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Michael Sattler and the Schleithem Confession, 1527

WHEN, in 1910, W. J. McGlothlin, of Louisville, published his important collection of documents entitled *Baptist Confessions of Faith*, the earliest document he included was "a set of seven articles drawn up by the Swabian and Swiss brethren at Schlatten am Randen, near Schaffhausen, in 1527." This is now more usually called "The Schleithem Confession" or—in accordance with sixteenth century custom—"Brotherly Union of a Number of Children of God concerning Seven Articles."

During the past forty years this Confession has been closely studied both on the Continent and in the United States. New material connected with it is now available and it is recognised as one of the most important source documents for a study of the thought of the early Anabaptists. A German monograph on the Confession has recently appeared—*Das Schleithemer Täuferbekenntnis, 1527*, by Beatrice Jenny (Druck und Verlag Karl Augustin, Thayngen, 1951). This provides the opportunity for making some of the results of recent study available in this country. In what follows I have not confined myself to Beatrice Jenny's monograph, though a good deal of the information given is to be found there.

McGlothlin stated that "so far as known" the Schleithem Confession was never printed in the sixteenth century, but that written copies circulated quickly and widely. He drew attention to a manuscript copy found in the Cathedral Library at Pressburg, Slovakia, and printed in shortened form by Joseph Beck in 1883. McGlothlin also made reference to another manuscript copy in the State Archives of Bern, printed in part by Ernst Müller in 1895. One or two other manuscript copies are now known. McGlothlin's English translation was made from neither Beck nor the Bern copy, but from the Latin version incorporated by Zwingli in his *In Catabaptistarum Strophas Elenchus, 1527*, which replied point by point to the Schleithem Articles within a few months of their first appearance.

The Bern MS. is still, perhaps, the oldest extant form in which the Articles, as originally drafted in German, have come down to us.¹ But, though McGlothlin was unaware of it when his book appeared in America, three sixteenth century printed copies had already come to light. The oldest bears the date 1533 and

¹The Bern text is given by Beatrice Jenny and closely compared with Zwingli's translation.

is now in the State Library in Berlin. The other two copies are undated. In each case the Confession is bound up with a letter from Michael Sattler, the Anabaptist leader, to the group of brethren at Horb, an account of Sattler's death, which occurred in May, 1527, and a statement on divorce. The printed German text of the Confession was reproduced by Walther Köhler in *Flugschriften aus den Ersten Jahren der Reformation*, Vol. II, Leipzig, 1908, and also by Heinrich Böhmer in *Urkunden zur Geschichte des Bauernkrieges und der Wiedertäufer*, Bonn, 1910, a small book of documents for students in Lietzmann's well known series. Moreover, in addition to circulating in German and in Latin, the Confession was available in the sixteenth century in French and in Dutch. In 1544, Calvin published his *Briève Instruction pour Armer Tous Bons Fideles contres des Erreurs de la Secte Commune des Anabaptistes*. In it he quotes the *Schleitheim Articles* in a way that implies he had a printed French version in front of him. The full text of the Articles was also printed in Dutch as early as 1560. It circulated among the followers of Menno Simons, and was again printed in 1565.² It was difficult as well as dangerous for the Anabaptists of the sixteenth century to make use of the press. The discovery of these several printed forms of the Confession emphasises its importance and shows how widely it was known.

In 1936 a critical edition of Zwingli's *Elenchus* appeared in the *Corpus Reformatorum*, Vol. XCIII. The introduction is by Walther Köhler; the notes are by Professor Fritz Blanke, of Zürich. The Schleitheim Articles have also been carefully studied by the Mennonite historians, John Horsch, Robert Friedmann and J. C. Wenger. An English translation of the Confession by Wenger appears in his *Glimpses of Mennonite History and Doctrine*, Scottdale, Pennsylvania, 1940 (2nd edition, 1947), and in his *Doctrines of the Mennonites*, Scottdale, 1950. Valuable articles on the Confession by Horsch and Friedmann are to be found in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, Vols. IV and XVI, while in Vol. XXV of the same periodical a Lutheran scholar, Gustav Bossert, Jr., has an important article on Michael Sattler. So much for the bibliographical material on which modern study has to be based.

The Schleitheim Confession was put together on February 6th, 1527, by a group of Anabaptists gathered at Schlatt, near Schaffhausen.³ After many months of controversy with Zwingli, the little group of radicals in Zürich, led by Conrad Grebel, had

² See Robert Friedmann, *Mennonite Quarterly Review* XVI, 2 (April, 1942), pp. 83/4.

³ Attempts to identify the place with Schlatt in Thurgau or Schlatt in Baden are now discredited.

in January, 1525, reinstated believers' baptism as the basis of their church fellowship. The authorities at once proceeded against them and, though they secured considerable popular support in the valleys around Zürich, the leaders were soon either fugitives or in prison. Hübmaier had already left Waldshut and was making his way to Moravia. Grebel died during the summer of 1526, probably of the plague. His companions, Mantz and Blaurock, were captured in December of that year. Blaurock was driven from Zürich as a foreigner and made his way into the Tyrol. Mantz was drowned in the river Limmat in January, 1527. Others of the Zürich radicals, Wilhelm Reublin, Ludwig Hetzer and Michael Sattler among them, had escaped from the city some months before. There is trace of several of them, including Sattler, in Strassburg. The kind of discussions they had had with Zwingli were renewed with Capito and Bucer. The former was at first sympathetic, but could do little under the watchful eye of his companion. Neither on theological nor practical grounds were either the Reformers or the Catholics ready to give serious heed to what the Anabaptists were trying to say.

Sattler's name has been closely connected with the Schleithem Confession, at least since 1672, when J. H. Ottius published his *Annales Anabaptistici*. A letter to Menno Simons appears to carry the tradition back more than a hundred years to within thirty years of the Schleithem gathering.⁴ Beatrice Jenny, after re-examining all the evidence, does not think it can be proved that Sattler drafted the Confession, or even that he presided at Schleithem, but the probability is strong that he was one of the leading figures, and he was perhaps the author of the more personal paragraphs which precede and follow the seven articles themselves. These epistolary sections are not quoted by Zwingli; nor are they adequately reproduced or alluded to by McGlothlin.

Sattler was born in the closing years of the fifteenth century at Staufen, not far from Freiburg. He is described as a well-educated young man, versed in several languages. Though not on the matriculation roll, he may have attended classes at Freiburg University. He entered St. Peter's Monastery in the neighbourhood and rose to the position of prior. Disgust at the worldliness of the clergy and monks, combined with study of the New Testament, and particularly the Pauline Epistles, led Sattler to join the forces of the Reformation. He left the monastery and married. By March, 1525, "Brother Michael" was in Zürich and a member of Grebel's party.⁵ Banished by the Edict of November 18th,⁶

⁴ See F. Blanke, *Zwingli's Elenchus*, 1936, p. 104; B. Jenny, *op. cit.* p. 26.

⁵ See L. Von Muralt and W. Schmid, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer in der Schweiz*, Vol. I, Zurich, 1952, No. 64, p. 73.

⁶ See Muralt and Schmid, *op. cit.* No. 133, p. 136.

Sattler made his way to Strassburg. Both Capito and Bucer were deeply impressed by his integrity and zeal and were ready later to speak well of him. It is likely that Sattler and Hans Denck met at this time. The former stood for the biblical piety and churchmanship of the Swiss Brethren; the latter represented the more spiritualistic wing of the Anabaptist movement.

On leaving Strassburg, probably in the first weeks of 1527, Sattler began to work as an Anabaptist evangelist and leader in the Neckar valley, with the little town of Horb as his centre. Soon after the Schleithem gathering, he was arrested with some of his followers. For eleven weeks they were imprisoned in the tower at Binsdorf. A letter written by Sattler to the Horb congregation found its way into print as early as 1533, as has already been noted, and passed in time into *The Martyrs' Mirror*, the famous Dutch collection of Anabaptist records which came gradually into existence from 1562 onwards. In May, 1527, the prisoners were transferred to Rothenburg and were there tried. In spite of a courageous defence, young Sattler was sentenced as a heretic to have his tongue cut out, his body lacerated with red-hot irons and, finally, to be burned. This savage sentence was carried out on May 21st, 1527. Sattler's wife, who shared his faith and constancy, was afterwards drowned with other women in the Neckar. Certain of the other men were executed.

Apart from the letter written to the Horb congregation, we possess for certain none of Sattler's writings, though T. J. van Braght, who compiled *The Martyrs' Mirror* in the seventeenth century, believed that he was the author of a number of Anabaptist tracts, including one on *The Hearing of False Prophets or Antichrists*.⁷ The Anabaptist hymnbook, *Ausbund*, the first edition of which appeared in 1564 and which is still in use among the Old Amish Mennonites of the United States, contains a hymn ascribed to Sattler. It consists of thirteen verses of four lines each. The following is a version of my own of three of the verses, which tries to reproduce not only the metre and rhyme scheme of the original, but also something of its simplicity:—

When Christ by teaching through the land
Had called to Him a tiny band,
"Patience, My friends," they heard Him say,
"Take up and bear your cross each day.

"He who would My disciple be,
With courage and with constancy,
Must on this earth love more than all
The words that from My lips do fall . . .

⁷ The text is given by J. C. Wenger in *M.Q.R.*, Vol. XXI. No. 4 (October, 1947).

"When for My sake you are accused,
When persecuted and abused,
Be of good cheer; at Heaven's throne
There waits a recompense all your own."⁸

One of the accounts of Sattler's trial and death is thought to have come from the pen of Wilhelm Reublin, who was active in the country to the south of Rothenburg.⁹ There are other contemporary accounts, one of which was included in *The Martyrs' Mirror*. The nine charges made against Sattler were as follows¹⁰ :—

1. that he and his adherents had acted contrary to the mandates of the Emperor. (The decrees of the Diet of Worms, 1521, were probably in mind.)
2. that he denied the doctrine of transubstantiation.
3. that he taught that infant baptism is of no avail for salvation.
4. that he rejected the sacrament of supreme unction.
5. that he despised and condemned the Mother of God and the saints.
6. that he condemned the taking of oaths before magistrates.
7. that "he has commenced a new and unheard of custom in regard to the Lord's Supper, placing the bread and wine on a plate, and eating and drinking the same."
8. that he had left his Order and taken a wife.
9. that "he has said that if the Turks should invade the country, no resistance ought to be offered them; and if it were right to wage war, he would rather take the field against the Christians than against the Turks."

Sattler denied the first charge. He and his friends had not adopted Lutheran teaching, he said. They were only being loyal

⁸ A. J. F. Zieglschmid, *Der Alteste Chronik Der Hutterischen Brüder* New York, 1943, pp. 55n., questions the ascription of this hymn to Sattler. R. Friedmann, *M.Q.R.* XVI, 2 (April, 1942), p. 87, says that a 17th century book in the Goshen College Library ascribes the *Ausbund* farewell hymn, No. 136, to Sattler.

⁹ See Muralt and Schmid, *op. cit.*, No. 224, pp. 250f.

¹⁰ For the full document from *The Martyrs' Mirror* see E. B. Underhill, *A Martyrology*, Hanserd Knollys Society, 1850, pp. 21f. Cf. Gustav Bossert, Jr., "Michael Sattler's Trial and Martyrdom" *M.Q.R.* XXV, 3 (July, 1951). *Die Alteste Chronik* u.s.w. which was begun in the second half of the 6th century in Moravia, contains a summary of Sattler's trial and martyrdom. Charges 1 to 6 above are recorded; then follows 9, and finally 8. Charge 7 is not given. It is stated that a full account is in the possession of the brethren. See Zieglschmid's edition, pp. 55-56. G. Bossert, Jr., *op. cit.* pp. 209-210, thinks that charge 7 should really be added to charge 2, but was the result of baseless rumours. Lydia Müller, *Glaubenszeugnisse Oberdeutscher Taufgesinnter*, Leipzig, 1938, pp. 376, gives an account of Sattler's death from a MS. in the Library of the Evangelical Church in Pressburg.

to the Gospel and the word of God. He admitted the second, third and fourth charges. In the case of the fifth, he denied the charge in the form in which it was presented, but stated clearly that Scripture knows nothing of Mary as a mediatrix. The duty of non-swearing, Sattler based on *Matt. v. 34* and *James v. 12*. There is no indication of his reply to the seventh charge. In regard to the eighth, he replied that "the pomp, pride, usury and great whoredom of the monks and priests" had led him to break with them and that the New Testament enjoined marriage. He boldly defended the principles of non-resistance and also his remark about the Turks; they knew nothing of the Christian faith, whereas Christians who persecute others are "Turks after the spirit."

It is to be noted that several of the charges against Sattler were of the kind that could have been levelled against any adherent of the Reformed teaching. In Rothenburg. Sattler was in the hands of authorities loyal to the Pope as well as the Emperor. The charges in regard to infant baptism, the taking of oaths, and pacifism, as well as the somewhat ambiguous reference to the Lord's Supper, marked him out as one of the radicals. All these points occur in the Schleithem Confession.

This cannot be reproduced here in full. The introductory epistle suggests that the Confession was intended for dissentient Anabaptists or perhaps for former associates in Zürich, rather than for the outside world. It appears to hint at antinomian tendencies in certain quarters and appeals for strict separation from the world and from false brethren. The seven matters which are said to have been discussed at Schlatt and on which unanimity had been reached, are:—

1. Baptism, which is to be given only to "those who have learned repentance and amendment of life . . . and who walk in the resurrection of Jesus Christ."
2. Excommunication from the Church (i.e. the Ban), which is to be employed against those who "slip sometimes and fall into error and sin," but only after two private admonitions. It should take place prior to the breaking of bread, so that a pure and united Church may sit down together.
3. The Lord's Supper, which is to be partaken of only by those who have been baptised.
4. Separation from the World, by which is meant "all popish and antipopish works and church services, meetings and church attendance, drinking houses, civic affairs, the commitments made in unbelief and other things of that kind." "Therefore there will also unquestionably

- fall from us the unchristian, devilish weapons of force—such as sword, armour and the like and all their use.”
5. Pastors in the Church of God, who must be men recognised for their integrity by those “outside the faith”; whose office is “to read (i.e. the Scriptures), to admonish and teach, to warn, to discipline, to ban in the church, to lead out in prayer . . . to lift up the bread when it is to be broken, and in all things to see to the care of the body of Christ; and who are to be supported by the church.” If a pastor suffers banishment or martyrdom, “another shall be ordained in his place in the same hour so that God’s little flock and people may not be destroyed.”
 6. The Sword, which is ordained to be used by the worldly magistrates for the punishment of the wicked, but must not be used by Christians even in self-defence. Neither should Christians go to law, or undertake magisterial duties.¹¹
 7. Oaths, which are forbidden in accordance with *Matt.* v. 34, and *James* v. 12.

The concluding epistle states that “these are the articles of certain brethren who had heretofore been in error.” It seems clear that they were agreed upon only after discussion and that they were sent out for the guidance of the Anabaptist groups represented at Schleithem and quickly secured a wider acceptance and authority. It is to be noted that the first three Articles and the fifth—that is, those on baptism, excommunication, the Lord’s Supper and the ministry—are much more summarily treated than are those on separation, the sword and oaths. Beatrice Jenny is less sure than Professor Blanke that it was intended to enforce with the ban acceptance of the decisions of the Schleithem gathering. Copies of the Confession soon reached Bern, for on April 25, 1527, Berchtold Haller was able to send one to Zwingli, whose mind began at once to work on a reply. If Professor Blanke is right, when Zwingli wrote out the *Elenchus* in the closing days of July, he had more than one copy of the Confession in front of him.¹²

What are set forth in the Confession are the points on which the Anabaptists differed sharply from the State churches. Its distinctive emphasis is on believers’ baptism as the basis of a gathered church of confessed believers, a church intent on keeping itself free from “spot or wrinkle” and, therefore, ready to make

¹¹ It should be noted that the State is regarded as part of the divine order, but the authority of the magistrate applies only to those outside the Church.

¹² See *Elenchus*, pp. 107, 122, for a possible explanation of some confusion in Zwingli’s division of points (4) and (5).

use of excommunication, a church deliberately separating itself from the State and the authority of the sword. This main emphasis was common to almost all the varied groups which appeared on the left wing of the Reformation and to whom the name Anabaptist is applied. The same general emphasis is to be found among their successors in England and America in the seventeenth century. But on the practical consequences of separation difference of opinion and practice was to be found both in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. In Moravia, Balthasar Hübmaier stood for a more positive attitude towards the magistracy and accepted the necessity of Christians, resisting the onrush of the Turks. The first English Baptists were ready to take an oath of loyalty to the English sovereign, in spite of the criticisms of their Mennonite friends. As Robert Barclay rightly emphasised in *The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth*, it was the Quakers who, in respect of the sword and of oaths became, in company with the Mennonites, the residual legatees of the Swiss Brethren and those Anabaptists who thought with them.

The Schleithem Confession remains, however, one of the basic documents for an understanding of the history and tradition of Baptists. It is to be hoped that one day we may have a revised and enlarged edition of McGlothlin with the pages devoted to the Confession increased in number, and these and other issues more fully discussed. Meanwhile, Michael Sattler is a pioneer and martyr whose name deserves to be better known among us than it is.

ERNEST A. PAYNE.

Things Touching the King, by G. W. Emery and M. W. Anderson. (Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 8s. 6d.)

This is a fascinating story of the medical work of the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission in Patna, centred in the Duchess of Teck Hospital founded in 1895. It is packed with incident and human interest and tells us just what we want to learn from such a book. It describes the patients, the appalling physical and moral conditions from which most of them come, the day to day routine of the hospital, and the results in healed bodies and converted lives. The far-reaching effects of such a hospital are partly revealed in the training of nurses and dispensers. The failures are there as well as the successes, and it is an informing and inspiring book. Between the lines one can read the faith, courage and sacrifice of the staff.

F. BUFFARD.

Matthew Arnold and the Nonconformists

IN his autobiography, E. E. Kellett tells how Matthew Arnold's Nonconformist contemporaries regarded him: "Of all distinguished Victorians" he says, "the one most utterly detested by Nonconformists was Matthew Arnold. . . As is the way with humanity, they read what made their blood boil. *Literature and Dogma, Culture and Anarchy, Friendship's Garland*, they studied with fascinated fury."¹ It must have been a trial of charity, indeed, for a body of Christians, who were excluded from the best education the country afforded, to be told that they lacked "sweetness and light," and Arnold adopted an unfortunate tone in dealing with Dissent, even though he sincerely believed that he was working for its good.

Our purpose here is not to make a complete survey of everything Arnold wrote about Protestantism, Puritanism and Nonconformity—he seems to use the three terms as synonyms—but to give an outline of his attitude, followed by a study of some Nonconformist reviews of his two central works in this field, *Culture and Anarchy* and *St. Paul and Protestantism*.

A previous article ("Matthew Arnold's Theology," *B.Q.*, Oct. 1951) by the present writer dealt with his dislike of Calvinism. The works of Calvin (one wonders how much he knew of them) he saw as "narrow, rigid, menacing," and Victorian Calvinism, perverting Paul's teaching in order to support itself, was making Christianity into something that the modern mind could not accept. Arnold regarded Nonconformity as the system that was perpetuating Calvinism; there was Calvinism in the Establishment, but he forgave the Anglican Evangelicals because, in keeping Calvinism, they had kept so much besides, and had left themselves in the way of development.

Arnold's theological objection to Dissent was not founded on knowledge. His social objection was perhaps better founded, for in 1851 he was appointed inspector of elementary schools, and, as the Anglican and Roman schools had clerical inspectors, Arnold's work lay among the schools of the British and Foreign Schools Society, and the Wesleyan schools. Through these schools he came into contact with leading Nonconformists of the various denominations. Nonconformity, he decided, was "the Church of the Philistines"—the enemies of the children of light, who preferred energy to intelligence, doing to thinking, working for practical causes to reflecting on the First Cause. Both "Hebraism"—energetic doing—and "Hellenism" or intelligent thinking, were good, and they were complementary; but Arnold believed that mid-Victorian Britain had a surplus of "Hebraism," and its mainspring was Nonconformity. The Nonconformists

¹ E. E. Kellett, *As I Remember* (1936), p. 217.

must be saved from their Hebraistic leaders, from their narrow, hole-and-corner existence outside the main stream of the nation's life. This was Arnold's mission, and the Nonconformists, rather naturally, did not appreciate it.

The practical remedy that he suggested is interesting today in view of movements towards reunion. He thought that a church of Presbyterian order should be established in England on an equal footing with the Episcopal Church, for "both (Presbyterianism and Episcopalianism) were in the Church of England at the Reformation and . . . Presbyterianism was only extruded gradually."² He saw that the severities practised by the Establishment in the Seventeenth century had made "union on an Episcopalian footing impossible," and he believed that:—

"Presbyterianism, the popular authority of elders, the power of the congregation in the management of their own affairs, has that warrant given to it by Scripture and by the proceedings of the early Christian Churches, it is so consonant with the spirit of Protestantism . . . it is so predominant in the practice of other Reformed Churches, it was so strong in the original Reformed Church of England, that one cannot help doubting whether any settlement which suppressed it could be really permanent."³

Arnold was a thorough Erastian; his objection to Nonconformity was simply that it would not conform to the Establishment, for he had no theological opinions on such matters as the "apostolic succession," which so divide us today. He did not understand the argument for a free Church, and he thought that his projected Presbyterian establishment ought to satisfy all Nonconformists, who, freed from the necessity of accepting episcopacy, would stream into it. Yet with all his concessions in the matter of reunion, Arnold was inexorable in his opposition to the Puritan type of religion which, while overcoming the grosser faults of character, is "narrow and inadequate," revealing Hebraism at its worst. The Nonconformists, he thought, were doing much harm by emphasising a quality of which the English had too much already: energy without light. This emphasis prevented any free play of thought, and must be altered. It was time "to Hellenise a little."

"A more free play of consciousness, an increased desire for sweetness and light, and all the bent which we call Hellenising, is the master-impulse even now of our nation and of humanity."⁴

This was the choice that Arnold saw before Britain: either this discipline of true culture through a right use of criticism, that is, of the intelligence, or—Anarchy.

Culture and Anarchy appeared first in the *Cornhill* in 1867

² *Culture and Anarchy*, Preface.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

and 1868, under the titles "Culture and its Enemies" and "Anarchy and Authority," and in 1869 it was published in book form. The general reaction was favourable. Concerning the *Cornhill* articles he wrote to his mother, "I am astonished, and so is George Smith,⁵ at the favourable reception what I have said meets with, but this shows how ripe people's minds are, for a change, in some of their fixed notions on these matters."⁶

The Preface to *Culture and Anarchy*, in which he strongly criticised the Liberals and Nonconformists, was naturally attacked by these, but Arnold takes this cheerfully as evidence that he has gained a hearing. "The Liberal newspapers one and all attack it," he writes, "and this, too, they are likely to do more and more."⁷ A week later he adds, "However much I may be attacked, my manner of writing is one that takes hold of people and proves effective."⁸

In June, 1869, he feels even more confident: "The chapters on Hellenism and Hebraism are in the main, I am convinced, so true that they will form a kind of centre for English thought and speculation on the matters treated in them."⁹

Some idea of the reception given to the book by Nonconformists may be gained from reviews which appeared in some of the Free Church periodicals. The weeklies were not greatly stirred, though the *Christian World*, in a review entitled "A Poet on State-Churchism," took Arnold to task for his indifference to the cause of Irish disestablishment, and for his belief that great men were not reared outside Established churches. The *English Independent* ignored the book, and Edward Miall's other paper, the *Nonconformist*, printed no review until 1869, though it published short notices of the *Cornhill* essays.¹⁰ In the opinion of this paper, Arnold's work was "deeply interesting, but eminently unsatisfactory;" let him continue in this vein if he pleases, for it was amusing and did the "Philistines" no harm. That learned organ of Nonconformity, the *British Quarterly Review*, dealt with Arnold's book more thoroughly.¹¹ It calls *Culture and Anarchy* "a very racy and suggestive essay," but goes on to upbraid him heavily and, one feels, without a grasp of essentials, for it considers that "the pith and point" of the essay is a desire to arrest the disestablishment of the Irish Church. Though its complaints are often just, a lighter approach might have been more effective.

⁵ Of Smith, Elder and Co., publishers of the *Cornhill Magazine* and of many of Arnold's works.

⁶ *Letters*, ed. G. W. E. Russell (1901), I pp. 455-6.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II, p. 4.

⁸ *Ibid.*, II, p. 6.

⁹ *Ibid.*, II, p. 13.

¹⁰ *Nonconformist*, Jan. 11, 1868; July 8, 1868; Aug. 5, 1868.

¹¹ *British Quarterly Review*, April 1, 1869, p. 569.

There was little evidence of agreement with Arnold's ideas from Church or Dissent, but most of the reviewers treat him with respect and they provide evidence that he was making people think. Widespread interest among serious people of all opinions; encouragement from his friends; and the knowledge that he must make himself clearer on some points—all these factors probably urged Arnold to "repeat the dose."

St. Paul and Protestantism, with an Essay on Puritanism and the Church of England, was reprinted, like *Culture and Anarchy*, from the *Cornhill Magazine*, and the first edition appeared in 1870. A convenient statement of its purpose is given by Mr. Herbert W. Paul:—

"The author desired to contrast Hebraism, the philosophy of morals, with Hellenism, the philosophy of thought. He sought also to prove that Evangelical Puritanism, which grounded itself upon the doctrines of St. Paul, had misunderstood and perverted the teaching of the apostle. Of Evangelical Puritanism the Nonconformists were the chief representatives, and therefore they come in for a peculiar share of Mr. Arnold's attention."¹²

Dissent, Arnold argued, was keeping alive a spirit of contentiousness, and that for the sole reason of perpetuating Calvinism; and, as Mr. Paul continues:—

"He proceeded to argue in favour of unity, of one Church . . . but it soon appeared that the new universal Church was to be purged of all doctrine. God was no longer to be as the Calvinists made Him, 'a magnified and non-natural man,' but 'that stream of tendency by which all things strive to fulfil the law of their being'."

It is small wonder that this did not commend itself to orthodox Dissent, warring as it did against central Christian doctrines and against the freedom of the Church from all State control. The more militant Dissenters naturally concentrated on the less important part of the book, the essay on Puritanism and the Church of England. Arnold noticed this and wrote to his mother: "My expostulation with the Dissenters has rather diverted attention from the main essays, but the two things, the position of the Dissenters and the right reading of St. Paul and the New Testament are closely connected."¹³

Foremost among the attackers of the book was the *Nonconformist* the paper founded in 1841, by Edward Miall, and carrying the motto which so irritated Arnold, "The Dissidence of Dissent and the Protestantism of the Protestant Religion." The reviews in this journal began in October, 1869, when Arnold had not reached his discussion of Dissent, and Miall considers the *Cornhill* essay "one of the most able and interesting articles of

¹² Herbert W. Paul, *Matthew Arnold* (English Men of Letters), 1902, p. 121.

¹³ *Letters*, II, p. 48.

the month." He is pleased with Arnold's recognition of the doctrinal agreement prevailing among Congregationalists. A month later another review appeared, dealing with the second essay. It is far more hostile than the first. Arnold's attack on Puritanism, says Miall, might have injured if his power had equalled his will, but as it is, the Puritan position has not been weakened. Puritanism is "the most active and intelligent part of Christendom, and that which has certainly done most for human liberty and progress." Miall does not neglect Arnold's interpretation of St. Paul, and he writes as a competent theologian. No agreement is possible between him and Arnold on the subject of Biblical criticism, for if, as Miall believes, the New Testament "be a divine revelation," Arnold's treatment is "altogether out of place." On June 8th, 1870, the *Nonconformist* published a further review, evoked by the first edition of *St. Paul and Protestantism*. Miall asks why Arnold does not include the Anglican Evangelicals in his condemnation? "[Their] solifidianism appears to be condoned because of their remaining in the Church." He goes on to say that the Dissenters will never "crucify conscience, subscribe creeds we do not believe, submit to episcopal ordination as a mere State ceremony, and take our places in the ranks of the national hierarchy."

The *English Independent*, another paper under Miall's control,¹⁴ also attacked Arnold's book. The first review, which appeared on October 7th, 1869, gives a slightly twisted summary of Arnold's first essay, and is written in a tone of ridicule:—

Arnold, it says, having entered the lists, "will proceed to attack the most famous champions of Christendom, driving the lance of Anselm into shivers, splitting the helmet of Augustine. . . laying the burly Luther flat . . . rolling Calvin in the dust, routing the Jansenists, and finally, having dispersed the whole Puritan hordes, waiting meekly to receive the crown of sweetness and light, amid the grateful plaudits of English Christians."

In November of the same year, the *English Independent* deals with Arnold's interpretation of St. Paul. The doctrine of salvation by faith, says the writer, is held by "all the churches of Christendom, with one insignificant exception": is this "insignificant exception" the Church of Rome? A fortnight later an anonymous letter appears in defence of Arnold. "It seems to me," writes the correspondent, "and I am not alone in the thought, that you are not quite just to the new expounder of St. Paul."¹⁵ Unfortunately this only irritates Miall; in the next issue he denies that he has misrepresented Arnold, and returns to Arnold's treatment of St. Paul. The essay on Puritanism and the Church of England is reviewed in this

¹⁴ The two papers were amalgamated in 1879.

¹⁵ *English Independent*, Nov. 18, 1869, p. 1143.

paper on February 17th, 1870. Arnold's purpose says Miall, seems to be two-fold: to show that belief cannot be the basis of ecclesiastical unity, and that errors can be tolerated in a church, so long as it is "national and historic." Arnold's picture of the Church struggling with Calvinistic Puritanism for her openness of mind is a strange new reading of history; but as long as the Authorised Version is in people's hands, both St. Paul's doctrines and Puritanism are safe. The final volley from this quarter came after the first edition.¹⁶ Arnold, says Miall, has a horror of Calvinism and Dissent, and thinks the "Zeit-Geist" will soon have melted both; but it may melt Established churches. Dissenters inherit the "watchful jealousy" which Arnold dislikes from persecuted ancestors; and, though Arnold might cut at many of their acknowledged weak spots, they object to being whittled away.

Calmer, and therefore more effective, criticism came from the *Christian World*,¹⁷ which, after summarising Arnold's argument, decides that he has made a great fuss about nothing. Calvinism need not be alarmed; but it may melt Established churches determined by the will of God is not fatalism, and Arnold has left it unscathed. The review shows no appreciation of the good in Arnold's work, and it is not followed by any other comment. The *Freeman*, the Baptist weekly which was later amalgamated with the *Baptist Times*, also joined battle. A short notice¹⁸ of Arnold's first *Cornhill* essay sums up his position, and adds—temperately enough—"We certainly think he misrepresents the Puritans." A longer review follows,¹⁹ in which the reviewer, at one with Arnold in desiring to understand Paul, is utterly at variance with him concerning the apostle's divine inspiration. Arnold's abandonment of the orthodox doctrine of the Atonement cuts away the cause of Paul's attachment to Christ, and leads Arnold himself hopelessly astray. This review is continued in the following issue,²⁰ when it deals with Arnold's interpretation of the Sacrifice of Christ, and in 1870²¹ the *Freeman* reviews the essay on Puritanism under the title "A New Invitation to Conform." This review points out that, contrary to Arnold's belief, the Puritans separated because the Church was too narrow for them.

"This new step towards comprehension," continues the reviewer, "convinces us more than ever that the greatest obstacle to the unity of Christendom is the system of political establishments."

¹⁶ *Ibid*, May 13, 1870.

¹⁷ *Christian World*, Nov. 5, 1869.

¹⁸ The *Freeman*, Oct. 15, 1869.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, Nov. 12, 1869.

²⁰ *Ibid*, Nov. 19, 1869.

²¹ *Ibid*, Feb. 4, 1870.

The *Freeman*, more moderate and perhaps more constructive than the Congregational weeklies, emphasises the Baptists' proud claim to pre-Reformation origin :—

“Our protest against State interference with religion is as old as that interference itself. ‘What has the Emperor to do with the Church?’ cried the Baptists of the Fourth Century.”

Heavier artillery was brought into the field by the *British Quarterly Review*, which in July 1870 reviewed *Culture and Anarchy* and *St. Paul and Protestantism* together. The reviewer starts well enough: Arnold's exposition of St. Paul's teaching and rebuke to Puritanism are not to be regretted, he says, for fresh thought must come. But this tone is not maintained; some good points are made, but exaggerated language destroys their effect. There is no sign of an understanding of Arnold's basic ideas; for example, the reviewer, anxious to prove that the Dissenters are not “an obstacle to progress and true civilisation,” lists “their evangelising work among the poor in rural villages, and large towns, their Sunday and Ragged Schools, their Home and Foreign Missions, and their educational efforts.” But one who has read *Culture and Anarchy* should know that Arnold would regard all this as “machinery,” the pursuit of which *as an end in itself* was the bane of “Hebraism.” This writer is on stronger ground in charging Arnold with indifference to virtue when it appears in a form that did not attract him :—

“We much fear,” he says, “that the first Church of the Galilean fishermen, as contrasted with the cultured ‘sweetness and light’ of the Sadducees and Pharisees, would, because of its vulgarity, have found but little favour in the eyes of Mr. Arnold.”

A sequel to this review²² discusses Arnold's interpretation of St. Paul, and is consequently less heated. Arnold, says this critic, thinks he has said enough in pointing out Paul's passion for righteousness; but this is a half-truth, and he misses the core of the religious life, which is union with God. Paul was certainly against Antinomianism, but it does not follow that the doctrines of Calvinism are false. Again on what authority does Arnold take a merely ethical sentence from Paul²³ and affirm that it is the only foundation of the Christian Church? He believes in a Church that is co-extensive with the nation; this forces him to sacrifice doctrine to inclusiveness.

Two groups of Nonconformists at this period lay outside Arnold's criticisms, for they were not associated with narrow Calvinism, and in general they had a higher standard of culture than their fellow-Dissenters. These were the Society of Friends

²² *British Quarterly Review*, Oct. 1870.

²³ “Let everyone that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity” (II Timothy ii, 19)

and the Unitarians; and both bodies contributed fairly disinterested reviews of *St. Paul and Protestantism*. The *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, a journal of high intellectual quality, published an article, "Paul and Christianity," signed by Edward Pearson.²⁴ The attention of the "intellectuo-religious" world has been drawn to Arnold's book, and there is much beauty in it; Pearson strongly sympathises with the main argument, though he feels bound "to reassert, on behalf of the Apostle, those utterances of his which we think are most prominent with him, and to object to the introduction into his words of meanings which cannot be proved to have been within his intention." The Unitarian periodicals received Arnold's essays calmly having no fear of his view of Calvinism. The *Inquirer*²⁵ deals kindly with his criticism of St. Paul, and fears that the value of his articles may be overlooked: "They are in truth elaborate and masterly, [and] cast . . . in a literary and critical mould; and they have rendered an important service to Christian truth and progress." The *Inquirer* reviewed the essay on Puritanism later,²⁶ praising his "noble vindication of St. Paul" and partly accepting his view of Orthodox Dissent. A fortnight later another review appeared, this time defending the Dissenters. Arnold must remember that "the true schismatics are they who compel separation;" unlike Carlyle or Kingsley, he seems unable to appreciate the nobler qualities of Puritanism, and he does not understand the power of religious ideas. Comprehension is impossible now; the only solution is equality which means disestablishment. Unitarians also deplore the narrow rigidity of some Dissenters; but Arnold must drop his ingenious nicknames and acrid sneers." On October 8th, 1870, the *Inquirer* mentions with approval a "vigorous reply to Mr. Matthew Arnold's notorious philippic against the Nonconformists" by Leslie Stephen, in *Fraser's Magazine*,²⁷ and a week later it praises the articles in the *British Quarterly Review*. Arnold must by now regret his "dilettante onslaught on Nonconformists" and "heartily repent his scornful philippic against a class of men so well able to defend themselves." Finally the *Inquirer*, in an article entitled "Dissenters and Disestablishment,"²⁸ disclaims "that watchful jealousy and suspicion of the Church of England which Mr. Matthew Arnold, with some rhetorical exaggeration, describes as the normal attitude of the Dissenting sects." The *Theological Review*, another Unitarian journal, published a weighty article by Kegan Paul, "Arnold and

²⁴ *Friends Quarterly Examiner*, Vol. 5, 1871.

²⁵ *Inquirer*, Nov. 27, 1869.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, June 4, 1870.

²⁷ *Fraser's Magazine*, October, 1870.

²⁸ *Inquirer*, April 22, 1871.

St. Paul.”²⁹ Paul approves of Arnold’s method without accepting all his conclusions, and suggests that the new book be reprinted with a paraphrase of the harder Pauline passages, and “docked of personalities” which, amusing in an article, blemish a permanent work. His agreement with the “whole drift and spirit” of Arnold’s book counterbalances minor disagreements, and all Kegan Paul’s suggestions are full of a constructive spirit rare in reviews.

Outside the denominational press, three of the more thoughtful reviews printed a defence of Nonconformity. The best is probably that by R. W. Dale, “Mr. Matthew Arnold and the Nonconformists,” in the *Contemporary Review*.³⁰ Dale at once goes to the root of the controversy; Arnold, he says, misses the true “idea” of Puritanism, which is not a set of doctrines, but a sense of the value of personal religion and of unfettered access to God. The Puritans did not seek to bind the Church to Calvinism; they left it because they could not remain in it honestly. Dale explains Congregational church order, and shows why the Puritans rejected the Anglican liturgy. The whole article is as good a defence as could be made, displaying more critical ability than most of the reviews mentioned above. His conclusion is characteristic of this great man:—

“Let us part good friends. Mr. Arnold bears a name which Nonconformists regard with affection and veneration. . . . From his own writings we have received intellectual stimulus and delight, for which we are grateful. . . . We can but bid each other God-speed.”³¹

In the following year this journal published another defence of Puritanism, “The English Church and Dissenters”³² by the Nonconformist leader, J. Baldwin Brown, who argues that the Roman and Anglican Churches represent attempts to support Christian truth by political action, which support, useful in the past should now be withdrawn. Arnold, the “franc tireur” of the Establishment, is a champion of comprehension who dreads excess, one of the “apostles of culture” who think that contact with a wider world would benefit Nonconformists. “We agree with them profoundly,” he adds “but we pray them, instead of lifting up their bars to let us into their pale, to cast down their walls, and let us out together into the wider world.” The third article in this group is “A Puritan’s Apology” in *Macmillan’s Magazine*,³³ by A. S. Wilkins, a Congregationalist classical scholar and Professor of Latin at Manchester. The *Guardian* called this

²⁹ *Theological Review*, Oct., 1871.

³⁰ *Contemporary Review*, July, 1870.

³¹ Because of his father, Dr. Thomas Arnold, of Rugby.

³² *Contemporary Review*, Jan., 1871.

³³ *Macmillan’s Magazine*, Aug., 1870.

"a weak and thin paper," contrasting it with the powerful defence, "not unworthy of its distinguished author, Dr. Dale." Indeed, this article is an "apology," in every sense of the word, though Professor Wilkins does attempt to show that "it is impossible for honest men to accept formularies which they believe . . . lead to errors against which they feel most bound to protest." The essay does not dig deep; it does not examine Arnold's interpretation of history, and assumes he is right in thinking that the Puritans separated because the Church was not narrow enough for them.

These reviews are representative of the reception given to Arnold's two books by the Nonconformists, and it is clear that he was pleased with the result, sharp though much of the criticism was. Arnold was an educator, and his object was not so much to win approval as to prick complacency and force people to reconsider their "stock notions and habits." This he felt he had achieved, and he obviously read his critics with interest, writing to his mother after the appearance of "St. Paul and Protestantism" in the *Cornhill*, he says: "It is not worth while to send you the lucubrations I receive, but the newspapers I forward (the organs of the Independents and Baptists) will show you how entirely I have reached the special Puritan class I meant to reach. Whether I have rendered St. Paul's ideas with perfect correctness or not, there is no doubt that the confidence with which these people regarded their conventional rendering of them was quite baseless, made them narrow and intolerant and preventing all progress."³⁴

On December 5th, 1869, Arnold writes that "the better Dissenters" are "amiable" towards him, and to his friend Lady de Rothschild he says: "I should like to have shown you some of the Nonconformist speeches at the recent May meetings,³⁵ full of comments on my preface to *St. Paul and Protestantism*. We shall see great changes in the Dissenters before very long."³⁶ Throughout 1870 his confidence grows; he is apparently unprepared to reconsider his view of Puritanism, and he is sure that he has reached the Nonconformists, and that his arguments will prevail; he believes that "more than half the world can never frankly accept the person of whom they learn, but kick at the same time as they learn."³⁷

Arnold would elucidate, but not retract. The last *Cornhill* essay, "Puritanism and the Church of England," was written

³⁴ *Letters* II, pp. 23-4. Arnold's letters provide evidence that he was reading the *Nonconformist* several years before this.

³⁵ I have not been able to trace these yet, and I should be indebted to any reader who can help.

³⁶ *Letters* II, pp. 34-5.

³⁷ *Letters* II, pp. 51-2.

“to clear away offence or misunderstanding,” and to show “that the aim at setting forth certain Protestant doctrines . . . is the main title on which the Puritan churches rest their right of existing.” The idea of a “free church,” he says, came later. The favourite objection to the first two essays had been that the Nonconformists were not the only ones to hold Calvinist doctrines; but, Arnold replies, the Nonconformist Churches are founded on those doctrines alone. He is no enemy of the Puritans: “Our one feeling when we regard them, is . . . of regret at waste of power; our one desire is . . . comprehension.” To Arnold, “the Church exists, not for the sake of opinions, but for the sake of moral practice,” and the only justifiable separation is “on plain points of morals.” In this defence, Arnold quotes “a Nonconformist newspaper” which called the Church of England “a Church that does not know her own mind”—but this, to him, is her greatest praise. He quotes twice from an address by the Rev. G. W. Conder, which was reported in the *Lancashire Congregational Calendar* for 1869-70. In conclusion he repeats his wish for union, but affirms that this can never be on the basis of “Scriptural Protestantism.” If he can convince the Puritans of this he will not have written in vain. The reader is left with the impression that Arnold, while ready to do all he can to clarify his position, still holds it tenaciously.

The old spirit of bitterness has gone, and it is easier for the Baptist of today to be fair to this confident critic, and even to agree with him in some things, than it was for his grandfather. But at the risk of stating the obvious it must be said that Arnold's manner belied his spirit: he was no dilettante, but a sincere seeker after truth, and much of the narrowness which he saw in Nonconformity did unfortunately exist; its disappearance may be partly due to his influence. It seems fitting to conclude with his tribute to a Nonconformist minister in the sonnet “East London,” written in 1867:

“’Twas August, and the fierce sun overhead
 Smote on the squalid streets of Bethnal Green,
 And the pale weaver, through his windows seen
 In Spitalfields, look'd thrice dispirited.
 I met a preacher there I knew, and said:
 ‘Ill and o'erwork'd, how fare you in this scene?’
 ‘Bravely!’ said he, ‘for I of late have been
 Much cheer'd with thoughts of Christ, the living bread.’
 O human soul! as long as thou canst so
 Set up a mark of everlasting light,
 Above the howling senses' ebb and flow,
 To cheer thee, and to right thee if thou roam—
 Not with lost toil thou labourest through the night!
 Thou mak'st the heaven thou hop'st indeed thy home.”

JEAN A. SMALLBONE.

Baptist Churches in the Bedford Area

(Concluded)

SANDY BAPTIST

Dr. John Brown says that in 1676 Sandy had 600 inhabitants and twenty-two Nonconformist members. These were, apparently, members at Bedford and worshipped at Blunham. In 1756 John Berridge began to preach the gospel at Everton, near Sandy, and John Skilleter, of Sandy, with his wife and sons, were among the converts. Berridge died in 1793, and the Skilleter family joined Blunham Baptist in 1794, Jeremy Skilleter building a small chapel there in 1797. In 1826 or 1827 some withdrew and built a chapel for High Calvinistic preaching, but were not able to pay for the building. John Foster of Biggleswade bought it, and Sandy Baptist used it for evening services instead of Jeremy Skilleter's smaller building. In 1854 a third chapel was built on the site of the second at a cost of about £800 of which William Skilleter gave £400. In 1858 C. H. Spurgeon preached twice in the open air, and the collections cleared the debt. A fourth chapel, to seat 450, was opened in 1888, and a new schoolroom in 1929, and the 1854 building was sold. In 1864, William Skilleter presented a manse for the Pastor's residence.

SHARNBROOK OLD BAPTIST

The church was formed in 1719, and the Church Book begins then, with a Covenant. The church declared for Open Membership: "if any Person have Light into Baptism they shall have it administered unto them. And if not that Light, to receive them as Saints." There was to be no sprinkling of infants, and they would hold Communion with all when they judged faithful. In 1808 they declared themselves Strict Baptists, and resolved to admit no member in future who did not see the importance of that institution which is so clearly set forth in the Word of God. In 1818 they had a Calvinistic Declaration of Faith and Practice, Close Communion. The splendid chapel was enlarged in 1865; it is probable that the figures 1786 which appear above the pulpit give the date of the original building. Bethlehem chapel was the result of a secession, but the churches were re-united in 1904. The Church Book says nothing about the local celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the B.M.S. in 1842. It was a district meeting held in a meadow at Sharnbrook, with Mr. J. H. Tritton as chairman and Rev. John Aldis among the speakers. The attendance was reckoned at 5,500, including about 1,000 scholars from the Sunday Schools of North Bedfordshire.

SHARNBROOK BETHLEHEM CHAPEL

The Church Book begins in March, 1833, with a statement regarding the general departure from the simplicity of the Gospel, as shown by the fact that Original Sin, Particular Redemption, Predestination to Eternal Life, Eternal Union, Eternal Justification and Final Perseverance were seldom preached. Meetings began in 1827, and the church was formed in March, 1833, with a Calvinistic Declaration of Faith and a long Church Covenant. That church was dissolved in July, 1835, and a new church formed in the following month; no reason is given, but the new church had new deacons. The chapel was opened in 1844. The Church Book ends in September, 1904, with the reception of a new member. The members went back to Sharnbrook Old Baptist Chapel.

SHEFFORD UNION CHURCH

Dr. John Brown, of Bunyan Meeting, says that ministers of churches of the Beds. Union took it in turns in 1798 to preach once a month at Shefford, then destitute of the Gospel. In 1814 a temporary chapel was opened. Mr. W. H. Whitbread gave land and in 1825 the present chapel was opened. In 1829, an Open Communion church was formed. The Trust Deed said that the minister was to be elected by the majority of the men and women who were members; any mortgage to be in accordance with the votes of the major part of the men members. Likewise any sale of chapel and ground and the election of further trustees was to be by the votes of the major part of the men. In 1881, Samuel Whitbread gave adjoining land for erection of a Manse and extension of burial ground, and in 1929 an anonymous donor paid for further land. A farmer named Inskip, of Shefford Hardwick, a Methodist, was one of the founders of the church, but when the Methodists came to Shefford he joined them. The old Church Books have disappeared. The present book begins in January, 1886, and the most interesting item in it is of a notable revival in 1905 under the ministry of the Rev. S. Acton Fox, when over 100 persons professed conversion and seventy-four joined the church. Unfortunately there were dissensions a few years later. Stondon Baptist Chapel was for a time part of Shefford's work, having been started by them, but it is now under the care of Tilehouse Street, Hitchin.

SOUTHILL PARTICULAR BAPTIST

This church was formed on June 23, 1693, as an Independent cause, with the help of the church at Rowell (Rothwell). Thomas Kellingworth was Pastor from 1693 until 1721, during which time 230 members were received. During the pastorate of Joseph King, 1776-1785, it was Baptist, Open Communion, but during the

long pastorate of John Warburton, 1846-1892, it was re-formed as a Strict Baptist church.

STEVINGTON BAPTIST

The church at Stevington or Steventon was formed in 1655, and evidently had some early connection with Bunyan Meeting which in 1656 gave permission to seven of their members to break bread there. Stephen Hawthorne "the godly yeoman of Turvey," was Pastor in 1655. He attended the General Assembly of Baptists in London in 1689 and 1692, resigned his pastorate in 1692, died in 1705, and was buried in the farmyard where the first Meeting House stood. G. H. Orchard, Pastor from 1832 to 1843, says: "He must have known Bunyan, but no allusion is ever made to his name even in those letters sent to Bedford church. There is no evidence that Bunyan preached at Stevington, although tradition says he preached in the old Meeting House at Pavenham. This silence about Bunyan arose from his opposing close communion, which Hawthorne and Negus strictly observed." The next pastor was Daniel Negus, deacon in 1673, assistant in 1691, and sole Pastor in 1692. During persecution they met at night in lanes and woods: "the females screened their minister's head from the damps of night with their aprons." But their regular meeting place was a barn for which they paid ten shillings per annum. In 1691 they had members at Rushden, Blisworth, Northampton, Wollaston, Olney, Newport Pagnell, Bedford, Cotton End, Ridgmont and Aylesbury. They did not hold meetings at all these places, but they held Church Meetings at some of them, and deacons were appointed to visit members quarterly in distant districts. They had some members at Pavenham, two miles away, and a baptismal service there in 1693 is recorded. In that year, Mr. Greenwood and others formed a church at Carlton and left the Stevington church, to the displeasure of its Elders. Their Northampton members formed a separate church about 1700 which built a chapel on the Green. In 1733 a new minister at College Lane made an attempt to convert his church to Strict membership, but the majority disagreed. Thereupon the minister and the minority, taking the Church Book with them, joined the church on the Green, but that church gradually dwindled and the chapel was sold, and the Church Book came back to College Lane. In 1713 the Stevington Church decided that it was right and proper to sing at the Lord's Table; but evidently this was limited to the Lord's Table, for in 1751 when a Pastor stipulated for hymn singing, a number of the old members left. In 1718 the old barn was judged to be too small, and they decided to have a new Meeting House. One man gave the land, members and friends gave time, material or money, and a

Roman Catholic helped by hauling the stones. The chapel was opened in 1721, free of debt, and tradition says that the balance in hand was enough to provide a manse. In 1831 a baptistry was made in the Court at the back of the chapel, but some friends still preferred to be baptised in the Ouse. The present baptistry is in the chapel. In 1832 a new manse was built. Mr. Roberson of Turvey, gave £150 on condition that £2 be given every year, for ever, to poor members, and that his letter be read to the church annually. The church decided that the pastor, living free of rent, should provide the £2 (his stipend was £40). This did not please everybody. In 1852 a lady gave £50 so that the Pastor should be relieved of this burden. At first none but baptised persons were admitted to the Lord's Table; but in 1711 the church decided to appoint Simon Hearcock as Pastor, and made the following entries in the Church Book regarding him and his wife: "That after waiting and due care to instruct the persons into the duty of baptism, and they do continue dark as to the duty; yet to receive them into this Church of Christ provided that they walk as becometh the Gospel of Christ. Members of other churches that walk as becometh the Gospel of Christ to have communion with this church." Apparently Hearcock was a disappointment for when he died in 1716 church matters were in confusion and at a low ebb. He had been inactive, and there was no trace of regularity, learning, discipline or eminent piety during his ministry. In 1836 the church referred to the 1711 decision and to prevent any disunion in views, any contention about Officers of the church or Pastor to preside, "decided that in future no person whatsoever be allowed to administer any ordinance or have fellowship or break bread in the Lord's Supper, who has not attended to and obeyed the initiatory ordinance of baptism by immersion." In 1840 the church noted that some of their members had very improperly sought fellowship with Independent churches and those Baptist churches which allow Open Communion, which the church could not approve. Two months later they decided, "That any member of our church who shall marry a person not in communion with some Christian Society shall forfeit all fellowship and privileges of our church until he or she shall have publicly acknowledged the error before the church. Note; we do not hold the Establishment to be a Christian Society." In view of the last sentence it is refreshing to note that in 1860 Anglicans, Baptists and Primitive Methodists had held some well-attended united prayer meetings. In 1869 it was unanimously resolved that consistent members of other Christian churches be admitted to the Lord's Table as heretofore. In 1870 a ballot showed twenty-eight votes for Open Communion and two for Strict, but there was some dissatisfaction because a woman

member had canvassed for votes for Open. Four months later another ballot showed four for Open Communion and eleven for Strict. In 1921 a resolution was moved that in future the church be empowered to receive into fellowship believers in the Lord Jesus Christ and Baptists at heart who for some particular and conscientious reason have not been immersed, and that any statute or minute to the contrary now appearing in the Church Book be rescinded. At the following Church Meeting this was postponed indefinitely. The present position is that the membership is Baptist, and Communion is open to members and adherents of other Christian churches.

THURLEIGH BAPTIST

In 1808 a house was opened at Thurleigh for the preaching of the Gospel. About 1826 William Crockford, formerly a deacon at Keysoe and for some time Pastor at Gidding, came to live in the village and took charge of the work. In 1827, a chapel was built; Mr. Crockford gave £15 and worked as a carpenter in its erection, and continued his ministry until he died in 1836. Samuel Wells became the minister in October, 1836, and the church was formed on October 5th, 1837, with four members. By the end of 1838 the membership was fifteen, and Mr. Wells became Pastor on January 2nd, 1839, and continued until his death in 1860. The first Church Book begins with a Calvinistic Church Covenant, then a list of those who were members in 1861, and a record until the end of 1900. Then came the minutes, beginning October, 1840, when the church decided to form a missionary society to help the B.M.S. In 1841, the chapel was enlarged at a cost of £160. They raised £130 of that in 1841, but as 1842 was the B.M.S. Jubilee they decided to make no attempt to raise money that year for their own building fund. In 1849 the chapel was again enlarged; the present building was erected in 1888. In 1861, Mrs. Harvey, a Wesleyan, wished to sit with them at the Lord's Table. After hearing her experience the church agreed unanimously, but as she was unbaptised she was to have no vote. Evidently she profited by the ministry, for she was baptised in 1866. On November 28th, 1862, three candidates were proposed, but it was stated that the parents of two of these objected. One of them was baptised without any formal consent from her parents. But the case of Harriet Farrer was more difficult. Her father held a farm on lease from the Vicar, one condition being that he and his family should attend the Parish Church; he therefore refused permission for her to be baptised. On February 2nd, 1860, Harriet asked for baptism, saying that she could wait no longer, and the Church Book says

that one of the members provided her with clothes and she was baptised on March 1st in spite of home opposition, bearing in mind the words of Christ: "Whoso loveth father or mother more than Me is not worthy of Me." On November 27th, 1863, it was reported that her sister, Mary Ann Farrer, who had been an enquirer for a year, had been turned out of doors by her father for refusing to attend the Established Church; and the record proceeds: "Having failed since then in securing a place after which she had been seeking, and not knowing what her future movements might be nor where her lot might be cast, she applied through the Pastor that messengers might be appointed to see her in his house immediately, and that she might be permitted at once to come forward to speak her experience in order to be baptised on the next sabbath. Request acceded to unanimously. Two prayers were offered during absence of messengers. Candidate then attended and related experience. The Church unanimously admitted her for baptism. Much feeling evinced.

"November 29th, 1863. The Pastor asked whether he should give his lecture next Tuesday upon 'Our reasons for dissenting from the Established Church and practising believers' baptism,' seeing that such lecture might interfere with the worldly prospects, peace, and comfort of several individuals. Resolved that truth be maintained and consequences risked.

"At 5 p.m., Mary Ann Farrer was baptised in the presence of a large company. Much impression appeared to be made. The Pastor preached afterwards on 'Be thou faithful unto death and I will give thee a crown of life.'" Harriet Farrer died in 1913; Mary Ann died in 1944 at the age of ninety-nine. Soon after her baptism she had become cook at the Vicarage, and she came to chapel every Sunday. George Chandler was Pastor from 1866 to 1902. He died in 1903 and was buried in Thurleigh Churchyard, and the Vicar objected to the proposed wording on the tombstone that he had served as Pastor of the Baptist Church. He wanted the word Chapel instead. When it was pointed out to him that "Church" meant the Society and "Chapel" the building, he referred the question to his Bishop, and the church asked the Baptist Union to take up their case. The inscription on the stone reads "Pastor of the Baptist Church." The church has never been large, but it has shown a sturdy Baptist spirit.

WILDEN BAPTIST

This church claims 1806 as its foundation, but its old Church Book is lost. It is known that Solomon Hawkins was Pastor and was succeeded by his son, Jabez Hawkins, who had a small farm at Begwary and journeyed across every Sunday from 1845 to 1857. His successor, Mr. Ganton, baptised sixteen young men

and women one Sunday in an open-air baptistry, the water being brought in buckets from the brook a hundred yards away.

WOOTTON BAPTIST

This church was formed on September 28th, 1826, and met for ten years at a school in the village. The chapel was built in 1836, with room for 150 people. The Church Covenant is Calvinistic, with Strict membership. The membership still consists of baptised persons, and they practise Open Communion. The Church Book begins in 1839. It tells of one old man who was not received because his doctor said that he must not be baptised; but it does not say whether they gave him the same consideration as one old woman whom they admitted to occasional attendance at the Lord's Supper. They permitted one man to be baptised, but to remain a Methodist. In 1861 they made a new rule allowing women as well as men to vote at the election of a Pastor. In 1922 it was proposed to group Wootton with Cranfield, but they decided to keep on as before.

A Statement of Faith, 1822

The Rev. John Holloway's Confession of Faith given by him at the time of his Ordination to the Pastoral Office over this Church. [This was the Church at Cotton End, near Bedford, and the Confession is in their Church Book, June 6th, 1822.]

I believe in the one only living and true God, the self-existent, independent, all-sufficient, immutable and eternal I Am, the great first cause and the last end of all creatures and things. That He is holy, just and good in His nature, infinite in His wisdom, omnipotent in His power and unbounded in His presence. The Lord the Lord God, merciful and gracious, longsuffering and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands and forgiving iniquity, transgression and sin. That in this one incomprehensible Jehovah there are three persons, three in name and office, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and yet but one in nature, equality, purpose and eternity.

I believe that the Holy Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testaments, are the Word of God. That they contain a complete revelation of his mind and will to man, and are a perfect rule to his people, in doctrine, experience, worship and practice. That they were given to man by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, have been preserved entire by Divine Providence to the present time, and by the same power will be continued in a state of perfection to the Church to the end of the world.

I believe that the Almighty, according to the account given in the Sacred Scriptures, created the heavens and the earth, angels and men, with all the other creatures and things that exist. That He created them by the word of His power, and all very good. That He is the great and inexhaustible fountain of life, vegetable, animal, angelical, spiritual and eternal life all proceeding from himself. That He created the human body out of the dust of the earth and breathed into it the breath of life and man became a living soul, in his Maker's image, wise, holy, and happy.

I believe that God entered into a covenant of works with Adam as His creature, and as being the head and representative of all his posterity. That it was in the power of man as he proceeded from the hands of his Creator in a state of innocency, to have kept the law, or conditions of the covenant given him in Paradise. That the Lord Jehovah was strictly righteous in the Test of obedience He gave to man, he being then perfectly free and holy, and that He was legally just in sanctioning the breach of it with threatenings of death, and the fulfilment of it with promises of life.

I believe that Adam as the head of the human race, wilfully and deliberately broke the covenant or law of works, and that in so doing he disobeyed the holy commands and rebelled against the just authority of God his Maker, fell from his original purity, and involved himself and all mankind in sin, death, and misery as the ruins of his fall. That man as a fallen creature is totally depraved in all the powers and passions of his soul. Therefore, that all the sons and daughters of our first parents are conceived in sin and shapen in iniquity, and their hearts desperately wicked and deceitful above all things past finding out. That, left to themselves, all the imaginations of the thoughts of their hearts would be only evil, and that continually. That by sin man is in himself both helpless and hopeless: for the corrupt fountain of a depraved nature can never send forth pure streams, nor the imperfect works of a guilty creature constitute a righteousness to justify his soul in the sight of a holy God. That by his original corruptions he is under the dominion of sin, and in a state of captivity to Satan; and by his actual transgression exposed to the curse of a violated law, the justice of an offended Deity, and the misery of an eternal hell.

I believe that God has not, though in strict justice He might have, left the whole race of sinners in this helpless, hopeless and miserable condition. But that He has so loved the world of mankind as to give His only begotten Son, that whosoever believes in Him should not perish but have everlasting life. That He has set His saving love upon those of them whom He will take to Heaven. And as the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ has entered with a covenant of grace and peace with Him the great Mediator on their behalf. A covenant that is everlasting in its date, well ordered in its plan, sure in its accomplishment and containing all them and all their salvation in its blessings.

I believe in the true and proper Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. And because in the Scriptures of truth, He is called by the names, is said to possess the perfection, to have done the works, and to receive the glory of the Almighty and Eternal Jehovah. And that as the unspeakable gift of His Father's love and the effect of His own, agreeable to His covenant engagements as the Son of God, He came into our world, was made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem His people who were under the law. Also that by His perfect obedience and cursed death He performed the conditions of the covenant, fulfilled the law, satisfied justice, bore the punishment of sin, conquered Satan, destroyed death, and became the all-sufficient Saviour of souls.

I believe that the Holy Spirit is a Divine Person in the sacred Trinity. That He inspired the word of Revelation, discovers the perfections of the Father, and manifests and applies the work of the Son. That as the Spirit of life, of wisdom, of truth, of grace, of power, of consolation, etc., he quickens, enlightens, regenerates, converts, sanctifies, establishes, comforts and preserves all the people of God.

I believe in the doctrines of grace, viz. personal election, particular redemption, imputed righteousness, free justification, progressive sanctification, final perseverance, and eternal glorification. I also believe that though the child of God is redeemed from the curse of the law and delivered from it as a covenant of works, he is under it to Christ as the rule of his conduct.

And that the preceptive part of the word containing commands, exhortations, cautions, reproofs, admonitions, etc., is as much to be attended to in its proper place as the promissory part. That doctrine and experience, precept and promise, duty and privilege, holiness and happiness, Christ as a pattern and Christ as a Saviour, are never to be separated.

I believe that God by various means, but in general by His word and the instrumentality of His ministers and the agency of His Spirit, convinces, converts, and calls sinners to Himself; and thus brings them out of darkness into His marvellous light, out of the world into the Church, from Sinai to Sion, from self to Christ, from sin to holiness, in a word from hell's dark door to heaven. I believe that no man can possess an evidence that he is interested in the love of the Father, and the atonement of the Son, or enjoy the comfort of the Spirit, and be blessed with a meetness for heaven, but as he is taught by the grace of God to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live righteously, soberly, and godly in this present evil world.

I believe that it is the duty of all the members of the mystical body of Christ to unite themselves together in visible church-fellowship. That all the objects of His love and the purchase of His blood, as they become the subjects of His grace, among all denominations of Christians in every part of the world, constitute the universal catholic Church of Christ. But that a regularly organised Church is a company of gracious and holy men and women, uniting themselves together by a voluntary agreement, according to the directions of the word and in subjection to Christ as their Head, with their proper officers of Pastor and Deacons, for the public worship of God, the administration of holy ordinances and each other's edification.

I believe that Christ has appointed and ordained that there should be a holy gifted and standing ministry in His Church down to the end of time. That He calls, qualifies, and sends forth to labour in His vineyard whomsoever He pleases. That He appoints them their places, fits them for their work, succeeds them in their ministry, and secures their support. And that it is by these means and instruments (through the influence of His Spirit and grace) that He fulfils His purpose, spreads His Gospel, edifies His Church, completes the salvation of His chosen and glorifies His name.

I believe that our Lord as king in Sion, has instituted and ordained two Christian ordinances in His Church, to be attended to by all its members, viz. Baptism and the Supper. That it is the baptism of believers by immersion; because it is a public profession of repentance and faith in Christ's name, from principles of love and obedience to Him as their Saviour, and as the mode represents their death to sin and resurrection to holiness. That the sacred Supper is frequently to be administered to the members of the Church in the elements of bread and wine as lively figures of the broken body and flowing blood of Christ. His body broken and blood shed for the salvation of their souls, and received by faith for their spiritual nourishment and growth.

I believe where God begins the good work He will carry it on by the ministry of His word, the ordinances of His house, and the supplies of His grace, till the day of Jesus Christ. And that He will do this in opposition to all the corruptions of nature, the temptations of Satan, the persecution of the world, and the difficulties of the way, until He has brought the happy subjects of it to death and glory.

I believe that as the Lord Jesus took on Him the nature of man, and died the death of the Cross; so He was buried and rose again the third day according to the scriptures, triumphing over death and the grave. That His rising again with the same body is both the pledge and the pattern of the resurrection of the identical bodies of His people. That as He ascended up into heaven and is set down at the right hand of the Father, ever living to make intercession for all them that came unto God by Him,

so He will come again the second time without sin to the everlasting salvation of His Church, and will cause the resurrection of the dead both of the just and the unjust.

I believe that God has appointed a day, the great day of general judgement, in the which He will judge the world in righteousness by the man Jesus Christ, whom He hath ordained to be the Judge of quick and dead, and whereof He has given assurance unto all men in that He hath raised Him from the dead.

I believe that Christ, the righteous Judge will reward every man according as his works and character shall be. That He will call the righteous, His own people, to Himself, place them on His right hand, and say to them before the assembled universe, "Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you before the foundation of the world," and they shall go away into life eternal and be for ever with the Lord, perfectly holy and completely happy. But to the wicked forced to His left hand, He will say before God His Father, angels, devils and saints: "Depart ye cursed into everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels," and these shall go away into everlasting punishment where there will be weeping, wailing, and gnashing of teeth.

Here, Sir, I conclude this imperfect statement of my faith, resting on your candour and that of my brother ministers and Christian friends, and also intreating an interest in all your prayers, that myself, the church, and the whole congregation may not only profess to believe, but possess and enjoy the graces doctrines and blessings of the Gospel of Christ. And that my brethren and Fathers in the ministry present, every soul in this large assembly, all the members of the Church at Cotton End, and every individual in the congregation that may attend here, may be saved from the misery of the wicked and obtain the everlasting life of the righteous is and shall be the prayer of your friend and servant in our common Lord.—Amen.

GEORGE E. PAGE.

Internationale Zeitschriftenschau für Bibelwissenschaft und Grenzgebiete, 1951-52. Heft 1. (Katholisches Bibelwerk, Stuttgart, 25s.)

The first part of volume 1 of the "International Review of Biblical Studies" is edited by Dr. F. Stier, Professor of Old Testament in the Catholic Theological Faculty at Tübingen University, with the assistance of other members of the University Staff and associated scholars and students. No less than 1,391 articles from 393 periodicals are listed, almost none earlier than 1949, and published in more than twenty countries. The references are classified according to subject matter—text, interpretation, translation, theology, history, archaeology, etc.—and frequently a summary of the article is given, usually in German. More summaries are promised for the next issue in the autumn of this year, and also an index, which will add to the convenience of what promises to be a most useful addition to our knowledge of current publications on Biblical Studies.

G. FARR.

Notes

EXETER COMMUNION CUPS

THE fellowship of Baptists in Exeter like some elderly folk is not sure of the year of its birth. There is clear evidence, however, of a Baptist community in the city for more than three hundred years. The South Street Baptist Church is the natural descendant of the first Meeting, and there are now four other Churches within the city boundaries founded to meet the needs of the population of 78,000.

Exeter has long been a most important town, claiming a history of two thousand years, and it is interesting to allow the imagination to envisage the physical circumstances in which these early Exonian Baptists met for worship. Perhaps they gathered in a humble cob dwelling, or in the timbered house of a city merchant. There is a record suggesting that in 1649 they met in the Refectory of the Deanery. One of the officers of the Parliamentary Army, Captain Paul Hobson, a noted lay-preacher, was a prominent Exeter Baptist in 1654, and in that year the community was sufficiently numerous to require a large hall, which was provided by a Mr. Carew in the vicinity of the Cathedral Close.

It was in 1725 that a Mr. Heath, merchant of the city, gave the land on which the present chapel stands, the church having previously worshipped in Gandy's Lane. It was also in 1725 that John Elston, Junior, a local silversmith, made for the church two silver wine cups. Of exquisite workmanship, they are two-handled, $3\frac{3}{4}$ in. in height, $3\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter, and the pair weighed fourteen ounces. A further pair to match were made in London in 1764, the maker being unknown. Each of the four cups is engraved "Baptist Meeting, Exon."

Exeter had an Assay Office or Hall in those far-off days, and John Elston, Junior was registered there in 1723. John Elston, Senior, whose mark was entered in 1701 and last noted in 1728 was a very famous silversmith, renowned for much beautiful workmanship. A Guild of Goldsmiths and Silversmiths existed in Exeter long before the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. It is recorded that John de Wewlingworth, a Goldsmith, flourished in the city in the fourteenth century. The Assay Office was eventually closed in 1883.

These Exeter Communion Cups are of intrinsic value, but

they are more than that. They continually remind the local Baptists of their heritage. The first pair of Communion Cups were in hallowed use for two hundred years before giving way to the individual cups. It is not difficult to envisage these historical cups passing from hand to hand at the Table of the Lord during these two centuries, and they are now on special occasions, placed on the Communion Table, when the church members of today listen again, as did those who have gone before, to the words: "This Cup is the New Testament in My blood, which is shed for you."

A former South Street Pastor, when referring to those who had served the Church and had joined the Church triumphant said: "Such men were our forefathers; men, real men, Christian men. They laboured, and we have entered into their labours. They suffered; we are free to serve as conscience dictates, catching their spirit, emulating their loyalty to conscience, to truth and to God, transmitting their energy and zeal. Let us prove we are not feebler sons in feebler days." These Communion vessels serve as a link between the Church triumphant and the Church militant.

F. M. SLEEMAN.

AN AUSTRALIAN PIONEER BAPTIST

From London on 27th July, 1834, the barque *George Hibbert* set sail for Port Jackson, carrying 144 female convicts. Among the free passengers on board was the ship's chaplain, a young Baptist pastor, aged twenty-seven, named John Saunders. With his wife he was travelling to a strange land to become pastor of the Baptist community in Sydney, to whom he had been recommended by the B.M.S. to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Rev. J. McKaeg who had conducted the first Baptist services from 1831 to 1833. The *George Hibbert* arrived in Sydney on 1st December, 1834.

John Saunders conducted his first services in the St. James' schoolroom in Elizabeth Street, the premises being made available by the Governor, Sir Richard Bourke. Soon afterward he set about to establish firmly the Baptist faith in the young and growing colony. He was a man with progressive ideas and gifted with leadership and organising ability, and to him must be given the credit for laying the foundations of the Baptist witness in Australia.

With a small but loyal band of Baptist settlers, Saunders lost no time in erecting a church building on a grant of land in Bathurst Street. In the *Sydney Herald*, dated 27th July, 1835, appeared the following:—

The Baptist Quarterly

"BAPTIST CHAPEL

The friends of the Rev. J. Saunders have the pleasure of informing the public that His Excellency the Governor has been pleased to confirm the grant of an allotment in Bathurst St., for the erection of a Baptist Chapel, to the Rev. J. Saunders, and four trustees, upon condition that the building shall be completed within a given time, and the expenditure amount to eight hundred pounds at the least.

As the present place of worship in the Old Court House, has for the last two months, proved inconveniently small, it is important that the erection of a suitable place of worship should be commenced immediately. The trustees, therefore, depending on the liberality of the public, intend to commence the building forthwith, in order that the Chapel may be ready for occupation within six months if possible.

The trust of the Chapel empowers the trustees to receive subscriptions, and to conduct the affairs of the Chapel until they are repaid their outlay, when the whole will be conveyed to trustees, according to the usual form of the Baptist Chapel Trusts in England. The trustees, therefore, beg leave most respectfully to invite the liberal donations of their Christian friends, and the public in general.

Subscriptions will be received at the Bank of New South Wales, and by the following gentlemen:—Mr. C. Nicholson, Jamieson St., Mr. Edward Hunt, Jamieson St., Mr. McDougall, Castlereagh St., Mr. White, Castlereagh St. South, John Dean, Esq., Prince St., Mr. Bourne, 36 Pitt St., and Mr. Tibbey, opposite the Old Burial Ground, George St."

After the advertisement there appear the names of thirty-three subscribers who commenced the fund by contributing the total sum of £177 6s., John Saunders donating £7 10s.

One of the trustees, Mr. C. Nicholson, was a medical doctor. Later he became Sir Charles Nicholson, Australia's first baronet, and was one of the founders of the University of Sydney.

In the *Sydney Herald* of 10th September, 1835, the following advertisement appeared:—

"BAPTIST CHAPEL

TO BUILDERS

Persons willing to contract for the erection of the above Chapel in Bathurst Street, or any branch or branches of the works relating thereto, may see the Plans and Specifications by applying to Mr. Verge, Sussex Street, where Tenders for same will be received until the 18th instant.

N.B.—Approved security will be required for the due performance of the works within a given time, and the Committee will not bind themselves to accept the lowest tender.—September 4th, 1835."

On 26th November, 1835, the foundation stone of the first Baptist Church built in Australia was laid, and within ten months the chapel was opened for public worship—on 23rd September, 1836.

After twelve years of successful pioneering ministry and the opening of Baptist preaching stations in the very out-back of the colony, John Saunders resigned the pastorate of the Bathurst

Street Church owing to ill-health. Prior to returning to his beloved homeland a public meeting was held, presided over by the Attorney-General, Mr. J. A. Plunkett, and attended by religious and civic leaders of the colony. A gift of £300 was presented to Mr. Saunders as a token of appreciation for his services in promoting the spritual, social and intellectual well-being of the colony.

KENNETH PALMER.

PILGRIMAGE

Members of the Doncaster Federation of Baptist Lay Preachers with local Baptist friends of all ages to the number of sixty set out on a historical tour on Saturday, May 17th, through the Isle of Axholme, with the intention of visiting the haunts of the Pilgrim Fathers and early Baptists.

At Austerfield Parish Church (Yorks.) we noted the memorial to William Bradford as the first American to be elected to office by the free choice of his brethren. In the churchyard we read the story of the flight from these parts, in which early Baptists were involved, from Valerian Paget's excellent rendering of Bradford's History of the Plymouth Settlement. At Scrooby Manor House (Notts.) a few miles south, we read Bradford's description of Willam Brewster and of his qualities as a preacher. "He had a singularly good gift of prayer both public and private in ripping up the heart and conscience before God in the humble confession of sin and begging the mercies of God in Christ for the pardon of it." Whereas Brewster is the name now so connected with Scrooby, the persecuting party in 1607 evidently considered the leader of importance to be "Gervase Nevyle of Scrowby." Through the kindness of the Rev. Angelo Raine, the honorary City Archivist of York, the writer had been given the privilege of reading all the entries of the Archbishop's registry of the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission, York, from 1562 onwards. Of the hundreds of indictments prior to that against Nevyle, this indictment by length and vehement emphasis is outstanding. It marks him unmistakeably as the greatest Separatist caught yet. He was the grandson of the High Sheriff of Notts. and a local landowner. It was he who about one year later in Holland in company with John Smyth became Baptist. W. H. Burgess in his work on John Robinson quotes the case of the Ecclesiastical Court against Gervase Nevyle of November 10th, 1607. The quotation only makes one omission of importance at the end, viz., "In the Castle, 22 March, 1607-8."

At Gainsborough Mr. W. H. Brace, the local Quaker and historian, with Mrs. Brace and their son, most graciously

welcomed our party to the Old Hall, so closely associated with the Pilgrim Fathers and John Smyth. It was Mr. Brace who first drew attention to the earliest reference to John Smyth at Gainsborough in the parish register: "Mar. 11, 1603-4. Baptized Chara, daughter of Mr. John Smyth, preacher." We do well to note that a man who could not obtain license to preach but who could and did preach set the balling rolling of the Pilgrim Father movement in the north and of the Baptist movement and, as Mr. Baker had informed me, indirectly of the Quaker movement. Let us beware today of precluding such by artificial barriers. We thought also of John Murton, the Baptist, known—by the Dutch marriage records—to have come from Gainsborough.

Re-crossing the lovely Trent we made our way to Epworth through the fields which still evidence the Anglo-Saxon method of strip farming. We passed Misterton where there had been a Baptist church for centuries and where the first official amalgamation had ever taken place of Particular with General Baptists. We remembered a local preacher of the early eighteen hundreds, Mr. Skidmore, who trudged for many years from Retford to Misterton to conduct the services every Sunday, twelve miles there and twelve back. He tramped some twenty thousand miles to minister to only half-a-dozen. After his day there was a great revival there. He was totally blind. His wife led him every step of the way.

At Epworth Mr. R. W. Tonge, a local preacher for over fifty years, welcomed us at Samuel Wesley's tomb. He showed us the beautiful church register of Baptist churches of Epworth, West Butterwick and Crowle dated 1673. It sheds light on every phase of Baptist life in the Isle of Axholme. This register and that of Coningsby are rivals as the most interesting of old Baptist records in Lincs. With only time for a glance at the Baptist Chapel of 1670, we made for the river Torne and Dipping House Farm. At the periodical dippings there through the centuries literally thousands would line the banks and join in the service. They came in wagons from afar and pitched tents. The ceremony had always been by immersion, as evidenced by Joseph Hooke's writings referring to Epworth in 1701, and indeed by those of earlier opponents. The name "dipper" was the usual term for a Baptist in the district. The 17th century brick farm house was noted where the candidates prepared themselves and the spot where they were baptised into the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost—the greatest earthly honour conferred on thinking man. We returned in beautiful evening light and cool to Doncaster and distributed to our six local communities after living for six hours in the past and taking courage for the future.

A. DE M. CHESTERMAN.

William Watts and William Lindoe

AMONG the items lost when St. Mary's, Norwich was destroyed in the blitz in 1942 was a faded and rather ragged note-book which had lain in the vestry cupboard for more than a century and a half. It had been kept by a deacon, William Lindoe, who jotted down in it some notes of church events and of his own spiritual experiences and copied out some similar notes made by his predecessor, William Watts.

A few facts are known to us about Watts and Lindoe. On January 17th, 1705, the former was admitted a freeman of Norwich after apprenticeship to Richard Spratt, a baker. This Richard Spratt had for some years been a member of the "Baptised Church in the city of Norwich" and by 1716 was a deacon. By 1713, William Watts had also joined the church. From that date he was an active member, regularly signing the minutes in the Church Book. In due course we read:—

"At a Solem meeting on y^e 18th May 1725 Set apart for prayer and in seeking y^e Lord Mr. William Watts was chosen Deacon of this church."

Thereafter he acted as treasurer, keeping the church accounts for the next twenty years¹ about the end of which time the church bought the site in St. Mary's parish and built the first "St. Mary's Meeting." Lindoe, baptised in 1746, was also an assiduous church member. In 1762 the church unanimously gave him a "corle to the office of a deacon" which he accepted. He died a fortnight after the last entry in his note-book, leaving the church an endowment of £410 5s. 0d. in Five Percents. He was commemorated by a marble tablet in the Meeting:—

In Memory of
Mr. William Lindoe
who was an honourable member & Deacon
in this Meeting
ob: Maii 30, Aetatis 51. 1773
He adorned the Christian Profession
in every relation of Life
and his Death was greatly lamented
by all his Acquaintance
The Memory of the Just is blessed
Prov. 10. 7.
Also Ann his beloved Wife
who (after persevering in an honourable

¹A transcript of these accounts has recently been published by the Norfolk Record Society—*Vol. xxii., A Miscellany*, 1951, p. 41.

The Baptist Quarterly

Profession of Religion
 near forty years in the Church
 which Assembles in this Place.)
 Died June 14th. 1782. Aged 72 Years.
 The Righteous shall
 hold in his way.
 Job. 17 .9.

The following extracts from Lindoe's note book were made by the writer of this article before the war:—

"A Peece of Experience of Mr. Watts Sen^r as rote by himself Novem^r 1729.

At the time above mention^d I was under the afflicting hand of God in my body. I was set in my room very dull and havey under douts and fears of my intrest in Crist thinking with myself whi I sat thus sturt up and took the Bible into my hand and earnestly desired of the Lord that he would direct me to some sutable word of comfort that I might have a fuller asureence of my intrest in Crist Jesus and it plased the Lord to direct me to open the Bible on these words wich came with power to my soul from the Lord Jesus. John 6 and 47. Varyly varyly I say unto you he that beleveth in me hath everlasting life which made me brake forth into tears of joy and comfort. More then this severall sutable places in that chapter whear comfortable allso. In the manewhile Satan was not wanting to inject disbeleef into my mind and I was riddy to question wether what I had just before read whear of God or no. Then those words in the 63 of the above chapter was a farther confarmation of it, The words that I spake unto you they are Spirit and they are Life, which filled me with much joy and comfort. At the same time Mr. Watts's Himn Book being thear I took it and open upon the 149 Himn of the first book and dropt my eye upon ye 2 and 3 varses wich whear at that time vary sutable which is as follows

But O what condisceding ways
 He takes to teach his heavenly grace
 My eyes with joy and wonder see
 What formes of wowe he boore for me
 The Angle of the covernant stands
 With his commishon in his hands
 Sent from his fathers milder trone
 To make the great salvation known.

I desire this might be for the Glory of God. W .Watts."
 "More belong to W. Watts found among his ritings

We should not omit the Lest duty or comit the Lest sin to gain the greatest good and I due perpose in the strength of God to follow this rule unto my life's end. W. Watts."

"The means to be used for the Living a stedy life in the Lord by faith and to enjoy much seasonable communion.

1. Prayer—at lest morning and evening
 2. Watch your heart. When you find sin rampant or the attacks of the enemy cry unto God and keep crying till help come.
 3. Be much in reading the word of God.
 4. Give yourself to much reflection as to your religious state.
- Avoid every occasion of sin and use all meanes of praching holiness.

W. Watts"

1746 (concerning the ordination of John Steane in July of that year)" Mr. Simpson from Cambridge Mr. Simmons from Beckles Mr. Dunkhorn from Ellingham whear pres^t. the former two prach^d Mr. Simpson to the people Mr. Simmons to the pastor."

1746 Mar. 15. "I [William Lindoe] was Baptised and taken into church communion. I was the first person Baptised in the Baptistry in the new meting."

1750 May 5. (He took an evening walk out of the city gates and thought of Isaac going into the field to meditate. He sought a profitable subject for meditation and thought . . .)

"if I should dye within the space of an oure what good ground have I to beleve I should be admitted into the heavenly manshons."

(This thought was a great weight on his mind. He felt himself compassed with thick darkness, but remembered the text "Let him that walketh in darkness and see little or no light call upon the name of the Lord and stay himself upon his God." These words proved "A staff to keep me from sinking" and it pleased God to bring to his mind some particular times when he had received tokens of His love and grace and so he was comforted.)

1752. "There is always good cause to trust the Lord."

1755 July. "The Rev. Mr. John Stearne departed this life.

As a minister he was well qual^d. by the Holy Gost for that important Service a workman that need^d. not to be ashamed Rightly divideing the word of thurth and haveing the Glory of God and good of souls much at heart. In the affears of life he was Remarkably prudent allwais riddy to communicate to any that applyd for advice in matters Spiritual or Temporal being well able to give advice in Either respects. He was a harty frind a courteous neighbour an indulgent husband a tender father Lived examplarily and dyed comfortably."

[The inscription of John Stearne's tablet at St. Mary's—also destroyed in 1942 was:—

In Memory of
 The Rev^d. Mr. JOHN STEARNE
 late Pastor of the Church here assembling
 All whose remains are underneath interr'd.
 He was faithful in his Office,
 prudent in his conduct,
 A ready Scribe in the Law of his God,
 well instructed in ye mysteries of ye Kingdom
 Sedulous and successful in his Work,
 amiable in every relation,
 Courteous to all,
 in fine ornamental to his christian profession.
 Who when he had finished his Generation work
 fell asleep in Jesus, July 19th 1755. Aged 43.
 Psal. CXII. 6.
 The righteous shall be in Everlasting
 Remembrance.]

1761. "How strangely hath sin defaced the whole creation."
1765. "After a work in the round of earthly concerns which had too much ingrossed both attenⁿ. & affections and left little heart for the Lord was this day sated with a virulent disorder which gave indications of my dissolution. . . . My disorder was terrible yet bless the Lord not so bad as it might have been. When the pain abated I was much affected with His great mercy and goodness. . . . In this affliction His blisssed word has been very precious to me. . . . O how sure how permanent this blisssed word is, a tried word O may I find this precious word so powerfully apply^d. to my soul by the Blessed Spirit as to fit me for every good word and work and enable me to spend my few remaining days to the glory and honour of his Great Name and at the last finish my course with joy."
- 1773 May 15. (He had been under very heavy afflictions for some time past, sin being the cause. He can say he does in part love God and trust in Him. He wants a further conformity to his dear, dear Image as long as continued in this life and a comfortable passage into that to come)—"May the Holy Eternal Spirit assist me through life and in death for Christ's sake."

CHARLES B. JEWSON.

Reviews

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings, by J. A. Montgomery, edited by H. S. Gehman. The International Critical Commentary (T. and T. Clark, 35s. net).

This is a monumental work by a great American scholar who did not live to see its publication. Although not published till 1952, the book had been ready for publication twice before, in 1941 and 1944. Each postponement led to invaluable revision and additions. The final editing, at the author's request, was carried out by one of his former students, Professor H. S. Gehman, who brought the bibliography up to date and added an excellent chronological table and the indices. The Commentary is on the grand scale that the reader has come to expect from the I.C.C. and is a powerful example of painstaking and erudite scholarship, reflecting the results of a life's work. It is more than a Commentary on the text; it is an essay that "involves the related linguistics, text-criticism history of interpretation from the ancient versions down to the present, and the attempt at exact translation with critical display." A most valuable part of this book is the twenty-three page bibliography, listing books and articles either of general interest or of frequent citation and having some direct bearing on the Books of Kings. Another admirable feature of the Commentary is the lengthy section, supplied by the editor, dealing with the complicated question of chronology. Here again a bibliography is given setting forth recent literature on this subject. The difficulties involved in trying to date according to our calendar are made abundantly clear. Of particular interest are seven full pages containing tables of the kings of Israel and Judah in the form of synchronisms with events in external history. Both in the Introduction and in the Commentary on the text the book is very well documented and pays particular attention to the significance of recent archaeological discoveries which have a bearing on the period of history under review. The author's use of such evidence is balanced and sane, and reveals a true critical discernment. The style of writing throughout is easy and attractive. In the Book of Kings, says the author, we have "a history written with a theological theory and a practical aim. It has for subject not mere History, but the lessons of History." The commentator remains conscious of this fact all through his work and reinforces the impression already made by the text that "the God of the Bible is the God of

History." The production of this book is up to the admirable standards set by T. and T. Clark in this whole series. There is, however, one printer's error—a repetition of the word "may" on page twenty-five, line twenty-one.

D. S. RUSSELL.

The Servant of the Lord. And other Essays on the Old Testament, by H. H. Rowley (Lutterworth Press, 25s.).

In this volume Dr. Rowley brings together a collection of unpublished and previously published essays. In the first essay in two parts on "The Servant of the Lord," Dr. Rowley not only reviews Individual, Collective and Fluid Theories of the Servant, but advances his own view. All readers will be struck with the author's emphasis on the fluidity of interpretation not only in the original conception, but also in the "fulfilment" of the portrayal in the Servant Songs. This opening essay gives us nearly sixty pages of scholarship and insight.

The seven essays which follow have already appeared in various journals and works in Holland, Hungary, United States and Britain, but now appear conveniently and in revised and expanded form. Successively, Professor Rowley brings to light the newly conceived connections between The Servant and the Davidic Messiah (a point of view which will probably be new to many readers), considers the religious values in the Old Testament Prophecy, reaffirms his continued support of the order of *Nehemiah* and *Ezra* despite strong attempts to reinstate the traditional order of *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, offers an interpretation of Ruth's marriage which is eminently sound and acceptable, sees in *The Song of Songs* a collection of Love Songs, and explains why we may still regard this book as worthy of inclusion in the Canon, and returns to his first love in discussing and affirming the unity of the book of *Daniel*. Finally, the author deals with the ever growing literature on the Patriarchal Narratives and shows how these narratives are to be taken far more seriously in a historical sense than was formerly common. Indeed as various facets of the Patriarchal narratives are seen to reflect contemporary conditions, the question arises whether the revelation to Abraham, for example, may not also be seen to be congruous with its context?

This book is a further proof of Professor Rowley's extraordinary range of knowledge and of his capacity to be constructive in spite of the weight of knowledge. All will profit from the volume and Baptists in particular will be justly proud that the leading British Old Testament scholar is also a Baptist Minister.

G. HENTON DAVIES.

The Christ of the New Testament, by A. W. Argyle (Carey Kingsgate Press, 10s. 6d.).

Mr. Argyle has assembled and enlarged a series of papers contributed to the *Expository Times*. His purpose is to show that the divine Sovereignty of Christ is the real unifying principle in the New Testament.

An introductory study emphasises the importance of the Logos conception and its New Testament parallels for the belief in the divinity of Christ. The remainder of the book falls into two broad sections, the former of which examines the words of Our Lord, and show how His claims to a unique relationship with the Father are common to all the main sources of the Synoptic Gospels. In the second, the major part of the book, Mr. Argyle deals mainly with the testimony of the early Church in *Acts* and the Epistles. If we cannot speak of a "theory" of Incarnation, it is there in embryo: belief in the fact is richly clear, and the interest is practical, not speculative—belief in the "saving fact." Revelation and redemption are two sides of the one Divine activity. So, Mr. Argyle goes on to show how the Incarnation reaches its consummation in the Death, Resurrection and Exaltation of the Lord; one great divine act for the salvation and life of men. A useful appended note sets out a number of parallels between Pauline passages and words of Jesus from the Q. tradition; the parallels vary in degree, but their cumulative impression is striking, so as to dispel any notion that the apostle was lacking in knowledge of or interest in our Lord's teaching.

Mr. Argyle writes in a fine spirit of devotion, and many will be helped by him to a fuller appreciation of the true purpose of the New Testament writings. On a number of points one feels a desire for a fuller treatment; that is inevitable, however, when the greatest of all themes has to be confined in so limited a space. But sometimes Mr. Argyle may evoke mild protest by a tendency to a summary treatment of views contrary to his own. For example, a suggestion of Dr. Rawlinson, quoted on page seventy-four, is dismissed with a piece of heavy irony, while at the same time Mr. Argyle admits that the suggestion would reinforce the point of the passage, and that it would be "quite in the Pauline manner." More serious, however, is the dismissal of difficulties which have been sincerely felt concerning the Virgin birth stories. To say that "those who deny the fact and object to the doctrine are often radical critics who doubt all the miracles" is true, but it contains an unjust innuendo. Further, Mr. Argyle quotes with approval: "Our answer to the question of the Virgin Birth depends upon whether we believe that the Spirit of Truth and not that of error brooded over the beginnings of Christianity." This just will not do. That is a bludgeon which

many a rigid conservative might as fairly use against Mr. Argyle himself on many points in his book. Indeed, one feels that this chapter is weakened by the stress that is put upon this question. His attempt to spread this doctrine over the whole New Testament is not convincing—in parts the ice is very thin.

W. S. DAVIES.

The Doctrine of the Knowledge of God. A Study in the Theology of John Calvin, by T. H. L. Parker. (Oliver and Boyd, 10s. 6d.)

In this book the author furthers the study of Calvin and also makes a notable contribution to the discussion of natural theology, whether there is such a thing as natural theology and, if so, how far can it take us? This question has come into importance through the revival of Thomism on the one hand, and the theology of Karl Barth on the other. Barth and Brunner, though of the same school, have crossed swords on it and both have appealed to Calvin. With great care and thoroughness, Mr. Parker has examined Calvin's teaching on the point and his verdict is that on the whole Calvin would seem to justify the Barth side of the argument. But this by no means exhausts the value of this book, which is indeed a very detailed, documented exposition of Calvin's theology of Revelation. According to Calvin the important thing is the knowledge of God. But what is the knowledge of God and how is it acquired? This is obviously a major question for all theologians and, indeed, all preachers and teachers of religion. Well, this book gives a good exposition of Calvin's views on this important issue. Hence it repays close and serious study. The author has already given us a book on Calvin as a preacher and his theory of preaching (*The Oracles of God*, 1947). Now he adds this new volume to his exposition of the great master. May we hope for still more? The author has himself a clear mind and a gift of lucid exposition. This is theological writing of a very high standard and it will take its place immediately amongst recent books on Calvin and Calvinism.

A. DAKIN.

The Principle of Authority, by P. T. Forsyth. (Independent Press, 18s. 6d.).

Dr. Wheeler Robinson used to say that if Christians could only agree about the nature of authority, other differences would rapidly be resolved. The subject of this book is certainly of fundamental importance and we are grateful to the publishers for producing, after a lapse of nearly forty years, a second edition

of a contribution to the problem by so distinguished an author. Authority is here related to certainty, sanctity and society. Under the first head are discussed such matters as experience, faith, obedience and the source of certainty. Under "sanctity" are considered the object, guarantee and foundation of religion. The last section, concerning society, includes discussions on the Church, liberty, individualism, humanity and election.

This is not one of Forsyth's best books. There is some overlapping in the arrangement of material and the style is sometimes obscure. The unity and authority of the Gospel could have been more clearly and happily expressed. The truth is obscured rather than elucidated by such random, sweeping and inaccurate statements as, "Not only is Luke, Pauline, but even Mark" (p. 140). Nevertheless the author has sufficiently shown the inwardness and spirituality, yet also the divine givenness and objectivity, of true authority ("We have an external authority which is not foreign to the soul, yet not native to it." p. 401) which is in its essence not limiting but expansive and creative. The service of God is indeed at once the completest submission to true authority and the realisation of perfect freedom. As Forsyth truly says, "It is in the region of theology that this greatest of questions must be fought out."

A. W. ARGYLE.

The Dead Sea Scrolls. A Preliminary Survey, by A. Dupont Sommer, translated from the French by E. Margaret Rowley. (Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 7s. 6d.)

Since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in a cave near 'Ain-Feshka in 1947 much has been written on their origin and significance. A good deal of this literature is not easily accessible to the general reader, and we are greatly indebted to Miss Rowley, daughter of Prof. H. H. Rowley, for making available in English this fascinating little book. She has done her work so well that rarely, if ever, are we consciously reading a translation. The first chapter relates the circumstances of the discovery and subsequent editing and publishing of most of the scrolls, either wholly or in extracts, by the American Schools of Oriental Research and Prof. Sukenik of Jerusalem University. The following chapters are devoted to a more detailed study of the various scrolls—the two of *Isaiah* giving us a Hebrew text which is perhaps 1,000 years older than the oldest examples of the Massoretic text. The *Habakkuk Commentary* contains cryptic references to the "Master of Justice" and the "Wicked Priest" or the "Man/Prophet of Untruth," whom the author identifies with both Aristobulus II and his successor Hyrcanus II. Extracts are

given from the *Rule* or, as the American scholars call it, the *Manual of Discipline*. Prof. Dupont Sommer connects this and another scroll, the *Rule of Battle for the Sons of Light*, with the Damascus Document, as all coming from the same community, which is identified with the Essenes. The scrolls were hidden in the cave about 66 A.D. Not every reader will agree with the author's dating and interpretation of these Scrolls, but everyone, specialist and non-specialist alike, may read this book with pleasure. The clear illustrations add considerably to its value.

GEORGE FARR.

God Spoke by Moses, by Oswald T. Allis. (Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 9s. 6d.).

This book make rather laborious reading. The author sketches quite adequately, in the space available, the outline of the Pentateuch and here and there attempts little Christian homilies on its teaching and history. The book is written on the assumption of Mosaic authorship upon which, it would seem, the inspiration and the authority of the Pentateuch depend. The arguments which the author uses to substantiate his claim are not at all convincing, and he conveniently passes over passages which the reader anticipates might cause him considerable difficulty in explaining. In addition, most of the arguments put forward by critics of the Mosaic authorship are left severely alone. The arguments he does bring forward are, for the most part, of a very general character, but they arrive at conclusions which are not only decisive, but at times even dogmatic. The "higher critics"—at whom he tilts his lance more frequently than is perhaps necessary—"involve themselves in all sorts of difficulties and contradictions" when they reject the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. But the reader is left wondering at the author's own parlous plight. A typical expression is that made concerning *Deuteronomy*—"No book of the Pentateuch . . . gives clearer indication of authorship and occasion than does *Deuteronomy*." And yet it is in his treatment of this book that the author is, if anything, least convincing. Moses, being a prophet, anticipates the kinds of laws that must apply in the new circumstances of life in Canaan and even changes some of the Sinaitic legislation to make it applicable to this new situation. It is too much, however, that Moses should write his own epitaph, and so chapter xxxiv, 10-12 are attributed to some unknown author who wrote them as "a worthy tribute to that mighty man of God."

D. S. RUSSELL.

The Prickly Pear, by E. G. Fisk. (Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 7s. 6d.)

The prickly pear is the author's symbol of the Moslem world—cruel, forbidding, yet with refreshing fruit for those with faith and courage to brave the thorns. This record of the writer's many years of missionary work in Morocco bears heartening witness to God's redeeming grace and to the power of the Holy Spirit to sustain both missionary and convert in the midst of the harshest hostility. These sincere, unstudied pages will increase our knowledge, and strengthen sympathy and prayer for all who work in Moslem countries.

My Servant Moses, by G. E. Hicks. (Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 8s. 6d.)

The author is convinced that Moses is the author of the Pentateuch, and that the account of Israel's journey from Egypt to Canaan is his personal record of events. In a series of short chapters he expounds the outstanding incidents in the life and leadership of Moses, and the dominating place he has won in Hebrew and Christian thought. He writes vividly and with imagination, aptly applying the story to our present conditions and needs. He gives a moving picture of this faithful leader of men and servant of God. Even those who cannot accept the writer's critical position will find themselves re-reading the records with quickened insight and understanding.

F. BUFFARD.

The Free Churches and Episcopacy. Ernest A Payne (Carey Kingsgate Press, 9d.)

We welcome this reprint of Dr. Payne's paper, which appeared in *Theology* (June 1951) in which he offers a reply to the proposal made in the now famous sermon of the Archbishop of Canterbury for an experimental episcopacy among the Free Churches. The paper maintains that the true issue is the *historic* episcopate, and useful discussion on this basis is vitiated not only by its begging of the fundamental question, but also by the variety of interpretations of episcopacy amongst the Anglicans themselves. Dr. Payne states forcibly the biblical and theological reasons for the original and continuing break with the established episcopal system. The Free Church attitude is influenced by experience of the past, by the realisation that episcopacy has not in practice maintained unity, continuity or purity of doctrine and by the knowledge of the blessing of the Spirit in non-episcopal bodies. The gist of the reply is that we are always ready to discuss, but that it is always more helpful to know what one is discussing. The

pamphlet is to be warmly commended to Baptists and all Free Churchmen.

The New Testament Teaching on Baptism, by Stephen F. Winward (Carey Kingsgate Press, 2s.).

This is a useful guide to a systematic study of Baptism in the New Testament. It contains twenty-eight separate studies, with Scripture passages and brief comments. The emphasis is, on the whole, sound, especially in the matter of the theological significance of Baptism. But whether so extended a series of lessons on Baptism is needed is open to question. The statement on page thirty-nine that it is through Believers' Baptism that we become Sons of God is the transference to our own lips of the contention that generations of Baptists have fought vigorously! It is surely no legitimate inference from the passage to which it is attached—*Gal. iii. 26f.*

W. S. DAVIES.

So Great Salvation, by Steven Barabas. (Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 17s. 6d.).

One may study the Keswick Convention from books as one would study any interesting varieties of religious experience; for such a pursuit this volume is indispensable. It is a masterly summary of the origin and development of the Keswick movement, now seventy-seven years old. We are initiated into the secret of the Keswick technique and method. These are "Bible-centred," the basic conviction being that the whole Bible is God's word to us. The annual Conventions aim at the promotion of "scriptural holiness." Its speakers are always those who can witness to a personal experience of sanctification by faith. Speakers and hearers alike testify to the unity of spirit expressed in the words "All one in Christ Jesus" on large signs outside and inside the marquee in which the meetings are held and emphasised in the Communion Service which brings each Convention to a close. The teaching at Keswick follows a sequence, there is a distinct moving forward of the thought of the Convention from day to day throughout the week and in everything the guidance and control of the Holy Spirit is sought. There is a chapter on "The Spirit Filled Life" and another on "Christian Service." The book concludes with biographical sketches of nine well-known Keswick leaders including our own F. B. Meyer. One may study the Keswick Convention by attendance at some, at least, of the meetings. This the author has not managed to do: indeed he has never visited Britain. In view of this his book is a most remarkable achievement. The reviewer has been to several sessions at Keswick and can testify that Dr. Barabas has made himself familiar with its

spirit and teaching. One may study this movement in an endeavour to appreciate the special contribution that Keswick has made to the life of the Christian Church in all parts of the world. R. H. Coats in *The Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* acknowledges that such movements "seek to conserve a neglected truth and in an age of materialism and externalism in religion have incalculably deepened the spiritual life of the Church." On the other hand there is the possibility of weakness, the most serious being the tendency to "an exaggerated individualism" (Frederick Platt in *E.R.E.*) This book lends weight to Coats' appreciation and Platt's criticism. There are several misprints. Here and there the author, unfamiliar at first hand with the religious life of this country, seems to slip up e.g. (page 11): "Of the Dissenting Churches perhaps the Plymouth Brethren, although few in number, had the most far-reaching influence." (In the early 1870s.) An index of Scriptural passages would have increased the value of the volume. The bibliography is extensive and comprehensive: the tolerant spirit of the author is seen here also, for he includes books and articles written from another point of view than that of Keswick or containing criticisms of the movement.

W. R. WEEKS.

The Fellowship of Believers, by Ernest A. Payne. (Carey Kingsgate Press, enlarged edition, 8s. 6d.).

Dr. Payne has done well to issue this new and enlarged edition of his deservedly well-known book. A number of revisions have been made, certain passages have been brought up to date, while further historical references, two new appendices and two entirely new chapters have been added. When the first edition appeared in 1945 the reviewer in this journal expressed regret that Worship and the Church Meeting had not received greater attention. In the present volume the author has added a chapter on the former theme and given a few pages to the latter, though a fuller treatment of the Church Meeting would have added to the value of the book. The decline of the Church Meeting is partly due to the weakening hold of modern Baptists in this country on the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers. This has a bearing on the subject of the Ministry, to which the third chapter is devoted. One fears that there is growing up among us an idea of the Ministry as some kind of caste set apart. We should do well to remember that John Smyth and others included within the ministry which Christ set in His Church others beside pastors or elders. All service in the Church is ministry. Also quoted often nowadays is the practice—referred to by Dr.

Payne—of certain Baptist churches in earlier times refraining from holding a Communion until a recognised minister or settled Pastor was available to preside. But surely, so to deprive church members of the Lord's Supper was wrong? Our ancestors were not always right. But these are only a few of the many reflections which arose in one's mind in reading this competent work. Many issues of interest and importance are raised and, as the author rightly says, it introduces themes which require much further thought and study if Baptists are to realise what is really involved in membership of the Body of Christ. For this and other reasons we welcome Dr. Payne's timely, informative new edition of a valuable book.

Religious Dances, by E. Louis Backman (George Allen and Unwin, 35s.).

It is an unusual and in some ways intriguing subject with which this book deals—the origin, history and significance of religious dancing in the Christian Church. Professor Backman, of the University of Upsala, has obviously pursued the most extensive researches in compiling what promises to be the standard work in this particular field. Introduced in the third century, perhaps earlier, dancing in the Church was believed to be an imitation of the supposed dancing of the angels in Heaven, and it soon came to be associated with the mysteries of the Resurrection. Old Testament references, *Matt.* xi, 17 and *Luke* vii, 32, were cited in its support. In some places converts danced to their baptism—according to Ambrose of Milan. As a Church ritual dancing has continued to this day, especially in the Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox and Coptic Churches. But the reviewer recalls a Baptist Sunday School procession in which there took place at intervals along the route ribbon dancing similar to some described in this book, and one has heard of “pentecostal” meetings where the command in *Ezekiel* vi. 11, “smite with thine hand, stamp with thy foot,” would seem to have been obeyed with gusto. The author devotes particular attention to the dancing epidemics (connected with ergot poisoning) of the Middle Ages and shows how prominently religious dancing has featured in the history of medicine. Packed with information, the book has a large number of illustrations, many of them most unusual, and there is a full bibliography. While this scholarly work will appeal primarily to experts in certain specialised fields the more general reader will also find it interesting and instructive to follow Professor Backman along the curious and comparatively little-known by-road down which he leads.

GRAHAM W. HUGHES.