at what preachers and pamphleteers actually said about spiritual religion. The quickening of devotional life at mid-century was largely due to them, and we should not be surprised to find Vaughan favouring those who spoke passionately of the Holy Spirit's influx, whose effect in the pamphlets was often a heightened, near-poetic prose.

As the work of Geoffrey Nuttall has done much to show, the effect of Puritanism was to shift emphasis away from the elaborate ritualism of the Anglican service to the more personal discipline of listening to the inner voice, audible when the clamour of thought and feeling had been stilled. Puritan devotion stressed inner experience and one of its most important prophets was Richard Sibbes, author of *The Bruised Reede and Smoaking Flax* (1630) which treats the means of grace as light from the Holy Spirit. As preacher at Gray's Inn from 1616 to 1635 Sibbes became a potent influence in turning attention to the solitary heart-work that preceded salvation. The London Inns of Court, where Vaughan spent two years before returning to Newton-on-Usk at the outbreak of the civil war in 1642, contained powerful echoes in the words of preachers who followed Sibbes. His example had stirred men of talent to preach inner experience of the Puritan way. Whatever Vaughan thought of the movement as a whole, he was certainly impressed by the new liberty to interpret spiritual experience for oneself. This aspect of Puritanism was almost invariably allied to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit and its various formulations could not have escaped him. As a rule, the more radical the Puritan the more hope he placed in the Holy Spirit's visitations. But there were all degrees of belief in the matter from the apocalyptic to some quite surprisingly modest. As the Welsh mystic Morgan Llwyd put it, 'God is not in the earthquake, fire or whirl-winde, nor in wars, bloodshed, and carnal animosities, but in the still, small, private voice.'[4] That is, God is in the voice activated by the Holy Spirit as it invades human consciousness. Poetic inspiration might be one result, as it was for Llwyd. For this to happen, quietness and retirement were needed, the kind of hushed expectancy that falls over so many of Vaughan's best poems. Only then might one receive the 'true, lively, and experimental knowledge' of divine truth, as Francis Rous, the mystically inclined Speaker of the Nominated Parliament, had called it.[5] The strongly individualistic implications are clear, and they showed themselves especially among those who had thrown over all orthodoxy and who were deeply disillusioned by the civil wars. The mind of Vaughan, whose despair led to a desire for intimacies with God, could have found a congenial spirit in the following passage from John Saltmarsh:

> To be a man of war means to live no longer than the life of the world which is perishing; but to be a man of the Holy Spirit, a man born of God, a man that wars not after the flesh, a man of the Kingdom of God, as well as of England . . . that means to live beyond time and age and men and the world; to be gathered into the life which is Eternal.[6]

This passage has only to be compared with the last three stanzas of

Vaughan's 'The Search' to see an almost identical individualistic rejection of this world coupled with a longing for another beyond, reached by the inner path.

It is evident how the doctrine of the Holy Spirit changed the whole basis of 17th-century Christian belief, tending to replace the Church's traditional authority. According to William Dell, Master of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, during the Commonwealth, 'the truth must eat out the ceremony, and the substance the sign; the more the baptism of Christ comes in, the more the baptism with water will go out; . . . '.[7] Vaughan would not have gone so far as to say that spiritual awakening should replace all outward observance, but his poetry shows sympathy with that view. Spontaneous experience of the Holy Spirit could never be the only test of Christian profession, yet it might be an important mark of authentic religion as long as it did not infringe the other great dogmas of Christianity. Sectarians asserted that to enjoy such experience was to forestall arguments about election and to give a fresh approach to the question of man's unobstructed access to God. Vaughan welcomed the fresh approach while holding to the Church with its insistence on sacramentalism and a priesthood. His regret was that Anglicanism failed to show a vitality equal to that of the Puritan dissidents. He seems to have believed that divine intervention might change individual lives without altering history and institutions. Claims of divine favour had to be tested against the Bible and tradition, and all forms of extremism were inadmissible. Nevertheless, in time of social turmoil Vaughan, like the radical Puritans, needed proof of contact from moment to moment with the source of being. Had it not been for such a doctrine of immanence received by a substantial section of the Christian Church, his poems of religious experience would have met with incomprehension, if they had been written at all.

Vaughan's was something more than an Augustinian quest: it was the quest of 17th-century spiritual man, who not only appeared as the Puritan saint seeking light, but as the aspiring mystic who lived by the Holy Spirit's touch. An example of how the Puritan saint expressed himself at his best is found in the writings of Morgan Llwyd:

> When the true shepherd speaks, and a man hears him, the heart burns within, and the flesh quakes, and the mind lights up like a candle, and the conscience ferments like wine in a vessel, and the will bends to the truth: and that thin heavenly, mighty voice raises the dead to life, from the grave of himself, to wear the crown, and wondrously renews the whole life to live like a lamb of God.[8]

Isaac Penington is even more personal and impassioned in using mystical Puritan language of inner experience to convey the change he had been through:

> The Lord opened my spirit, the Lord gave me the certain and sensible feeling of the pure seed, which had been with me from the beginning; the Lord caused his holy power to fall upon me, and gave me such an inward demonstration and feeling of the seed of life, that I cried out in my spirit: This is he, this is he; there is not another.[9]

We have said that Vaughan would have been selective in what he took from Puritanism, but it is worth emphasizing that such experience as Penington reported can be found outside that group derisively called 'enthusiast'. It can be found in the writings of Richard Baxter, the sanest of men, and even in the scholarly books of Henry More, the Cambridge Platonist who gave so much of his best energy to arguing against antinomianism and false illuminism. The doctrine of the Holy Spirit was a common possession of 17th-century Christians from at least the era of Sibbes's preaching, but it was first and last the radical Puritans who lived by it and said so plainly. We cannot imagine Vaughan formally associating himself with them, but it is certainly suggestive that his poetry is infused with their kind of excitement.

Vaughan called the poems in *Silex Scintillans* hymns, songs of praise to God, undoubtedly thinking of the devotional verse Herbert had written. Dependence on Herbert, the essence of whose poetry is struggle and submission to God's will, is by now well understood. Herbert wrote to gain holy acceptance; poetry was a method of devotion that also excited the aesthetic sense. Vaughan also took this view. But there are affinities of a different sort with the poetic theory of Milton as we find it at work in *Paradise Lost*, a poem founded squarely on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. By saying that the good poet must first be a good man, and that God favoured whom he pleased with the live coal from off his altar, Milton signified reliance on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit just as had the radical Puritans with whom he had associated in the militant phase of revolution. He demonstrated this in the invocation to *Paradise Lost* where the dove-like spirit brooding over the vast abyss is appealed to for aid in the great poetic task lying ahead. The invocation to light at the beginning of Book III and the invocation to Urania opening Book VII repeat the plea, showing Milton in fervent communion with the source from which his art sprang. Vaughan's poetic theory was similar; he also held that only an inflow of grace made poetry possible. His is a sort of theory of exchange, verse in return for the glimmerings of light activating the poetic faculty.

> Dear Lord,'tis finished! and now he
> That copyed it, presents it thee.
> 'Twas thine first, and to thee returns,
> From thee it shin'd, though here it burns;
> If the Sun rise on rocks, is't right,
> To call it their inherent light?[10]

The poems in *Silex Scintillans* are typically about spiritual regeneration. Their ardour, their sense of strength in dependence, their penitential note of confession speak of spirit broken and remade in the manner described by Puritan mystics. New life was the desire of those Puritans whose attempts at self-amendment are stated in passages of spiritual autobiography not unlike Vaughan's 1654 preface to the poems. For example, in his preface to *A Voyce out of The thick Darkness* (1650), Isaac Penington speaks of how the prophetic fountain shall be opened to those who seek truths conscientiously; for his part, he says, 'I found them in my own Spirit, and I found my Spirit

much composed by them, (in reference to the several tossings and tumblings that have been) . . . '.[11] He meant that he had found the way beyond strife in Church and state. Having been brought back from apostasy entailed a sense of indebtedness for being directly under divine guidance, the form of inspiration we would expect of a 17th-century religious poet. Vaughan's image in the dedicatory verses is one of drops of Christ's blood falling on the barren heart, as poetry is returned for grace. The revival, the drawing back from spiritual death, is thus clearly ascribed to divine intervention: 'the most holy and loving Spirit' is Vaughan's phrase naming the active force in harmony with the will of Christ.[12] The difficulty of reconciling the person of Christ with the Holy Spirit does not prevent him from returning repeatedly in the poems to the Holy Spirit's secret working within, the quickening influence expected even in the most self-nullifying poems. In the poem heading the collection, 'Regeneration', we find the paradox of newly infused spiritual life mingled with the certainty of death for the old self. If its allegory is read as veiled spiritual autobiography, then stanza 10, its conclusion, gives us the contemplative moment when Vaughan voices his hope that the Holy Spirit will visit and purify him:

> Lord, then said I, *On me one breath,*
> *And let me dye before my death!*[13]

The entire poem shows regeneration turning on this single event which has eluded the seeker though he knows of its efficacy. He is awake to its possibilities and anticipates them in several ways: he senses a new spring, the sun gratuitously shoots gold, a fountain opens and plays while bright stones dance like light. These images are reminiscent of those used by Puritan mystics, such as Penington, whose expression of fervent longing was of precisely this type. Vaughan makes a new synthesis of entirely characteristic imagery taking its energy from an acute self-awareness. He fuses the traveller image with the whole, because he knows precisely the direction in which it points. Its esoteric meaning was already understood by a significant number of his contemporaries. The quietist Penington habitually wrote of the Christian as a traveller suffering his way through this world. Yet the resolution of the poem is not spiritual fulfilment but only its prelude. Full contemplation lies beyond. Stanza 10 is compounded of the poet's expression – the eye searching the shade – and the impression received, an unbidden auditory motion toward him, the still small voice whispering its mysterious presence. The poet verges on mystical experience, but in this finely attuned state realizes that he is powerless to will its completion. The will has carried him up to this point, but now only passive waiting will avail anything, which is why the poem falls into silence. 'Regeneration' has as its theme spiritual uncertainty; it begins with grave doubts about the poet's acceptability to God and almost answers them, but not quite. This is more than a matter of recurring concern in the collection; it is central to Vaughan's poetic impulse as it is to the rise of Puritan spiritual autobiography.

Troubled striving governs what Vaughan writes, and we must not look for consistency in poetic success or for final completion of the quest. It begins

afresh many times and ends in different ways with the Holy Spirit playing a greater or lesser part as the particular situation directs. In 'Death. A Dialogue', the certainty of death is matched by a certainty of illumination preventing its final dominion. In 'Resurrection and Immortality' the same idea is expanded but not to our full edification, though there is mention of 'that renewing breath' leading to an assertion that 'a preserving spirit doth still passe/Untainted through this Masse'.[14] But it is generally more than conventional immortality that Vaughan means when he speaks of spirit. He means that the active spirit is the essence of religion, that it gives assurances in the midst of hopelessness; Vaughan is certain that to prepare oneself for its reception is man's duty on earth.

> My God, when I walke in those groves,
> And leaves thy spirit doth still fan,
> I see in each shade that there growes
> An Angell talking with a man.[15]

He is saying that the spirit restores man to that primal oneness in which converse with angels is again possible, paradise regained. And there follows, a few stanzas later, a definition of religion containing the assumption that it is a miracle of grace that works only on the personal level. The world has only a 'dead Well' for its church while the alert Christian recognizes that there is still an active source of religion:

> No no; Religion is a Spring
> That from some secret, golden Mine
> Derives her birth, and thence doth bring
> Cordials in every drop, and Wine;[16]

It is interesting that this poem expressly raises the question of whether the direct commerce between God and man of Old Testament days had been nullified in the later age. Had Christ the mediator brought an end to God's appearing in fire, whirlwind, clouds and the still small voice? Vaughan's answer is an emphatic negative. The lines of communication are still open if only receptivity is studied. One must not be misled into searching this world where he will listen for the wrong signals; the disputing human voice and the voice of God are not all similar, but may be confused. Vaughan's mind was made up about the tragic ways of the world; his uncertainty lay in what God might choose to do with him in his state of doubt and deep disenchantment. The poems attempt to resolve this question.

In Vaughan's poems of seeking, the status of the Holy Ghost changes in interesting ways. It is viewed historically in 'Isaac's Marriage', a meditation on the account of Isaac's receiving grace based on Genesis 24:63: 'Religion was/Ray'd into thee, like beams into a glasse'.[17] It is named as part of the poet's plea in 'The Showre': 'Love only can with quick accesse/Unlock the way'.[18] Vaughan puts his hope in a remarkable variety of ways; it may be as a simple image of light beaming down or as phrases suggesting more dramatic visitations: 'shoots of blisse', 'angels descending', or 'a Gleam of glory'. There are poems of regeneration such as 'Dressing' where desire for mystical communion is stated bluntly, though in full humility:

Give me, my God! thy grace,
The beams, and brightnes of thy face.[19]

And there are other poems where the means of receiving grace are only hinted. At all times Vaughan dwells on the expectation of a fateful moment of coming, an intersecting of his life in time with the eternal life he has glimpsed. The poems reach out to it, approximate it and do not always end in blank frustration. There are some that speak of consolation, even of partial fulfilment, so that we know their pleas were not in vain. In 'Vanity of Spirit' evidence for this can be found, though the spiritual exercise ended in partial disappointment. The speaker, in his vanity, has sought fruitlessly for the light, for an understanding of God's methods with man. He has gone to work prying with the intellect into secrets only to end baffled and distraught. Thereupon, he turned

To search my selfe, where I did find
Traces, and sounds of a strange kind.[20]

The method of getting beyond impasse is identical with that used by the Puritan writers of spiritual autobiography and descends from the great Puritan preachers. By proceeding with self-examination in the correct way, some small gains could be made:

Weake beames, and fires flash'd to my sight,
Like a young East, or Moone-shine night.[21]

But the poem concludes with the distress of their loss and the realization that a meddlesome intellect had once more brought on the darkness of apostasy. Puritans such as Penington were forever warning against bringing carnal reason to bear on questions of God's operation. In 'The Retreate' we glimpse a time before disruptive intellect and sinfulness had come between Vaughan and his object of desire. His quest was, in fact, a retracing of the path back to 'Angell-Infancy', the pure innocence that brought him 'Bright *shootes* of everlastingnesse'. In this he departs from the radical Puritans who hoped to be perfected in this life and enter into a community of the devout. Vaughan did not see it this way: he was not out to purify the Church and society through it; his was a wholly personal preoccupation leading to a high degree of inner awareness. Whatever ideas he had in common with certain Puritans, the shape they eventually took was peculiar to his pessimism. He frequently despaired of the relief and assurance of acceptance that he needed; the redeeming moments for which he exchanged poetry were not enough to prevent the paradoxical thought that only in physical death would he be whole again.

Ther's not a wind can stir,
Or beam passe by,
But strait I think (though far,)
Thy hand is nigh;
Come, come!
Strike these lips dumb:
This restles breath
That soiles thy name,

Will ne'r be tame
Untill in death.[22]

But such despair is not unrelieved; moments of full elevation are recorded too, as in 'Unprofitablenes' where Vaughan exclaims: 'How rich, O Lord! how fresh thy visits are!' and likens himself to a withered plant renewed by 'one sweet glance', bringing supernatural regeneration.[23] The lamented failure to return an equal gift is made good by the poem itself. Significantly it does not mention prying reason as a barrier to spontaneous religious experience; with the anxious intellect at rest such transcendent moments could result. Such an obstacle Vaughan could overcome but there were others more baffling. Vanity, desolation and sluggishness of spirit stood in the way of full encounter and it is with these that the poetic impulse toward wholeness arises. We find it in 'Dressing', as much a poem of the urgency of renewal as 'Regeneration': 'touch with one Coal/My frozen heart; . . . ', Vaughan prays in complete submissiveness.[24] No Puritan mystic could have been more explicit about the way to inner perfection: passive, broken-willed waiting. Llwyd and Penington would have understood fully Vaughan's self-admonition and endorsed his attitude toward devotion. The call to apostolic humility through prayer was not exclusive to any Church or sect.

Then kneel my soul and body; kneel and bow,
If *Saints*, and *Angels* fal down, much more thou.[25]

Apart from a deepening inward religious life Vaughan's poetry has no meaning. In this respect it follows a pattern made familiar by some of the more active separatist preachers in Wales whose way was to refine the inwardness of their religion through public utterance. The personal penitential note is heard along with enthusiastic proclamations of new light. It would be wrong to place Vaughan squarely in the midst of these preachers but their existence in his milieu is surely significant. It is not surprising to find their sort of apocalyptic vision in such poems as 'Day of Judgment' and 'The Dawning'. Vaughan may well have warmed to their language of introspection and inspiration while disapproving the kind of public display to which it sometimes led. We would not expect a simple acceptance of their crusade, but out-of-hand rejection of Welsh Puritan radicalism, with its emphasis on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, would be unexpected too. With no intention of resolving this question, we may turn briefly to consider what some of the 'Welsh Saints' were saying.

Walter Cradock, of Trevela, Monmouthshire, a gentleman's son educated at Oxford, was perhaps earliest in the field and most effective in turning latent Welsh mysticism into radical Puritan channels. His language can be high-flown, almost ecstatic. A passage from a pamphlet of 1651 catches its tone: 'A Saint, O! how full of joy is he . . . (it may be) his *house* is bare enough, and his *clothes* are bare enough, and he is full of *reproach*, yet he is full of *joy*, and sweetnesse, and comfort. . . . the reason is, . . . the Lord *shines*, upon his soule'.[26] Cradock preached self-denial and humble discipleship to offset the dangers of pride and exclusiveness in worship. He propagated a simple and direct Christianity, but he was not simple; a close analysis of the

religious situation had convinced him of the necessity for a return to apostolic humility and singleness of purpose. Though much more an artist and no sect-maker, Vaughan seems to have thought the same.

Cradock was instrumental in converting two other Welsh itinerants, Vavasor Powell the millenarian preacher, and Morgan Llwyd the poet and preacher, one of the finest stylists the Welsh language has had. We need not stop over Powell since, despite his inspired preaching, he was more politically turbulent than Vaughan could have accepted. The same may be said for William Erbury, a Brasenose man, whose sectarian extremism in preaching the return of the Holy Spirit throughout Wales would have repelled Vaughan. But Llwyd was a very different sort of man who has been rightly described as one 'who dreamed of a new heaven and a new earth, a man who yearned for the Kingdom of Christ in the heart and in society'.[27] He had the means of conveying his vision memorably in prose and verse, in a manner restrained and inward, but always enlivened by a strong mystical sense. This sense guided him away from politics in Church and state, whose controversies he openly deplored. Withdrawal and inner fulfilment are recurrent themes. Society, he held, could be changed only by man first becoming worthy of its improvement, and heart-work should be to that end. Final, Vaughan-like abandonment of hope for society did not come until 1653, the year of the Nominated Parliament's failure, when Llwyd's tone and imagery underwent a significant change. It was only then that the transforming power of Christ became a wholly inward affair in his scheme of redemption. The outward thrust characteristic of the prophetic side of left-wing Puritanism disappeared, to be replaced by an inward system of truth, the origin of which was a growing preoccupation with the teachings of the 16th-century German mystic, Jakob Boehme. There resulted a spiritualizing of all things and an increasingly metaphorical style. As Geoffrey Nuttall puts it, 'Earlier his style is rich in metaphors but resilient and intelligible, for the metaphors spring from the play of a vivid imagination upon inter-related concepts; now it tends to lose itself in a loose succession of symbols delighted in for their own sake or meaningful only from within some allegorical system to which the key is not provided'.[28] However detrimental to popular appeal, this signals a growing inwardness that would have been attractive to Vaughan. Viewed in a literary perspective, the fabrication of such a symbolic system has the greatest importance. We do not know where Vaughan would have drawn the line of intelligibility, but he certainly knew the usefulness of Llwyd's kind of metaphorical language. The point is that while Llwyd's prose and poetry do not always remind us of Vaughan's in content and style, they arise from a similar *contemptus mundi* and perhaps dismay with the Anglican Church in its state of apostasy. Llwyd's language is that of desire for mystical transcendence as the only compensation for loss of worldly hope. He expressed himself characteristically when he wrote to William Erbury in 1653:

> We never write, hear, or speak in the light of the Father, but when our inner man is withdrawn out of the spirit of this world, which is the devils street in which his coaches trundle, . . .[29]

Vaughan would have agreed with Llwyd in this particular, and if he read him would have had to acknowledge a quality of vision and literary skill equivalent to his own, an affinity not easily overlooked within the small compass of 17th-century Wales.

I have tried to point out that Vaughan inhabited a world in which the ideas were current which his commentators often trace to traditional sources. He was a poet of broad reading and awareness but also responsiveness to spiritual trends around him which deserve to be studied along with hermetic and traditional mysticism. Vaughan's obvious objection to 'they, who assume to themselves the glorious stile of Saints' need not prevent us seeing where his real interest lay – with the quickening inner life. Those who enjoyed 'Extasies, and raptures to the third heaven' were not envied by him; 'I onely wish them real, and that their actions did not tell the world, they are rapt into some other place'.[30] To say this is to be critically sympathetic and alert to the abuses of a truth. The comment would never have been made had Vaughan not been searching along parallel lines during his most creative years. He may well have found the emphasis placed by Puritan mystics on spiritual religion valid for his own poetry; the points of contact are unmistakable. The autobiographical current running throughout the poems, the self-humiliation and repentance, and most important the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, suggest a particular religious outlook. Whatever theological twists were given it, the underlying assumption was the same. Man and God had fallen out of harmony and its re-establishment was imperative. Man must once again make his peace with God but dare not expect it on his own terms. Pride and self-will had been the trouble amongst both Cavaliers and Roundheads. Now, in extremity, the Christian had better look away from Church and sect, parliament and king, from all controversies raging in the nation, to the pure source of oneness and harmony. Mystical communion through withdrawal offered hope, but not assurance, of a final good result. Vaughan never fully resolved the tension between this world and another, but in *Silex Scintillans* we have the poetic record of a characteristic 17th-century struggle to restore inner balance. The poems contain both the imagery of light, reflected from the open Welsh skies, and that of the dark enclosures of death, curiously seen as offering the release which contemplation itself did not bring. These images are most nearly joined when the thought of the Holy Spirit's promise invades the poetry.

[1] F. E. Hutchinson, *Henry Vaughan, a Life and Interpretation* (Oxford 1947), pp. 56–7
[2] E. Holmes, *Henry Vaughan and the Hermetic Philosophy* (Oxford 1932), p. 35
[3] *The Works of Thomas Vaughan*, ed. A. E. Waite (London 1919), p. 53
[4] M. Llwyd, *Gweithiau*, ed. T. Ellis and J. H. Davies (1899, 1908) ii, p. 236
[5] F. Rous, *Works* (London 1657), p. 622
[6] quoted in Rufus M. Jones, *Studies in Mystical Religion* (London 1923), p. 487
[7] *ibid.*, p. 492
[8] M. Llwyd, *Gweithiau*, i, p. 219
[9] I. Penington, *Works* (New York 1861), iii, p. 93
[10] *The Works of Henry Vaughan*, ed. L. C. Martin (Oxford 1957), pp. 394–5
[11] I. Penington, *A Voyce out of The thick Darkness* (London 1650), Sig. A.4v.
[12] *Works*, p. 392

[13] *ibid.*, p. 399
[14] *ibid.*, p. 401
[15] *ibid.*, p. 404
[16] *ibid.*, p. 404
[17] *ibid.*, p. 408
[18] *ibid.*, p. 412
[19] *ibid.*, p. 456
[20] *ibid.*, p. 418
[21] *ibid.*, p. 418
[22] *ibid.*, p. 420
[23] *ibid.*, p. 441
[24] *ibid.*, p. 455
[25] *ibid.*, p. 456
[26] W. Cradock, *Gospel-Holinesse* (London 1651), p. 73
[27] P. Davis, in *Y Cofiadur*, xxv, p. 22
[28] G. Nuttall, *The Welsh Saints 1640–1660* (Cardiff 1957), p. 53
[29] M. Llwyd, *Gweithiau*, ii, p. 259
[30] *Works*, p. 140

CHARLES WESLEY'S VOCABULARY

Oliver A. Beckerlegge

NO one can read or sing Charles Wesley's hymns without being aware of his amazing vocabulary. It has been remarked on more than once; and lovers of the poet will need no more than reminding of the chapter 'The Language of the Hymns', in Henry Bett's *The Hymns of Methodism*, and the similar passages in Bernard Manning's delightful essays in his *The Hymns of Wesley and Watts*. Both those scholars, it will be readily recalled, speak with appreciation of Wesley's scholarship with its strong Latin tang, and both of course defend him against the ignorant who accuse him of bad grammar and mispronunciation. But so far as the present writer is aware, no attempt has been made to examine his rarer words and see how far they are indeed neologisms, or anticipations of later uses, or relics of all but forgotten uses. To make such an examination of a selected number, taken almost entirely from the 1780 Hymnbook, is the purpose of this essay.

actuate

Hymn 504. Move, and actuate, and guide,
Divers gifts to each divide.

(*Hymns and Sacred Poems* 1740)

The *O.E.D.* gives the meaning of the v.tr. as: 'render active, stir into activity, stir up, arouse, excite'; and describes this use as obsolete; it quotes examples from 1603 to 1751 (Johnson): 'We must actuate our languor . . .'

Of the meaning: 'to act upon, or move, the will, as motives do', the *O.E.D.* gives the first example as 1741, in Richardson's *Pamela*: 'She that has strong passions will be actuated . . . by them'; and the next example as in Boswell, 1791. Of this use of the word Wesley's is, then, the earliest known example.

amaranthine

Hymn 65. Those amaranthine bowers,
Unalienably ours,
Bloom, our infinite reward.

(*Hymns Occasioned by the Earthquake* 1750)

O.E.D.: 'of or pertaining to amaranth, of everlasting flowers, fadeless'. The first example appears in Milton's *Paradise Lost*, xi, 78: 'Their blissful bow'rs Of amaranthine shade', and then Swift in 1713 writes, 'A sprig of amaranthine flowers'; there is no further example till 1858. It is without question that Wesley borrowed this word from Milton, and Bett unaccountably makes no mention of it in his classic study. Later editions of the 1780 Hymnbook occasionally footnoted the word, so inexplicable would it be to the rank and file of humble Methodist worshippers!

On the other hand, in its sense of 'fadeless immortal, undying'—the sense

in which Wesley clearly uses it – the first recorded use is by Cowper who in his *Hope* wrote 'Hope Plucks amaranthine joys from bowers of bliss'; that was in 1781. So Wesley takes the word, almost the phrase, from Milton and gives it a new meaning thirty years before Cowper.

antedate

Hymn 505. Antedate the joys above,
Celebrate the feast of love. (*H.S.P.* 1740)

O.E.D.: 'v. tr.: to take in imagination before its actual occurrence, anticipate'; the only examples are of 1611, 1660, 1708 (Pope: 'Antedate the bliss above'), which seems almost to be the inspiration for Wesley's line; the next example is of 1810. Again a rare word of which this is the only recorded use in a whole century.

antepast

Hymn 29. Should know, should feel my sins forgiven,
Blest with this antepast of heaven!
(written May 23rd, 1738; *H.S.P.* 1739)

O.E.D.: 'something taken before a meal to whet the appetite, (obs.); a foretaste'. This word is excessively rare; there are examples of its use in 1590, 1621 (Donne), and then none other quoted till 1778 (H. Walpole: 'an antepast of the odium they were to incur'), and 1855; again Wesley is the only one to use it in a century and a half. The same phrase, 'that antepast of heaven', occurs in 'Thou great mysterious God unknown', which first appears in *Redemption Hymns*, 1747.

consentaneous

Hymn 524. Joyful, consentaneous sound,
Sweetest symphony of praise. (*H.S.P.* 1749)

O.E.D.: in the sense of 'agreeable, suited' it is found from 1652 to 1681; followed by 'to' or 'with', it is found from 1625 onwards, *e.g.*, 1714: 'Consentaneous to what I have taken notice of . . . '; but in the sense in which Wesley uses it, 'done by common consent, unanimous, concurrent, simultaneous', the *O.E.D.* quotes no example before 1774: 'Let reason and revelation hold out to thee their consentaneous light'. Wesley anticipates this use of the word.

deprecate

Hymn 155. This only woe I deprecate,
This only plague I pray remove. (*H.S.P.* 1749)

Hymn 174. I deprecate that death alone,
That endless banishment from thee.
(*Short Hymns on the Scriptures* 1762)

O.E.D.: 'to pray against (evil), to pray for deliverance from; to seek to avert by prayer: archaic.' There are examples in 1628 and 1633 ('I cannot deprecate thy rebuke'), and then nothing till 1778 (Lowth: 'evil . . . which thou shalt not know how to deprecate'). Again Wesley revives an almost forgotten use.

direful

Hymn 206. Who hath done the direful deed,
Hath crucified my God?
(*Hymns on God's Everlasting Love* 1741)

O.E.D.: 'fraught with dire effects; dreadful, terrible'. Examples from 1583 to 1634; then Pope in 1715–20: 'the direful spring of woes unnumbered'; then no example till Gibbon (1781).

disburdened

Hymn 93. Exults our rising soul,
Disburthened of her load. (*H.S.P.* 1749)

O.E.D.: 'v. tr. to remove a burden from (the bearer); to relieve of a burden, lit. & fig.' Examples occur from 1531 to 1681, then 1734 ('to ease and disburden the hive of its superfluous inhabitants'), then nothing till 1863.

As a participial adjective, the *O.E.D.* (in the sense of 'freed from burden') quotes examples from 1598 to 1615, and then none till Fletcher in 1772 ('The disburdened clouds begin to break'), then 1832. Again, Wesley uses a forgotten word.

disciple (verb)

Hymn 464. Sent to disciple all mankind. (*H.S.P.* 1749)

O.E.D.: 'v. tr. to make a disciple of, to convert to the doctrine of another. Now rare or archaic.' Examples from 1647, 1651 (Baxter: 'The children are thereby discipled also'); then Ken: 'Go out with zeal, disciple all mankind' (*Hymns Evang.* 1711). There is no other appearance of the word apparently till 1862, when Neale writes:

That every race beneath the skies
They should disciple and baptize.

It seems not impossible that Wesley borrowed his phrase from Bishop Ken.

disparted

Hymn 214. The sea beheld is power and fled,
Disparted by the wondrous rod.
(*Colln of Psalms and Hymns*, 2nd edn, 1743)

Hymn 375. Still present with thy people, thou
Bearest them through life's disparted wave. (*H.S.P.* 1739)

O.E.D.: 'ppl. adj. parted or cloven asunder, divided, separated.' There are examples from 1633 ('disparted tongues at Pentecost'); 1667, Milton: 'Disparted Chaos'; 1700, Prior: 'Disparted Britain mourned their doubtful sway'. There is nothing then till 1800, Campbell: 'Thy brow, with its disparted locks', except that the *O.E.D.* quotes the former of the two Wesley quotations above, but ascribes it in error to the 1738 *Collection*, instead of the later one.

displicence

Hymn 97. The knowledge of myself bestow:
A deeper displicence at sin. (*H.S.P.* 1739)

O.E.D. quotes four examples between 1605 and 1736, including 1680, Baxter: 'Complacence is the first act of the will upon Good as Good. Displicence is the contrary'; and 1736, H. Coventry: 'Devotion towards heaven and a general displicence . . . towards everything besides'. The word is described as being obsolete, and meaning 'displeasure, dissatisfaction'; but whereas Wesley uses it with the preposition 'at', all the *O.E.D.* examples are with either 'of', or towards'. And Wesley's example is later than any quoted.

dispread

Hymn 433. Dispread thy gracious kingdom here (*Short Hymns* 1762)

and a well-known hymn not in the 1780 book, 'My heart is full of Christ', with its line:

Dispread the victory of thy cross (*Colln of Psalms and Hymns* 1743)

O.E.D.: 'v. tr. to spread abroad or out; to extend, expand', etc. Examples are quoted from 1590 onwards, with 1639, then 1714 (Steele's *Poetical Miscellany*), where the word is written 'dis-spread'; Wesley's second example as above is then quoted, and then the word 'dispredden' in 1766: 'a bow dispredden wide'.

effectuate

Hymn 464. Jesus, with us thou always art:
Effectuate now the sacred sign. (*H.S.P.* 1749)

O.E.D. gives the meaning as: 'to bring to pass; carry into effect, accomplish (an intention)', and quotes examples from 1580 on. The only 18th-century examples are 1733, Cheyne: 'The only means that can effectuate a palliative cure', and 1773, Johnson: 'I should probably be put to death without effectuating my purpose'. Then 1818.

engross

Hymn 104. Cursed for the sake of wretched man,
They now engross him whole. (*H.S.P.* 1739)

'They' = the gifts of God, especially food. In this sense of 'to make the body gross or fat; to fatten (obs.); to make the mind gross or dull (arch.)', the *O.E.D.* quotes examples from 1587 to 1628, and then nothing till 1826. Wesley here is using a word that for a century had been virtually unknown.

fleshly

Hymn 299. The filial awe, the fleshly heart,
The tender conscience give. (*H.S.P.* 1749)

The *O.E.D.* gives many shades of meaning, 'especially of the heart: soft, as opposed to stony; tender'. The word is found in that sense in Wycliffe in 1382, then in 1541 and 1590, Marlowe: 'Can there be such treason in the fleshly heart of man?'; then apparently the word is unknown in that sense (apart from this Wesley quotation, not listed in *O.E.D.*) until Mrs Browning writes: 'Enough for me and for my fleshly heart' in 1856.

glad (verb)

Hymn 59. Lord! appear, appear to glad us
With the dawn of endless day. (*Hymns for the Year* 1756)

Hymn 150. Till they inward light impart
Glad my eyes and warm my heart. (*H.S.P.* 1740)

O.E.D. describes the verb – 'to make glad, to cause to rejoice' – as archaic; it is found from 825 to 1870, but there is no example between 1682, Bunyan: 'They were greatly gladded thereat', and 1749, Smollett: 'By heaven, it glads me, that . . . ', and Byron in 1816.

illùstrated (participial adjective)

Hymn 117. And fill the illustrated abyss
With glorious beams of endless bliss. (*Short Hymns* 1762)

As a transitive verb, the *O.E.D.* gives its meaning as 'to shed light upon, light up, illumine' – an obsolete use – quoting examples of 1625 ('The beams of the sun illustrate and lighten the moon') and 1717:

> The light, serenely fair,
> Illustrates all the tracts of air.

As a participial adjective, as used in the above Wesley quotation, the *O.E.D.* gives its meaning: 'illuminated, made lustrous or bright', again an obsolete use, but gives no examples. The accent on the second syllable shews that the word was taken over from the adjective *illùstrate* (same meaning), obsolete by Wesley's day.

impending

Hymn 100. Shew me the naked sword
Impending o'er my head. (*H.S.P.* 1749)

O.E.D. gives the verb in the sense of 'to hang or be suspended over' – *i.e.* the literal meaning of the verb – as first recorded in Young's *Tour of Ireland*, 1780: 'rocks . . . which seem to impend over the lake'; the figurative use appears much earlier. As a participial adjective, however, (as here) it appears earlier; in 1705–30 Gale writes in *Bibl. Topogr. Brit.* III (*Reliquiae Galeanae* i, 38): 'shaded by the impending bushes'. The next example of the literal use of the adjective is in Cowper's *Task*, 1784. The bridge, so to speak, between the literal and the more common figurative use of the adjective is found in Wesley's lines:

> Safe from all impending harms,
> Round me and beneath are spread
> The everlasting arms. (*H.S.P.* 1742)

incumbent

Hymn 214. Jordan ran backward to his head,
And Sinai felt the incumbent God.
(*Colln of Psalms and Hymns* 1743)

O.E.D.: '*Poet.* of things which lean or hang over something else; also of darkness, breaking waves, etc.'; thus 1719: '. . . wade To the black portal thro' th'incumbent shade'; 1728–46, Thomson: 'Incumbent o'er the shining shore The master leans'; and 1740: 'Rock that breaks th'incumbent waves'; then 1810. Or is the idea in Wesley's mind 'that lies, leans, rests, or presses with its weight upon something else'? Examples of this significance are found from 1624 to 1667, and then 1782 and 1825. The new usual figurative use is first found in Gibbon, 1781.

ingrasped, ingrasping

Hymn 326. Death ingrasped his fainting prey
(*Hymns for the Use of Families* 1767)

Hymn 260. Extend the arms of mighty prayer,
Ingrasping all mankind.
(*The Character of a Methodist* 1742)

This verb would appear to have been coined by Wesley; it does not appear in *O.E.D.* Both these passages, however, offer difficulties; the second edition of the Hymnbook (1781) prints 'ungrasped', *i.e.*, 'let go', 'left hold of'; and this is what appears in the 1767 source of the hymn. Charles Wesley clearly, then,

wrote 'ungrasped'; did his brother deliberately alter the word in the first edition, or is it a misprint?

The phrase 'ingrasping all mankind' *is*, however, what Wesley wrote, though John altered it to 'in grasping . . . ' in the 1780 Hymnbook; this simplification undeniably weakens the line, for Charles had coined the word to mean 'embracing' (see 'ungrasped', *infra*).

inspoken

Hymn 240. That name inspoken to my heart (*Short Hymns* 1762)

This is another coinage of Wesley's; the sense is obvious: 'spoken into'.

meeken

Hymn 295. Meeken my soul, thou heavenly Lamb (*Short Hymns* 1762)

Hymn 437. All express the meekening power
And spirit of the Lamb (*Short Hymns* 1762)

In the sense of 'to render meek', *O.E.D.* quotes the first of these two examples, though wrongly giving the date as 1788. As a participial adjective (as in the second example), three examples are quoted: of 1597, 1698 and 1859. Wesley is thus the only person to use the word in that form in 150 years.

minished

Hymn 16. The faithful, whom I seek in vain,
Are minished from the sons of men (*H.S.P.* 1749)

It is not clear whether Wesley is using this word in its transitive or intransitive use. In either case it is rare. The *O.E.D.* gives the tr. use, 'to make fewer in number . . . reduce in power, influence, etc.', quoting examples from 1375 to 1614, with then a gap till Scott uses it in 1826; its intransitive use, 'to become less in quantity, number, size, power, etc.', is found from 1398 to 1535 (Coverdale, 2 Sam. 3:1: 'the house of Saul wente and mynished'), and then nothing till Henley in 1901: 'The sovran sun, as he goes southing, weakening, minishing'. Wesley would appear to have been deliberately using an archaic word.

obtest

Hymn 8. Would he ask, obtest, and cry,
Why will you resolve to die?
(*Hymns on God's Everlasting Love* 1741)

O.E.D.: 'v. tr. to beg earnestly, beseech, implore, entreat, supplicate'. Examples are quoted from 1548, 1637 ('I beseech and obtest you in the Lord to . . . ') and 1725, Pope: 'Thus obtesting heaven, I mourned aloud'. The next appearance of the word is in 1819.

rent (infinitive)

Hymn 24. My stony heart thy voice shall rent (*H.S.P.* 1742)

Hymn 134. O that thou wouldest the heavens rent (*H.S.P.* 1740)

O.E.D. quotes this verb as being obsolete except in dialectic use, a variant of 'rend'. It is used literally in the same sense as 'rend' from 1385 to 1727, and then no further examples; it is used in various figurative senses from 1440 to 1681, and then in 1747: 'A Person whose every word and look can rent the Heart asunder'. Wesley is thus using the word at the very end of its period of currency in the figurative sense, and after it had ceased to be used literally.

This word reminds us of a rare intransitive use of the cognate verb 'rend', by Samuel Wesley senior in his fine hymn, 'Behold the Saviour of mankind', with its line:

The temple's veil in sunder breaks,
The solid marbles rend.

This use of the verb is found from 1205 to 1611 (1 Sam. 15:27), and then two 18th-century examples, 1705 and 1762; then 1830. This hymn, of course, dates from before 1709, in which year the manuscript was found charred after the Epworth Rectory fire.

resent

Hymn 24. My inmost bowels shall resent
The yearnings of thy dying love (*H.S.P.* 1742)

In the sense of 'to feel or experience (joy, sorrow, etc.)' this word is found from 1640 to 1734; in the sense of 'to appreciate, be sensible of, feel gratitude for, remember with gratitude (obs.)' it is found from 1647 to 1702, and then in 1765, Warburton: 'this instance of his friendship would ever be warmly resented'. The next appearance of the word is a deliberately archaic use in 1829. In either sense – and either would here suit Wesley's thought – the word is already, if not more than, obsolescent.

resorb

Hymn 499. A drop of that unbounded sea,
Oh Lord, resorb it into thee! (*H.S.P.* 1749)

O.E.D.: 'v. tr. to absorb again'. This rare word appears first in 1640, then 1730 ('The liquids are neither exhaled nor resorbed by the veins'); in 1772 Priestley writes: 'The generation of air . . . except what might be absorbed by quicksilver or resorbed by the substance itself.' The *O.E.D.* quotes two later examples, of 1826 and 1876. There are no examples of Wesley's figurative use.

reverential

Hymn 196. With calmly reverential joy,
Oh let us all our lives employ
In setting forth thy love. (*H.S.P.* 1749)

O.E.D.: 'of the nature of, inspired or characterized by, reverence; reverent'. The word is quoted as being used within a very restricted sphere, so to speak; in 1555 and 1631 (the first examples) we have 'reverential fear'; in 1676 'reverential awe'; 1714 'reverential fear of God', and then 1797 'reverential admiration' – the word is losing its distinctively religious association. It is typical of Wesley that a word associated with fear and awe is now associated with joy, still in a Christian sense.

ruinous

Hymn 63. So be it! Let the system end!
This ruinous earth and skies!
(*Hymns Occasioned by the Earthquake* 1750)

O.E.D.: 'falling or fallen into ruin; decayed, dilapidated, broken down'. Examples appear from 1382 to 1660, then in 1728 ('the ruinous foundations'), and then 1796 ('an old and ruinous place'). It may be that Wesley intends rather the sense 'brought to, sunk into, ruin or decay', a rare use found from

1587 to 1655, in which case he is, of course, archaizing deliberately, or at least reviving a word.

sensualize

Hymn 104. With pleasing force on earth detain,
And sensualize his soul. (*H.S.P.* 1739)

O.E.D.: 'to render sensual, etc.; to inure to vicious indulgence'. This word is of very rare occurrence, according to the *O.E.D.*; Henry More seems to have coined it in 1687 ('sensualize the intellect') – an interesting and perhaps significant fact, as both the Wesleys were known admirers of More. Pope then uses the word in 1725: 'not to suffer ourselves to be sensualized by pleasure'; and then the word disappears from use until 1860. Charles Wesley may well have borrowed it from More.

seraphical

Hymn 52. Inflamed with seraphical love (*H.S.P.* 1749)

O.E.D.: 'resembling what pertains to the seraphim; rapturous, ecstatically devout'. It is found from 1581 to 1674 ('seraphical meditations'), after which the only example known to the *O.E.D.* is, curiously enough, found in the anonymous (almost certainly by Gibson, Bishop of London) 'Observations upon the Conduct and Behaviour of a Certain Sect, usually distinguished by the Name of Methodists' (1742–3), p. 17: 'together with a Mixture of seemingly Seraphical Flights and extravagant Allusions'. Did Wesley find the word here in this ironic sense, and restore to it its original and sincere sense? It is an interesting speculation that one of his rare words may owe its use by him to an attack on Methodism!

square (verb)

Hymn 512. And square our useful lives below
By reason and by grace.
(*Hymns for the Use of Families* 1767)

O.E.D.: 'v. tr. fig.: to regulate, frame, arrange, direct by . . . some standard'. This word, which has such a modern tang to it, is surprisingly enough found as early as 1531 in Tyndale; it then appears in 1705 and 1712 ('He who squares his actions by this rule'). The only other 18th-century use recorded is of 1756 ('He squared his . . . conduct by their counsel'). It then disappears until Scott, 1823.

tendered

Hymn 513. Jesus, our tendered souls prepare!
Infuse the softest, social care,
The warmest charity.
(*Hymns for the Use of Families* 1767)

O.E.D.: 'v. tr.: to make tender; render gentle, compassionate, or contrite'. This use of the verb is described as being obsolete except among Quakers. The *O.E.D.* quotes examples from 1390 to 16—: 'I pray God tender your heart', then Penn in 1718: 'We were all sweetly tendered and broken together'. The next example is of 1797 in Lamb: 'In thy season tender thou my heart!' It is interesting to find Charles Wesley of all people using a Quaker word!

ungrasp

Hymn 134. Ungrasp the hold of thy right hand (*H.S.P.* 1740)

(For 'Death ungrasped his fainting prey', *cf.* 'ingrasped', *supra*)

In the obvious sense of 'to let go', *O.E.D.* quotes two examples only of the verb, in 1621 and 1784, C. Dunster:

Have I not seen at thy command
Avarice herself upgrasp her hand?

That gap of a century and a half is, however, filled by the appearance of the participial adjective in Young's *Night Thoughts* in 1742–4 (IV, 241): 'Its value vast, ungraspt by winds create'. But Wesley's use of the word anticipates Young. It is difficult not to come to the conclusion that in this case Wesley was for all practical purposes re-coining the word.

upstarting

Hymn 64. Upstarting at the midnight cry,
Behold the heavenly bridegroom nigh. (*H.S.P.* 1749)

As a past participle and a participial adjective, this word is quoted in *O.E.D.* from 1581 to 1596. It then apparently disappears until Cowper uses it in *The Task*, 1784: 'Then rise the tender germs upstarting quick'. Again Wesley has apparently re-coined the word.

vengeful

Hymn 59. Righteous God, whose vengeful phials
All our fears and thoughts exceed
(*Hymns for the Year 1756*)

Hymn 61. We mark the vengeful day begun,
And calmly wait the end. (*ibid.*)

Hymn 441 (second edn). The day is come, the vengeful day
Of a devoted race.
(*Hymns for Times of Trouble and Persecution* 1744)

O.E.D.: 'seeking vengeance; inflicting vengeance, serving as an instrument of vengeance'. This word appears first in 1586 and there are a number of 18th-century examples: Swift speaks of 'the vengeful Scot' in 1713, Shenstone of 'the vengeful snake' in 1763 (both examples of the first meaning); Pope writes of 'the vengeful sword' in 1725, one T. Cooke, 'the Critic's vengeful Hand' in 1729, and Johnson has 'Rebellion's vengeful talons' in 1748. This is an example of a word that was used at the time Wesley wrote but was less common in other times.

Two other words appearing in the 1780 *Collection* are worthy of attention, though they are found in hymns by John Wesley rather than by his brother; they help to illustrate the fact of the scholarship shared by the two brothers.

fraudless

Hymn 329. With fraudless, even, humble mind,
Thy will in all things may I see.
(*Charlestown Colln* 1737)

O.E.D.: 'free from fraud, now rare'; no example quoted after 1652. This Wesley use is in one of John's translations from the German, and while it is a free translation, 'fraudless' would appear to be suggested by the German

'in Lieb und Treu' *i.e.*, 'in love and loyalty', or 'lovingly and loyally'. Unless the word lingered on in spoken English after it had become obsolete in written English, this is virtually a re-coinage.

proportion (verb)

Hymn 330. My strength proportion to my day.

(*Colln of Psalms and Hymns* 1738)

O.E.D.: 'v. tr.: to adjust in proper proportion to something else, as to size, number, etc.' It is found from 1449 to 1669; again in 1710 (Prideaux: 'to proportion the means to the end'), but not again till 1833. In this case there is nothing in the German to have suggested the word to Wesley.

These notes are based simply, as has been said, on the contents of the 1780 *Collection*; and one can be sure that a close examination of the rest of Charles Wesley's poems would reveal many other examples of the use of rare, obsolete or obsolescent words, and even further examples of new coinages. Altogether this study reveals a scholar of rare linguistic sense.

RECKONING WITH ST. PAUL

A. J. Jewell

IN a short but important book, *The Ethic of Jesus in the Teaching of the Church* (Epworth Press, 1962), John Knox compares unfavourably the involved 'machinery of justification' developed by St Paul with the simplicity of Jesus' message of forgiveness in the Synoptic Gospels – especially as depicted in some of the parables. By way of contrast, C. H. Dodd in *The Meaning of Paul for Today* (1920) long ago contended for the essential solidarity and continuity of the work and teaching of the Apostle with that of Christ. Shades of a cleavage in the New Testament more radical even than that brought into prominence by the Tübingen School.

Perhaps attention in the past has been too much concentrated upon the great 'metaphors of the atonement' (justification, ransom, expiation) in Romans 3:24–25, to the neglect of what may prove to be an even more revealing idea with which Paul is occupied in the following chapter. I refer to his use of the verb λογίζομαι, which in various forms occurs no less than eight times in 4:3–11, on three occasions in quotations from the Old Testament. The basic meaning of the verb is, of course, 'to reckon' or 'to count', coming from the sphere of accountancy, with its ledgers in which every transaction must be entered on either the credit or the debit side. Sanday and Headlam inform us that Oriental monarchs kept records by which they were reminded of the merit or demerit of their subjects. Hence probably the idea, which is common in both canonical and Apocryphal Apocalyptic, that on judgement day 'the books' will be opened before Jehovah in the heavenly court-room.

Central to Paul's whole discussion is, of course, Genesis 15:6, quoted in Romans 4:3 as: Ἐπίστευσεν δὲ Ἀβραὰμ τῷ Θεῷ, καὶ ἐλογίσθη αὐτῷ εἰς δικαιοσύνην. The faith *v.* works dispute in fact antedates Paul's controversy with the Judaistic Christians and was a standard topic of debate amongst the Jews. Appeal was made on both sides to 'Father Abraham', those of the 'works school' employing various devices for 'getting round' the awkward verse in Genesis 15. They claimed that Abraham had in fact kept the whole Mosaic Law by anticipation. That his 'faith' was itself meritorious, being commanded by the Law. That it was the institution of circumcision which demonstrated the patriarch's faith (*cf.* Romans 4:10–12). And, like St James in the New Testament, they pointed to Abraham's supreme act of obedience in his willingness to sacrifice Isaac.

Now Paul's whole argument in this section of Romans seems to turn upon the setting over against one another of two interpretations of God's covenant with his people, the one true and the other false. The former can per-

haps be described as 'From Promise through Faith to Inheritance', and the latter as 'From Law through Works to Merit'. The one leads to the position that all men of faith are thereby sons of Abraham; the other to the conclusion that only the circumcised can be so described. The former involves the category of 'gift' (or grace); the latter that of 'earnings'. Now clearly the verb λογίζομαι is appropriate only to this latter, degenerate, view of the covenant, whereby men seek to 'chalk up' meritorious works, which they believe are set down (*i.e.* reckoned to them) on the credit side of God's Book. But one cannot have such a claim upon a God whose nature and activity are all grace.

> Ho, every one who thirsts, come to the waters;
> and he who has no money, come, buy and eat!
> Come, buy wine and milk
> without money and without price. (Isa. 55:1 RSV)

One cannot open a credit account with God such as one may have with the wine-merchant or milkman!

Thus the New English Bible rendering of this passage from Romans 4 with reason puts the words 'counted' and 'counts' in inverted commas in verses 4, 6 and 11. The issue is pinpointed in verse 4. The activity of 'reckoning' is appropriate to the sphere of industrial relations on earth, where an agreed wage must be paid (this is the proper, literal use of λογίζομαι); not so to the sphere of grace. For Paul, as for Second-Isaiah, God's grace is something which is superabundant, not restricted to dues.

There would seem to be a close underlying connexion here with the much-discussed metaphors of chapter 3:24–25. Paul, while in the process of using the language he employs, seems at the same time to be saying that you *can't* really transfer such technical terms to the gracious activity of God – or, if you do, you must recognize the fact that they all need a radical reinterpretation, which, in some cases, is tantamount to a reversal of their commonly accepted meanings. Thus, the writer to the Hebrews shows how the technical language of sacrifice, if applied to the work of Christ, is stretched to the limits and indeed bursts its bounds. But perhaps the closest analogy to the case of λογίζομαι is Paul's use of δικαιοσύνη and δικαιόω'. If these words were applied according to their earthly standard, one would expect God as a righteous Judge to be swift in the condemnation of the guilty. Yet Paul declares him to be quite the reverse: a God who 'justifies' the ungodly, the unrighteous, the sinful. Paul knew well the limitations of all human types and analogies when applied to God.

The point of Paul's frequent change of metaphor in Romans 3:24–25 seems to be to argue against the 'accountant-type mind'. We cannot tie God down, least of all to a legalistic interpretation of his grace. These tantalizing terms are taken by Paul and turned inside out, so as to leave us in no doubt of the sheer objectivity of what God has done in Christ, in no doubt of our inability to do anything that will constitute a claim on him.

On the basis of these metaphors, the Apostle is able to go on to describe man's response in faith, which means, as Emil Brunner puts it in his commentary on Romans, 'man's trusting what God says to him although it goes

against all his experience, turning upside down all his customary ideas of right and wrong'. Now this element of surprise, of topsy-turvy, is what also characterizes many of Jesus' parables. In fact, there is a close parallel between Paul's use of λογίζομαι and the parable of the labourers (Matt. 20: 1–16). As the men queue up for their pay at the end of the day, whose minds are able to think only in terms of time done and wages due are confounded when God's generosity overflows the bounds which the accountant would set him, to the benefit of those labourers who came late into the vineyard. The economy of God's Kingdom is (blessedly) not governed by the economic principles of men's systems.

Interestingly enough, this comparison between the abstract theological terminology of St Paul and the concrete teaching of Christ in his parables need not be restricted to this isolated example alone. There are others. For example, in Galatians, where Paul is concerned with the battle against legalism, the significance of Abraham is again discussed. In chapter 4: 1–7, he speaks in terms of servants, sons and heirs, and their relationship with the Father. In the greatest of the 'parables of grace', that of the Prodigal Son, this combination of ideas recurs in story form. The relationship of the elder son with his father is shown in reality to be little better than that of a servant. The younger son is reconciled through grace, and his plan to take servile employment in his father's house is rendered superfluous.

One would agree with Knox that the least unsatisfactory metaphors for the grace of God are those taken from the realm of human relationships, especially the human family (*viz.* love, forgiveness, reconciliation). However, Paul's 'theological complexities' are by no means incompatible with the 'simplicity' of Jesus – provided we don't fall into the error he himself sought studiously to avoid, that of taking his categories too literally.

GOD THE LORD

John Baker

THE Bible opens with an affirmation, and that is the typical approach to religion throughout the whole of the biblical record. It affirms great things about God, and about man viewed in the light of the writers' experience of God. Affirmations, however, are the product of intense personal experience – and it is necessary to keep this in mind when we read the Bible.

The opening statement of the Book of Genesis is that God is Creator: 'In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth.' Belief in God as Creator, however, is a deduction, a rational reflection, which has followed the awareness of the primacy of God within the experience of the writer. The Bible, therefore, makes its statement as a result of an overwhelming conviction. In other words, we do not believe in God as Creator because the Bible says so, but because what the Bible says is based on the accumulated experience of many generations, crystallized in the words of a writer who was equally certain of the truth of what he wrote.

God first acts within the lives of men, and the implications of his deeds are then worked out in reflection and in living, and ultimately become stated truth. This stated truth finds an echo in the lives of others, and it is this echo which is the seal or guarantee of truth, for it is the point of awakening, the meeting place with the reality which caused the experience in someone else – it is the beginning of our experience of God within the context of a new truth about him.

We believe in God as Creator only when we have begun to be aware of his reality as Lord – only when we have felt his claim upon our lives, in the form of a challenge which is direct and personal. Every other statement we make about God is dependent on this, and without this religion has no reality. But *with* it there may come a flood of new light into the furthermost recesses of human life, for in this experience we believe that we shall find the key to life's most crucial questions.

When, and how, did man first become aware of God in a direct and personal way – as One pressing or breaking in upon man from outside the normal environment or circumstances of his life? How far back do we have to go?

That is a question we cannot answer, knowing that at any moment new evidence may be forthcoming – taking the origin of prophetic religion further back into the past. We do know, however, that the most primitive peoples reveal the sense of inner constraint, of awe, in the presence of the mystery which lies behind and beyond life, and we know that they are aware of this as being personal in a way they cannot escape. In fact, 'personal ex-

perience of God' is characteristic of the lowest and of the highest forms of civilization.

But this fact in itself has two aspects which it is important to distinguish. On the one hand it means that there is in all men, everywhere, the possibility of direct contact with God, arising from the very constitution of man's nature (what the Christian calls his creation in the image of God). Man's nature is such that he is open to the stimulus of God's outreaching spirit – if he will acknowledge and respond to it. On the other hand it can also mean merely that there is in every man the raw material, as it were the equipment, of 'religion' – and nothing more.

This distinction is at the root of the two great divisions in world religion, namely the great naturalistic religions and the religions of revelation. The former were the religious systems of Egypt, Sumeria and India, which arose largely out of a *human* outlook upon the whole of existence, following the rhythmic flow of the seasons, and of life and death. Man's place within this system was fixed – a part of the organism of which God, in his various manifestations, was the whole. Within the settled life of these great cultures the original religious feeling received the same treatment as everything else – it became only a strand in the rigid pattern of the total life. Behind the entire life of Egypt, of Sumeria, of India, enclosing and limiting social, economic, political and religious life, there was the iron hand of tradition, in the form of the hierarchies of state and church – often indistinguishable, always opposed to change or development.

This is the form that 'dead' religion invariably takes, for it provides a ceremonial, a ritualistic outlet for the undirected, instinctive urge which is common to all men, and it satisfies them on that irrational level of drama – of 'doing' – without leading on to the purifying, self-critical level of thought, where the *moral* claims of religion begin to become explicit. Then it is hard on any man who suddenly hears the voice of God calling him to rise above the traditional forms.

The startling examples of the great Pharaoh Akhnaton and the probably contemporaneous Amen-em-Apt, with their warmly personal teachings and possibly monotheistic beliefs, have survived in history in spite of the efforts of authority to erase their very memory from all records. Their attempt to bring into the static formality of the official religion the stirring life of a prophetic faith in one God met with complete failure, and in the history of Egypt they stand, as far as we know, in tragic isolation. In Sumeria, probably in India, and certainly among the Aztecs, the same development took place – namely the raising of a human structure upon a primitive apprehension of God, in which the outward forms became paramount, and the priesthood substituted its own authority within the organized state for that of God.

Wherever this happens it is inevitable that there should be little or no development in the conception of God, only human distortions of it; since the very source of all real knowledge of God's nature and character has been blocked. Hence we must look elsewhere for the growth of true religion, and it must be amongst those people whose senses were not lulled by the comfortable dependability of the seasonal abundance of the more settled agri-

cultural and urban communities, and whose hearing was not deadened by the din of official religious festivities. In fact we must look away from all organized states, where human life is ordered and dependent and artificial, to the exact opposite of this life and these conditions – namely to the astonishing history and experience of the Hebrew nation.

There we find the ideal conditions for the development of a virile, personal, prophetic religion, meeting with a people whose genius partly consisted in their recognition that it was in these conditions that their destiny could best be worked out.

The Hebrew people, despite their many lapses and regrets, left the fertile land of Egypt and set out on an odyssey that was to make them into wanderers, nomads of the semi-desert wilderness. And it was in this wilderness that the character of the nation was forged. The significance of the wilderness became a recurring theme throughout the story of the Hebrews, long after they had settled in one place. The forty years in the wilderness were the real cradle of Israel's faith, of her love of freedom and her inescapable sense of responsibility. It was during that time that she truly became aware of God as a personal God, and we hear echoes of this throughout the Old Testament. Elijah had to flee again to the desert to re-discover God. Amos was the child of the barren mountain ranges of the south, and he hated the city's corrupting influence on his nation's life. For him only the desert was clean. Jeremiah longed to get away – 'Oh that I had in the wilderness a lodging place . . .; that I might leave my people' (9: 2). And we return to it in the New Testament with the ascetic ministry of John the Baptist, and the quiet withdrawal of Jesus to the desert places to pray and meditate and refresh himself with God's presence.

It was here that the Hebrews were found by God. Whereas in Egypt and Sumeria nature had a soothing rhythm and offered abundant crops, and man was absorbed into the divine system and surrounded by it, the wilderness offered no such sense of security. In that stark solitude God was not a part of the world around: he was above it and very different from it. The Hebrew did not contemplate God – he heard his voice and his command in the thunder of the hills and in the fearsome voices of the night. The wilderness bred not the carefully organized life of the agricultural community, but a strong individualism, a life of constant action and decision, which involved the man who was alone upon the hills where danger and death lurked. These men found that God was not a theory or a general scheme which enveloped the whole of life for the whole cycle of days, but a strongly individual God who dealt with separate men and women – with Jacob, with Moses, with Samuel and Elijah and Hosea.

This was the line of prophetic religion – the religion of tension. It was not a system to be worked out, but a moral challenge to be obeyed. It was the Hebrews, above all others, the dwellers in the wilderness, who discovered that religion is knowing and doing the will of God. This God 'came' to them at times of crisis, confronted them, so that they distinguished sharply between 'the world' and God. While he might speak through nature, he was not nature; he was above and beyond it. The transcendence of God followed

from their awareness of him as a commanding, challenging God who confronted them on the level of moral decision.

It is this noble conception of God, combining transcendent majesty and moral grandeur, that preserves the Hebrew faith from those dangers to which all religions are prone, the diffuseness of pantheism, and the evasiveness of superstition and magical beliefs. In Israel the 'otherness' of God, his intrusive persistence through the message of one after another of the prophets, broke sharply and uncomfortably across any tendency to turn their faith into a form of contemplation or a merging of religious truth into more abstract philosophical ideas similar to those of neighbouring civilizations. The strong, moralistic individualism of Israel's faith was so personal in its awareness of God that any tendency to belief in magic was doomed to failure, since 'magic' is the externalizing and depersonalizing of the powers of religious faith, and the claim to control them by mechanical means. God was too real for the chicanery of magic to gain a foothold in the nation's life.

Superstition too was defeated. Superstition is the belief in capricious beings or forces which are independent of good or evil, unrelated to a morally determined will. There was no room for this beside the real faith of Israel with its insistence on the supremacy of the will, on the decisiveness of moral choice in all situations, on the authority of conscience under the control of a personal God. To the Hebrew, every 'power' in the universe was personal, and all were subject to the moral rule of God.

This sense of being so 'open' to God's supervision gave to Hebrew religion another of its outstanding characteristics, namely its relevance to contemporary life. God was Lord of every part of life, and the Hebrews were never free of him. Yahweh was a God who 'slumbers not nor sleeps' (unlike Zeus, who, when the mother of Achilles sought him, was away in Ethiopia on a visit; unlike Baal, taunted by Elijah with being asleep). Religion did not depend on ritual or routine, but on the presence of the Living God. Time after time, God comes into the midst of a situation when a crisis has arisen. This is always a moral crisis – never a political or economic crisis, for to the Hebrew all things were 'religious', God's concern.

In all these situations there are two elements present: God and sinful, wayward man. These two elements kindle the spark which brings about a prophet and a prophecy. It might almost be written as a formula: God plus Egypt equals Moses; God plus Samaria equals Amos; God plus Ahab and Jezebel equals Elijah.

The spark is always a contemporary one which intensely concerns the lives of all these people. In the coming of the prophet we see the 'Lordship' of the God who makes his claim – for most of the prophets are unwilling to undertake the task imposed on them by God. They are indeed forced into it. Moses, Elijah, Isaiah, Jeremiah, all express their reluctance, and plead their unfitness for the mission which God lays upon the awakened conscience. In this fact we see, at a much earlier date than the Book of Jonah, which deals with the same issue, the Hebrew's instinctive belief in the universality of the one God whom no man can evade, flee wheresoever he will.

When God calls a man, or a nation through a man, the challenge is in two

forms. It is intellectual and it is moral – and those two factors combine to make it both practical and relevant. Within the experience God plants an idea or a new thought; and then, in a judgement which is also a personal challenge, he demands that the prophet should risk his life, if necessary, in being faithful to that truth. And that is the meaning of 'truth' in the Bible as a whole. It is never the same as 'truth' in the Greek philosophers or scientists. It is the awareness of God's will as it is worked out in a human life, in obedience: it is God's will making its reality known within a situation and demanding that it be put into action. 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.' To be wise is to have the right attitude towards God and to obey him. To do that is to know the 'truth', *i.e.* truth for living.

The knowledge of God amongst the prophets always arose from this sense of his 'Lordship', and it had always this supremely practical meaning, making it clear that it had been forged in the heat of experience, not concocted in the calmness of meditation. Even the apparent calmness of such Psalms as the twenty-third is deceptive, as we see in the reference to 'the presence of mine enemies'. With all the great prophets the message is important not as a part of human experience, but because it is a revelation of both the Lordship and the character of God. As each message was *lived*, it threw light on the nature and will of God, and it proved that religion was a matter of practical living. It also proved that men do not really understand God until they put themselves in a practical, obedient relationship to him. The effort to obey him sharpens the moral sense, and enables them to recognize God ever more fully as he seeks to work out his purpose in human life.

SHORTER SURVEY

John T. Wilkinson

DURING the last half-century much attention has been given to the interpretation of Philippians 2:5–11, both in terms of its theological significance and its literary structure. More recently it has been viewed as a species of pre-Pauline material, revealing what was taught about Christ in the Jewish-Christian and Gentile Churches prior to the formative influence of Paul. That this 'hymn' concerning Christ sets forth the Incarnation of Christ in his humiliation and subsequent enthronement is universally agreed, but that it is set in the epistolary context of Paul's letter as an example of humility for its readers to follow, and that theologically it is concerned with the relations within the Godhead, modern exegesis has questioned. A newer approach sees it 'as setting forth the story of salvation', and its 'centre of gravity' is 'the presentation of Christ's lordship over all cosmic forces'. In *Carmen Christi: Philippians 2:5–11 in Recent Interpretation and in the Setting of Early Christian Worship* (Cambridge University Press, 55*s*.) Dr R. P. Martin, Lecturer in New Testament Studies in the University of Manchester, provides a first-rate examination of these verses, in a volume of 300 pages. The first part deals with the background and interpretation; the second is a detailed exegetical study in the light of recent interpretation; the third is a study of the passage in its first-century setting. A learned work, written at great depth, it is an altogether excellent pises of New Testament interpretation and provides fascinating reading.

Professor Jean Héring, of the Protestant Faculty of Theology in the University of Strasbourg, died early in 1966. In the field of New Testament studies he contributed three commentaries which are esteemed amongst the best in the French language. The Epworth Press is now making these available for the first time in an English translation, which is being done by Dr A. W. Heathcote and Mr P. J. Allcock. The commentary on 1 Corinthians appeared in 1962: now is to hand *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians* (30*s*.), and the commentary on The Epistle to the Hebrews is shortly to follow. Marked by extensive philological detail, the Commentary on the Second Epistle will prove exceedingly useful to the student concerned to secure clear and concise exegesis, whether he is working with either English or Greek texts. All Greek words are transliterated.

In *The Community Witness*, by Hamish F. G. Swanson (Burns & Oates, 35*s*.), the author attempts 'an exploration of some of the influences at work in the New Testament community and its writings'. He believes that the community life, derived from the experiences of Christ initially, was dominated by three influences: liturgy, which was the most immediate, since liturgy

was performed by the Christians themselves; history, since liturgy would have been meaningless without the event of Christ; scripture, as the most explanatory of these activities. So he singles out the following aspects of the first Christian century as being most important for present understanding: the use of the Old Testament by the early Christians, when speaking of the Lord: the Resurrection pattern at work in the life of the community; the sacramental liturgy in which they expressed themselves. Intended for a wide range of readers, this book reveals a comprehensive knowledge of scripture and of biblical scholarship, though the tendency to perceive 'patterns' in the process of biblical interpretation is not always justified.

As one grounded in the Reformed tradition, Professor John Bright of Union Seminary, Richmond, Virginia, has an over-riding concern that the Scriptures shall be accorded a rightful place in the Church, as the norm of preaching and the supreme rule of faith and practice. This conviction lies behind his new and important book, *The Authority of the Old Testament* (S.C.M. Press, 40*s*.), in which he brings deep insight into the problems involved in the use of the Old Testament in the teaching and preaching of the Church. In what sense is the Old Testament to be spoken of as a part of the Christian's supreme rule of faith and practice? Professor Bright singles out three 'classical solutions' which, over the years, have been proposed: (a) the deposition of the Old Testament from canonical status (dating as far back as Marcion in the second century), or at least placing it at a lower level of value as compared with the New Testament; (b) the attempt to read a Christian meaning into the Old Testament – as in the case of the Early Fathers generally; (c) 'a value judgement formed upon the basis of New Testament teaching, and then imposed on the content of the Old Testament, thereby to separate elements of abiding value from the ancient, sub-Christian and outworn' – the 'liberal solution', 'classical Wellhausianism', widely accepted in this century. These 'classical solutions' Professor Bright rejects, as each makes the assumption that the true norm is the New Testament as a starting-point for evaluation of the Old. Professor Bright reverses the direction, and asserts that the solution is to be found in the theological structure of both Testaments in their mutual relationship. In the working out of this attempt at a solution, however, Professor Bright again and again comes very near to an acceptance of the third 'classical solution', namely the idea of a progressive revelation in terms of history and experience within this theological structure. 'The Old Testament is a book that is theologically incomplete: it points beyond itself and ends in a posture of waiting' (p. 138). 'The redemptive purpose of God begun in Abraham and the Exodus have come to fulfilment in Jesus Christ – and this is the whole meaning of God's history with his people, nay, of history altogether' (p. 140). The last part of this important book gives examples of using the Old Testament in Christian preaching.

A valuable addition to the 'Torch Bible Commentaries,' published by the S.C.M. Press, is *Psalms*, by J. H. Eaton (25*s*.). Based on the Revised Standard Version, each psalm is given an introductory section, an exposition in division to show the structure, and finally a paragraph on the theological

importance of the psalm within the wider Christian context. Mr Eaton makes full use of modern scholarship in his very useful commentary.

For both John and Charles Wesley the phrase 'I offered Christ' was a classic description of the Gospel ministry, both in preaching and sacrament. In each case the phrase clearly means that Christ is offered to the people. But does it admit of a second meaning, so that it can signify an offering to God, and therefore in this sense in the Eucharist the offering of Christ? Dr Franz Hildebrandt believes that this is the decisive question between Protestant theology and Roman theology in regard to the Sacrament. In Wesley's *Hymns on the Lord's Supper* there is material for a direct sacrificial interpretation of the phrase and in this regard it would seem at first sight that Wesley's doctrine goes beyond that of the Reformers and raises the question as to whether the hymns are 'tolerant of a Roman interpretation'. The answer of Catholic theology to the phrase is that in the eucharistic sacrifice Christ himself is offered. This whole question is fully discussed in Dr Hildebrandt's latest book, *I offered Christ: A Protestant Study of the Mass* (Epworth Press, 63*s*.), in which he states first the Roman position, then that of the Reformers, and this is followed by a discussion of the possibility of an area of common ground between. At great length he then moves the question into the forum of Scripture, particularly in a detailed exegesis of the Epistle to the Hebrews. Finally he outlines the evangelical interpretation of Wesley's phrase – 'not the Christ whom we offer, but the Christ whose offer we take'. Documentarily heavily weighted throughout, this book is an impressive study of the subject, pertinent in the light of present theological and ecumenical issues, and is not easily to be refuted.

The contribution of the Reformation to the development of the French language is well known, and in that contribution Calvin had an important part, not least because his reading public was so extensive. In *The Style of John Calvin in his French Polemical Treatises*, by Francis M. Higman (Oxford University Press, 42*s*.), an attempt is made to define in detail some of the characteristics of Calvin's style which were at the foundation of his literary influence. The polemical writings have been selected for this study because the purpose of such writings was to exert a direct and forceful influence in controversy with definite opposition, whereas the expository works, e.g. the *Institutes* and the *Commentaries*, are simply statements of doctrine. The first chapter of Mr Higman's book examines the general structure of Calvin's polemical treatises, together with his method of argument. The succeeding chapters give detailed analysis of his vocabulary, syntax and imagery. The structure of Calvin's style is shown by this study to be 'hierarchical, limited but unified, and rigid', and with a quality of emotion that can be described as 'moral emotion . . . structured primarily by ideas and doctrines'. Thus the ordered nature of his thought is revealed. The first systematic analysis of the style of Calvin's treatises, this book – which is a revised version of a B.Litt. thesis presented at the University of Oxford – is a distinguished contribution to the subject.

Believing that there is an urgent need to reaffirm the Reality of God by showing him to be actively at work in the natural order and at the same time

an equal need to re-examine critically some basic aspects of traditional Christian theology, the Rev. Peter Hamilton, of Trinity College, Cambridge, has produced an important book, *The Living God and the Modern World* (Hodder & Stoughton, 42*s*.). He considers that this two-fold need is met in the writings of A. N. Whitehead – in the theological implications of his 'philosophy of process' which '*requires* the existence of God and sees his activity and influence as a necessary constituent of everything that is'. As a philosopher-mathematician, Whitehead interpreted the universe in the light of evolution, quantum physics and relativity, and saw it as a vast process in which all organisms are influenced by each other and by God, yet each retaining a measure of freedom in the process of attaining a greater unity under the purposive influence, but not the compulsion, of a God of love. In all this process 'God is the great companion – the fellow sufferer who understands'. Mr Martin is convinced that belief in God will be immensely strengthened *if it can be related to the whole natural order.* He suggests that where contemporary theology has in any measure reached out towards the scientific realm it has too often concentrated on psychology and the allied field of sociology. In this book he seeks to redress the balance by concentrating upon the natural order as a whole. This is a book to buy and to absorb.

The Coming Christ and the Coming Church (Oliver & Boyd, 55*s*.) is a collection of essays and papers by Edmund Schlink, Professor of Dogmatics at the University of Heidelberg. All the contributions are derived from conversations with the World Council of Churches and from meetings with theologians of the Roman and Russian Orthodox Churches. Most of the papers have been read at ecumenical conferences. The main portion of the book deals with 'dogmatic foundations' and reveals a remarkable knowledge of existing traditions amongst the various Churches. This is a demanding book, but also a rewarding one, and it should be studied by all who are concerned with ecumenical affairs.

The World Christian Handbook: 1968 (ed. H. W. Coxill and Sir Kenneth Grubb) (Lutterworth Press, 42*s*.) provides within a single volume a mass of information regarding Christianity throughout the world, and is the most comprehensive and unique reference book on the subject. The book comprises three sections: the first consists of articles on the various branches and aspects of the Church throughout the world; the second is the statistical section which gives information about Protestant, Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches, and in addition the Jewish population (by countries), together with an estimated membership of all the non-Christian religions; the third section is a Directory, again by countries, giving addresses of all important Christian organizations and institutions. This book should find a place in all theological colleges, in the offices of all Christian organizations and in all municipal libraries in all six continents. It is indeed indispensable.

Edited by L. F. Tuttle and Max W. Woodward, the *Proceedings of the Eleventh Methodist Conference* (Epworth Press, 35*s*.) provides a full account of the Assembly held in London, in 1966, together with the Minutes of the Council Executive Committee, and the Proceedings of the World Federation of Methodist Women. It reveals the extent of Methodism as a world-

wide confessional movement, and as an official record it marks another milestone in Methodist history. The theme of the Conference was 'God in our World', and the lectures and addresses are here printed in full.

The vast proliferation of ecclesiastical schisms in Africa – 4,494 at the latest count – is a phenomenon unprecedented in the entire history of the expansion of Christianity. These Independent Church movements, founded either by separation from parent Churches, or outside the mission and under the initiative of African leadership, are now found in some thirty-three African nations, with a total of some seven million adherents. These Churches are 'on the crest of a new wave of expansion that is making them a major force in the rooting of Christianity in the soul of Africa'. The story of one of these is set forth in the fully documented work of H. W. Turner, of the University of Nigeria: *History of an African Independent Church: The Church of the Lord (Aladura)* in two volumes with illustrations (Oxford: Clarendon Press. Vol. 1, 45*s.*; Vol. 2, 70*s.*). The term 'aladura' signifies 'the prayer-people', and expresses the characteristic feature of a type of religious movement which developed in the Western part of Nigeria amongst the Yoruba people. The founder and head of the Church of the Lord was Josiah Olunowo Oshitelo in the 1930s. The first volume examines the background and the prophet-healing movement in general, the establishment and expansion of the Church, and the secessions from it. The second volume deals with the life of the Church and makes liturgical and theological analysis of its beliefs and practice. Established in the countries of West Africa, the Church of the Lord is described as 'a living development and some at least of its life is the life of the Spirit'.

In the series of 'World Studies of Churches in Mission', sponsored by the World Council of Churches at Geneva, the latest volume is *Solomon Islands Christianity: A Study in Growth and Obstruction,* by A. R. Tippet, Professor of Missionary Anthropology at Fuller Seminary, California (Lutterworth Press, 37*s.* 6*d*; paper 30*s.*). Remote in Melanesia, the Solomon Islands are still 'primitive' in many respects, and this study covers the religious, sociological and anthropological aspects of the people. It is amply illustrated by maps and diagrams. The author has himself served the Church in Melanesia for twenty years, and this detailed and well-documented account, based upon a thorough knowledge of the situation, should prove a standard work.

From the prolific pen of Dr Maldwyn Edwards, and written in his usual vivid and eloquent style, we have *The Shaping of Tomorrow* (Epworth Press, 16*s.*). Bearing the marks of Dr Edwards's historical scholarship and his social insights and concerns, these lectures, first delivered under the J. J. Perkins Foundation Trust, in Texas, touch every field of current debate. The first three lectures deal with the issues of Humanism, Nationalism and Communism; then comes a group covering the modern debate on Man, the Family, Education and Society; the remainder enter into intellectual questions involved in Science, the Bible, the Church, the Kingdom of God – and finally the whole concept of 'God'. This book is stimulating reading throughout and no issue of central importance is overlooked. It is a book alike for preacher and people, showing the width and richness of the author's mind. It

should be widely read.

In 1964 Ian Macpherson edited a volume of sermons by contemporary preachers. A further anthology consisting of twenty chosen sermons is now to hand: *More Sermons I should like to have Preached* (Epworth Press, 21*s*.). There may be some element of danger in a preacher's frequent reading of the sermons of other preachers, but it is safe to say that in regard to structure and style, development and the application of truth these sermons can be read without demur and with much profit. For the general reader there is richness of thought in these pages. A copy of this book could well be made available in the church vestry to meet the case of emergency due to the absence of the appointed preacher.

Dr D. P. Thomson, now Warden of St Ninian's Training Centre, Crieff, has fulfilled an honoured ministry in the Church of Scotland as its outstanding evangelist. In his retirement he has now gathered together, at the request of many friends, records of his experiences and of those people who have influenced him. In *Personal Encounters* (Research Unit, Crieff, 5*s*.) there are fascinating cameos of experience covering a period of seventy years of Christian life and ministry.

No biography of Charles Haddon Spurgeon has been published for more than thirty years. A new portrait is now available in *Spurgeon: Heir of the Puritans*, by Ernest W. Bacon (Allen & Unwin, 35*s*.). Brought up in the Spurgeon tradition, the author (whose parents knew Spurgeon intimately), himself a reader of the Puritans, writes with great devotion to his subject, and shows clearly that Spurgeon's preaching, his doctrines, indeed his whole ministry, were derived from the Puritan divines of the seventeenth century, though in the last analysis – and in agreement with the late Sir Robertson Nicholl – Mr Bacon would explain Spurgeon's amazing influence as due to the Spirit of God working in him. It may be recalled that as a preacher Spurgeon could command a congregation of twenty-three thousand hearers in the Crystal Palace! This book is an interesting and very readable biography. In his concern to call our generation back to sound biblical doctrine, the author has an occasional tendency to become homiletical, yet he presents a clear portrait of this preacher – perhaps the greatest in the nineteenth century – whose influence is still considerable, and whose sermons are still being republished and read.

At the present time there are some who are prepared to question the very future of the Christian ministry as a full-time office. In his recent book, *About the Ministry* (Epworth Press, 12*s*. 6*d*.), John Stacey, the present Secretary of the Local Preachers' Department, examines this issue with intense concern and much insight. In his first chapter he analyses 'the predicament of the ministry', and then turns to 'the nature of the ministry', in which discussion there is the core of the whole book. Seeking to expound its theology, Mr Stacey argues that both the charismatic view and the purely functional view of the ministry are inadequate, and proceeds to declare that 'in virtue of his call and his ordination' the minister is 'essentially (ontologically) different from a layman' – 'a sacramental person in a sense that a layman cannot be'; a position which ultimately implies the indelibility of orders. To recognize

this in regard to the ministry can prove the anchor for the minister in his 'predicament'. The final chapter on 'The Ministry Today' has in mind particularly the Methodist Church. This book will provoke thought and some will disagree with Mr Stacey's interpretation, but it is a sincere and penetrating attempt to meet a grave issue amongst us.

In his latest book, Dr John J. Vincent, the author of *Christ and Methodism* (1965), seeks to set forth a 'Christocentric Radicalism' which is 'genuinely Christian as well as thoroughly world-affirming'. Entitled *Here I Stand: the Faith of a Radical* (Epworth Press, 5*s*.) – the title was suggested to him – is a collection of addresses in which there is a summary of things recently said and written by the author, and now set down in order to indicate that he takes a four-fold 'stand' in his radical approach. He declares that he stands by Jesus as uniquely God's word to man; by the words of Jesus in the Gospels; by the New Way therein revealed; by this Way as the living way for the world. Provocative – not least as in other of his writings by his generalizations, in place of precise statements – this book is sincere, challenging, full of concern and deeply in earnest.

In a choice book of Lenten meditations, *The Power at work among us* (Epworth Press, 7*s*. 6*d*.), Dr D. T. Niles seeks 'to plot an excursion through Scripture' in an exposition of the nature and structure of the Christian life. The method of his book is 'to go to Scripture and listen to it' – reading it so that 'the stories of the Old Testament become luminous, the teachings in the books of the prophets become contemporary and the writings of the New Testament become direct testimony to the presence and power of the Holy Spirit'. The reader of this book will find this method of approach is the right one, and these pages are written in the style we have come to value in Dr Niles's devotional writings. These gracious meditations cover the period from Ash Wednesday to Easter Sunday.

Not only Peace, by Alan Booth (S.C.M. Press, 21*s*.), is a profound book on the subject of world peace and it is a timely writing. Its author is Secretary of the Churches' Commission on International Affairs, the agency of the World Council of Churches which deals with political issues in all continents. Recognizing that it is far from easy to relate the insights of the Christian tradition to decisions in the realm of world-power, he seeks to grapple with the problem of war, believing that much current Christian comment is utopian. He seeks to deal with basic issues, emphasizing the fact that almost without exception political world problems usually form a tangled skein in which ethical decisions are difficult because truth is rarely on one side alone. Mr Booth begins with an analysis of current theories as to the origins of war, and then passes on to reveal 'the dangers of moralizing'. He declares that 'the cure is not to be sought simply in the defence of moral principle'. Rather, the contribution of Christianity is 'the further illumination of what we see going on in history' – the recognition that the world-issue is 'power'. 'The dream of a power-drained international order is a total fantasy . . . and the great problem facing the human race is . . . how to establish control of the immense and growing powers which are daily developing.'

Therefore, the necessity is the creation of international structures which will contribute to the pursuit of peace. This is not an easy book, but affords the right perspective on the whole question and rewards careful study.

Following the issue of *Towards Reconciliation,* the Interim Statement of the Anglican-Methodist Unity Commission, the Dean of Liverpool has produced a small study-guide under the title *The Immediate Task* (Epworth Press and Church Information Office, 1*s.* 9*d.*) in which the six studies should prove particularly valuable for use at the local level. Now also to hand is the first instalment of the Commission's Final Report. It is a revision of the Draft Ordinal published in *Towards Reconciliation.* This document, *Anglican-Methodist Unity: Report of the Unity Commission, Part I. The Ordinal,* has been produced in the light of the many comments received by the Commission as well as after wide consultation, and is published jointly by S.P.C.K. and Epworth Press, 4*s.* This final form of the Ordinal, if approached without prejudice, should be found reasonably acceptable to all shades of opinion in both Churches.

The Epworth Press is to be congratulated on the issue of the 'New Reformation Series' of books, the aim of which is 'to look for truth about the nature of the universe and of human life and personality by seeking a fruitful and illuminating interplay between modern questions and insights and traditional Christian assertions and understandings'. The first book in the series is *Christian Theology and Metaphysics* (15*s.*) by Peter R. Baelz, Dean of Jesus College, Cambridge, who seeks to investigate the possibility of a Christian philosophy, as a challenge to the logical positivism which has influenced much modern theological thinking. Believing that religious experience when carefully analysed reveals its own peculiar structure and presents itself as an experience of and response to a religious 'object', which is other than the experiences considered autobiographically, the author seeks 'to sketch an outline of the rationale of theism as the metaphysics of love'. 'God' is the object of religious love. 'It is in the recognition that that which is other than himself is rightly named Love, and in the loving and trustful response that this recognition engenders, that man can live in the truth and find his own integrity' (p. 133). This is a rewarding book.

The second book in the series, *Science and Faith* (15*s.*), is by W. Russell Hindmarsh, Professor of Atomic Physics in the University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, who sets out to examine the relation between science and theology as they have developed since the origins of modern science in the seventeenth century, and then goes on, by means of examples from physics and biology, to illustrate the logical structure of science in order to compare it with the logical structure of faith. A crucial chapter explains the relation between scientific statements and faith statements. 'Faith can never be demonstrated by observation . . . [and] the results of observations and the scientific theories which account for them must never be elevated into articles of faith.' This is a convincing book.

The third book in the series is by F. Gerald Downing, the Vicar of Unsworth, Bury, in which the author attempts to answer the question 'What is Christ for us today?' *A Man for us and a God for us* (15*s.*) is written in non-

technical terms. He presents a variety of pictures of Jesus, and the ways in which Jesus has been thought to have relation to God. He then proceeds to offer 'a character sketch' of Jesus, based on current critical work and finally shows how our own response to Jesus as 'God' and 'Saviour' can affect our day-to-day living. This book is an attempt to indicate the significance of Christology. He writes popularly and imaginatively to good effect.

The following cheap editions in paper-back form will prove welcome: G. W. H. Lampe, *The Seal of the Spirit* (2nd ed., S.P.C.K., 21*s.*) – 'a standard work on the controversial question of the relation between Baptism and Confirmation in the New Testament and the Early Church': Paul Tillich, *Ultimate Concern: Dialogue with Students* (S.C.M. Press, 16*s.*) – 'the most accessible and attractive introduction to his work' (*Guardian*): *Historical Selections in the Philosophy of Religion,* edited by Ninian Smart (S.C.M. Press, 22*s.* 6*d.*) – ministers and laymen who have any relish for philosophical studies will be glad to have it' (Professor Jessop). *Documents of the Christian Church,* edited by H. Bettenson, (2nd ed., Oxford University Press, 12*s.* 6*d.*) – 'that invaluable Christian reference book' (*Church Times*).

BOOK REVIEW

Edited by John T. Wilkinson

The Religion of Ancient Israel, by Th. C. Vriezen; English translation by Hubert Hoskins. (Lutterworth, 45*s.*)

This book was originally published in Holland in 1963 under the title *De godsdienst van Israël.* Those familiar with Professor Vriezen's *Outline of Old Testament Theology* (Eng. ed., 1959) will turn with interest to his treatment here of what is in many ways the more difficult and complex theme of the historical development and essential character of Hebrew Religion.

The author begins by stressing the difficulty of identifying 'Old Testament religion' as such, since it represents the blending together of a number of historically separate strands. In the early period, for example, one has to distinguish between the religion of the patriarchs, that of the Hebrew tribes who remained in Canaan, and that of those who experienced the exodus from Egypt. It is maintained that Israel's religion can best be typified by the name Yahweh. The dominant characteristic of Yahwism is its intolerance and resistance to every kind of syncretism, enabling it to triumph over competing religious systems even though absorbing many elements from them.

An examination of Israel's religion against the background of other ancient near-eastern religions shows that it has many points of affinity with them, yet also serves to illustrate its uniqueness, of which perhaps the most important element

is that its outlook is neither naturalistic nor cyclical, but teleological and grounded in history.

Following this preliminary survey, Professor Vriezen seeks to give some account of normative Yahwism as it had emerged by about 1000 B.C., taking as his main source the Court History of David. He then turns back to trace some of the roots of Yahwism in the prehistoric period, and from this point the book follows the historical development of the religion through the exodus event, the conflict with Canaanite religion in which Yahwism eventually triumphed, and the further developments which ensued in the periods of the united and divided monarchies. The contributions of the great prophets are examined in turn, and the story continues by way of the reformation and downfall of Judah, through the Babylonian Exile, to the post-exilic period of regeneration and recovery. In a final chapter under the title 'Centralization and Disintegration' some account is given of the diversity of spiritual and intellectual currents apparent in Judaism during the last four centuries of the pre-Christian era. With the canonization of the Torah, Hebrew religion comes to be wholly a matter of obedience to the Law, and the living word of prophecy virtually ceases except as an adjunct of temple worship. In the continuing tension between particularism and universalism it is the former that prevails, and Hebrew religion, its basis rigidly fixed for all time in Scripture, and its affairs governed by a conservative priestly caste, ceases to be capable of the kind of radical renewal it had known in the past; hence its resistance to, and inevitable separation from, the Christian movement.

This cannot have been an easy book to write, and it is not particularly easy to read, for the author resists the temptation to over-simplify, and tries to deal faithfully with the great number of factors to be taken into account in any serious treatment of the subject. The result is a scholarly work, fully annotated and indexed, comprehensive yet concise, which students of the Old Testament will read with profit.

S. C. THEXTON

Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech, by Claus Westerman. (Lutterworth Press, 30*s*.) This book falls into three parts. Just over a third of it is given to a history of the investigation into the prophetic word, from the work of Baudissin to Würthwein. One expects a preponderance of German authors in a survey of form-critical analysis, and since most of the works mentioned have never appeared in English, this section is invaluable for the English reader. It provides a review of the literature with Dr Westerman's acute comments on it. The second section is the shortest, briefly surveying the speech forms of the prophetic books in order correctly to locate and define the particular study of the Judgement Speech. Particularly valuable in this section is the discussion of prophetic speech as 'the speech of a messenger', with its examination of messenger formulae in the light of the Mari letters.

The main investigation is found in the third section, which first studies the prophetic judgement speech to individuals and then the judgement speech to the nation. Judgement speeches are found to have formal characteristics, such as to indicate that the prophetic speeches of the Old Testament had an earlier history. This justifies a concentration of the inquiry on the time before written prophecy in order to gain insight into the writings. The analysis reveals clear characteristics, which are then found in the prophetic books.

Some of the details of the investigation raise doubts in the reader's mind. It is admitted that in some cases the form cannot be discerned in the wording as it

now is; but 'the existence of such a form must be assumed'. This is a very loose way of dealing with the evidence. And in dealing with the narratives of Samuel and Kings, the inquiry gives very little room for the narrator's desire to produce a dramatic effect when the prophet confronts the king. But these amount to minor criticisms in the bulk of sound, careful analysis. This is an especially valuable book, both for the study of the prophets, and for the study of the method involved. It is good to have an addition to books in English which clearly illustrate the form-critical method by undertaking and carrying out efficiently the investigation of a limited area.

H. J. Cook

The Land of the Bible: A historical geography, by Yohanan Aharoni. (Burns & Oates, 63*s*.)

This is the English translation, by Dr A. F. Rainey, of the book published in Hebrew in 1962. In the preparation of the English version the material has been brought up to date and revised, and several chapters have been very largely re-written. To do justice to this splendid volume in the course of a short review is scarcely possible. It is, of course, well-known that in the forty years since the last edition of George Adam Smith's *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* an immense amount of material regarding the Near East has become available. Professor Aharoni of the University of Jerusalem has made use of a very large quantity of this in reconstructing the setting for the story of Canaan and Israel, and the result is such that one cannot in describing the book avoid the hackneyed phrase 'a mine of information'. The author writes not only as a distinguished scholar and archaeologist but also as one who from his early days has known and loved Palestine, and what he has to say is presented with a clarity and attractiveness not always to be observed in works on this and kindred subjects.

The book is in two sections. Part I is an introductory survey of some 120 pages, dealing with the outstanding geographical features of the land, roads, boundaries and names, and historical sources. There is a very interesting and valuable chapter on the study of placenames. Part II is entitled 'Palestine during the Ages' and is concerned with the history of the country from the earliest Canaanite times on through the periods of the settlement of Israel, the Monarchy, the Disruption, to the time of the Persian suzerainty. In his treatment of all these periods Professor Aharoni assembles what is known from historical sources and from geographical and archaeological survey, to bring to life the biblical narrative in a most stimulating way. 34 maps illustrate the various subjects treated, and there are a chronological table, a list of site identifications and full indexes. In his preface Professor Aharoni disclaims having written 'a contemporary repetition' of George Adam Smith's masterpiece – to which he pays high tribute – and says that his work is rather a text-book. So, in a way, it is; but the reviewer believes that readers will agree with him when he says that it is the most attractive text-book on this subject likely to be encountered in many a long day's march.

J. Y. Muckle

Theology of the Old Testament, vol. 2, by Walther Eichrodt, translated by J. A. Baker. (S.C.M. Press, 63*s*.)

The first word must be of praise for the translator. This is a first-rate translation. The very occasional clause of Anglo-German construction merely reminds one of the page after page of flowing English which one has enjoyed reading. This excellent work places us greatly in the translator's debt.

Eichrodt's work needs no praise. This volume completes the English version of his *Theologie des Alten Testaments,* including parts 2 and 3 of the fourth German edition. Here the profound study of the thinking of the Old Testament is devoted to 'God and the World' and 'God and Man'. To choose a section of outstanding value in a book so full of good things is difficult, and probably reflects only the subjective attitude of the reviewer; but the treatment of the individual in relationship with the community, and the discussion of individual piety are worthy of special mention. The complex interrelation of solidarity thinking in Israel with the individual and his freedom is carefully traced in a historic sequence of thought. The individual in his most isolated despair yet stands within the community of the pious, and derives his power from it. At the same time, what the individual gains in his experience of God flows back into the service of the community.

The discussion of piety has illuminating things to say about fear, and faith, and love in man's relationship with God. It is surprising that prayer has only passing reference (but this is a failing of most theologies of the Old Testament). One can accuse the author of using eisegesis rather than exegesis, particularly in the section on the 'Origin of sin'; but in a work so full of refreshing insight such criticism fades into insignificance. The faith of Israel is made to live in these pages. That is the main task and the splendid achievement of this book.

H. J. Cook

The Son of Man in Mark, by Morna D. Hooker. (S.P.C.K., 38*s.* 6*d.*)

In a review in this journal some two years ago of H. E. Tödt's *The Son of Man in the Synoptic Tradition,* the hope was expressed 'that someone will soon write yet another book on the Son of Man, an equally scholarly treatment, but this time from a more conservative standpoint'. This hope has, in some measure at least, been fulfilled by the appearance of Dr Morna Hooker's new book. 'In some measure', partly because the scope of her study is more limited than Professor Tödt's (she confines herself, in the words of her sub-title, to 'a study of the background of the term . . . and its use in St Mark's Gospel'); and partly because her standpoint, while it is 'more conservative' in the sense that she believes that Jesus himself used the designation 'Son of Man' with reference to himself and not in an exclusively eschatological sense, is far from being a re-statement of the position held by such scholars as Vincent Taylor and Oscar Cullmann. Such a re-statement, indeed, was hardly to be expected from one whose earlier book, *Jesus and the Servant,* so seriously challenged the view that Jesus reinterpreted the concept of the Son of Man in terms of the Suffering Servant. Dr Hooker's approach to the problem, whilst in some respects taking up the insights of Dr E. Schweizer and the late T. W. Manson, is a fresh and original one. The book consists of two parts; the former (rather more than one-third of the whole) is devoted to a very thorough and illuminating treatment of the background of the term 'Son of Man' and related concepts in Daniel, 1 Enoch and the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha generally; the latter contains a detailed discussion of all the relevant sayings in the Gospel of Mark, with a concluding chapter which draws together the conclusions to which she has been led by such a study. Dr Hooker resolutely refuses to divide the sayings beforehand into the three categories (eschatological, earthly activity, passion sayings) distinguished by almost all recent treatments of the subject, 'since any such classification must to some extent impose a predetermined pattern upon the material'. She chooses rather to examine the sayings in the Marcan order and allow them to fall into their own pattern. This proves to be a singularly fruitful method,

and enables her to discover a *consistent* pattern of thought into which sayings of all the different types can be fitted. The unifying theme is that of *authority*: 'It is because he is the Son of Man that Jesus claims authority; it is his obedience as Son of Man that involves him in suffering; it is the fact that he is Son of Man that is the ground of his faith in his ultimate vindication.' Moreover, it is argued that this consistent interpretation of the Marcan sayings is meaningful only within the ministry of Jesus. A short review cannot do justice to the persuasiveness and cogency of argument with which the author develops her case. Dr Hooker's 'more conservative' treatment (if that is the right description) is no less scholarly, and a good deal more readable, than the more comprehensive and ponderous discussions we have had in recent years; and its conclusions are certainly more positive and satisfying. This is a book of first-rate importance to all serious students of St Mark's Gospel and of New Testament theology.

OWEN E. EVANS

The Son of Man in Myth and History, by Frederick H. Borsch. (S.C.M. Press, 63*s*.) So wide is the range of this extraordinarily interesting book that we may wonder why it has been included in a *New Testament* series. Yet there is good precedent in the method of 'soundings' used by C. H. Dodd in regard to *St John*. It is this that remains dominant rather than that of the older 'history of religions' practitioners who often come to mind, especially in the first half of the work. The author is well aware of the difficulties involved in entering a field wherein so much investigation has been done. And of this, with the positive and negative conclusions, he gives an excellent initial survey, crisp and critical. But this is no peripheral matter. 'The Son of Man problem', he begins, 'cannot justifiably be set aside, because the Son of Man is at the very centre of the Gospel record and, as presented to us, is undeniably more essential to Jesus' teaching about his own mission than any other single factor.'

Having exposed the inadequacy of the main suggested definitions of the meaning and origin of the term, Dr Borsch reviews evidence that the figure (better translated *the Man*) was related to a widespread phenomenon roughly contemporary with Jesus, so disposing of opinions that the basic 'Son of Man' traditions were the work of the Church. Ranging far and wide, expertly exposing images begetting images, he comes to the baptizing Jewish sectarianism in the context of which, he argues, Jesus first grasped the idea of the suffering of the Man. It might be expected that at this point he would plunge into the heart of the matter the Synoptic *logia*. He prefers first to consider the evidence of the rest of the New Testament which, apart from Paul and John, is so scanty. From the main thesis follows an interesting suggestion. The fact that the sectarianism existed in the north and east fringes of Judaism, whereas the Church had its first roots in Jerusalem, and the New Testament records the thought of the western communities, may explain why the Church lost the terms of reference which gave meaning to 'Son of Man' and had to seek other christological categories.

Paul, however, took over the primitive materials, Christian or otherwise, and as a new man in Christ enlarged and re-fashioned them. Dr Borsch concludes this part with an excellent study of the implications for the Man of Philippians 2. Following other recent writers, he finds the genesis of the explanation of the Johannine 'Son of Man' sayings in early Christian traditions, very like those of the Synoptic Gospels, to which the fourth Evangelist may have been even more faithful.

In view of the fullness of the detail so far, and the richness (and provocativeness)

of the treatment, we have some disappointment with the comparative scantiness of the treatment of the Synoptic material. Dr Borsch holds, and briefly defends, the view that most of the *logia* can claim authenticity and none are the result of the misunderstanding of Aramaic idiom. There is no evidence that they have been inserted into alien contexts by the evangelists although they do not necessarily follow the original order. While not everyone is a verbatim report, the sayings as a whole are free of community influence. Significant examples are adduced and expounded to show Jesus' belief that his ministry and work are so related to the Man that he has the right to speak and act in that role on earth. As the Man, he must die and rise again (and Dr Borsch deals very firmly with arguments against the authenticity of the passion sayings). As such, moreover, he will be seen in heaven.

Enough has been written to indicate the importance of this work and the likelihood that the lines opened up will engage the attention of scholars for a long time. It is significant that independently of Dr Hooker, with whom at the relative points he is largely in agreement, Dr Borsch has taken up the challenge of Tödt and his followers. Here is further evidence of a new and more positive chapter in the form-critical argument.

MARCUS WARD

St. Luke: Theologian of Redemptive History, by Helmut Flender, trans. by R. H. and I. Fuller. (S.P.C.K., 32*s*. 6*d*.)

By some strange irony the Lucan writings, with all their clarity and apparent simplicity, seem to attract comment of the most obscure and complex kind. This latest discussion of St Luke's theological purpose is a translation of a German work, written originally as a doctoral thesis, and it has all the complexities which this so often seems to entail. The reviewer will probably not be alone in being compelled to read the book twice before understanding the author's purpose. The translation does not help (quite apart from slips such as the omission of a negative on p. 126, and the incomprehensible footnote on p. 120); even a study of the Contents page does nothing to guide the reader through the intricacies of the author's thought.

According to Dr Flender, these intricacies are not his own, but those of Luke himself, who holds together 'in dialectical tension' the redemptive history of the past and the present proclamation of Christ. Dr Flender examines Luke's 'technique of composition', with its 'law of two', and sees this dialectical structure as a reflection of Luke's purpose; he considers Luke's task as a historian, and discovers him holding together the ideas of historical event and existential encounter, welding together 'straight-forward narrative and kerygmatic appeal to faith into a single dialectical whole' (p. 161).

The complexity of the details with which the author develops his thesis certainly supports his statement that 'Luke's theology is far more complex than the standard works of the day suggest' (p. 90); in his view, Luke emerges as 'an independent theologian in his own right, alongside of Paul and John' (p. 164). Certainly it must be recognized that Luke is concerned to relate the Jesus of the gospel with the faith of the Church of his own day. But the complexities of Flender's explanation of how he did this, and the intricacies of its details, fail to convince. Did Luke really use his material in this complex way? Was he even aware of the subtleties of some of the difficulties of Christology, historical continuity and eschatology with which Flender envisages him grappling? Or was he perhaps, after all, a man with a much simpler purpose and a much less complex mind?

This criticism is not meant to deny that there is much of value in this book, and many illuminating suggestions. In particular, it should be noted that while Dr Flender builds upon Conzelmann's work, he does not always agree with him, and that he also challenges the belief in 'early catholicism' in Acts. But with the new interest in Lucan studies, the last word on Luke has certainly not yet been written: when it is, it will probably be a much simpler one.

MORNA D. HOOKER

Between Faith and Thought, by Richard Kroner. (Oxford, 35*s.*)

'Speculation and revelation supplement each other, but on different levels. Thought cannot solve the problems unsolved by faith, and faith cannot solve the problems unsolved by thought. This mutual exclusion, however, justifies and illuminates the duality of the two attitudes and activities of man, just as the eyes illuminate what the ears cannot grasp, and vice versa.' 'As Judaism and Christianity . . . must continue to exist because there is an essential truth in each of them, so the various Christian creeds also exist and represent a variety of existential attitudes within the One Holy Church which does not exist on earth.' These quotations, from two of the essays which make up this book, typify the author's attitude towards the relationship between philosophical and scientific reflection and faith, and towards creedal statements. This is a thoroughgoing treatment of faith as *sui generis,* to be sharply distinguished from 'thought', so that 'knowledge', even if an inevitable term to use to describe what faith provides, is an inadequate description. 'The knowledge which we receive from faith is not logical but spiritual.' Dr Kroner's repeated use of 'spiritual' at times suggests an old kind of faculty psychology. He recalls us to 'the order of the spiritual which, as Pascal has said, is at the same time the order of the heart'. Faith is imagination, but imagination which must be distinguished from poetical imagination. The role of faith, it is argued, depends upon a synthesis of the human and divine and of the historical and super-historical. Whilst affirming the uniqueness of the person and work of Christ, Dr Kroner also writes: 'Man in a profound but undeniable way is divine'; and: 'Some narratives and utterances in the gospels betray that even Jesus as a man did not fully correspond to the image of the Christ.' In a closing chapter (and *passim*) he distinguishes his theology from other contemporary theologies and offers trenchant critcism of Heidegger and Tillich. Some readers will be specially interested in his acknowledged admiration for and criticism of Hegel. This book is not intended to be systematic; it is a series of reflections on the one theme. Not least because it expresses opinions that are not now popular, it deserves critical attention.

FREDERIC GREEVES

Theology of Hope, by Jurgen Moltmann. (S.C.M. Press, 45*s.*)

The theme of this lengthy discussion is that eschatology should be related to all facets of Christian theology, and that, when this is done, new insights appear which are useful for understanding the place of faith in the modern world. Moltmann ranges widely over the theological scene, and the discussion turns out to be a criticism of the existentialist emphasis on the present, which can be a denial of the significance of the future. Moltmann argues that throughout the Bible there is an emphasis on the promises of God, which prevent faith claiming that all the reality of God and the meaning of life can be known in the present. In a very interesting discussion of the Resurrection appearances he maintains that the only feasible explanation of the records and their consequences is that the apostles were aware of an event having taken place outside their own experience, which gives sense to their conviction that Christ is alive. A combination of the historical and

experiential interpretations therefore provides the best hope of understanding this central feature of the faith. The historicity of the Resurrection is not understood if we assume that history is exclusively about known, predictable events which conform to the norm of the common experience of men. If this secular view of history is accepted we are left with a concept of the Resurrection in terms of a subjective awareness, which is totally inadequate to the centrality of this event. Moltmann argues that the mistake is to apply the standard of secular history as the norm under which the Resurrection is to be understood; rather, the Resurrection provides the standard and key by which secular history is to be understood. In a similar way, natural theology will seek to understand the world from the viewpoint of God, rather than the other way round.

In some illuminating comments on the theology of the death of God Moltmann sees that while the death of God may be understandable in terms of the fulfilment of man, we need to remember Paul's insistence on the place of the Cross, that is, of rejection, in the gospel. The older eschatological interpretation of Weiss and Schweitzer stands as a reminder that Jesus is still a stranger in this world. This is a necessary counterweight to the naïve acceptance of this present world as a totally satisfactory environment for fulfilment of human life as God intends it.

While these points are valuable in a rather abstruse academic way, there are features of this work which give rise to hesitations and questions. In the discussion of the prophetic emphasis on the promises of God there is a great deal of speculation without much real support from the actual texts, and one suspects that a great deal more is read into the prophetic message than even the prophets would have expected. Another part of the book which needs careful examination is the long discussion on the meaning of history, in which the theologian seems to be intent on teaching the historian what history really is. It is not difficult to guess the reaction of 'secular' historians to this. I very much doubt if 'all historians . . . have possessed a sense of mission, a belief in history that is meaningful, and a faith in the great task of mankind' (p. 262). It is significant that no English-speaking author – historian or any other sort – is quoted throughout the book.

This tendency to over-generalization also produces the extraordinary remark that 'The proof of God from the world has had no further influence on theology since Kant's critique' (p. 276). Whether he agrees with it or not, Moltmann might have been expected to know about the natural theology which was very influential in England during the last hundred years. And it simply will not do to say that the ontological proof of God was not rejected by Kant, when Kant plainly states in *Critique of Pure Reason* that such a proof is impossible.

It is a pity that such blatant overstatements mar the basic argument of this work, for the theme is important, and it is necessary to relate eschatology to present issues in theology. But too much vague biblical theology and too much generalizing about history prevent this book from doing what it sets out to do.

WILLIAM STRAWSON

The Use of Praying, by J. Neville Ward. (Epworth Press, 21*s*.)

This book is the Fernley-Hartley lecture for 1967, and the title indicates the practical purpose and the pastoral concern of the writer. The emphasis is on verbs, not on nouns; not on theory, but on the practice and the problems of praying. Chapter headings cover the main aspects: Thanking, Adoring and Contemplating, Confessing, Desiring Good for Oneself, and Desiring Other People's Good.

In acknowledgements and footnotes, the author reveals the sources of ideas that he has made his own, developed and expressed in terms relevant to the needs of

today. The style is conversational, and comments are often unexpected and provocative, stimulating and illuminating. Mr Ward learned much from his father, from the writings of D. Z. Phillips, Dostoevsky, Simone Weil and other great contemplatives, from an annual retreat in the Community House of the Society of St John the Evangelist at Oxford, and from the liturgical movement of recent years.

Praying is set in the life of the community of Christian people. Its purpose is to know God, love him and do his will. It begins in contemplation, 'when the mind is held still in the presence of something good'. Thanking, adoring and offering are the principal acts, and the pattern for praying is in the Lord's Prayer and the Eucharist, to both of which the writer refers and returns again and again.

Counsel is given concerning the most difficult aspects of praying – confession, petition and intercession. A chapter, entitled 'Answers', based on Jean Pierre de Caussade's book *Abandonment to Divine Providence* should be especially helpful, as it shews that there is no such thing as unanswered Christian prayer. In a long chapter on 'helps', a wide range of devotional literature is covered, and there is consideration of the value of silence, retreats, directors, rules and times for praying. Much may be learned from differing religious traditions: some Methodists may find the use of a rosary helpful. When it is impossible to pray, it is wise to remember the close connexion between praying and loving. 'We are nearest to God when we are loving him.'

In the last chapter, 'The Night of Faith', there is a reassuring word for those who continue to find the way of praying difficult and unrewarding. Often too much is expected. Life has to be lived by faith, and, according to St John of the Cross, the image that describes this life is that of 'the dark night'. But grace is always available and 'when the light breaks, it will appear that the imagined enemy was Love all the time'.

FRANK M. KELLEY

The Holy Spirit in the Acts of the Apostles, by J. H. E. Hall. (Lutterworth Press, 35*s*.)

The book deals first with the promise of the Spirit by the risen Christ and investigates the relationship between this promise and the teaching of Jesus about the Spirit recorded in the synoptic gospels. The sayings of Jesus are discussed critically but it is unfortunate that the explanation of his comparative silence about the Spirit should be found in the Matthaean injunction 'Do not give dogs what is holy'. The third chapter is probably the most important in the book. Among the problems considered are the differences between the accounts in Luke and John of the gift of the Spirit. Was Luke consciously re-writing history in the interests of theology? If the Spirit was only given after the resurrection of Jesus what are we to make of Luke's own claim that the parents of the Baptist were filled with the Spirit? Were the 'other' tongues of Pentecost foreign languages? It seems that the author is of the opinion that the tongues of Pentecost were not different from *glossolalia*, but the event was reported as if foreign languages had been used and Luke faithfully reproduced these reports. Whether this vindicates Luke's reputation as an historian must be a matter of opinion! Although John's parents are considered, the more important statement that John should be filled with Holy Spirit (Luke 1 : 15) is not treated, apart from a somewhat unsatisfactory note in the supplement that a divine spirit may be indicated. The author agrees with the Johannine dating of the reception of the Holy Spirit by the apostles, but argues that they may not have realized they possessed the gift until later. One might have supposed that no further explanation of the silence of the apostles between Easter

and Pentecost (the day of realization) was necessary. But the author suggests that Jesus forbade them to preach publicly before Pentecost. It is stated that the story of Ananias and Sapphira proves that Luke did not idealize the picture of the early Church. What is not recognized is that the story as presented may reflect an idealized view of the apostle who was now armed with the power of the God who had said, 'I kill, and I make alive'. Such an idealized view of the apostles may have contributed to the passing over in silence of Paul's conflict with Peter at Antioch. The questions considered in this book are important. The answers are always interesting.

VINCENT PARKIN

Studies in Biblical Theology: Second Series. (S.C.M. Press)

After completing a distinguished half-century in their first 'innings' (which opened in 1950), these familiar Studies have now entered upon their second, clad in covers that are bluish-grey as distinct from the former plain light-grey. As far as the New Testament 'wicket' is concerned, the two advisory editors whose responsibility lies in this direction, Professors C. F. D. Moule of Cambridge and Floyd V. Filson of Chicago, have themselves opened the new innings, with no less a master than Professor Joachim Jeremias of Göttingen following at No. 3. With all three batting true to form, it goes without saying that the foundations of another formidable score have been well and truly laid.

Professor Filson's volume (No. 4 in the Series as a whole: 10*s.* 6*d.*) is entitled *'Yesterday: a Study of Hebrews in the light of Chapter 13.* Its aim is 'to find and vindicate a new approach which will let us understand better the literary form, the key themes, and the basic unity of Hebrews'. Apart from brief introductory and concluding chapters, the work consists of two chapters dealing respectively with the Form and Function of Chapter 13 and the Key Themes of the Chapter. The author's claim that Chapter 13 as a whole is an integral part of the Epistle is convincingly argued. His attempt to draw parallels between the themes and concerns of Chapter 13 and those of Chapters 1–12 is more open to question; but whether or not one accepts his main thesis, the fresh approach and suggestive treatment of the various themes of Hebrews will be of interest and value to all students of the Epistle.

The dominating thesis of Professor Jeremias' *The Prayers of Jesus* (No. 6 in the Series as a whole: 13*s.* 6*d.*) is that Jesus' characteristic use of the Aramaic word 'Abba' in addressing God in prayer marks 'the emergence of a completely new manner of speaking which at the same time reflects a most profound new relationship with God'. This will not be new to any who have read the author's smaller, less technical work, *The Central Message of the New Testament* (S.C.M. Press, 1965). What the present volume does is to provide the advanced student of the N.T. with a detailed, fully documented presentation of the evidence upon which the thesis is based. It is another example of the immense scholarship, the profound insight and the refreshing lucidity of thought that mark all the work of this great German scholar. The book consists of four studies selected out of a much larger collection of the author's articles, published in Germany in 1966 under the title *Abba.* This is the title of the first, and by far the longest, of the studies. The others are concerned with 'Daily Prayer in the Life of Jesus and the Primitive Church'; 'The Lord's Prayer in the Light of Recent Research' (an earlier and shorter version of this study was published in *The Expository Times* in February 1960); and 'Characteristics of the *ipsissima vox Jesu*'.

OWEN E. EVANS

Islam and Christian Theology. Part 2; Vol. 2, by J. Windrow Sweetman. (Lutterworth Press, 55*s*.)

Before his death in May 1966, Dr Sweetman was able to finish this second volume of Part Two of his great work on Islam and Christian Theology. The arduous task of preparing the manuscript for publication has been undertaken by Professor J. Robson of Glasgow. It is much to be regretted that Dr Sweetman was unable to bring the whole work to completion by a final volume on 'Critical Reconstruction'.

This volume deals with the highly significant period of medieval scholasticism in the 11th–13th centuries, represented in Islam by the works of ibn-Sīnā (Avicenna), the Ash'arite school of Moslem orthodoxy, al-Ghazālī and ibn-Rushd (Averroës), and in Christianity by Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus. It was a time when a process of intellectual penetration was acting as a ferment in the philosophical and theological thought of Christendom and Islam. The author deals with the parallel attempts being made in both faiths to distinguish what was purely philosophical and what was regarded as the province of religious and theological thought. The greatest scholars of both faiths were in heated controversy concerning questions relating to the existence, unity, transcendence and attributes of God. Platonist, Neoplatonist and Aristotelian ideas were being pressed into the service of theology. The author deals first with the interpretations of the Ash'arite school and al-Ghazālī, and then goes on to deal in considerable detail with the philosophy of the renowned Islamic commentator on Aristotle, ibn-Rushd. He shows the profound influence exerted by this thinker on the school of Albertus Magnus and on Aquinas. The latter, while holding ibn-Rushd in great respect as a commentator, regarded him as an antagonist and as the exponent of an anti-Christian creed. The final section of the book is a comparative study of the basic ideas of Islamic and Christian scholasticism.

To many people in this modern world, both in Islam and in Christianity, scholasticism is regarded as an anachronism, but the author reminds us that today's thought is only properly understood when it is related to yesterday's. In attempting to appreciate the differences and the similarities between Christian and Islamic theology an understanding of the most significant works of the great scholastics in both camps is essential, and this work is a notable contribution by a Christian scholar to such understanding.

D. HOWARD SMITH

The Great Religions of the Modern World, by E. J. Jurgi (ed.). (Princeton Paperback, Oxford Univ. Press, 22*s*. 6*d*.)

The popularity of this book on the Great Religions of the World is evidenced by the fact that this paperback is the eighth printing since its first publication in America in 1946. The major religions of mankind are dealt with by experts in clear, concise and authoritative statements, each within the limits of some forty pages. Zoroastrianism, Jainism and Sikhism are not included, probably because, though of great historical significance, their influence in the modern world is confined to relatively small groups. Nor is any account given of the prevailing animism among the illiterate peoples of Asia and Africa.

The aim of the book is to reveal the impact of the great religions upon human society and culture, with particular reference to the modern world crisis; and this it succeeds in doing. The great religions are seen in constant process of transformation and perpetual renewal of their vitality as they seek to adapt themselves to changing social and political conditions.

As three separate chapters are devoted to Christianity under its Eastern Ortho-

dox, Roman Catholic and Protestant forms, it might have been more appropriate to have given a more extended treatment of Buddhism in separate chapters on Hinayana and Mahayana, which differ from each other both in development and in ethos at least as much as do Catholic and Protestant Christianity.

As a concise introduction to comparative religion, indicating the general development, spiritual core and distinctive contribution of the major contemporary faiths this book serves a useful purpose.

D. HOWARD SMITH

Faith in a Changing Culture, by Allan D. Galloway. (George Allen & Unwin, 25*s*.) This book contains the Kerr Lectures delivered by Dr Galloway at Glasgow University in 1966. The theme is in the tradition of Sir Henry Jones's Gifford Lectures, *A Faith that Enquires*. The relation of faith to culture is an age-old problem that needs periodic re-assessment and re-statement; the emergence of modern cultures in Europe and Asia and, as Dr Galloway found in theological teaching, in Africa, makes the task of re-thinking urgent.

The author begins with Paul Tillich's definition of faith as 'the state of being grasped by ultimate concern'. He recognizes the usefulness, limitations and inadequacy of this definition, which contains no necessarily or distinctively religious concept, and can be used by sociologist, anthropologist and psychologist. He gives a chapter to the distinction between authentic and inauthentic faith, concerning which there is an infinite qualitative difference. Faith and culture are not comparable. Faith is an act and a gift of God. Culture is a human creation. There is a meeting point in concern – concern about the ultimate meaning of life and concern in the human endeavour to live life in a meaningful way. Ultimate concern finds expression in particular concern. There is an inescapable tension which is never resolved in an attainable synthesis, but which is creative. 'Faith is authentic in so far as it brings individuals and cultures into relationship with that which is truly and unassailably ultimate.'

The problem is illustrated in chapters about Fate and Freedom, Identity and Change, Cult, Covenant and Election, Christ and Culture, the Method of Correlation, and the Church, which is both Catholic and Apostolic. There are appreciative and critical references to Marx, for whom economics precede belief; to Freud, who showed the hidden enslavement of faith and culture to natural, unconscious biological process; to Karl Barth, with his wise warnings; to Dietrich Bonhoeffer, who stressed the absolute seriousness of man's situation before God; to Oswald Spengler and Arnold Toynbee, the two greatest recent historians of culture; to Origen, with his sheer brilliance and total irrelevance, because the problems of his day are no longer our problems.

It is in Christianity that the problem of this relation of faith to changing culture is most acute. Jesus was a Jew of the 1st century, but his Words, Life and Person have an absolute and eternal significance. He is divine act, historic event, the substance of faith and the symbol of faith; and the correlation of faith and culture is something that we discover in deepening faith.

FRANK M. KELLEY

Abraham and David: Genesis 15 and its Meaning for Israelite Tradition, by R. E. Clements. (S.C.M. Press, 10*s*. 6*d*.)

It has long been evident that the promises made to David in 2 Sam. 7 have much in common with the covenant material in Gen. 15, and that these two passages stand together against the account of the great covenant of Sinai. Recognizing a

tension here, Dr Clements has attempted to write a history of the tradition regarding Abraham's covenant, relating it to the promises of 2 Sam. 7 and, ultimately, to all the covenant material in the Old Testament. No location is given in Gen. 15, but if Gen. 14 is omitted – and a clearer case of intrusion is hard to find – then 15:1 follows 13:18 and sets the scene in Hebron. This is the land referred to in the promise, and the deity who offers it must have been the owner, probably some version of El who was worshipped at Mamre. Abraham, whom Dr Clements regards as a historical figure, introduced his tribes to the worship of this deity. The covenant was remembered in these pre-Yahwist days as an entitlement for Abraham's clan to dwell in the Hebron area. In time the territory was conquered by Calebites as part of the penetration from the south that is now generally regarded as a distinct episode in the conquest – distinct, that is, from the thrust across the Jordan. The Calebites were Yahwists. They preserved the local covenant tradition but linked it with Yahweh and claimed Abraham as their ancestor. When we come to David we find that he is closely related to Hebron. His reign in fact fulfils the main terms of the promises to Abraham, and doubtless his editors were able to adjust the tradition to make promise and fulfilment fit exactly. As the court had now moved to Jerusalem, the tradition had to be purged of references to Hebron and the Mamre cult. We now encounter the curious fact that the pre-exilic prophets – and, to some extent, the psalms – show little interest in the covenant with Abraham. Dr Clements explains this by pointing out that the tradition had lost its cultic home and would no longer be publicly proclaimed, and that the royal covenant associated with David made it unnecessary. There would be no need to reiterate the ground of a promise when its fulfilment in the Davidic dynasty was apparent. By the time of the Exile, the Abraham covenant has regained its importance. The priestly authors re-drafted it, added the unhistorical notion that circumcision was its sign, and made it basic. In the priestly pattern Sinai was not something new, but the interpretation of the Abrahamic covenant of promise in terms of practical response.

Dr Clements writes clearly and argues well. Without being strikingly original, his book tidies up the evidence relating to Gen. 15, provides a credible piece of tradition history, and makes a useful addition to the ever-growing literature on the covenant.

D. STACEY

Worship in Ancient Israel, by H. H. Rowley. (S.P.C.K., 42*s*.)

These Edward Cadbury Lectures, delivered in the University of Birmingham in 1965, cover a great number of topics in a relatively short space, and provide the reader with a masterpiece of condensed description, enlightened and enlivened by many wise comments and judgements. The text itself, however, forms little more than half the contents of the book, the rest being made up of those very extensive footnotes, for which the author must surely be world-famous, in which he shares with his readers some of the material on which the lectures were based. With the aid of these and the excellent indexes, the book serves as a starting-point for an examination, to whatever depth may be desired, of almost any of the many facets of Israel's cultic practice and devotional life.

The treatment of the subject is, in the main, historical and descriptive. The first two lectures relate to worship in the patriarchal age and in the period from Moses to the building of Solomon's Temple. The next three are mainly concerned with the Jerusalem cultus, discussion of its inner meaning, and the relation to it of the prophets, both cultic and canonical. Strong support is given to the view that the latter were not against the cult as such, their strictures being directed at its con-

temporary abuse. On the other hand, the canonical prophets cannot be regarded as themselves cultic prophets. The fact that their oracles may sometimes reflect liturgical phrases or themes does not necessarily mean they were originally the accompaniment of ritual acts.

Two of the remaining lectures deal with the Psalms, both as regards their place in Israel's cultic worship, and their reflection of the permanent elements of spiritual worship such as adoration, thanksgiving, penitence, petition and dedication. In the other, attention is turned to the synagogue and its great contribution, not only to the developing concept of spiritual worship in Judaism, but also to the spread of the Christian faith.

Throughout the book, Professor Rowley is concerned to point out the spiritual element behind the forms of worship. He sees the patriarchs as rising to 'heights of fellowship with God seldom surpassed', though their worship lacked the corporate element we have come to regard as essential. Early Yahwism, not only by its strong ethical emphasis, but by its constant relating of the great cultic occasions to Israel's salvation history, showed itself quite distinct from the Canaanite religion from which it none the less borrowed at many points. The Temple sacrificial system, despite prophetic criticism, never stood for the idea that the ritual was of itself sufficient to restore or maintain communion with God. It is, of course, to the Psalms, so many of which provide the words which accompanied the ritual acts, that we must turn for direct evidence of both the fact and content of this deep spiritual element which characterized the best of Israel's worship throughout her history.

This is not a volume in which any new theory or thesis is advanced, although many old and more recent ones are examined and assessed in the light of the author's great learning and experience. Its value lies in the very readable yet scholarly conspectus it provides of the whole history and meaning of Israel's worship from patriarchal times to the beginning of the Christian era. Its publication makes a notable addition to the great debt already owed to Professor Rowley by all students of the Old Testament. S. C. THEXTON

The Font and The Table, by J. F. Arndt. (Ecumenical Studies in Worship: Lutterworth Press, 12*s* 6*d.*)

'This essay', says Professor Arndt, 'is the expression of a high valuation of the sacraments.' The devout spirit which permeates the writing is impressive, and the truth of the words quoted from the Preface is plain to all who read the book. But the arguments by which Dr Arndt supports his position are very dubious. The least satisfactory chapter is that on the relation of the baptism of Jesus to Christian baptism. The author accepts the critical position that the historical Jesus did not 'institute' baptism by special injunction, but he claims that the theological grounds for affirming dominical sanction for water baptism are provided by the fact that Jesus submitted to John's baptism and that his baptism was in anticipation of his ministry, death and resurrection. Not a single passage is quoted from the New Testament to support this statement, nor for the equally surprising assertion that the early Church looked to the baptism of Jesus as something of a model. This ignores the Gospel picture, where it is obvious that our Lord's baptism is regarded as a unique event presenting its own difficulties of explanation. Nor does it take into account the decisive fact that for over a hundred years after the death of Jesus we have not a single reference which connects his baptism with the Christian rite.

An unsatisfactory approach to the theology of the sacraments is seen also in the treatment of the Lord's Supper. We are told that 'the sacrament of the Supper observed in the Churches today rests upon an observance of the post-Easter Church'. Later Dr Arndt adds that the foundation of our observance is the whole mind and purpose of Christ as we know it from the apostolic witnesses and Christ present in the Spirit to his Church. He asserts that critical opinion that Jesus did not institute 'the Lord's Supper' by a specific injunction for its repetition is 'strongly established'. One wonders how this statement can be reconciled with the historical picture of each of the four gospels, the liturgies, and the words of Paul: 'The Lord Jesus the same night in which he was betrayed took bread: and when he had given thanks, he brake it.' It is interesting to note that, whereas the historical connexion of the Eucharist with the Last Supper receives a minimal recognition, in the case of the sacrament of Baptism it is the historical connexion with Jesus' own baptism that receives greater prominence.

The reviewer regrets that he cannot echo the hope of the author that his book will assist in a 'reconstruction of sacramental teaching, a more responsible ordering of practice and a more understanding participation in the sacraments of the gospel'.

H. G. MARSH

God with Us: a Theology of Transpersonal Life, by Joseph Haroutunian. (Epworth Press, 35*s*.)

Christ the Representative: an Essay in Theology after the 'Death of God', by Dorothee Sölle. (S.C.M. Press, 25*s*.)

Despite their very different backgrounds and perspectives, these two works have a good deal in common. Professor Haroutunian, an American Presbyterian and Dr Sölle, a German Lutheran, agree on the need for a basic re-thinking of much of the classical tradition of Christian theology, and offer their books as a sample of what is required. Both write in defence of the human person against the background of depersonalization which marks technological society. Both agree that there is no direct, unmediated access to God, that he is known only in, with and under our knowledge of our fellow-man, above all in *the* fellow-man, Christ the Representative. 'There is no hearing the Word of God without hearing the word of man' (Haroutunian). 'We can only surrender ourselves to God when we surrender ourselves to men' (Sölle).

Dr Haroutunian's thesis may be summed up as: '[Christian] religion is what a man does with his togetherness.' The atomistic view of the sovereign independent individual is a chimera; human nature is inescapably social in its composition. In this opening section of the book, one feels at times that the longitude is only exceeded by the platitude. The body of the book, however, though its style remains somewhat repetitious, contains some exciting perspectives of thought. The author brings this basic insight – that human life, and therefore our whole apprehension of God, is profoundly social – to bear on some of the most stubborn problems of theology: the nature of the Church, the work of the Spirit, Grace and Freedom, the 'Two Natures' of Christ. Everything is set within the framework of *koinonia*, of mutuality. The whole work is suggestive, though somewhat lacking in recognition of other theologians (Temple, Rosenstock-Huessy, Buber) whose work has followed a similar line. The index contains no reference to Buber, though *Between Man and Man* is mentioned in the footnotes. Buber's name reminds us that the whole Hebraic understanding of corporate personality, the one and the many, is ignored, though it might have reinforced the thinking of what could well prove a seminal work.

Dr Sölle asks, 'How can one achieve personal identity?' and 'What does Christ mean for our human life?' Her sub-title, 'An Essay in Theology after the "Death of God" ', sets her twofold probe in historical context. She defines the 'Death of God' as 'an event which has taken place within the last two centuries of European history and which conditions every aspect of life' (p. 10). The 'Death of God' does not connote atheism, but 'the dissolving of a particular conception of God in the consciousness' (p. 133) – the loss of the immediacy, the certainty of God's presence, as realm after realm has been withdrawn from the sphere of divine control to that of human competence. The changed *Weltanschauung* requires new categories to express the significance of Jesus for men – hence her re-interpretation of 'one of the oldest titles of Christ, the title of Representative' (p. 13).

Neither philosophic idealism, with its cult of the absolutely irreplaceable individual, nor the positivism which sees men as completely interchangeable units, will do. Idealism must reckon with the fact that in the depersonalized world of mass-production man *is* replaceable. Positivism must face the fact that the quest for real personal identity is endemic in mankind, and the claim that this quest finds justification in Christ. For Dr Sölle, as a good Hegelian, the idealist thesis and the positivist anithesis find their synthesis in the view that 'man is irreplaceable yet representable'.

No man can make himself irreplaceable. He becomes so through his deepest relations with others: 'I am irreplaceable only for those who love me' (p. 46). He experiences representation both in being dependent on others and in assuming responsibility for others. Bonhoeffer, in Dr Sölle's view, gives a lop-sided treatment of representation by 'thinking of it as responsibility without dependence' (p. 92). The criticism of Bonhoeffer's conception of 'man come of age' is part of a valuable survey of Christian thought about representation, from Anselm to Barth, in which the author shows that, in some theories of atonement, man is just as surely depersonalized, treated as exchangeable, as he is in technology, and becomes 'a mere pawn in God's chess game' (p. 101).

The final section, in which her debt to Bonhoeffer is transparent, treats of 'Christ the Representative', the one who represents, but does not *replace*, men before God. 'He died for us – namely, in our place – but we too must learn to die' (p. 106). The sketch of a 'Post-Theistic Theology' concludes with the thesis, which one would like to see expanded, that 'Christ represents the absent God' (p. 131). What at first sounds like a doctrine of the 'real absence' of God, proves finally to refer to a new mode of his presence, 'since God is present in Christ's playing of his (i.e. God's) part, though no longer as the directly experienced God' (p. 141). This is a profound work, lucid and persuasive, and it has been smoothly and readably translated by David Lewis.

JOHN A. NEWTON

God-Talk, An Examination of the Language and Logic of Theology, by John Macquarrie. (S.C.M. Press, 35*s*.)

This book will interest both students who want to know what all the talk about God-talk is and whether it matters, and also more informed readers. The former will be helped by Dr Macquarrie's enviable gift for writing lucid English and by the first five chapters which not only survey the relevant literature, but also show that questions about theological language are questions about all language. The more experienced student will be most interested in the other six chapters. Chapter 7 is perhaps the most original. Athanasius' *De Incarnatione* is used as a

case-study to show the many different types of theological language. (I am reminded of the advice given me by Dr Micklem twenty years ago – and cowardly neglected – to plunge new theological students straight into that book.) This is followed by a discussion of interpretation: how are the different types of discourse related together and their meanings drawn out? Heidegger's hermeneutics are made the case-study. Chapters follow on mythology, symbolism, analogy and paradox, and empirical language. In each instance fresh and thought-provoking comments are made. The author concludes with a chapter entitled, 'The language of existence and being'. Readers of his *Principles of Christian Theology* will know Dr Macquarrie's impressive attempt to write a Systematic Theology which is both existential and ontological. Macquarrie rightly insists that 'God' is the key-word in the theological vocabulary, and he points the way to a philosophical theology, whilst denying that 'this implies that one must accept the possibility of metaphysics, if this is understood as a rational investigation into reality'. There are many questions which a reviewer would like to raise, for this is a book to provoke discussion and therefore one to be read. It summons theologians to humility, but it also invites them to abandon purely defensive measures. If it reminds them that they may learn from philosophers and scientists, it also encourages them to ask searching questions about the language of those who criticize God-talk.

FREDERIC GREEVES

Secularisation, by Arnold E. Leon, translated by Margaret Kohl. (S.C.M. Press, 30*s*).

Secularization is provisionally defined by the writer as the historical process by which the world is de-divinized as far as human consciousness is concerned, but after lengthy argumentation secularization is finally dismissed as 'being conformed to this rebellious world'. The secular sciences deal with a limited 'Reality' – the kind of reality that can be tested and verified by scientific method. Now of course any science is to be condemned if it claims that anything outside its purview is 'unreal'; yet equally it cannot assume the existence of such entities for its own scientific purposes. The day when the name of God can appear in scientific text-books as explanatory of physical events is gone. Science has been secularized for a long time and must continue to be so. Our theological convictions express another interpretation, which is superimposed upon this world of scientific investigation; it is seen *sub specie aeternitatis.* Nevertheless these theological statements are not exempt from secular questioning and despite Loen's criticisms of Paul Tillich and John Robinson, we must find some way of talking to secular man. Revelation there may be, but it is not to be seen as the juggler's *pièce de résistance* brought out of the hat, but as something to be *explained* to man. This book offers an informative commentary, albeit from a Barthian viewpoint, on some strands of contemporary theological thought. *Chacun son goût.*

BERNARD E. JONES

The Historian and the Believer, by Van Austin Harvey. (S.C.M. Press, 40*s*.)

This is an able book about a subject with which theological thinking has always to wrestle. Anyone familiar with serious theological discussion knows that sooner or later the question of the relationship between faith and history arises. It often concentrates upon the problem of our knowledge of the Jesus of history, for any Christian structure must rest in the last resort upon 'the fact of Christ' and the validity of our knowledge of that. Much of the theological discussion and debates of the last 150 years, particularly within Protestantism, revolve in the final analysis

around this. Prof. Harvey, who is chairman of the graduate programme at Southern Methodist University, Texas, spent a year at Marburg during which he had intimate contact with the aged Rudolf Bultmann, and this book is the result of this study. Its theme, as Troeltsch perceived, is the crucial issues which the methods and results of historical inquiry raise for traditional Christian belief. The historian must be devoted to what the author calls 'a morality of critical judgment', and this concern characterizes the modern period, which dates from the Enlightenment. It was finally expressed by Locke, who laid down that there is one unerring mark of the lover of truth, namely, 'the not entertaining any proposition with greater assurance than the proofs it is built upon will warrant'. While Christianity nurtures this concern for truth, does it not at crucial points require a quite different attitude of belief, a leap of faith? Christian faith is rooted in history, yet how can our knowledge of historical 'facts' be anything but probable? The dilemma is a real one, for the emergence of historical thinking produced a revolution in the morality of knowledge. The old morality praised faith and belief as virtues and regarded doubt as sin. The new morality celebrates methodological scepticism and is distrustful of passion in matters of inquiry. In the first part of his book Prof. Harvey investigates the nature of historical explanation and claims, and the discussion owes much to F. H. Bradley, R. G. Collingwood and Stephen Toulmin, among many other writers on the nature of history. The second part is a review of modern Protestant theology which shows how various attempts have been made to overcome the tension between the 'two moralities' of historical knowledge and belief. This is a valuable and critical investigation of the relevant views of three main groups of thinkers: the dialectical theologians, principally Barth, Bultmann, Tillich, Gogarten and Reinhold Niebuhr; the so-called 'new questers' of the historical Jesus, J. M. Robinson, Bornkamm, Conzelmann, Ebeling, Fuchs and Käsemann; and those theologians who have been influenced by historical relativism or a perspective view of history, such as Dodd, Knox, H. R. Niebuhr, Ott, Panneberg and A. Richardson. About all these writers Prof. Harvey has appreciative and critical things to say, and time and again the reviewer learned much from his analyses and comments, although he would want to question the choice of the word 'formlessness' as a synonym for 'without content' in describing Bultmann's concept of faith. In a final chapter an attempt is made to assess the gains of this review. Prof. Harvey himself inclines to that type of historical relativism which he finds in the later work of A. Richardson and supremely in H. Richard Niebuhr, who sees faith and history as inner and outer history, although Harvey believes this latter distinction is a too-simple division. The distinctive Christian position must lie, he thinks, at the level of the kind of significance which the Christian attaches to events which are otherwise known in the way in which any event can be known. In the final pages, in a treatment which is tantalizingly brief, Prof. Harvey analyses the various possible meanings we may give to that central figure and event which we call Jesus of Nazareth, which is illuminative for the understanding of all other events. The analysis leaves one wondering whether the distinctions it makes, for example between the historical Jesus, the memory-impression of the early community, and the biblical Christ, can in fact be so sharply sustained. But no short summary can do justice to the treatment of the chief concern of these last pages, which is how far and in what way living faith in God in present experience is related to past historical events. This is a book which deserves serious consideration, and one can only hope that its author will pursue his exposition in greater detail.

NORMAN P. GOLDHAWK

The Transcendence of the Cave, by J. N. Findlay. (Allen & Unwin, 36*s*.)
In *The Transcendence of the Cave* Professor Findlay continues his exploration of our experience of this world begun in his first series of Gifford lectures, *The Discipline of the Cave*. He recognizes that, unlike Plato's philosopher, we may never make complete our escape from the cave, but always we are tantalized by hints and broken clues, shafts of light and intimations of immortality. In the true spirit of the Gifford foundation he makes no appeal to revelation, but in the closing chapters offers his speculations on the life of God, using the pattern of the Plotinian trinity. This is not pure speculation but is based on the need to find some sort of explanation of the overplus of data afforded by our 'phenomenological' experience. In a final chapter he enumerates the homely, brotherly, sisterly and cousinly intimations of a beyond and in this inventory appeals for a special chapter for aunts. This of course can be written off as sheer mysticism or as being nothing more than the longing for household faces gone and for the security of childhood. Professor Findlay insists that such values of truth, beauty and goodness are not amenable to purely speleological explanation. In the shadows of the cave we must avail ourselves of such light as is available. 'What I wish to point', Professor Findlay concludes, 'is that the whole of life is shot through with these astonishing experiences, no doubt differing greatly from one person to another, but which so deeply presuppose light streaming from beyond the cave that they make no sense without it.' These lectures meet more closely than many the conditions laid down by Lord Gifford and serve to show the strength and weakness of natural theology.

BERNARD E. JONES

A Dictionary of Christian Ethics, edited by John Macquarrie. (S.C.M. Press, 63*s*.)
The brevity of this review must not be taken as any indication of the importance of this work. John Macquarrie has assembled an impressive team of scholars, British and American, whose varied contributions make an indispensable work of reference. Moral issues are dealt with, as well as individual scholars and schools of thought. There are useful articles on Medieval, Lutheran and Calvinistic Ethics. On controversial modern problems, such as suicide, abortion and homosexuality, a fair statement is always given, including Roman Catholic and Protestant attitudes on such issues. This is an ecumenical enterprise but British Methodists will note with interest a number of historical items contributed by Professor Jessop and a useful contribution on Gambling from Edward Rogers. The dictionary provides scriptural references on many topics and should prove valuable as a source-book in the preparation of sermons and in leading discussion groups. It is needless to add that students will find it invaluable.

BERNARD E. JONES

Psychiatry and Anti-Psychiatry, by David Cooper. (Tavistock Publications, 25*s*.)
Participants in the discussion of 'Church' and 'Non-Church' will be interested to know that a similar debate is taking place in other circles. *Psychiatry and Anti-Psychiatry* is a protest against the institutionalism of so much psychiatric treatment. Dr Cooper claims that the schizophrenic is only confirmed in his schizophrenia by much of the treatment offered. He believes that the schizophrenic's illness can be understood only in the light of his family, and further knowledge of the family sometimes confirms the suspicion that the wrong person is being treated. The author appeals for a deeper humanity in the approach to the schizophrenic, whose problems will not necessarily be solved by so many electric shocks or brain

surgery. An account is given of 'Villa 21', a unit for schizophrenics in a large mental hospital near London, in which the alleged faults of usual methods were avoided and where the personal attention of carefully selected nurses was given to the patients; it seems to be the ideal *anti-hospital*. Indeed, the task of the nurses seems to have been the offering of friendly support and the provision of a sympathetic social environment rather than the provision of 'treatment'. No startling claims are made for successes, but it is claimed that results, measured in terms of the number of patients who do or do not have to return for further treatment, are slightly better than those for other methods, but there are so many variables that it is difficult to arrive at a firm conclusion. The results, however, are sufficiently positive to establish the need for a deeper understanding of the family situation in which the schizophrenic has lived and will continue to live after his discharge, and for treatment which is less mechanical and impersonal than that offered by many mental hospitals.

BERNARD E. JONES

The Object-Relations Technique, by Herbert Phillipson. (Tavistock Publications, 21*s*.)

Presumably our psychological conflicts reveal themselves in everything we do but when we are off our guard, as in dreams, they reveal themselves more clearly. Mr Phillipson's thesis is that we are similarly off our guard when we are engaged in constructive and imaginative work. He has used a series of pictures to bring to light the hidden conflicts of his patients, a method reminiscent of Rorschach's. The twelve pictures involve one, two and three persons and a group, thus opening the way for the expression of individual, sexual and social attitudes. Given the particular problem of the patient one can easily see why he interpreted the pictures in a particular way, but it is not so apparent that one could reason to the complaint from the story told by the patient. Nevertheless such a method might give vital clues. Reports are also given on the use of the cards in an outpatients' clinic and in a group of forty normal adolescent girls. The latter results are compared with the stories provided from the same pictures by fifty delinquent girls. It is claimed that the experience with the test over the past five years has shown that this method can be usefully applied to personnel selection in industry and elsewhere; but this does not seem to be fully established. This method has many of the built-in subjective difficulties of the interview, which all goes to show how difficult is the task of plumbing the depths of another's personality. In spite of the problems involved, Herbert Phillipson's book opens up a useful line of inquiry.

BERNARD E. JONES

Battle for the Free Mind, by Ian Ramage. (Allen & Unwin, 40*s*.)

After ten years an attempt has been made to offer a thorough criticism of Dr W. Sargant's *Battle for the Mind*. The contents of that book forced Mr Ramage to fight on at least three fronts. His easiest task, fulfilled in great detail, is to correct the historical record. He shows that the violent emotional reactions by some who attended John Wesley's services were limited in number, mainly confined to the years 1739–43, not associated with 'hell-fire preaching', and were never treated by Wesley as necessary, or even specially desirable, elements in Christian conversion. Much the most important part of this book, however, is Mr Ramage's psychological explanation of the emotional breakdowns which certainly often occurred. He distinguishes these from the effects of brain-washing and the kind of fear-induced abreaction which Dr Sargant describes. That experience brings to light

emotions such as *repressed* anger and leads to release from 'debilitating symptoms'. Mr Ramage argues (with much documentation) that in the cases of Wesley's hearers what came to light and was accepted was, not repressed emotions such as anger, but what had been previously (if unconsciously) rejected. In response to a message of forgiveness and an offer of salvation *for all* came overwhelming joy and peace and love through the experience of emotional breakdown. Mr Ramage offers interesting explanations, drawn from psychological, religious and environmental facts, for the proneness of certain people to this kind of reaction. He further criticizes the theological assumptions that are implicit in Sargant's book. Mr Ramage introduces his book with a study of the mind–body relationship, which does not take us very far; and one could wish that he had written more concisely and with less quotation from secondary (as distinct from essential primary) sources. But this book should not only prevent us from looking back at Wesley and his work through distorting spectacles; it should compel us to face the issues which Dr Sargant raised. If (as Ramage, I think, shows) he is wrong in his interpretation of Wesley's converts, he may be right in saying that the kind of emotional pressure that he describes could produce results. Whether, as Dr Sargant says, they would produce another 'Protestant revival' is another question. It may well be that what was there offered as an invitation is in fact a dreadful warning.

FREDERIC GREEVES

Morals in a Free Society, by Michael Keeling. (S.C.M. Press, 25*s*.)

What do we mean when we speak about right and wrong? Do these terms mean the same as the terms 'good' and 'evil'? What are the characteristics of the Christian moral system? Does it consist of a series of inflexible and unchangeable rules or is the will of God for men and women best conveyed in terms of a 'situational ethic' which leaves a man free to enter into every situation and ask what is the best response that love can make? Is Christian morality the same as the morality of the humanists? What connexion is there between religion and morality?

These are some of the questions which mark out the area of one of the great debates of our time, though they do not adequately describe its content. They are certainly important questions, but no one of them admits of a short and simple answer. Michael Keeling in the first part of his book provides us with three excellent well-reasoned chapters which help us to see why the questions are important and what at any rate some of the answers may be. He also examines the question of human responsibility and the evidence of the social and biological sciences, and of psychology, which have forced us to re-think our definitions.

The general conclusion of this part of the book is that moral codes are essential but that we do well to remember that the only moral absolute is the being of God. It is possible that, even when Christians feel that they are right, they can be less right than they feel. This is the kind of approach which certainly does not lead to moral indecision, but to greater moral sensitivity – a quality much to be desired.

The second part of the book, which occupies two-thirds of the space, is still not long enough to do justice to any one of the specific matters which are considered. Under the heading 'Practical Applications' Mr Keeling comments on the criminal law, the right to live, family matters, economic questions and problems connected with poverty, race, education and politics. Obviously in trying to cover so wide a field, he could only hope to provide the starting-points for sound discussion. Granted the limited objective, the material provided is useful and the arguments, though briefly stated, are sound and realistic.

KENNETH G. GREET

Christianity in its Social Context, (ed) Gerard Irvine. (S.P.C.K., Theological Collections No. 8, 19*s.* 6*d.*)

In the summer of 1965 a distinguished group of scholars (including Dr Frend, John Heath-Stubbs, Dr Dillistone, Dr Routley and Professors Demant and Mascall) gave a series of lectures to St Anne's Society in London, a centre since 1934 for Christian exploration of the contemporary world. We are only beginning (through the writings of sociologists like Boulard) to realize how much the expression and practice of our faith are affected by social pressures. A few quotations will reveal the capacity of this collection to stimulate. 'There was probably much less superstition in the Middle Ages than in the Renaissance period, down to the middle of the seventeenth century.' 'The Victorians could pour out their wealth and the products of their imagination in their churches. They were able, in a sense, to dedicate that spirit of success and achivement which was the essential spirit of their time. If they were much given to impenitence, at least they were not driven to the outward expression of timorousness and anxiety.' 'Literature is still for churchmen only a means to an end, a means of illustrating a point of view, of drawing a moral, and this is an attitude which is destructive to creative writing of any kind.' 'It is a great mistake to think that Christianity is a solution to social problems; it has created many of them by this division of loyalties and its emphasis on the significance of the individual.' The Christian faith 'has got far more in it than any particular person can possibly take in, because it is meant not just for me, not just for this age, not just for this culture, but for all ages and cultures. And thereafter it contains partly developed, partly undeveloped, a whole treasury of riches exceeding anything which we at any particular time are capable of grasping or utilising.'

ALAN WILKINSON

Culture Against Man, by Jules Henry. (Tavistock Publications, 45*s.*)

This book will have a huge sale in the United States, whatever its fate in the United Kingdom. First of all, it flogs the Americans for their 'pursuit of affluence' at the expense of the spirit. It is in the line of the Vance Packard series of indictments, or, on a different level, Professor Galbraith's books – and everyone knows their sales. Flagellants may persist in their conduct but at least the beating does them good. Americans revel in it; it is an offering to their conscience. Secondly, the three parts of the book, on contemporary America, with special reference to advertising and the economic aspect of Soviet–American relations; on parents and children, with special reference to an investigation at some depth into Rome High School and its students, and case-studies of two families; on obsolescence, with special reference to three contrasted geriatric homes – are all calculated to interest the widest segment of American life. Finally, the research is mainly based on case-work, especially when the matter deals with teenagers, their parents and old people. Incidentally, it is curious that, while writing in a racy vigorous manner, the author constantly throws up long and ugly and difficult words which Americans seem to like. What do you make of 'delusional extrication' or that 'pathogenic institutions metamorphose the inmates into specific types and treat the perceptual apparatus of the inmates as if it belonged to the metamorphosis'? You get there, but only with trouble. Actually the book carries you along because of the subject matter and the author's gusto. It is only at the end that one queries whether the narrow field of research, however well investigated, can bear the broad conclusions based on it. In essence the author analyses the elements of sickness in American society as others have done, and will do, but with the twist that whilst the 'culture of life resides in all those people who are inarticulate, frightened and confused,

wondering where it will end, the forces of death are strong and organized'. In Jules Henry's own words: 'Death struts about the house while life cowers in the corner.' Frankly, with every wish to be realistic, this is medicine I will not take.

MALDWYN EDWARDS

The Humanist–Christian Frontier, by Geoffrey L. Heawood (Peter Smith, The Boltro Press, 15*s*.)

There is so much in this book that needs to be said and that needs to be said over and over again. Mr Heawood draws on his wide experience as a schoolmaster, and latterly as general secretary of CACTM, to map out the contours of the Humanist–Christian frontier. One would agree that at least an important part of this frontier runs right through the sixth forms of our schools. After a somewhat lengthy review of *The Humanist Frame* (1961), edited by Julian Huxley, the author asks how we can present the Christian message in such a way that the grosser misinterpretations afforded by the current image of the Church – and for Mr Heawood this means the established Church – may be avoided. He has in mind not unnaturally the teenagers of our schools who only see darkly through the façade of institutional religion. Mr Heawood draws on a vast background of reading and we are reminded that much of what goes for new theology today was anticipated by scholars like Oman and Pringle-Pattison fifty years ago. Perhaps too much is attempted. While every chapter is valuable in its way a simpler, more direct appeal in smaller compass for a comprehensible presentation of Christian belief to adolescents and potential ordinands would have been more easily readable. Nevertheless it is a cheering work, and it is to be hoped that more and more Anglicans are thinking like Mr Heawood so that the stumbling-blocks of the archaisms of the Prayer Book and the Thirty-Nine Articles may be removed, together with other kinds of double-think involved in archaic credal statements.

BERNARD E. JONES

The Glorious Body of Christ, by R. B. Kuiper. (Banner of Truth Trust, 21*s*.)

The author has been a minister successively of the Presbyterian Church and of the Reformed Church in America, and has also been a theological tutor. This book is a collection of monthly articles contributed to *The Presbyterian Guardian*, and reproduced here in book-form in response to numerous requests. The object is 'to give the reader some glimpses of the marvellous glory of the body of Christ as that glory shines forth resplendently from God's infallible Word'. Dr Kuiper is a fundamentalist, believing the Bible to be infallible and Adam and Eve historical persons. Hence there is a definitiveness and certainty about his teaching, and a gathering of Scripture quotations to support it. He believes that the Bible gives clear guidance on almost every issue – even on 'planned parenthood'! Dr Kuiper is a great believer in the Christian Church – a spiritual high-churchman, in fact. He is ecumenical in outlook, desiring to see not only the spiritual unity of the Church but the visible organic unity thereof. The serious snag, however, is that he believes that church-membership should be confined to 'born-again', 'converted' Christians, who accept the substitutionary theory of the atonement. Any person not 'sound' on this issue should not be allowed to be a member of the Church. Dr Kuiper is a Calvinist and firmly believes in predestination. God elects so many to salvation, but not all. God's love goes out to the 'elect' and apparently to them only, though he does not definitely state what seems to be the logical conclusion – that the 'non-elect' are left to perish. Although he cites many passages of Scripture to support his views, he never squarely faces the many passages which declare or

imply the universality of God's love. He is manifestly a sincere and able Christian, well-versed in theology and ecclesiology, whose views should command respect; but obviously this book is not for scholars, for no subject is discussed at sufficient depth. For those in general, however, who preach and teach, it will suggest many profitable subjects for consideration and ways of dealing with them.

HENRY T. WIGLEY

Social History and Christian Mission, by Max Warren. (S.C.M. Press, 27*s.* 6*d.*)
These studies of missionaries in the British Empire from the premiership of Palmerston to that of Macmillan are based on lectures delivered in the University of Cambridge by Dr Warren, who was General Secretary of the Church Missionary Society in 1942–63 and is now Sub-Dean of Westminster. The aim of the book is to present a coherent picture of the interaction of political, social, economic and religious factors in the modern missionary movement. Dr Warren has had access to the archives of most of the major missionary societies based in the United Kingdom, from which he has sifted the relevant information with the masterly skill and keen discrimination which are the mark of all he writes. While recognizing that Christians are of necessity emotionally involved in any recital of the history of missionary expansion, he rightly sets himself the task of distinguishing between historical fact and pious legend. He skilfully demolishes much of the false romanticism which surrounds accounts of missionary enterprise, and presents us with a lucid, clear-sighted account of the modern missionary contribution to the present tumultuous state of our world. We are reminded of the inevitable present and future dilemma of the Church in Asia and Africa, brought about by the inescapable association of the Church with the colonial past. It makes little difference to the situation that the Church itself was often the prime instigator of the idea of 'freedom' which has resulted in the establishment of the so-called free nations and states in Africa and Asia. The chapter on the quasi-Establishment of the Church belongs to history, and makes interesting and often depressing reading. A new chapter on the relations of Church and State is being written slowly and painfully, especially where near-totalitarian regimes have vested the idea of 'freedom' with notions incompatible with Christian faith and practice.

The chapter on 'The Public Image of the Missionary' should be made compulsory reading for all who have the notion or call to offer for any missionary service. After a penetrating analysis and description of missionary activities Dr Warren comments on the image of futility presented by missionaries of the 19th century, as they underestimated the difficulty of their task and were mainly unaware of how ill-equipped they were to undertake it. This image of the missionary survives in certain aspects into present times. The idea of missions as social service is developed from the days when a missionary doctor was regarded as a 'helper' in missionary service and the missionary cleric as the 'real' missionary, to the present realization that *diakonia* is at the very heart of mission. The role of education in determining missionary strategy, and in creating the African and Asian *bourgeoisie* leads on to an important chapter on the place of the community in Asian and African cultures, and its bearing on the present task of evangelism.

This book will be a standard work in this field for many years to come. Its extreme readability and exciting presentation of historical fact will encourage many readers to use to the full the comprehensive bibliographies with which it is supplied.

DOUGLAS H. PRESCOTT

Religion in a Changing World, by S. Radhakrishnan. (George Allen & Unwin, 25*s*.)

Professor Radhakrishnan, former President of India, has devoted a lifetime to the study of the religious problems of East and West. In this rapidly changing world he discerns a new society gradually emerging in which the rational and spiritual strands of human nature are inextricably woven. There are now great opportunities for intellectual communication and spiritual communion. Yet there are still barriers, for no one is so vain of his religion as he who knows no other, and so often the sacred egoism of nations has lead to disasters. Rapid transition of organizational man in a technological society has caused many human beings to be assimilated into a mass man, thus making individual thoughtful approach to life's problems difficult. So develops a religious predicament, as the presence of the infinite within makes man dissatisfied with the finite. Even in a scientific and materialistic society, metaphysical thought-forms emerge. To point to the facts of evil and cry that God is dead is to assume an anthropological view of God. Evil is tolerated by God as an inevitable collateral consequence under which man is free to develop moral qualities. Sanctity is creative goodness in the midst of evil, bringing healing. The Creator has, to a greater or lesser extent, revealed himself to all men. The emergent World Community requires a common loyalty to a universal moral order. In this the discipline of religion is necessary for a unity of spirit embracing the richness of realities in all faiths as a cherished expression of one truth. This book was read during a recent tour of mission hospitals in North India, an experience which left the impression that this is hardly the spirit that inspires India at present.

J. LEONARD WILKINSON

BOOKS RECEIVED

ALLEN & UNWIN: E. W. Bacon, *Spurgeon: Heir of the Puritans*, pp. 184, 35*s*. A. D. Galloway, *Faith in a Changing Culture*, pp. 122, 25*s*. M. Whiteman, *Philosophy of Space and Time* (Muirhead Library of Philosophy), pp. 436, 75*s*.

BURNS & OATES: H. Swanston, *The Community Witness: An Exploration of Some of the Influences at Work on the New Testament Community and its Writings*, pp. 230, 35*s*.

EPWORTH PRESS: (ed.) L. F. Tuttle and Max Woodward, *Proceedings of the Eleventh World Methodist Conference, London 1966*, pp. 290, 35*s*. J. N. Ward, *The Use of Praying* (Fernley-Hartley Lecture, 1967), pp. 160, 21*s*. D. T. Niles, *The Power at Work among us* (Lent Book), pp. 152, 7*s* 6*d*. J. J. Vincent, *Here I Stand: The Faith of a Radical*, pp. 94, 5*s*. In the 'New Reformation Series': W. R. Hindmarsh, *Science and Faith*, pp. 104, 15*s*. P. R. Baelz, *Christian Theology and Metaphysics*, pp. 152, 15*s*. F. Gerald Downing, *A Man for us and a God for us*, pp. 154, 15*s*.

LUTTERWORTH PRESS: M. C. Vriezen, *The Religion of Ancient Israel*, pp. 326, 45*s*. J. W. Sweetman, *Islam and Christian Theology*, Part II, Vol. II, pp. 355, 55*s*. C. Westerman, *Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech*, pp. 222, 30*s*. J. H. E. Hull, *The Holy Spirit in the Acts of the Apostles*, pp. 200, 35*s*.

MITRE PRESS: H. Callaway, *Super-Sense: A Beginning*, pp. 103, 16*s*.

OLIVER & BOYD: E. Schlink, *The Coming Christ and the Coming Church*, pp. 353, 55*s*.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS: F. M. Higman, *The Style of John Calvin in his French Polemical Treatises*, pp. 191, 42*s*. (ed.) H. Bettenson, *Documents of the Christian Church* (revised and paperback ed.), pp. 344, 12*s*. 6*d*. (ed.) E. J. Jurji, *The Great Religions of the Modern World*, pp. 387, 2*s*. 6*d*. (for Princeton University).

RESEARCH UNIT, CRIEFF: D. P. Thomson, *Personal Encounters*, pp. 128, 5*s*.

S.C.M. PRESS: (ed.) Ninian Smart, *Historical Selections in the Philosophy of Religion* (cheap ed.), pp. 510, 22*s*. 6*d*. J. H. Eaton, *The Psalms* (Torch Bible Commentaries), pp. 318, 25*s*. J. Bright, *The Authority of the Old Testament*, pp. 272, 40*s*. P. Tillich, *Ultimate Concern: Dialogues with Students* (cheap ed.), pp. 236, 16*s*. F. H. Borsch, *The Son of Man in Myth and History* (N. T. Library), pp. 428, 63*s*. M. Keeling, *Morals in a Free Society*, pp. 157, 25*s*. (ed.) J. Macquarrie, *A Dictionary of Christian Ethics*, pp. 366, 63*s*.

S.P.C.K.: G. W. H. Lampe, *The Seal of the Spirit* (2nd ed. paperback), pp. 344, 21*s*.

TAVISTOCK PUBLICATIONS: Jules Henry, *Culture against Man*, pp. 496, 45*s*. H. Phillipson, *The Object-Relations Technique*, pp. 224, 21*s*. D. Cooper, *Psychiatry and Anti-Psychiatry*, pp. 128, 25*s*.

NOTABLE ARTICLES IN PERIODICALS

Expository Times, September 1967
First Aid in Counselling: XIX. The Homosexual Man, by Dr Frank Lake.
I recommend you to read: (VI) Books on Christian Mission, by Canon D. Webster.
Second Thoughts: XII. The Textual Criticism of the New Testament (II), by B. M. Metzger.

Expository Times, October 1967
The Two-Nature Doctrine of Christ, by R. G. Crawford.
The Lord is One, by G. A. F. Knight.
I recommend you to read: (VII) Contemporary Poetry, by F. Pratt Green.

Expository Times, November 1967
I recommend you to read: (VIII) Biographies, by B. J. Martin.
The Case of the Epileptic Boy, by J. Wilkinson, M.D.
God and the World, by Norman Hook, Dean of Norwich.
Second-century Episcopacy: Its Non-diocesan Character, by T. Francis Glasson.

Expository Times, December 1967
I recommend you to read: (IX) Books on Preaching, 1952–1967, by D. Cleverley Ford.
The New Theology and the Idea of Transcendence, by L. Paul.
The Churches under Fire, by D. H. C. Read.

Harvard Theological Review, April 1967
Christian Freedom Reconsidered: The Case of Kierkegaard, by J. H. Hartt.
Old Testament *Promissio* and Luther's New Hermeneutics, by J. S. Preus.
Edwards and the Ethical Question, by C. A. Holbrook.
The Augustinian 'Cause of Action' in Coleridge's *Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, by J. A. Stuart.
Observations on the Use of Augustine by Johannes Scotus Eriugena, by B. Stock.

One in Christ, Vol. III, 1967, No. 4
Rome and Canterbury, by the Archbishop of Canterbury.
The Decree on Ecumenism, by Camillus Hay, O.F.M. and Gregory Baum, O.S.A.
Luther's Central Concern, by H. J. McSorley, C.S.P.
Luther: The Contemporary Image, by E. Gordon Rupp.

Scottish Journal of Theology, September 1967
Salvation and Cosmology: The Setting of the Epistle to the Colossians, by R. S. Barbour.
The Private Life of God, by J. G. Levack.
Is the Doctrine of the Trinity Scriptural?, by R. G. Crawford.
The Ministry – a Renewed Quest, by Prof. William Nicholls.
Was Calvin a Biblical Literalist?, by Prof. R. S. Prust.
Passover and Eucharist in the Fourth Gospel, by J. K. Howard.
New Church Constitutions and Diakonia, by C. E. B. Cranfield.

Studies in Philology, May 1967
Literature of the Renaissance in 1967: A Bibliography.

Concilium, September 1967
The Roman Background of Early Christianity, by A. Sherwin-White.
The Barbaric Invasions and the Christian West, by Jan-Maria Szymusiak.
Scholasticism and Renaissance Christian Humanism, by Anton Weiler.
The Byzantine Church and the Muslim World after the Fall of Constantinople, by Adel-Theodore Khoury.
The Church on the Eve of the Reformation, by Regenrus Post.
The Chinese and Malabar Rites, by Henri Bernard-Maitre.
Catholicism and the Enlightenment, by Georg Schwaiger.
The Mennaisian Crisis, by M. J. Le Guillou.
Americanism: Myth and Reality, by Thomas McAvoy.
St Peter in Contemporary Exegesis, by Beda Rigaux.

IMPORTANT EPWORTH BOOKS

NEW REFORMATION SERIES

No. 1 Christian Theology and Metaphysics

Peter Baelz

A most important attempt by the Dean of Jesus College, Cambridge, to investigate the possibilities of a Christian philosophy. This is a positive reaction to the negative thinking of the logical positivist school which has influenced so much modern theology and to some extent accounts for the notion of the "death of God". Mr Baelz constructs a metaphysics of love. *15s. net*

No. 2 Science and Faith

W. Russell Hindmarsh

The author, who is Professor of Physics at the University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, sets out to examine the relations between science and theology as they have developed since the origin of modern science in the late 16th century, and to show that much of the current theological debate has its roots in the various attitudes which have been taken to this problem. The book moves to a discussion of the nature of statements of faith, and attempts to answer the question: What sort of thing are we saying when we assert for example, that Jesus is the Son of God? And how do such assertions differ in character from scientific statements? *15s. net*

No. 3 A Man For Us and a God For Us

F. Gerald Downing

In this book, the Vicar of Unsworth, Bury, tries to sort out the problems of what academics call "Christology" in non technical terms. He makes us face the variety of pictures of Jesus and the ways in which men have thought that He was related to "God". He offers a character sketch which he finds compelling, and suggests, very tentatively ways in which the response to Jesus which calls Him "God" and "Saviour" can be worked out for living, thinking and praying in our time. *15s. net*

EPWORTH PRESS 25-35 City Rd., London, E.C.1