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Editorial Notes

NEXT year Dr. Winthrop S. Hudson, of the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, New York, who is President of the American Baptist Historical Society, is to pay a visit to Britain. We have pleasure in announcing that Dr. Hudson has accepted an invitation to address our own Historical Society at its Annual Meeting on 3rd May next. His subject will be "Order in the Church." Although May seems rather distant, we hope that readers in this country will make a note of the date and that there will be an exceptionally large audience to welcome our distinguished American visitor.

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In an address entitled "The Conception of our Fathers regarding the Church,"[1] delivered last year at the Mennonite World Conference, the Dutch Mennonite historian, Pastor N. van der Zijpp, declared that Anabaptist views of the Church could be broadly divided into two main concepts, which he terms the "congregationalist" and the "spiritualist." The former, represented by Conrad Grebel, Michael Sattler, Menno Simons and others, laid greater stress upon the corporate aspect of the Church. For them, not personal faith but the Church was primary, and among many of them baptism came to be regarded as an essential rite of initiation. Some eventually merged into one or other of the Protestant State churches, while the danger in which most of them stood was that of becoming formalistic or rationalist. The other, among whose representatives were Hans Denk and Hans die Ries, regarded the working of the Spirit in the heart of the individual as primary and the Church as of secondary importance. Here everything was much more subjective, the guidance of the Spirit was stressed and baptism was of little more than symbolic significance. The peril in this case was that of excessive individualism. This "spiritualist" type was most influential in Holland. Elsewhere the "congregationalist" attitude prevailed and has largely continued to do so throughout Mennonite history. Could it be said that modern Baptists may be broadly divided in a similar way? Certainly, as Pastor van der Zijpp observed in his address, the important thing is ever to act on the principle: in what we agree, unity; in what we differ, tolerance; in everything, love.

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[1] Reproduced in the *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, April, 1953.

The Standing Conference of Theological and Philosophical Libraries in London—which, among its 22 member libraries, includes the Dr. Williams' Library, the Biblical Study Library, the Westminster Abbey Library and five municipal libraries—is a voluntary association which seeks to assist students and research workers in the fields of theology and philosophy. It holds meetings, has published a directory of its member libraries and has this year issued a joint reader's ticket. Now it offers, for a fee of 3s. 6d., a short term research ticket which entitles its holder to visit any or all of the co-operating libraries to consult their catalogues and reference works. Available for one month, its purpose is to enable students to locate the books or materials they wish to find. Full information may be obtained from the Hon. Secretary, Miss Joan Ferrier, C.M.S. Library, 6, Salisbury Square, London, E.C.4.

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By the kindness of one of our esteemed retired missionaries, Rev. Gordon S. Wilkins, thirteen original letters written between 1796 and 1812 by William Burgess of Fleet, Lincs. to John Taylor of Queenshead, nr. Halifax, have been presented to the Historical Society. Burgess (1755-1813) and Taylor (1743-1818) were both General Baptist ministers, the latter being the brother of the famous Dan Taylor and father of James and Adam (the G.B. historian). Elizabeth, the daughter of James—the first G.B. minister in Derby—married William Wilkins and was thus the Rev. Gordon Wilkins' grandmother. It is of further interest that Mr. Gordon Wilkins married the great-grand-daughter of John Gregory Pike, who succeeded Taylor in the Derby pastorate, was secretary of the G.B. Missionary Society and among whose descendants there has been a remarkable record of missionary service, continued in our time by Mr. and Mrs. Wilkins and their children.

Baptists in the West Country, by Douglas Jackman. (Western Baptist Association, 2s.)

For the Western Baptist Association, 1953 marks its tercentenary, though Mr. Douglas Jackman, M.B.E., J.P.—who has served as its Secretary and Treasurer and possesses unrivalled knowledge of the subject—maintains there are good reasons for believing the date of formation to have been earlier than 1653. Here he outlines the Association's history and provides valuable notes on its member churches. The booklet is informative and interesting. We hope it will be widely read, and that it will stimulate further research into the history of Western Baptists, for one of our present needs is for more county and regional histories.

Zollikon 1525[1]

THE RISE OF THE EARLIEST ANABAPTIST FELLOWSHIP[2]

ON Sunday, January 22nd, 1525, Hans Oggenfuss, a tailor in Stadelhofen in Zurich, went out from the city. His journey was made for business reasons.[3] Wilhelm Röubli, the minister in the village of Witikon, which overlooks Zurich, had given him an order to execute and this order Oggenfuss now wished to deliver to the customer. The matter was urgent, for the previous day (January 21st) Röubli had been banished by the Zurich Council because he was a leading opponent of infant baptism. Röubli must leave the boundaries of Zürich within a week[4] and naturally enough the tailor endeavoured to deliver the order before the week was out.

On his way, Oggenfuss witnessed a remarkable occurrence. By the fountain in Hirslanden he came across two men, both known to him and both coming from Zollikon.[5] One is the shoe-

[1] This translation is published by kind permission of the author Dr. Fritz Blanke and of Verlag Friedrich Reinhardt A. G., the publishers of the *Theologische Zeitschrift* in which this article originally appeared. The original may be found in the July-August, 1952 number of the *Theologische Zeitschrift*. This periodical is produced every two months by the Theological Faculty of the University of Basel. In addition to articles by members of the Faculty—e.g., Professors Barth, Cullman, Eichrodt, Staehelin, etc., the *Theologische Zeitschrift* contains useful reviews of latest theological books. The number from which this article is taken was given over entirely to subjects dealing with Anabaptism and the Mennonites—the reason for this was the fifth Mennonite World Conference held in Basel in August, 1952. In addition to Professor Blanke's article there is also an important article by Professor Harold S. Bender, the Mennonite Church Historian, which deals with the relation of the Zwickau Prohpets, Thomas Muntzer and the Anabaptists. (*Translator's note.*)

[2] My work is based upon the Court records in the Zürich City archives, which records have now for the first time been published in their entirety with critical notes by Leonhard von Muralt and Walter Schmid, in the book *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer in der Schweiz Erster Band: Zürich* (Zürich 1952, 428 pp.). I have relied chiefly upon the documents which are numbered by von Muralt and Schmid 29, 30, 31, 32 and 33. In the following notes "Nr." refers in every case to this collection of source material.

[3] The scene with Oggenfuss will be found in Nr. 31 (pp. 41-42).

[4] Nr. 26 Brötli, Hätzer and Castelberger were also banished.

[5] Zollikon is a village about two miles from Zürich situated on the eastern shore of the Lake of Zürich. Hirslanden was a village between Zürich and Witikon—now it has been incorporated into the city of Zürich. (*Translator.*)

maker there, and bears the name of his trade: Fridli Schumacher.[6] The other is Johannes Brötli,[7] a former Catholic priest who had become a supporter of Zwingli. Since the summer of 1523 Brötli had lived without benefice in Zollikon and since the summer of 1524 he had been in opposition to Zwingli on the question of the Church baptismal practice. Brötli lodged in Zollikon with his wife and children in Fridli Schumacher's house.

At the fountain in Hirslanden the two stand talking, Schumacher says to Brötli, "Now then, Hans, you have taught me the truth, for which I am grateful, and I ask you now for the sign." Schumacher himself has heard his lodger's teaching concerning baptism, and has been won over to Brötli's point of view. Now, however, he wants to take a further step, the step from theory to practice, and he therefore requests, in spite of the fact that he has already been baptized as a small child, the sign of baptism. Brötli does not hesitate but baptizes Schumacher by sprinkling him with water from the fountain.

So far as we know this was the first occasion on which a native of Zollikon had been rebaptized. It would seem to indicate that Brötli, who performed the baptism, had himself been previously rebaptized. Very probably this had taken place on the previous evening.[8] It is reasonable to surmise that the leading opponents of infant baptism—Grebel, Blaurock, Manz, Brötli—had taken the step of baptism on Saturday, January 21st, in the evening or during the night. I surmise that Brötli, after the first rebaptism—which probably took place in the city of Zürich itself—returned to Zollikon and told his landlord Schumacher of the great event. As a result of this, Schumacher's desire to be likewise newly baptized, may well have arisen.

When Brötli and Schumacher lived together, one may ask why the baptism did not take place in Schumacher's house rather than out by the fountain at Hirslanden? Perhaps caution was the reason. It may have appeared advisable to Brötli, the leader of the Zollikon group of opponents to infant baptism, that the first baptism which he administered to one of his Zollikon followers should take place outside Zollikon.

The fact that arrests us about this scene is its "apostolic" simplicity. One can scarcely imagine a greater contrast than that between the baptism at the fountain in Hirslanden, and the

[6] Alexander Nüesch and Heinrich Bruppacher: *Das alte Zollikon* (1899) p. 74.

[7] Nüesch-Bruppacher p. 505. In Nr. 29 and 31—Brötli is called "der alte Helfer" i.e., "the one-time assistant" (= Minister). Before Brötli moved to Zollikon he was minister in Quarten on the Lake of Wallenstadt in Switzerland.

[8] See F. Blanke "Ort und Zeit der ersten Wiedertaufe" ("Place and Time of the first Rebaptism.") *Theologische Zeitschrift* 1952, pp. 74-76.

baptisms which were at that time still practised in the churches of the city and countryside of Zürich. In these churches, in consequence of the fear of the council of liturgical innovations, the baptismal practice was not yet altered. Instead the children were still baptized by Zwingli and by the Zwinglian preachers, according to the Roman Catholic rite, i.e., with exorcism, the sign of the cross, and anointing with spittal and oil.[9] Now however, in Hirslanden, all these accessories are missing, just as they were also missing in baptism among the first Christians.

The Lord's Supper

Just as important to the originators of this baptismal movement as the renewal of baptism, was the new manner of celebrating the Lord's Supper. Already on Sunday, 22nd January, 1525 (or on Monday, 23rd January)[10] we find Conrad Grebel celebrating the Lord's Supper in the house of Jacob Hottinger in Zollikon. Further celebrations took place throughout the whole week in various houses, some in connection with baptisms, others without this connection being simply gatherings around the Lord's table. The proceedings were very simple. As introduction, one of the New Testament accounts of the institution of the Lord's Supper was read; following this there was a brief word concerning the meaning of the Lord's Supper, and then the partaking of the bread and the wine.[11]

Once again it should be noticed that the gulf between these celebrations of the Lord's Supper in Zollikon, and the celebrations by Zwingli and his ministers in that same January, 1525, is unbridgable. At this time there is still on the altar in the Grossmünster[12] and in the church at Zollikon[13] and in all other Zürich

[9] The Baptismal Liturgy of Leo Jud which was introduced into Zürich in 1523 contained all these Catholic practices. (*Krit. Zwingli-Ausgabe* Vol. iv 710-713). In Spring, 1525, a truly evangelical Baptismal Service was first introduced into Zürich—it originated from Zwingli (*Krit. Zwingli-Ausgabe* Vol. iv. 334-336).

[10] These dates are not absolutely certain. It is clear that Grebel first held this celebration of the Lord's Supper after he had been baptised, i.e., after January 21st, 1525. Oggenfuss stated during his cross-examination that this Lord's Supper had taken place a fortnight previously. He was speaking as a witness in court between January 30th and February 7th. If we count backwards fourteen days from February 7th we arrive at January 25th. Grebel must have held this Lord's Supper between January 22nd (Sunday) and January 25th, probably at the beginning of the week January 22nd. H. S. Bender in his book *Conrad Grebel* (1950) p. 138, also believes that the Lord's Supper to which Oggenfuss bears witness refers to the first which was held by the new Anabaptist fellowship.

[11] Nr. 29, 31, 32.

[12] The Grossmünster is the chief church of Zürich and the one in which Zwingli preached. (*Translator's note.*)

[13] Nr. 29 (p. 37-38).

churches the monstrance with the host. Before it stands the minister, in vestments, celebrating in Latin[14] (with the omission of the sacrifice) the Roman mass, and distributing to the congregation the wafers, but not the cup.[15] But here, in the simple room of a farmhouse in Zollikon, laymen break ordinary bread and distribute it together with the wine, to all partakers—a revolution indeed in the history of the Lord's Supper, but, as I believe, a necessary and salutary one.

We are well informed from the records of the court hearings, of the interpretation which those in Zollikon placed upon this new form of the Lord's Supper. Oggenfuss testifies that the Lord's Supper in Jacob Hottinger's house had been partaken with the thought in mind, " that they now intend to walk the Christian way and remain steadfast in it."[16] Those who share in the Lord's Supper therefore accept the obligation to live a Christian life. Jörg Schad owned that they had broken the bread and eaten with the intention that, " they have God always in their hearts and will think on Him."[17] Thus the Lord's Supper is an obligation to love God. In this first week we meet still more frequently a third interpretation of the Lord's Supper. It is described as, " a meal of love and Christian charity,"[18] as, " a sign of brotherly love and of peace,"[19] as an occasion, " for everyone to show brotherly love."[20] The eating together of the bread and the drinking of the wine demonstrated the reality of the present brotherly unity; the Lord's Supper is a fellowship meal, a love meal, clearly depending on 1 *Cor. x.* 17, " because there is one bread, we, who are many, are one body."

We feel that the real heart of the young fellowship beats in these gatherings together for the Lord's Supper with their simple ceremony. There they feel themselves as, " communio sanctorum," bound together by the same bond and united in love towards God and towards the brethren.

We may ask why Zwingli had not already, at that time, introduced a similar purified celebration of the Lord's Supper. It was only the Zürich Council to whom Zwingli submitted, which hindered him.[21] So the Anabaptists anticipated him when, as first

[14] In *De Canone Missae epichiresis* (August, 1523) Zwingli expressly approved the wearing of the vestments and the use of Latin in the celebration of the Lord's Supper. (*Krit. Zw. Ausg.* ii 600 ff).

[15] *Krit. Zwingli Ausgabe* iv 4.

[16] Nr. 31 (p. 42 top).

[17] Nr. 31 (p. 41).

[18] Statement of Hans Bruggbach Nr. 31.

[19] Statement of Conrad Hottinger Nr. 31.

[20] Statement of Jörg Schad Nr. 31.

[21] A new and truly evangelical order for the celebration of the Lord's Supper was first put into practice in Zürich at Easter, 1525 (*Krit. Zw. Ausg.* iv 1-24).

forerunners of the Free Church conception, they boldly ignored the State Church, and organised the building up of their fellowship without magisterial patronage.

The Meetings

We have heard that Röubli had been banished and this sentence had also been passed on Hätzer, Castelberger, and Brötli, other opponents of infant baptism. They had had to swear to leave the boundary of the city of Zürich within eight days, as from January 21st. Ruedi Thomann, an elderly farmer from a well-known Zollikon family, did not wish this period to elapse without seeing again two of those under sentence of banishment with whom he was evidently connected, and so he invited Röubli and Brötli to a "Letzi," that is, to a farewell meal.[22] This meal took place in the evening of Wednesday, 25th January, 1525, in Ruedi Thomann's house in the part of the village of Zollikon known as "Gstad" (today Gstadstrasse 23-25). Besides the two theologians and the host, there is also present Marx Bosshart, Thomann's son-in-law, who lives with him. While the four are still at their meal, Manz and Blaurock come into the room. Ruedi Thomann did not, until then, know these two personally; why then did they visit him on this particular evening? Not because of him personally, but because in his house, on that evening a religious meeting—albeit an illegal one—is to be held. We do not know whether this meeting had been suggested by Thomann himself or by Brötli and Röubli. At any rate Ruedi Thomann has put his living room at their disposal for the meeting.

After the evening meal three further visitors appear, Heinrich Thomann (Ruedi's brother), Jacob Hottinger, an older man from one of the most well-known Zollikon families, and Hans Bruggbach from Zumikon, one of the nearby villages. Nine men: five farmers, three theologians and one well educated in secular subjects (Manz) sit at one table and hold a Bible reading. They read in the New Testament and talk over what they have read. What did they read and what did they discuss? Evidently they dealt with the fact of the human soul being lost in sin and with the fact that according to Holy Scripture only those men are saved who repent and are baptized. Then, suddenly, Hans Bruggbach stands up. He bewails his sins, he "weeps and cries how great a sinner he is." He implores his companions that they should beseech God for him, and desires that someone bestow on him the sign of baptism. This passionate outburst by Bruggbach as he acknowledges his sin can be explained only by the surmise that

[22] The following description of the meeting at Ruedi Thomann's is taken from the statements of those who were present in Nr. 29, 31 and 32.

during this evening there had been talk of guilt and a turning from sin. Bruggbach's request for baptism is fulfilled. The method of baptism is simple, but not formless. On the contrary, the baptism is embedded in a short liturgy which is spoken by Blaurock and Manz in turn. Blaurock first directs to Hans Bruggbach the question whether he desires baptism (Blaurock uses the word "grace"). Bruggbach replies in the affirmative. Then Manz says the relevant sentence contained in the *Acts of the Apostles, x.* 47, "Who will forbid me that I baptize him not?" Blaurock answers, "No one." Manz takes a metal ladle, of the sort used in the kitchen at that time, and pours water from it over the head of the baptismal candidate, saying, "I baptize thee in the name of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost."

The first baptism results in the same meeting in yet a second. Jacob Hottinger, who in the last weeks had shown himself to be an ardent follower of Manz and Grebel, stands up and is himself likewise baptized by Manz. These baptisms were certainly the most important object of the meeting. It was not a time of Bible study in the ordinary sense, rather was it a revival meeting with the aim of leading those present to repentance and baptism.

The evening closes with the Lord's Supper. Blaurock directs attention to the bread and the wine which stand on the table and breaks the bread in pieces. The distribution of the Lord's Supper is preceded by an address of which a fragment is preserved for us. According to Ruedi Thomann's statement, Blaurock said, "Whoever believes that God has saved him by His death and outpoured blood, let him come and eat with me of this bread and drink with me of this wine." The Lord's Supper is, according to these words, the feast of those who believed themselves redeemed.

The meeting in Ruedi Thomann's house consisted of Bible study, evangelism and celebration of the sacraments, but it was also, not least, a means to win new members for the already formed Anabaptist fellowship. For this last purpose the evening was not particularly successful. Two of those present were baptized and admitted into the fellowship. But what of the others? Manz, Blaurock, Röubli and Brötli had, a few days before on January 21st, 1525, received rebaptism. There remained however three others who in the meeting could not decide for baptism, Ruedi Thomann, Heinrich Thomann and Marx Bosshart. Of Heinrich Thomann we know that the evening which the organisers had hoped would prove attractive to him had, in fact, repelled him. The sight of the baptismal process and of the Lord's Supper caused him, as he said, to sweat; had he had to take part he would have run out of the room. No doubt it was his anxiety which caused him to sweat, and it is not surprising! What he saw must have seemed to him as a man of clearly con-

servative judgment a disgrace to religion. For one man breaks ordinary bread in a farmer's living room and distributes it together with the wine, and a layman performs the holy baptism in a new and unfamiliar way on adults in spite of the fact that they had already been baptized as infants.

Heinrich Thomann is however the only one of those present who feels ill at ease in this meeting of January 25th. Probably he stood a long way from the group, perhaps he was only at the meeting out of curiosity. His brother, Ruedi, is however in close touch with the Anabaptist movement, otherwise he would not have invited Brötli and Röubli. Marx Bosshart also is in sympathy with the new movement. It is true that Bosshart has not, on that same evening, taken the decision to be baptized, but what he has experienced sinks into him. After the visitors have gone—only Blaurock and Manz remain overnight with Thomann—Marx goes to his room. But he cannot sleep. For during the night, "it challenges him," as he himself expresses it, meaning to say he can find no peace of mind. He knows no other alternative but to pray to God for guidance as to what he should do. When morning comes the understanding for which he prayed breaks upon him with positive and convincing power. He now realises: you must be baptized. He gets up early on Thursday, January 26th, and wakes his father-in-law and also Manz and Blaurock. There follows between the young farmer and Blaurock, a "soul searching" conversation, the gist of which is preserved by the witness of Ruedi Thomann. Blaurock observed to Marx, "You have been until now a carefree young man," and admonishes him (referring to *Ephesians iv.* 22-24) to put off the old man and to put on the new and repent. Bosshart is ready to comply. So, after the candidate's confession of repentance, the most important prerequisite of the baptismal act, is completed, Blaurock is able to baptize Marx Bosshart. Bosshart is heard of again in the same year as an Anabaptist itinerent preacher in the Zürich Oberland.

Now comes the turn of Ruedi Thomann. So far he had hesitated but now Blaurock urges him on, "You are an old man and near death, you must also repent and request baptism!" Ruedi is willing and so Blaurock can also bring him into the new fellowship. So the circle is complete. All of those who were present at the meeting of January 25th, with the exception of the outsider, Heinrich Thomann, have now received the sign of baptism. Blaurock however is not yet satisfied. Is it not reported of the Philippian gaoler, *Acts of the Apostles, xvi.* 33, that he was baptized together with all his household? And must not a fellowship such as this of the Anabaptists, which wishes to be a replica of the first Christian fellowship, also copy it in this respect? That

is Blaurock's idea[23] and so he would now persuade Ruedi Thomann that he ought also to allow his relations and his servants to receive baptism. Thomann is of the same mind so on this January morning the farmhouse in Gstad witnesses a ceremony of household baptism after the example in the Acts of the Apostles.

Two days later, on Friday, January 27th, 1525, another meeting in a house is held,[24] also in Gstad, but on this occasion at the home of Hans Murer (today Bahnhofstrasse 3). Brötli, who is on the point of departure, leads it. Of those present, we know the names of Heinrich Thomann, Leinhard Bleuler, Conrad Hottinger and Hans Bruggbach's son from Zumikon. Brötli is made happy by the request of the last three for baptism, which he immediately performs by sprinkling them with water, Heinrich Thomann remains once again unconverted. He later reported that when he saw the baptism of the three men by Brötli, "his hair stood on end."[25]

We know also of a meeting in Felix Kienast's house (today Rütistrasse 43) where Felix Manz baptized farmer Jörg Schad and others, but it cannot be said for certain on which day of the week, 22nd-29th January, this meeting took place.[26] It is clear, however, that there were daily meetings, usually in the evenings.[27] Most of the baptisms were performed by Brötli, but others, as we have heard, by Blaurock and Manz. Rudolf Hottinger admits to having baptized one young married woman who pleaded with him in tears to do so.[28] So far as we can see, no one in Zollikon was baptized by Conrad Grebel, who had already left for Schaffhausen at the beginning of the week.

Blaurock the Zealot

We have now dealt with the Friday of this eventful week. Two days later on the Sunday morning, January 29th, the churchgoers in Zollikon witnessed a disturbing scene.[29] They have gathered in the church for worship. Just as their minister, Nik-

[23] This household baptism would seem at first sight to be a contradiction of the principles upon which this group based their baptism. Nothing more than the fact of it taking place is reported—it is however probable that Blaurock first obtained from those he baptised a statement of repentance. The reason for this household baptism is however quite clear—it is performed because it is recorded in Scripture. This action reflects the very strong "biblicism" of this group. (*Translator's note.*)

[24] Statements from Heinrich Thomann in Nr. 29 and from Conrad Hottinger in Nr. 31.

[25] Nr. 29.

[26] Jörg Schad's statement in Nr. 31.

[27] Hans Thomann reports e.g., that he has seen people with lanterns going in and out of the meetings. (Nr. 29.)

[28] Nr. 33.

[29] Nr. 29.

laus Billeter, is about to enter the pulpit a man comes out from the congregation and bars his progress. He is recognisable by his black hair, bald patch and blue clothing[30] as Jörg Cajakob, known as Blaurock.

Between the two there begins a heated conversation. Blaurock asks the minister the question as to what he wishes to do. Billeter, as a good Zwinglian answers, "I wish to preach God's word." Blaurock counters, "Not you, but I am sent to preach,"[31] whereupon Billeter makes it quite clear that he is sent to preach, namely by his superiors, the authorities of the Grossmünster who always appointed the minister in Zollikon.

This answer does not satisfy Blaurock and he goes on with the argument. In the meantime Billeter has gone up into the pulpit and begun to preach. Blaurock, however, continues the disturbance and so Billeter breaks off his preaching, comes down from the pulpit and makes his way to the door. His purpose is certainly not to leave his pulpit free for the mischief-maker, but rather to cut short the disturbance. But Billeter has not reckoned with the congregation. Several of those present are not in agreement with his retreat and call out to him that he should stay put. So Billeter enters the pulpit a second time and continues with his preaching. He cautions his people against disturbance and requests if anyone wishes to point out an error to him he should do it privately in the Manse, but not in the church. Certainly a request with which one must agree? Blaurock feels thwarted and interrupts the preacher again. He quotes to him the words from the story of the cleansing of the Temple, "It is written, My house shall be called a house of prayer, but you have made it a den of thieves." Blaurock has with him a rod and he emphasises what he has to say by striking a board three or four times during his outburst.

The matter has gone far enough. The under bailiff, Wüest, who was present in the church, stands up and threatens the disturber of the peace with prison if he does not immediately desist. This quietens Blaurock, and the episode comes to an end.

What exactly did Blaurock want? He wanted to achieve in Zollikon what he succeeded in achieving in Hinwil, in the Zürich Oberland, nine months later. There on the 8th of October, 1525, the people made their way to the regular Sunday morning service in the church and were waiting for the minister. But before he (Hans Brennwald) appeared to begin the service, Jörg Blaurock entered the pulpit and began to preach, introducing himself with

[30] Nr. 109.

[31] Cf. *Jeremiah* xxviii, 15. "Then said the prophet Jeremiah unto Hananiah the prophet, Hear now, Hananiah. The Lord hath not sent thee . . ."

the statement, " Whose is this place? It is God's place where one should preach the word of God, so I am here as one sent from the Father, to preach the Word of God."[32] In this way, Blaurock usurps the pulpit. Brennwald comes too late and, unable to drive out the intruder, has to call in the authorities to help.

In Zollikon also Blaurock had doubtless wished to take over the pulpit, but he was unsuccessful because the minister was already there. The reason for Blaurock's attempt on the pulpit seems clear to me. For anyone as impetuous as Blaurock the development of the Anabaptist movement in Zollikon was going too slowly. He wished to attempt, through preaching in the church, to win over the population, at one fell swoop. The power to attempt this he found in his overwhelming sense of mission. He felt himself as a prophet, directly commissioned to spread God's Word and to cleanse God's Temple.

His attempt at Zollikon, however, went wrong. Blaurock could not deliver his message to the people. On the contrary, by his impetuosity, he had nipped the Anabaptist fellowship in Zollikon in the bud. For as a result of the incident in the church, the Zürich authorities found themselves forced to intervene. On Monday, 30th January, 1525, the authorities came to Zollikon and took into custody[33] Blaurock, Manz and all the farmers who had been baptized in the last eight days. So ends the " springtime " of the Anabaptist church in Zollikon, by that I mean the eight days of undisturbed expansion. So begins the time of oppression by the authorities, of fines and imprisonments. There follows in the summer of 1525 the period of the breaking down of the Zollikon Anabaptist fellowship.

Now that we have followed the course of events which occurred in Zollikon in the period from 22nd-29th January, 1525, it will be worth our while to examine more closely, certain events of this memorable week, so that we may appreciate them from the point of view of piety, theology and sociology.

Repentance and Baptism

If we seek a phrase to describe the events of these eight days, the description "revivalist movement" seems the most appropriate. By this one understands the sudden appearance of a religious awakening, in which not only a few individuals but a large number of men are convinced by a direct power of the need for personal Christian repentance, and in so doing break through to the joy of salvation.

That is what happened in Zollikon. The various stages in the act of repentance can be clearly seen from the evidence pre-

[32] Nr. 109.
[33] Nr. 29.

served in the records of the court proceedings.[34] The first stage is when the conscience starts to trouble the individual so that he becomes concerned because of his sinfulness. The next step is that he beseeches God for a full realisation of sin. Then this realisation breaks through and discloses to him his own guilt and sin.

It is remarkable how deep this consciousness of sin strikes. Conrad Hottinger comes to see that he is a great sinner and that no one remaining in sin can be saved. Hans Bruggbach echoes the same thought. Jörg Schad comes to the realisation that he has wandered all his days in vices and in sins. In these expressions the thought is certainly not of the individual sinful actions. But rather these men, who have lived all their lives as law abiding citizens and church members, have become conscious that their past lives cannot stand before God's absolute judgment, and that they, because of their original sin, are damned. It is the understanding of sin which was taught in the Reformation that we meet here and not as abstract theory but as personal experience. The impact of this experience is underlined by the fact that it is accompanied by strong emotional feeling. These farmers, though no doubt accustomed to hide their feelings, break out in loud lamentations with shedding of tears.

In Zollikon the path of conversion has however yet two further stages. From the depth of the misery of sin arises the cry for rescue, for the "washing away and forgiveness of sin," for, "the grace of God." It is however realised by those calling for help that they may only expect the forgiveness of God if they are willing, in future, to refrain from sin. Jörg Schad is conscious that through the grace of God he has come to know his sin and that God has promised him that, "if he ceases from sin he will forgive him."

Forgiveness is experienced in baptism. Baptism brings to an end the struggle for repentance and brings also deliverance from the heavy burden of sin. Thus it is thought of as the visible sign that God has, by His grace, pardoned the sinner. Blaurock questions the men in Ruedi Thomann's house as to whether they desire the grace of God. When they answer, "Yes," he baptizes them. Baptism is the sign of grace.

It has, however, yet another meaning. Rudolf Breittiner, being moved to tears by the guilt of his sin declares to Brötli, "He will henceforth abstain from all his sin, and therefore desires the sign, and so he (Brötli) should baptize him." Breittiner is willing from now onwards to say "No" to sin, but in order to carry out his purpose there is need of baptism. Baptism here is clearly thought of as the divine affirmation and confirmation of the human

[34] Viz. from Nrs. 29, 31, 32.

resolution. Jörg Schad speaks in a similar way, "he has desired the sign of brotherly love because he wishes to do good to his neighbour just as to himself and has thus been sprinkled with water." Schad wishes to begin a new life and in the future to act according to the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them" (*Matthew vii.* 12). For this, however, it needs the sign of baptism as the sign of brotherly love, i.e. as the sign that makes this love possible.

So baptism has in Zollikon a double meaning. It testifies that God bestows grace upon the repentant man, and that he sends to the pardoned sinner, the power for a new life.

It is thus a complete, closed process of inward change which we can observe in these Zollikon farmers. Moreover, these occurrences have, as we always see in revival movements, the characteristic of being irresistible with spontaneous outbursts. To the magistrate's question as to why he had undergone baptism, Hans Bruggbach replied, "It had so affected him that he had absolutely no choice in the manner." In the case of Rudolf Breittiner, the feeling of sinfulness came to its climax, not in a meeting, but in the open air, when he was out for a walk with Brötli and Felix Kienast. He stood still and began to weep and bemoan his sins. Brötli had, in the meantime, gone further ahead. Breittiner called him back and asked to be baptized.

We know the criticism which Goethe has levelled at the writing of Church History. He says in the *Zahmen Xenien:* "What have I to do with Church History? I see nothing but parsons. What the Christians, the ordinary people feel, of that it seems to me nothing at all appears." It is true that the sources of Church History do tell us what the theologians felt and thought, and the deepest experiences of great personalities, but of the spiritual struggles of the ordinary, nameless Christian we hear almost nothing at all. The court records which are at our disposal for the events in Zollikon, prove an exception. Here we can see into the heart of the common man and share in his spiritual fears and joys. Not only are these Zollikon texts themselves out of the ordinary but also the matter which they contain. I know of no precedent for a revivalist movement in the Reformation similar to that which is told for us of Zollikon. I have nowhere come across a whole group of men seized by the almost tempestuous breaking out of the spirit of repentance. Such a unique repentance movement must be explained.

Theological and Personal Factors

Since we have traced its course during the first eight days, we must now ask what was the basic impulse of the movement?

I would differentiate between a theological and a personal impulse.

It can be established that Conrad Grebel and his group, i.e. the Zürich opponents to infant baptism had already, in 1524, come to the conviction, through the New Testament, that repentance must precede baptism.[35] Baptism should not be administered to unrepentant men. Thus it was taken for granted that the person to be baptized must have reached an age where he was capable of repentance. This means that only adults, and indeed only those who were contrite, should be baptized.

This was at first only theoretical teaching. It was put into practice on the 20th January, 1525, when adult baptism was instituted. That is to say the people who wished to be baptized were told that they must previously have repented, i.e. been converted. The personal conversion or repentance now became of decisive importance as the necessary preliminary to baptism. That means, without repentance, no baptism, i.e. no salvation.

Thus, behind the revival in Zollikon there stands a new teaching concerning repentance. It is the theological motive of the movement. It was, however, the call to repentance in the preaching which provided the actual impulse out of which this teaching concerning repentance developed. Thus it was that in Zollikon the religious agitation which we have examined was first set in motion by the emergence of personalities who powerfully sounded the call to repent. We know the names of these preachers, Grebel, Manz, Blaurock, Brötli. Among these, the outstanding figure is Blaurock. Jörg Cajakob[36] was the son of a Romanisch farmer in Bonaduz in Graubünden. He became first a Roman Catholic priest in Trins in Graubünden. About the year 1523 he broke with the old faith and became a Zwinglian and in the same year he married. We see him in Zürich for the first time taking part in the public disputation over baptism,[37] of 17th January, 1525, in which he opposed infant baptism. He was then thirty-three years old.

Blaurock was an enthusiast, his friends called him a " second

[35] I refer here only to the letter which Grebel sent to Thomas Müntzer in the name of the opponents in Zürich to infant baptism in September, 1524. (von Muralt-Schmid p. 14 ff. especially pp. 17-18.) For the earlier history of the Zürich Anabaptist Movement see Dr. F. Blanke "La Préhistoire de L'Anabaptisme à Zürich, 1523-1525," published in *Mélanges Historiques offerts à Monsieur Jean Meyhoffer Docteur en Théologie*, published in Lausanne, 1952 by " Faculté de Théologie de L'Eglise Evangelique Libre du Canton de Vaud pp. 17-29.

[36] Concerning Blaurock see, Oskar Vasella " Von den Anfängen der bündnerischen Täuferbewegung " (*Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Geschichte*, 1939 p. 165 ff.).

[37] " *Geschicht-Buch der Hutterischen Brüder* " edited by R. Wolkan p. 34. The " Gespräch von Glaubenhändeln " mentioned there seems to be the disputation over Baptism held in Zürich on January 17th, 1525.

Paul." By this they meant that he was possessed by that inner strength of conviction which characterised the apostle. Today we should probably call him an evangelist. We have heard how fervently he stirred the consciences of the young man, Marx Bosshart, and the old man, Ruedi Thomann, and how he urged the latter to be baptized, both himself and his family. Blaurock's was a dynamic personality and in a large measure the Zollikon "repentance movement" is to be attributed to his evangelistic zeal.

The disturbance in the Zollikon church on January 29th bears witness to the fact that Blaurock was not free from over-enthusiasm. The point at issue here was, of course, a clash with the antagonistic though authorised minister. Whether Blaurock's preaching of repentance in the meetings or in the individual contacts had in it any of this over-enthusiastic character we do not know. It is, however, possible. Many were perhaps carried away by his temperament and the fascinating power of his go-ahead personality.

Ludwig Keller, in his books which were widely read during his day, especially in his *Die Reformation und die älteren Reformparteien,* (Leipzig, 1885), has asserted the strict historical connection between the Anabaptists at the time of the Reformation and the Waldensians and the other non-Romish sects of the Middle Ages. According to Ludwig Keller, the Anabaptists were nothing else than the continuation of the movements of the Middle Ages which were outside the recognised Church. One still occasionally comes across this theory today.

There is a good method by which we may clarify this problem, and that is by considering the question as to where the fundamental theological principles of the Zollikon Anabaptists originated. The group in Zollikon in 1525 was the earliest Anabaptist group that there was. If anywhere, then surely by examination of the theological ideas of this group, it can be shown whether the Anabaptists are children of the Middle Ages or of the Reformation.

Let us briefly examine the individual points of this Anabaptist "theologia in statu nascendi," as it is revealed in Zollikon in the week from 22nd-29th January. Jörg Schad and Marx Bosshart report that they have besought God for a knowledge of their sin.[38] They are thus aware that in the first place not the forgiveness of sins but rather the knowledge of sin is a divine gift to be sought. This the Zollikon Anabaptist group—and especially their leaders—have learnt from the teaching of Zwingli. They have first gained their consciousness of the absolute corruption of unregenerate man and also their knowledge that salvation

[38] Nr. 31.

is founded in grace alone, from Zwingli. That the way of salvation for man, from the very beginning, depends upon " sola gratia " is the decisive discovery of the Reformation, which the Zollikon Anabaptists also accepted, whereas the Middle Ages, including the Waldensians, knew nothing of this.

On the question of the sacraments the Anabaptists are pupils of Zwingli in so far as they understood baptism and the Lord's Supper, in contrast to Catholicism and to Luther—symbolically and not sacramentally. The Lord's Supper for them is the symbol of the brotherhood of Christians, but not the giving of the body of Christ. Baptism did not mediate the forgiveness of sins, but it is a sign which bore witness to the fact that for the believer sins are forgiven by God.

The influence of Zwingli is most evident however in the way the members of this group state their relation to God and Christ. When the rebaptized farmer, Lienhard Bleuler, was asked by the magistrate whether he would in the future give up the Anabaptist movement he replied that, " he was God's servant and was himself no longer his own master, he had enlisted under the Captain Jesus Christ and would go with him even to the death, whatever he commanded and required of him, he would obey and perform."[39] These are typical Zwinglian expressions, Christ the Captain under whose banner we have enlisted, for whom we shed our blood and who gives us his Spirit is a metaphor frequently used by Zwingli.[40] This was exactly Bleuler's conception. He says to the magistrates: " I can no longer decide for myself for I have become a soldier of Jesus Christ from whom I receive my orders. If it must be, I am willing to die for my Captain." Rudolf Hottinger testifies likewise; he is aware that as a servant and slave of God he must " listen " and await what the Spirit of God shows, teaches and commands him.[41] This feeling of exclusive dependence upon God's command is Christian self-examination[42] as Zwingli had taught. Rudolf Hottinger and his friends had doubtless been true followers of the Zürich Reformer, for they have understood well Zwingli's view of the Christian status. Now, however, they assert against Zwingli and his belief in the authority of the Church, the belief in the direct authority which God has over the individual, which belief they learnt originally from Zwingli himself.

As a result of their conviction which led them to see them-

[39] Nr. 33.

[40] See G. W. Locher " Christus unser Hauptmann " (*Zwingliana*, 1950 Part I.)

[41] Nr. 33.

[42] German is " Selbstbeurteilung "—self judgement or self examination. By this is meant that the individual lays himself open to the leading of God—and thus he " examines himself "—to discover what is the will of God for him. (*Translator's note.*)

selves as servants of God and soldiers of Christ, the consciousness arose in the men of Zollikon not only of their independence from the Zürich church, but also from the State. Rudolf Rutschmann confessed in his own name and in that of the fourteen Zollikon farmers, his fellow prisoners,[43] "He had been baptized. Thus he was a servant and an obedient follower of God, he would also do what the Spirit of God showed, taught and commanded him. And therefore he would take notice of no one, and allow himself to be subject to no wordly power. For the rest he was willing in all things not contrary to the word of God, to be obedient to and at the service of the gracious authorities of Zürich."

Who can fail to perceive in this courageous statement of these fifteen farmers from Zollikon, the spirit of the Reformation? So had Luther spoken at Worms. Zwingli, especially in his early years, had also, on principle, rejected the interference of the authorities in questions of religion and conscience and demanded freedom of faith, above all, if the state in question was Catholic. Now he lives to experience this same challenge thrown out from Zollikon to the Zürich evangelical[44] authorities.

This may be taken as certain; the soil out of which this new thinking of Grebel, Manz, Brötli, Blaurock and their followers grew, was not the ideas of the Middle Ages, neither the Roman nor the Waldensian; rather was it Zwingli's Reformation teaching. These first Anabaptists all went through Zwingli's school, and in it they received the essence of evangelical faith which they never forgot.[45] Nevertheless these pupils, in certain important aspects, differed from their master. They have put repentance before baptism. They have bestowed baptism upon adults. They have stressed that baptism also signifies the power for a new life. They have celebrated the Lord's Supper as a fellowship meal. They have rejected the State Church.

These are the points of departure of the Anabaptists from Zwingli in the year 1525. But which is the direction of these differences? Do the Anabaptists want to fall back to the Middle Ages and renew the ideas of that period? On the contrary, they wish in those several points of deviation from Zwingli's teaching to advance the Reformation. They wish to build further upon the foundations which Zwingli laid. The deviations from Zwingli

[43] Nr. 30.

[44] German, "evangelisch"—i.e., as against Catholic. The term "Protestant" did not of course come into use until 1529. (*Translator's note.*)

[45] The eschatological anticipation is not emphasised by the Zollikon Anabaptists. Yet it must be said that there is one mysterious, isolated outbreak of eschatological fervour which should be noted. Cf. Dr. F. Blanke, "Die Propheten von Zollikon." (*Mennonitische Geschichtsblätter* Jahrgang 9, 1952, pp. 2-10.)

go in the direction of a yet more literal, and stricter adherence to the Holy Scripture. The authority of the Bible is for Zwingli and for the Anabaptists, who parted from him, the rule of conduct, but in the application of this rule of conduct the Anabaptists think in details, more literally and more biblically. So the disagreement arose between Zwingli the teacher and his ultra-Zwinglian pupils. Thus one can say that the Anabaptist movement in this disagreement, i.e. in its appeal to the Holy Scripture alone, remained a daughter of the Reformation, though admittedly a self-willed one.

No Economic Factors

There is still one question which remains to be answered. Was the revival in Zollikon genuinely religious or was it also involved with political and social influences? How far economic factors had a share in the origin and expansion of Anabaptism is not yet sufficiently clear. Our intention now is to discuss this question only in relation to Zollikon.

In his work, *Elenchus in catabaptistarum strophas*, written in 1527, Zwingli upbraided the Zollikon Anabaptists for having communistic intentions:[46] "Perditi homines mediocrium bona communia volunt esse, sua vero, si quae habent, nullatenus." (These infamous men desire that the possessions of the poorer people should be had in common, their own possessions, however, such as they have, by no means!) As evidence for this statement he cites a weaver named Heini Frig—or Gigli—from Hirslanden, near Zürich, who told him that the Zollikon Anabaptists had used up his winter stocks.[47] We meet this Frig again in the court records. He had been baptized in the week from 22nd-29th January and was arrested on January 30th along with his like-minded companions. In contrast to the other Anabaptist prisoners, he quickly renounced his standpoint, and then accused his one-time friends of leaning towards communism. He declared[48] that he had been forced by the Zollikon Anabaptists to sell his smallholding and give up his profession. The plan had been that all things should be had in common and put in one fund. All should live out of this one central fund. Frig here goes still further in his accusations now he has gone over to Zwingli's side. Which of his two statements is nearer to the truth? Can he be accepted as a reliable witness? It can be seen from the fact that his statement stands entirely on its own, that it is necessary to be cautious in this matter. It is substantiated by no other record at all. The Zürich authorities themselves, at any rate, clearly did not consider his statement as of great importance. In spite of this serious accusa-

[46] *Krit Zw. Ausg.* vi p. 85.
[47] *Ibid.* p. 83. In the notes see my discussion concerning this man Frig.
[48] Nr. 39.

tion made by Heini Frig at the beginning of 1525 there is no sign of the question concerning having goods in common among the questions which were put in cross-examination to the imprisoned Zollikon Anabaptists from the side of the authorities. In view of these facts we are justified, I believe, in setting a large question mark against the possibility of Zollikon communism.

The number of people whom we know were baptized in Zollikon in the period between 22nd-29th January amounts to 35.[49] Of this number only one was a woman. Thus the Anabaptist movement in this first week was very much a men's movement. Among the 34 men baptized, there were four labourers, the other 30 were independent farmers. They belonged to the well-established Zollikon families of Breittiner, Bleuler, Hottinger, Kienast, Murer, Rutschmann, Thomann and others. Most numerous of these were the members of the Hottinger family.

Heinrich Bruppacher, in his book, *Das Alte Zollikon* (1899) brought together useful information concerning the economic situation of these families who shared in the Anabaptist movement. Paul Guyer, in his recent book, *Die Bevölkerung Zollikons im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit* (1946), confirms Bruppbacher's work. Zollikon had about 50 farmers with large farms and about 40 with smaller farms.[50] The Anabaptists belonged in an overwhelming degree to the latter group. Many of the names of the richer families, such as Brunner, Ernst, Falk, Häusler, Obrist, do not appear at all among the Anabaptists. As against this, of the 40 owners of small farms the greater part, about 30, are included in the Anabaptist group.

Are we justified, with these facts before us, in saying that economic factors in Zollikon played a part in the Anabaptist movement? Scarcely! It grew up among the class of the small farm owners. If they had been poor it is certainly possible that they would have expected from Anabaptism an improvement of their situation. However, they cannot be classified as poor. According to Bruppacher, "They did not belong to the poor; on the contrary they earned their good honest living in that, in addition to their smallholdings, they occupied themselves with casual labouring or handwork."[51] Nevertheless, it is, of course, striking, that the well-to-do group remained aloof whilst those living in more moderate circumstances took part in the movement. But is it any different today with the participation of the different

[49] My calculation is based upon the names mentioned in Nrs. 29, 30 and 31.

[50] Nüesch-Bruppacher p. 83.

[51] *Ibid*, p. 83. By "handwork" is meant weaving, etc. The use of the "house industry" was much practised in Switzerland at this time. (*Translator's note.*)

classes of society in church life? This distribution has nothing to do with economic aspirations.

If we think back once again to the hard, inward struggle which preceded the conversion of the individual, to the "terrores conscientiae" which these men experienced, it is altogether improbable that social or economic hopes played a part in the Zollikon Anabaptist movement. These farmers were not concerned with money and worldly goods, but rather with their guilt before God and the liberation from this guilt. Thus in the origin of the Anabaptist church in Zollikon we are dealing with the birth of a fellowship, entirely religious in character.

The young growth was soon forcibly suppressed, but that does not detract from its importance. In Zollikon a new form of church constitution began to show itself—that of the Free Church. Zollikon is the cradle of this idea, from whence it set out on its triumphal march through four centuries and through the whole world. FRITZ BLANKE.

(English translation by Rev. W. Morris S. West, B.A., D.Theol., Tutor at Regent's Park College, Oxford).

The Mission of the Local Church, by Paul Rowntree Clifford. (S.C.M. Press, 7s. 6d.)

To the considerable number of books which in recent years have been published on the Church the Superintendent of West Ham Central Mission has here added one which, of its kind, is as good as any we have read. He deals with the Church as the divine society, with worship, the sacraments, fellowship and the relation of the local church to the community, the family and the Church Universal. The whole rests on his conviction that the Church is not to be thought of as an institution but as the people of God, a community created and sustained by divine grace. That the author is a Baptist is made quite plain, and in a work of this type, particularly as it is assured of a wide circulation, it is refreshing to find the Baptist viewpoint expounded. As the title indicates, Mr. Clifford's intention is to approach the question of the mission of the Church in its local setting. Some readers may, therefore, feel disappointed to find that certain practical issues which confront them in their own churches are not here dealt with and that there are times when the author might well have descended from the heights of theological principle to the plains of practical detail. Nevertheless, here is a book of real quality, the fruit of thinking which is both clear and deep, and which we warmly commend to laymen and ministers alike as a useful and eminently readable contribution to the subject. GRAHAM W. HUGHES.

Outstanding Literary and Human Factors of My Life

(*Concluded*).

HUMAN FACTORS[1]

OF these I must place first my mother, of whom I have already written. As I was a very delicate child, often compelled to stay at home instead of going to the ironworks, I saw more of my mother than any of my brothers, and at this time, forty years after her death, she seems to me far the most affectionate human being I have known, and intellectually one of the ablest, though it was in the Sunday School alone she was taught. Her influence upon me was general, but it was great and good.

My eldest brother, William, who entered the Pontypool Baptist College in August, 1863, played an important part in my early life, for he encouraged and guided me in my first endeavours after knowledge. He was always ready to advise me as to what books to read, what subjects to study, and what steps to take when I set my mind on the ministry. Moreover, his naturally refined and deeply spiritual nature exerted upon me in boyhood an influence for good that can hardly be exaggerated. He has now retired from the ministry—thanks to the generosity of his four prosperous sons, all of them prominent Baptists and Temperance workers. During his ministry of over forty years he has never been prominent or held a single important pastorate, but for high character, wide knowledge, and sheer intellectual ability he stands far ahead of the average prominent minister in England and Wales.

Rev. David Lewis, now retired at Llandilo, was my pastor at Witton Park from 1862 to 1867, as at Maesteg he was subsequently the pastor of John Thomas of Liverpool. It was during Mr. Lewis's ministry that I resolved to become a professed disciple of Jesus, and he baptized me in the river Wear on the 2nd day of August, 1863, when I was just over twelve years old. By his thoughtful preaching and his excellently conducted Bible Class, my mind was open to the beauties and deeper meaning of the Bible, and my subsequent studies of the Bible, pursued more vigorously now than ever, owe much to the stimulus received from Mr. Lewis's teaching. Rev. John Thomas and I had many a chat about our old pastor, and we agree that in character and abilities

[1] Continued from p. 81, *Baptist Quarterly*, Vol. xv., No. 2 (April, 1953).

Mr. Lewis deserved a far better pastorate than he has ever held. My brother William and he, long neighbours in Pembrokeshire and bosom friends, have suffered through life for excess of modesty; others, vastly their inferiors, morally and mentally, have pushed themselves to the front, the churches, often at least, assessing them at their own exaggerated valuation.

When I was a boy from about eight to ten I used to attend what was called a "Children's Society," conducted in the old Welsh Wesleyan Chapel (Old Row), Witton Park, by the late Rev. Isaac Thomas. Though the local Welsh Wesleyan Minister, he always spoke to us children in English, and his simple talks interested and helped me greatly, and there was great mourning in the village, when he left for the States in 1862. His son, John Lloyd (see *Who's Who in America*), successful alike in business and Christian work in New York, paid me a visit in June, 1911, after a separation of nearly half a century.

I should like to make honourable mention of one man, many years my Sunday School teacher, Mr. Simon John, paternal uncle of the Rev. B. D. John, "Periander." Simon had an extensive library, prepared carefully for his class, and got us to his home to show us his books and tell us of their contents.

Edmund Lewis, a Welshman from Cardiff, converted through the Primitive Methodists at Witton Park, became a local preacher and temperance speaker, and was about the most earnest man I have ever known. He and his gifted and consecrated wife started a Band of Hope in the Co-operative Hall, Witton Park, and invited all the children of the village to join. I joined and was soon made to take my full share of the work, first in reciting and then in giving short speeches. Mr. and Mrs. Lewis used to take me to their house, which was one of great refinement. Moreover, Mr. Lewis became vice-president of the local Mutual Improvement Society, so that in later years I came under his influence in a different way. Another Primitive Methodist local preacher, Mr. Benjamin Spoor, was also vice-president of the above Society, and a local leader in all good work; to him also I owe much. But I must in particular acknowledge my indebtedness also to the Rev. Thomas Jerman Jones, Calvinistic Minister, subsequently so successful as a missionary among the Khassia Hills, India. In the Mutual Improvement Society of which he was President, he taught us English grammar. I remember quite vividly the admirable way in which he cleared up the mystery of the cases and expounded the doctrine of English syntax; I had no other guidance than his in this subject up to the time I was received into Pontypool College. Besides this he got us to read essays and take part in debates, correcting our blunders and making invaluable suggestions for our improvement. He had what appeared to me then an immense

library, much the largest private collection of books I had ever seen, and he used to invite us to his study where he would describe books likeliest to interest us and offer to lend them us that we might read them and then ask questions about them. I shall always be grateful for the wise words which this man of God—saint and scholar—spoke to me in these, the most formative years of my life.[2]

But up to my going to College in 1872, I am not conscious of having come under the influence of any master mind or any overmastering book. At Pontypool College my tutors were the Rev. Thomas Thomas, D.D., the President and Professor of Theology, and Rev. Mortimer Lewis, M.A., who taught all the subjects prescribed for an Arts degree. Dr. Thomas was an ideal president, the finest I have known. His discipline was firm but wise; his teaching sound and careful; while his own punctual and methodical habits supplied us with an almost perfect pattern of what the Christian gentleman should be. His ideals were always lofty and he did his utmost to make ours lofty too. He urged every diligent student to extend his course and, if he had the capacity, to go in for his degree. That Pontypool College was for many years the only Welsh Baptist College having among its past pupils graduates was due in the main to the high ideals Dr. Thomas placed before his students and the encouragement he gave them to realise the same. Even up to the present time this College is the only Welsh one to produce College Presidents, for the two Presidents of the Welsh Baptist Colleges and a former President of the Nottingham Baptist College are old Pontypool men. In the middle of my third college session the Crane Street Church at Pontypool approached me with a view to the pastorate as successor to Dr. Thomas. The Principal saw me in private and urged me to go on with my degree work, adding that apart from this he would like to see me succeeding him in the Church.

Mortimer Lewis was the soul of kindness and he was an admirable teacher, but as he met the students only some three hours a day on four days of the week it was impossible for him to give instruction in more than, say, half the London Matriculation subjects. Unfortunately his health gave way about the middle of my course, and for what was called the 1st B.A. examination I had practically no help, and I am often amazed that I passed the first time I sat for this examination (June, 1876). But with all my admiration for my Pontypool teachers, neither of them influenced my mind except in a superficial way. I have spoken in an earlier place of the ineradicable change of mental attitude

[2] See the Welsh biography of Mr. Jones by the Rev. R. I. Williams (Caernarvon, 1911). In chapter v I give a full account of Mr. Jones's life and work at Witton Park.

wrought in my inmost soul by the reading of books by Thomas Carlyle and Samuel Taylor Coleridge. But it is only fair to add that the influence of my Regent's Park College tutors was hardly deeper than that of my Pontypool teachers, though they were all more scholarly and helped me to aim at greater accuracy in all my work and a more careful attention to the niceties of language. Baptist professors in those times lacked the thorough preparation in a single subject which characterises University professors, and the same is largely though less true at the present time. They are chosen for having taken a general degree as I was, and the many tasks they have to perform (preaching, etc.) makes specialisation on an extensive scale out of the question. The first two teachers to lay firm hold on my mind were acknowledged masters in the subjects they taught, but neither was a Baptist; I refer to W. Croom Robertson, Professor of Philosophy at the London University College, and Dr. James Martineau, Principal and Professor of Philosophy at the Manchester New College, now removed to Oxford. "Croom" as we lovingly called him, taught his own philosophy instead of piloting us through a text book. One may describe his philosophy as a combination of the teaching of John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer. He taught that our knowledge and feeling come by way of experience, but the experience is racial, not merely individual. In Ethics and Logic as well as in Metaphysics he had views of his own, and he read so widely and thought so independently about all the problems he discussed that he spoke as one having authority and not as the Baptist teachers at whose feet I had sat. This teacher made me think, just because he had thought himself. Never man spake to me before as this man. I began to feel I could think; that I had a mind to appreciate philosophical problems and, in a measure, to cope with them; but in a sense I owe this feeling to Croom Robertson. The second year of my stay in London, having been awarded the first prize in Croom's class of thirty at the end of my first London session, I joined the class for which Dr. James Martineau gave lectures on what he called "The Ground Truths of Philosophy and Religion," but which have since been published under the title "A Study of Religion." Here once more and for the second time, I came under the sway of a master-mind, one very different from that of Croom, but equally subtle and penetrating. In Dr. Martineau I saw always the earnest Christian philosopher seeking to establish securely the great fundamental principles of religion. Theories of causation came rapidly under review and were discussed and disposed of with acumen and in the choicest language, until he reached his own doctrine of an absolute intelligent personal cause, which he defended with the intensest earnestness. As a strenuous advocate of the theistic

interpretation of nature and of intuitionalism in philosophy, Dr. Martineau's lectures made a most suitable addition to those of Croom Robertson. Their methods of teaching differed greatly. Croom used to chat to us in a free and easy way, using humour in abundance, and at times rising to a high pitch of eloquence. Dr. James Martineau wrote out every sentence with the utmost care and his style ranks with the best in the language. There was no humour, and I never saw a smile on his face; he was in dead earnest, wrestling with matters of life and death. He was the seer, the Old Testament prophet; Croom was more like the Greek philosopher. But both were profound thinkers and moved their pupil's mind as only such thinkers can.

After a pastorate at the High Street Church, Merthyr Tydfil, of rather less than two years I was, without application, invited to become Classical tutor at the Haverford West Baptist College and for exactly eleven years I was the colleague of the late President, the Rev. Thomas Davies, D.D. Through my intercourse with one of the shrewdest of men, a born leader, apt at teaching and preaching, I learned much that has served me in excellent stead in subsequent years. He was as much the natural gentleman as Dr. Thomas of Pontypool; but he had much more humour, a greater flow of language and he was more genial, though he could not be more genuine or dignified. It has often struck me as remarkable that in those days the Baptists of Wales could command as presidents two men of such unusual culture, preaching gifts and personal charm as Doctors Thomas Thomas and Thomas Davies.

I started life at Haverford West with my newly married wife, Miss Moore, the only daughter of Henry Moore, Baptist deacon and the most perfect Christian gentleman I have known. Far the most potent influence, and the most substantial help in subsequent years came to me from my dear wife, a woman of great culture, the purest of the pure and the kindest of the kind. God took her from me in July, 1910, after she had been for nearly thirty years my closest friend and companion.

In the spring of 1886 an article by myself in the Athaneum advocating and outlining a proposal for the establishment of a British Hebrew Institute elicited very kind letters from Professors A. H. Sayce, D.D. and Canon Cheyne, D.D., of Oxford, which in both cases commenced a friendship which remains and has been of great importance in my life's development. But the friendship thus begun became in the case of Dr. Sayce so intimate and stimulating that I have no hesitation in saying that it has been the most potent social factor of my life. At the time, I had been working hard amid many difficulties at Arabic, Assyrian, Hebrew and Syriac, but far away from great libraries and centres of learning. I had not met one distinguished Semitic scholar except

the late Professor Bickell, D.D., of the University of Vienna, whose genial company I had at dinner in the house of the Rev. Hermann Gollancz, M.A., D.Litt., Jewish Rabbi, now Professor of Hebrew at the University College, London, successor of my first Hebrew teacher, Professor D. M. Marks, D.D. Contact with the great is always stimulating and helpful in forming high ideals. One result of the correspondence with Dr. Sayce was that I spent the long holidays of 1886 at Oxford reading Assyrian daily at Queen's College, dining there often in the evening and thus meeting not only the dons of this college but also those of other colleges whom the Professor was kind enough to ask to meet me. Besides, many scholars from other places and even countries visited the Professor, as they do still. It was at his rooms that I first met Dr. T. G. Pinches, the eminent Assyriologist; Professor Carl Bezold, Heidelberg; the late Rev. W. Houghton, M.A., the great authority on the Natural History of the Monuments and of the Bible; H. G. Tomkins, M.A., author of *The Times of Abraham;* Sir John Rhys, and many others. Many of the Oxford scholars I met at Professor Sayce's dinners invited me to their College or their home, so that the weeks spent at Oxford were the most distinguished socially I had lived. I do not think I lost my head in the exalted company I now mixed with; rather I felt my inferiority in many ways, though the kind words spoken to me by Professor Sayce and others as to my work made me feel I had in me some possibilities of Semitic scholarship, and I resolved more than ever to press on with my special studies. After dinner at Queen's College, Sayce's talks about books and subjects were most interesting, informing and inspiring. He is known to be one of the very best living conversationalists, and I had never up to the summer of 1886 listened to such talks as his. He is now regarded as a great bulwark of Old Testament Orthodoxy, but—at that time he was a rather vehement upholder of advanced views. I remember well how he startled and rather shocked me by advocating the late authorship of Daniel, of large parts of the Pentateuch and of most of the Psalms. I think I still see him stamping his right foot as he said with thrilling emphasis: "These are purely literary questions and must be decided as such, unhampered by theological prepossessions." At that time I was as "sound" in these questions as the late C. H. Spurgeon, and to me Sayce appeared as much on the "down grade" as Dr. Clifford did to the great London preacher. But in the end I came to see that Sayce was right; that in deciding the date, authorship and drift of a Biblical book we must in the first case use literary criteria. This change in point of view has made all the difference in the world to me in my later investigations. Dr. Sayce remains my constant friend and regular correspondent, and we have on several

occasions visited each other. No one man I have known has done so much to encourage and help me in my higher work, and all that he has done, even when I dined at his expense almost nightly at Queen's College, Oxford, has been done without fee or reward of any kind.

When I accepted the Presidency of the Midland Baptist College, Nottingham, in the fall of 1891 it was on the explicit understanding that I should be allowed to spend the Summer Semester (April to August inclusive) as student at the Berlin University. Accordingly at the beginning of April, 1892, I settled at Berlin and for five or six months worked harder probably than I had ever previously done, for I had twenty-nine class hours a week during which Arabic, Syriac, Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis and criticism were taught—and very thoroughly taught. I can never be too grateful to Doctors H. L. Strack (Post Biblical Hebrew), Edward Sachau (Arabic and Syriac), J. Barth (Arabic and Syriac), Hugo Winckler (Arabic) and Dieterici (Arabic), for the invaluable assistance they gave me in the subjects they taught; but the one teacher who wrought—upon my whole being a revolutionary influence was August Dillmann, who lectured daily on Old Testament Exegesis and Biblical Archaeology. His scholarship was so extensive and yet exact; his lectures were so carefully prepared and his reasoning so close and restrained that listening to him was to me a revelation; I had heard no such teacher on the Old Testament. Apart from the immense knowledge and subtle thought of the lectures, the professor delivered his message with a warmth and energy which impressed me enormously. It made me very much ashamed of my own teaching, but I resolved there and then that I would with God's help, work harder than ever so that my own teaching of the Old Testament might be as much like Dillmann's as I could make it. I had talks with the great man in the class room and especially in his own study in No. 11, Schill Strasse. But my contact with the brilliant teachers whose lectures I attended at Berlin in the spring and summer of 1892 inaugurated a new era in my life and led me to aim at higher things than I had dreamt of. Then I found the libraries at Oxford, and Berlin priceless boons, and I used them very largely. But it is the men I met at Oxford, at Berlin and other German Universities that have done far more than any amount of reading to stimulate and guide me in my advanced studies.

During my year or so at Leipzig, I sat at the feet of many eminent teachers, but one man far more than any other left his mark on my life as a student—I mean Albert Socin, Ph.D., the Professor of Arabic. He was the worst-tempered teacher I ever knew or heard of, but he never lost his temper except when a student blundered in scanning an Arabic poem or construing an

Arabic sentence or explaining a hard form. As a rule the blundering that angered him was such as, with careful preparation, could have been avoided, but it was not always so. The very fact that Socin would not tolerate slovenly work made us study with the utmost exactitude the texts we had to read, so that when it came to our turn we should be able to read, translate and parse with accuracy and precision. No man could pass through Socin's classes in Syriac and especially in Arabic without having his instinct for accurate work greatly sharpened and his perception for the niceties and beauties of the language strengthened. He was also sociable and kind. Often we were invited to his house for supper and occasionally we spent the evening in wandering about the city and its neighbourhood. His large library was always at our disposal, though he usually demanded a receipt for every book he lent. He died at about the age of sixty, greatly lamented by his pupils and friends, though he had as many enemies as most men. He was unfortunately too fond of intoxicants and his premature death was probably due to this habit. To my other teachers :— Buhl the successor of Delitzch, Paul Schwartz, Hans Stumme, and especially Gustaf H. Dalman, the Aramaist, I owe much. That I did not go to Germany to study for my degree is proved by the fact that I studied in that country almost as much after having become Ph.D. as before. I took the degree, submitting to the prescribed examination by the way, as I found others doing so who, to say the least, did not know their work better than I. I spent the entire Summer Semester of 1899 (five months) at Strasbourg mainly to profit from the teaching of Theodor Noldeke, the greatest living Semitic scholar. I attended his classes in Syriac and Ethiopic and found them intensely pleasant and helpful Noldeke was more generally learned in Semitic matters than Socin and his knowledge of Syriac was incomparably greater. More than any Semitic teacher I have studied under, he knew his rules and examples without having to refer to lexicons or grammars and to conscientious and able students he could render more valuable help than Socin. But for students with less knowledge and with a tendency to take things easy, Socin, notwithstanding or rather on account of his frequent ebullitions of temper, was a more valuable teacher. Noldeke has a habit of sitting at his table a quarter of an hour before class to answer questions any student may put to him, and I found his talks on such occasions most helpful and always delightfully pleasant. The personality of Noldeke is of the finest. Modest to a fault, he is kindness itself, and never grudges answering questions promptly and fully which former pupils care to send him. Of the many who wrote to me of the loss of my dear wife in July of last year, no one wrote a more beautifully sympathetic letter than he. There is not alive a writer or scholar more

universally loved than Noldeke; I never heard one syllable of disparagement even in Germany, where scholars are more jealous of one another and hate each other with a more perfect hatred than those of any other country.

At Strasbourg I attended the lectures on Schleiermacher's Theology by Dr. E. W. Meyer, the Professor of Systematic Theology, and found them absorbingly interesting. One result of this course of lectures is that I have taken a deep interest in the life work and writings of the great thinker and preacher, Friedrich Ernst Daniel Schleiermacher (died at Berlin in 1834). With Professor Meyer I formed a rather close friendship which continues to this hour, and some four years ago it was my privilege to welcome him and his accomplished wife to my Bangor home. In Budde's and Nowack's classes on the Old Testament, I learned but little as the ground had become by that time fairly familiar; but their kindness I valued, and I found the visits to their homes instructive as well as delightful. Budde is of course a very old friend, and once spent with me at Nottingham almost a week.

I spent over a month in 1903 at Gottingen attending the classes of Eduard Schurer, the New Testament scholar, and those of Rudolf Smeud and the celebrated Julius Wellhausen, the well-known writer on Old Testament subjects. I have heard lectures at Berlin for over six weeks by the late Friedrich Baetgen, the great Psalms commentator; at Giessen by Gunkel and at Marburg by Hermann the Ritschlian and by August Klostermann at Kiel. Individual lectures by well-known scholars I have heard at most of the German Universities, and in nearly all cases I found the Professors glad to welcome me to their homes and willing to open their whole heart to me on the subjects they teach. With all that I have learned from books, and I have been and am a hard reader. I have received far more impetus to thought and independent work from contact with living men. I have visited students' parties and learned much from them. My advice to ministers and professors is: get away among surroundings different from your own. Go abroad if you can, and mix among the people. This will bring you out of yourself and enable you to look at things from points of view different from your own.

T. Witton Davies.

T. R. Glover

REVIEW AND REMINISCENCE

THE choice of Dr. H. G. Wood to write the biography[1] of T. R. Glover was a happy one. We are duly grateful. His task was not easy. Though diaries, notes, correspondence and books supplied material in abundance, the sifting and arrangement of it in such a way as to present a well-balanced account of so full a life and of a personality which had so many facets, was a formidable undertaking. To say that he has done his work well is superfluous praise for such a writer. He had a fascinating subject and, though he frankly records his difficulties, he obviously enjoyed it. He speaks with affection, as well as discrimination, of an old friend, and throughout the reader is conscious of an *amici pietas* which gives the book a special attractiveness. Naturally its different parts will vary in interest according to the tastes of those who read it, but this reviewer did not find any page dull and, once embarked upon it, found it difficult to lay it down. Its appeal will be wide, and no intelligent Baptist should miss it, for Glover was a real Baptist and a devout Christian man whose memory will linger fragrant in the hearts of all who knew him, even of many who at times differed from him sharply and were repelled by his blunt outspokenness and his attitude to movements and views with which he had no sympathy and attacked at times with more force than politeness and occasionally with too little patience and understanding.

While we shall cherish our personal recollections of the man, his bigness, his charm, his erudition and his delicious humour, history will judge him by his writings. It is good that H. G. Wood should have given so much space to them. I only wish he could have incorporated a chronological bibliography. It would have been of considerable value for those whose appetite he will surely have whetted for a closer acquaintance with them. One reader at least laid the book down with a feeling that he must read them all over again. We can follow Wood with considerable assurance in his estimate, sometimes plain and sometimes implied, of their relative value. While, for a host of people, Glover's books on the Founder and early story of Christianity will probably bulk most largely, it should not be forgotten that he was primarily a student and teacher of ancient classical literature and history. His scholarship was massive. He never obtruded it when he spoke or preached,

[1] *T. R. Glover. A Biography*, by H. G. Wood. Cambridge University Press, 21s.

but you knew it was there, the immense background of all he thought and said. He loved those old Romans and Greeks, lived with them and was saturated with their ideas. I told him once that the freshness and delight of his specifically Christian writings was due to the fact that he was able to see Christianity and the early Church through pagan eyes. He admitted it. That is why they had a vogue with many people who do not normally read Christian books.

Nobody is better qualified than Wood to supply us with such an introduction to them. A classical scholar and theologian himself with an intimate knowledge of Cambridge and Glover, and brought up in the denomination to which the hero of his story was proud to belong, his guidance may be safely taken. He can get inside Glover's mind and skin.

"T.R." was an expert Latinist. The message he drafted as Public Orator of Cambridge to Oxford University on the occasion of the death of Lord Grey, its Chancellor, his delicious "cameo" speeches, with their light touch, in introducing the recipients of honorary degrees in the Senate House and, well worth a special mention, his translation of Stevenson's *Child's Garden of Verses,* reveal his skill in handling the language he loved so well for its clarity and euphony. Once, in our lecture hall at Cambridge,[2] soon after he became Orator, calling on him to speak I humorously suggested that, in view of the character of his audience, he should try to speak in English. That was enough for him. Addressing me as "Domine," he went off in Latin and it was remarked that he spoke much more rapidly than when he turned to our native tongue! It takes nothing from his outstanding accomplishments as a "Grecian" that Latin was his first and always greatest love.

It is not for me to pose as a critic of literature on the Classics, but I may venture the opinion that none of his books will live longer than *Life and Letters in the Fourth Century* and *The Conflict of Religions in the Roman Empire,* one chapter of which, on "Jesus of Nazareth," was the starting-point of *The Jesus of History. The Ancient World,* as Wood truly observes, is "a little masterpiece" and, though it missed its first intention, is likely to remain as a permanent contribution to classical historical study, and so is his chapter on the Augustan Age in the *Cambridge Ancient History.* His beautiful *Virgil* and his *Herodotus* are a joy to read and re-read, while *From Pericles to Philip* is a pure delight to all who have any love for Ancient Greece.

In the realm of Christian beginnings and theology, he did not move with quite the same ease and mastery. His biographer has indicated certain limitations. A distinguished professor at West-

[2] The writer was minister at St. Andrew's Street Baptist Church, Cambridge (where Glover was a deacon) 1913-1925.

minster College one day blurted out to me that "Glover has no exegetical conscience." That was an over-statement, though it may be admitted that his interpretations were at times imaginative and rather forced. Yet no one can doubt that he brought new light to bear on the New Testament, the early Church and some of the first thinkers, like Paul, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Augustine. Cyprian understandably made no appeal to him, but it is a pity he did not give more time to Athanasius and some others of the Nicene Fathers. His greatest contribution was that he made effectively real (these words are deliberate) for thousands the person and challenge of the Lord whom he humbly followed, served and adored. He never lost his sense of the wonder and the glory of the splendour that broke into the world with Christ and, by the dedication of his gifts, he communicated it to others as perhaps no other writer of this century has done.

One day before he went to India he handed me an old, shabby, bulky envelope containing some manuscripts and asked me if I could find time to read them and let him know frankly what I thought of them. I thought a great deal, for they were the first drafts of the lectures and addresses which, written and re-written again, became *The Jesus of History*. They fascinated me. He was pleased and we discussed them. His attitude to the book was not that of a writer concerned with its success but of a devotee eager to bring a worthy offering to the altar. It met a need, as its phenomenal circulation showed, and created a demand. Other books followed, not perhaps of equal value, like *Jesus in the Experience of Men*, *The Influence of Christ in the Ancient World* and *The World of the New Testament*. Through them all runs the same characteristic notes of understanding homage and realisation of the debt owed by men to the Saviour with whom, beyond all question, he had fallen in love. That fact comes out in little books like *Vocation* and *The Disciple*. His supreme purpose was to exalt his Lord. Most of his prayers in public began with the address "Lord Jesus"; when, as often, there was no address, they were directed to Christ rather than to God the Father. His thinking was Christo-centric. He told me of "the Keswick school" that "they don't know anything about the Old Testament but they've got the heart of the New." His Christology made him part company from the Friends because he thought theirs inadequate and vague, and also made the Oxford Group Movement suspect, though his aversion from that had other reasons. Christ meant God to him. I visited him once when he was suffering from a really serious bout of influenza. When I entered the room he looked at me and said, "Aubrey, aren't you afraid to visit people with influenza?" Catching his whimsical mood, I answered that I believed in a Providence who looked after little children and

big fools. He chuckled and I asked him what he was doing there in bed. He said—

"I've been thinking."

"That is surprising! Thinking about what?"

"I've been thinking about God, how big He is, what a job He's got on, this world, all those stars, the immensities of space, and here am I, a little man lying in a bed with influenza. What can He know or care about me?"

Then lifting himself on his pillows and shooting out a finger at me with intense earnestness: "Aubrey, I need a Mediator."

"Well, Glover, you have One."

"Yes, yes, thank God, I have One," and, quiet again, he fell back content. That was what Jesus Christ meant to Him. He resented any belittling of Christ. When he learned that I had been asked to speak at a welcome meeting to a new Unitarian minister in Cambridge, he told me I ought not to go and was obviously doubtful, since absence from home on that date in any case made acceptance of the invitation impossible, of my right even to send a courteous message of goodwill.

Selbie told him he was no theologian, though his *Paul of Tarsus* somewhat modified that view. But if there is any truth in *Pectus facit theologum*, he had good ground for his thinking. He was himself conscious of some *lacunae* in his theological equipment. He rather distrusted philosophy, had little taste for it and told me his daughter Mary, who had just taken an Oxford "first" knew more about it than he ever would. Psychology, incidentally, seemed a complete delusion, which was strange in one who often showed an almost uncanny insight into the moods and aspirations of souls. The Old Testament came to have less and less value and in his last years he appeared to resent ministers taking texts or even lessons from it. To the more recent eschatological interpretations of the work and teaching of Christ he gave little if any serious attention. His interest was in the New Testament portrait of the Master and His influence on individuals and, through them, on history.

He was a thorough-going individualist. It came out in his religious, ecclesiastical and political views. It showed in his personal contacts. He respected highly those who could and did stand up for their own views—he expressed his own, sometimes, with little regard for the feelings of others, even though for so strong a man he seemed unusually sensitive himself to criticism and praise. He inevitably awakened antagonisms by the very force and bluntness of his utterance. This was grievous often because it diverted attention from what he was trying to say—less than justice was done in some quarters to the man and the truth for which he stood.

But if he aroused antipathies in others he had a full measure of his own. With his mistrust of organisation and the consequent limitation of freedom (the Greek mind there he cherished more than the Roman) he tended to dislike on principle officials, secretaries, superintendents and the like. F. J. Walkley resented his remarks on General Superintendents and said so. He was in T. R.'s black books until once he was persuaded, in an emergency, to entertain him for a week-end in his home. From that time they were a mutual admiration society all of their own. The same was true for a long time of J. C. Carlile, but, after he had enjoyed the latter's hospitality at Folkestone, he could not have enough of it, for close contact showed him that he was dealing with a really great man and their friendship was one of the most treasured things in his later life. His outbursts were, I believe, due largely to poor health. He had arthritis and suffered more than he admitted. His hatred of draughts came from the same cause. Though he did not complain of his pain, the very sight of an open window in church, in a railway compartment or even in a motor car, dismayed him. I was planning a series of sermons on Jesus Christ and human experiences. It was significant that he suggested two subjects, "Jesus Christ and Pain" and "Jesus Christ and Fact," both of them with some reference to Christian Science which never failed to rouse his wrath.

Here I would pay tribute to his friendship and unfailing helpfulness to his minister. He was not demonstrative but his encouragement was of immeasurable value. After a service he would now and again put his face round the corner of my vestry door and say: "I've heard you preach worse than that!" It was meant to be high praise. Or, if he had been really moved it would be: "Thank you. You got there!" as he put his hand on his chest. He was always ready to discuss books and subjects with me, and he stood by me manfully. It was not easy, I think, for either of us when the time came for me to leave Cambridge.

I ran up against his prejudices frequently. He hated sentimentality. I do myself, but at times he seemed to carry it to extremes. He hated what he called "sloppy" hymns. He told me *O Love that wilt not let me go* was "bilge." Soon after I went to St. Andrew's Street we sang one Sunday morning *Dear Lord and Father of mankind.* Afterwards he told me that if I announced it again he would walk out. That couldn't be allowed to pass and I pointed out vigorously that I was not only his minister but had the needs and desires of several hundreds of others to consider. He grunted and went away. Next day I received a letter full of affection and kindness which began with the words *Amantium irae*, and that was that. But his particular aversion was hymns about angels. He had no place for them.

Orthodox angelology and hagiology were an intrusion of Gnosticism into Christianity. He preached the sermon in Derby when we held our Council meetings there. As usual he was keyed-up before the service when someone put before him the list of hymns and an anthem. He never approved of anthems and this one had angels in the title. At once he exploded: "If you sing that I won't preach." He was told that a united choir had practised it. "Well, they can sing it, but I won't preach." I asked the secretary if they could manage something else. After a few grim minutes he came back to say, "Dr. Glover, they say they can sing *God so loved the World;* will that do?" I shall never forget his shout, "Of course it will do! That's the Gospel." He never preached better than that night. But it was significant. The Gospel was his business. Hymns must have "stuff in them" and real experience. Watts of course he loved, Newton, Montgomery, Charles Wesley and, rather grudgingly, Anna Waring. *I feel like singing all the day* met with his approval, though "not poetry, of course." After he had conducted a service at Swanwick David Cairns was sitting with us at lunch and said: "Aubrey, I thought that was a good service this morning." Catching his eye I said, "Yes, very good, but why that last hymn?" "What's that?" snapped Glover. "Oh," I replied, "just your Arminian tendency." Cairns' eyes were already twinkling. "Imagine," I went on, "a Baptist New Testament scholar singing:

> Look and be saved by faith alone,
> Be justified by grace.

Paul says just the reverse. I thought we were Calvinists and believed in justification by faith." It was pure teasing, for Wesley's is a glorious hymn, but Glover looked hard at me and was thoughtful. Then Cairns led us off into a discussion on the amount of Calvinism left in Baptist and Presbyterian preaching, and all was well.

Glover's range of reading and experience was surprisingly wide as some will remember who read his *Daily News* articles. He could write fascinatingly about Canada, India and Cambridge, and he had the knack of turning all his experiences to good account. One day he walked into my room at the Church House when I was about to have luncheon with an American Senator who had come over with an introduction. I forget his name but he was something big in the world of finance as well as politics. T. R. joined us. Our guest's almost comical astonishment when he went off into a dissertation on Grover Cleveland and bimetallism is something I can laugh about still. He was left almost gasping for breath for, compared with Glover, he clearly knew little about it.

Behind his flow of talk, natural and almost always beautiful, whether he spoke of his beloved Wordsworth, Lamb and Coleridge, or the classics, or the New Testament or of Christ Himself, there was almost always a tremendous intensity. His capacity for work Wood reveals. He could not easily relax. He had none of John Clifford's or Charles Brown's, facility of withdrawing himself and being at rest. His very worship was a whole-souled effort that cost him much. He disliked mysticism and that way of quietness, for all his contact with Rendel Harris and the Quakers, was not for him. He might have lived longer and been spared some of his moods of reaction and disappointment if he had learned more of their secret. Carlile, himself a very abstemious man, humorously said to me once, when Glover had exasperated him, "If T. R. would only smoke a cigar and drink a glass of wine once a day, he might be a Christian!" This was, of course, deliberately facetious, for Glover had no truer friend and greater admirer, but it had meaning. Sometimes I used to think he did not realise who his best friends were. His sensitiveness too often took criticism as implying personal hostility. Nevertheless, his friends were legion and they were proud of him. He liked warmth and sunshine in a social as well as physical sense. Appreciation and praise drew him out. Some of his happiest days were spent at Swanwick where we all looked up to him. He was at his best. We shall not forget his boyish fun and his boisterous "limericks." But above all we shall remember his great-heartedness, the little unostentatious kindnesses for which many of our ministers thank God, and his essential humility.

Perhaps a word should be said about his filial piety. There was nobody like Richard Glover for him. It accounted for his attitude to Spurgeon which, as Wood points out, caused some of us distress. Carlile, who knew the story from inside, was positive it was unjustified and that Spurgeon never thought to attack his father as he believed he had done. Nothing would persuade him, however, and his father was his great hero. Once he gleefully displayed to me a photograph he had found of Richard Glover before he had a beard. The likeness was startling. To see what he would say I remarked, "The facial resemblance is wonderful. Maybe one day you will be like him in other ways." At once he was serious: "Yes, perhaps, please God."

So faithful and frank a biography as Wood has given us puts us deeply in his debt. Has he given us the full measure of the man? Could anyone do so in less than three hundred pages—or more? His learning, his style, allusive and yet clear, his concreteness, his impatience with humbug, shoddy work and pretentiousness, his gusty enthusiasms, his moods of depression, his passionate valour for truth, and his loyalty to One Who for him was the

Truth, the Way and the Life—we saw them all. But the man himself, built physically, morally, spiritually on grand lines, the face, flashing eyes, the quick turn of the head, his stride as he walked to College from his home. Oh, to see them again, to listen to him talk and to feel nearer to God in listening, to hear him speaking to Christ " as a man speaketh with his friend." We who knew and loved him know we shall never again find anyone quite like him, to open our eyes to the high mountains and vast horizons, to set us to seeking them. With simple gratitude one man thanks God here and now for him, and if, by God's grace, it is given him on the far shore to meet again those whom he has loved, one of the first faces for which he will look will be that of Reavely Glover.

M. E. AUBREY.

" The Faith that is in us," by John Huxtable. (Independent Press, 5s.)

Readers of Free Church periodicals are familiar with the able and attractive manner in which the minister of Palmers Green Congregational Church expounds his faith, and this little book is sure of a welcome. The contents formed originally a series of twelve articles in the *British Weekly,* setting forth the essentials of Christian belief. The subjects dealt with include " Faith," " Jesus Christ," " God," " The Forgiveness of Sins," " The Holy Spirit," " Christian Behaviour," etc. The author defines his intention as (i) to throw some light on problems which concern many a Christian wayfarer, and (ii) to encourage further reading. He certainly succeeds in the first of these objectives, and his book would form an admirable basis for a study group. (Ministers might find it useful in planning a series of sermons!). Inevitably, when a writer tries to cover so wide a field in such a narrow compass, the reader feels that some points are inadequately emphasised, but it is difficult to see how, within its limits, the treatment as a whole could have been improved. As for encouraging further reading, Mr. Huxtable would have increased the book's value if he had given his Biblical references, and added a bibliography.

W. D. HUDSON.

Baptists in Sweden

BAPTIST ideas concerning Believer's Baptism were to be found in Sweden in Pietistic circles in the seventeen-thirties, but the organised Swedish Baptist movement is 100 years younger. Its origin is both Anglo-American and German. George Scott was an English Methodist preacher working in Stockholm from 1830 to 1842. His was a deep influence on many listeners in the Swedish capital. One of those who were influenced by him was Rev. Anders Wiberg, a Lutheran clergyman who was to become the most important pioneer of the Swedish Baptist movement. He was the author of the first Swedish book on Believers' Baptism, *Hvilken bör döpas? och Hvaruti består dopet?* (Who Should be Baptized? and What is the Meaning of Baptism?).

From the eighteen-forties and onwards thousands of Swedes emigrated to America. Some of these emigrants turned Baptist, among them a sailor named F. O. Nilsson, who went to America as early as 1830 and was converted in New York in 1834. With an inner call to testify to his Lord he returned to Sweden and, aided by Scott, Nilsson received an invitation from The Seamen's Friend Society in New York to become a sailors' missionary in Göteborg (Gothenburgh). Later on Nilsson was also connected with the British and Foreign Bible Society. In 1847 he came to Hamburg and was baptized by Oncken in the Elbe. He returned to Sweden, and in 1848 the first five men and women were baptized in Vallersvik, a place to the south of Göteborg, and formed "the Swedish Baptist Church." Mr. Nilsson was later on ordained in Hamburg as a Baptist minister and became leader of the Swedish church.

In 1858 both English and German Baptist leaders took part in the second Assembly. The most important subject of discussion was open or closed Communion. Dr. Edward Steane and Rev. Howard Hinton — the two Englishmen present — were keen defenders of the principle of open Communion, while the Germans, Rev. J. G. Oncken and Rev. Julius Köbner, were as anxious to defend closed Communion. The Assembly came to a very Baptist conclusion: the matter could not be settled by the assembly but should be referred to the separate churches. In practice most Swedish Baptist churches have kept to closed Communion. In recent years, however, there has been an increase in the number of churches with an open Communion table. (There have never been any serious disputes on baptism. All Swedish Baptist churches have closed membership).

During the first few decades Swedish Baptists had to endure

hard persecution for their faith from the mob as well as from intolerant civic and ecclesiastical authorities. Sweden has since the Reformation had a state-established Lutheran Church, which of course regarded the increasing Baptist movement as a danger to the unity of the Church and therefore persecuted the Baptists, assisted by civic authorities acting on obsolete laws. Compulsory infant baptisms were not unusual. Lutheran clergymen refused to publish the banns of marriage. Many Baptist teachers had to leave their posts. F. O. Nilsson was banished from the country and could come back only by the help of the British branch of the Evangelical Alliance, which intervened on his behalf with the Swedish Government. Other Baptists were forced to emigrate to America to be able to worship God in liberty. These instances of persecution stimulated by Lutheran church authorities have been mentioned not to give the glory of martyrdom to the fathers of the Swedish Baptists but to intimate one of the reasons—unconscious perhaps, but nevertheless real to many—for the unwillingness of many Swedish Baptists to enter the ecumenical movement with enthusiasm.

The visit of Dr. Steane and Rev. H. Hinton to Sweden in 1858 was of importance also for the sake of religious liberty. Their conversations with the Attorney-General, the Foreign Secretary, the Archbishop and others were encouraging, and in October, 1858, the most odious act, the so-called Conventicle Placard, the purpose of which had been to prevent the holding of all sorts of services in private houses, was cancelled. A law for Dissenters was passed in 1860, but as its guiding principle was more to safeguard the Established Church than to meet just claims for religious liberty, the Baptists could not avail themselves of it but remained within the Established Church. Both the Board of the British branch of the Evangelical Alliance and the General Synod of the Scottish Free Church submitted a petition to the Swedish King for an improved act of religious liberty in Sweden (see *Evangelical Christendom,* 1860 and *The Home and Foreign Record,* Jan. 2, 1860). In 1873 a new act for Dissenters was passed which was an improvement from certain points of view. It introduced civil marriage beside the former religious marriage (officiated according to the Lutheran rite). Not until Jan. 1, 1952, however, was it possible for a Swedish Baptist to leave the Lutheran Church without loss of civic rights. From that date it has also been possible for a Baptist minister to officiate at a legally valid marriage. Up till the end of 1952 only a small minority of Swedish Baptists, certainly not more than 10%, have availed themselves of this new law.

The dangers for the growing Baptist movement came both from without and from within. In the eighteen-sixties a doctrine

of freedom from sin was spread by a certain August Sjödin, who was expelled from his church because of this. In spite of that he succeeded in gaining adherents in different parts of the country, and whole Baptist churches had to leave the Baptist fellowship. Before this fight ended a new schism broke out in the young Baptist Union, which resulted in a new denomination, the Free Baptists (1872), who held views of reconciliation, justification and sanctification different from those generally accepted and who refused to have any training of their ministers.

In 1907 Sweden was reached by a new religious movement of ecstatic type, which was called "the New Movement." Later on it was called the Pentecostal movement. In 1910 a church was formed in Stockholm which accepted the ideas of this movement but nevertheless entered the Stockholm Association of the Baptist Union. Within a short time Rev. Lewi Pethrus became the leader of this "Filadelfiachurch," which strongly stressed the importance of speaking in tongues, prophecies, etc., and regarded all other forms of religion as "resistance against the Holy Spirit." In 1913 this church was expelled from the Association.

The Pentecostal ideas survived, however, also in certain churches in the Baptist Union. Rev. John Ongman was the leader of this movement. Orebro, an industrial town in the middle of Sweden, gradually became the centre of the mission society, which he started for promoting evangelistic work. As long as John Ongman lived the so-called Orebro-movement remained loyal within the Baptist Union, but after his death (1931), when other leaders came into power, the tendency to "go out into liberty" was strengthened, the given reasons being that the Baptist Union did not accept the Pentecostal revival and that some of its leaders took an active part in the Ecumenical movement. In 1936 the Filadelfiachurch in Orebro, which was the most important church of this movement, left the Baptist Union and others followed. It is only fair to state that in recent years an increasing number of Baptists and of members of the Orebro Movement have become aware of the fact that it is a tragedy that the Baptist denomination of this country should be split up into two groups, and they hope for the day of reunion, even if nobody can tell when it will dawn.

The relation between the Baptists and other Free churches of Sweden have been deepened, especially in this century through Free Church conferences, Alliance meetings, and the creation of the Free Church Council (1918). For the present a project of a still closer co-operation is being discussed. In the Swedish branch of the Evangelical Alliance, the Swedish Ecumenical Council and the Swedish Missionary Council, the Swedish Baptist Union has contact with all Christians of this country.

The Baptist work in this country as in others started in local

Baptist churches. It did not last long, however, until these churches found out that independency had to be balanced by co-operation. The first Assembly for all Swedish Baptists was held in 1857. In this Assembly there was elected a "managing committee," which should act on behalf of "the United Baptist Churches." Today the Baptist Union is the central organisation of all Swedish Baptist work, including foreign missions. Its president is Rev. Ruben Swedberg, M.P., Dr. Erik Rudén is General Secretary and Rev. Erik Strutz is Secretary of Foreign Missions. Through the Superannuation and the Sustentation funds the Baptist Union can help Baptist ministers and smaller churches.

As early as in 1856 a course was arranged for itinerant preachers, and during the following years other similar courses were arranged. When Anders Wiberg returned from a visit to America in 1866, he was able to present a more permanent solution of the training problem. The American Baptist Missionary Union had promised to finance a seminary in Stockholm, and K. O. Broady, a former Swedish emigrant and a colonel in the American Army, had promised to become the leader of the seminary. Colonel Broady was the famous and successful leader of the Stockholm seminary—Betelseminariet—until 1906. He was succeeded by Dr. C. E. Benander, who was Principal until 1927, when Dr. N. J. Nordström was elected Principal. At Dr. Nordström's death in 1943, Principal Fredrik Hedvall succeeded him. For many years Professor Gunnar Westin, famous church historian at the University of Uppsalla and one of the Vice-Presidents of the B.W.A., has belonged to the faculty. About 1,100 Baptist ministers and missionaries have had a four-years' training at the Betelseminariet since its foundation.

In the second Assembly mentioned above the delegates also discussed the appointment of deaconesses. This fact indicates an awakening of social interest, which has expressed itself in many ways since then. In 1922 a Society of Baptist Nurses and Deaconesses was formed. Its leader was Dr. Gottfrid Thorell (died in 1952). In 1932 an orphanage for boys of 7-16 years of age was opened. It is beautifully situated in Kungsängen, not far from Stockholm. In 1951 a hostel for young men was opened nearby. During and after the second World War Swedish Baptists have taken part in relief work in Poland, Germany, Austria, Jugo-Slavia and among Baltic refugees in Sweden.

In 1921 a people's high school was opened in Sjövik. (This is a Scandinavian type of adult continuation school for young people who, after a few years of practical work, want to brush up and improve their elementary school knowledge). The leader of this school is Principal Olof Hammar, M.P. This school has about 130 students a year.

In spite of the numerical decrease in the last decades owing to the above-mentioned dissensions, the Swedish Baptist Union has thus been able to build up a many-sided work. In 1952 there were 536 Baptist churches with 36,314 members. 368 full-time ministers were at work at home and 61 missionaries abroad (Belgian Congo, India, Japan). There were 890 Sunday schools with 40,000 pupils and 750 young people's organisations for different ages with 18,000 members.

We began with an acknowledgement of some early British influences on Swedish Baptist work. It is only right to finish on the same note. In recent years British Baptist leaders like the late Dr. J. H. Rushbrooke, Dr. Townley Lord, the Rt. Hon. Ernest Brown, Dr. Ernest A. Payne, Dr. T. G. Dunning and Rev. W. T. Cowlan, have paid very valuable and inspiring visits to our country. Swedish Baptists are aware of the fact that they belong to a world-wide Baptist fellowship. They are grateful for it, and they are willing to strengthen these ties not only for their own sake but for the sake of the Baptist cause which, they are convinced, has a future before it.

Literature :

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Fridén, *Svensk baptism genom* 100 *år.*

Nordström, *Svenska Baptistsamfundets historia I-II.*

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Norgaard-Sundqvist-Ohrn-Danielson, *Baptist Work in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden.*

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Westin, *George Scott och hans verksamhet i Sverige, I-II.*

„ *Ur den svenska folkväckelsens historia och tankevärld*

Svenska Baptistsamfundets årsbok.

NILS SUNDHOLM.

Leigh-on-Sea Baptists, by Ernest Walling. (Carey Kingsgate Press.)

Mr. Walling has written an interesting account of the sixty years' history of the church he has served for nearly half a century. It is an inspiring story of faith and generosity, of missionary activity at home and abroad, of difficulties overcome, and of courage in the dark days of war.

F. BUFFARD.

Reviews

Christianity and Existentialism, by J. M. Spier. Trans. by D. H. Freeman. (Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Co., U.S.A. $3.00.)

The author, a pastor of the Dutch Reformed church, is a prominent member of the new school of Christian Philosophy founded by Hermann Dooyeweerd, of Amsterdam Free University, which has attracted considerable attention in the Netherlands. A previous work of his, *An Introduction to Christian Philosophy,* is now in its fourth Dutch edition and is shortly to be published in English. This present work is in two parts. In the first Mr. Spier shows the philosophical and non-philosophical background of Existentialism and then gives brief accounts of the thought of Jaspers, Heidegger, Marcel, Lavelle and the Dutch Theistic Existentialist, Loen. The second part describes the general characteristics of Existentialism, some of its true insights and, finally, the reasons why in the author's view it has to be rejected. As Mr. Spier rightly points out, the influence of this school of thought is widespread, expressing as it does, the insecurity, anxiety and gloom of modern man and the protest of men of thought against rationalism and the principle of philosophical neutrality. In the world of today Existentialism is a force to be reckoned with and, therefore, Christians need to understand what it is, what are its genuine insights and upon what grounds it can be criticised. To this task Mr. Spier has made in these pages a useful contribution. It is not a book for advanced students, and in places the treatment is somewhat sketchy. But those who want a clear introduction to Existentialism will find this a most helpful guide and will read it with pleasure and profit.

George Whitefield—The Awakener, by Albert D. Belden. (Rockliffe, 30s.)

Rockliffe have done well to re-issue this revised edition of a vivid and challenging biography which first appeared in 1930. Dr. Belden undertook the work in the belief that, firstly, because Whitefield was the contemporary of Wesley he has been generally underrated and, secondly, as the western world is ripe for another spiritual rebirth we shall be wise to reconsider the lessons of the Evangelical Revival. It is a remarkable story he has to tell, and it is told in a way that grips the reader's interest—the progress

of the Gloucester pot-boy from the squalor of a tavern to the vanguard of an evangelical crusade in two continents and the throne of Christian eloquence. The contribution of Whitefield to the Evangelical Revival is revealed to have been much greater than probably most people supposed and we are shown the amazing power and extent of his preaching, his humanitarianism, his journeyings (thirteen times across the Atlantic) in the cause of the Gospel, his pioneer work in philanthropy, education and in what were ultimately the characteristic features of Methodism. We see the passion, the genius and the piety of the man himself; the whole portrayed against the social and religious background of the age he profoundly influenced. Not the least impressive feature of this splendidly produced volume is the number and excellence of the illustrations. Dr. Belden has made this, in addition to the life story of a great evangelist, a useful study of the Revival itself, though one wonders whether the book would not have been equally effective in both respects had the last three chapters, on the Revival in the light of today, been omitted. In the work of revision one or two foot-notes (e.g. p. 17, on the Buchmanites) have not been brought up-to-date; the author has a fondness for capital letters which it would be an improvement to curb, and one feels that in the chapter on Whitefield's influence on society he tends to claim a little too much. Nevertheless, this is a biography which throws light on social and religious history and which, we are confident, readers will find instructive, enjoyable and stimulating. In one way and another Whitefield's influence on our own denomination was not inconsiderable and we trust that this attractive book will not be neglected by Baptists.

GRAHAM W. HUGHES.

Hymns and Human Life, by Erik Routley. (John Murray, 16s. The Philosophical Library, New York, $6.00.)

In the preface of this book, Dr. Routley says that his intention is not so much that the reader may be edified or instructed or moved to admiration as that he may enjoy himself. The author has certainly succeeded in his main aim, as far as anyone with any interest in hymns is concerned; but this book is more than enjoyable, it is an important contribution to the literature of hymnology. Of its three parts, the first deals with the story of hymns, the second with the people in the story (i.e. the writers), the third and shortest with hymns and English life. Though the title, the author in his preface and a number of reviewers suggest some likeness to Lord Ernle's classic *The Psalms in Human Life*, the comparison is not really apt. Lord Ernle set himself to collect

instances in which psalms guided, controlled and sustained the lives of men and women. Dr. Routley gives us only a few stories of this kind. Primarily, this is a book about the various types of hymns and their composers.

It is full of good things, set forth with zest and freshness and an occasional exaggeration and provocativeness, which keep interest alive to the last page. The few comments that follow in no way detract from what has been said. There are some passages in the book which show signs of haste and fall below the usual high standard. (Why, for example, such preoccupation with the age of writers in the chapter on women writers?) There are a few slips. An improved edition may well become a standard work for a generation.

Why even Julian's great *Dictionary* says nothing about the hymns of the Anabaptists is still a mystery. There should at all events be a brief reference to these in the chapter on the Reformers. Baptists cannot claim any substantial place in a study of this kind, but Dr. Routley seems unnecessarily curt in places. Spurgeon is not happily described as "the fiery evangelist" (p. 155). Marianne Farningham was never married and her work was done from Northampton (p. 208). Though Dr. Routley is chiefly concerned with hymns that appear in *The English Hymnal, Congregational Praise* and *Hymns Ancient and Modern,* John Rippon and his work might well find a mention; his supplement to Watts first appeared as early as 1787 and had considerable influence among Dissenters. The popularity on both sides of the Atlantic of Fawcett's "Blest be the tie that binds," as well as the circumstances of its composition, suggests that it also might have been found a place. We are told that Joseph Hart's hymns are now hardly heard except among the Baptists; but we have only one in our hymnbook, while there are two in the new *Congregational Praise.*

The pages on the hymns used at Westminster Abbey and in certain Anglican Churches in Oxford are of interest, but Dr. Routley does not convince us that his researches should not have included the Free Churches. Would it not be illuminating to study the changes at the Central Hall, Westminster, and at Mansfield College Chapel between 1913-14 and 1931-32, and even more illuminating to come down to 1951-52? Could we not have a chapter on sacramental hymns—those used for baptism, the Communion Service and ordination, as well as those for weddings?

The difficulty of reviewing a book of this kind, however, is that one would like to go on writing about it or to spend an evening talking with the author. This book will certainly have a wide circulation, and deserves it.

ERNEST A. PAYNE.

History of Philosophy Eastern and Western. Sponsored by the Minister of Education, Government of India. (George Allen & Unwin, 2 Vols., 65s.)

Professor Radhakrishnan was the chairman of the Editorial board, which with the help of the Indian Government produced these two substantial and important volumes. The project first took shape in 1948 in the fertile brain of the Minister of Education, who conceived it as a first attempt to overcome the fragmentation of philosophy and " to bring together in one common compass the knowledge attained by different peoples." Some sixty scholars have co-operated in giving this conspectus of philosophical thought. The first three parts of the first volume deal with Indian thought, the fourth with that of China and Japan. In the second volume there are sections on Ancient Thought (including that of Persia), Mediaeval Thought, Modern European Philosophy and Contemporary Western Philosophy. Professor Radhakrishnan contributes a brief concluding survey, as well as the chapter on Samkara. Most of the writing is by Indians, but two Chinese, a Japanese, a Jewish Rabbi and the Bishop of Bombay are in the strong team that has been got together. Each chapter ends with a short but useful bibliography. These volumes should at once find a place in libraries beside the older histories of philosophy. They will prove of great value to students and will certainly aid the process which is their aim.

ERNEST A. PAYNE.

Atoms, Men and God, by Paul E. Sabine. (Philosophical Library, New York. $3.75.)

The author, a research physicist, tells us that he has experienced as an acute personal problem the tension between the Methodist beliefs in which he was reared and the scientific education which he later acquired; and this book, which was fifteen years in preparation, is an attempt to reconcile the two. Considering the number of books already written on the same subject, it would have been surprising had the present writer had anything new to say. He has not, but he does discuss the issues in a clear, competent and cogent manner, and this work is a valuable contribution to Christian apologetics. The old view of Atomistic Mechanism is revealed to be inadequate. Against it must be reckoned the evidences of purpose in living organisms (" The origin of life is the most improbable event that could possibly occur in a completely mechanical world," p. 68) and the New Physics of Relativity and Wave Mechanics. The ultimate realities for the New Physics are mathematical relationships, i.e. mental realities, and this raises the question : Do these relationships exist

objectively or only in the mind of the scientist? "The whole history of physical science proclaims the former as scientifically the more acceptable," but this necessitates "the inference of a Universal Mind as an act of rational religious faith" (p. 110). For Wave Mechanics, the ultimate constituents of matter are wave particles whose position and momentum cannot be simultaneously determined, and this means that, whereas determinism was implicit in the older physics, conscious purpose in the universe and individual freedom are now "scientifically plausible hypotheses." Turning his attention to psychology, the author disposes of Behaviourism and finds in the Psycho-Analysis of Freud and Jung, as in the New Physics, reasons for regarding the Universe not as a machine, but as a thought of God.

As he closes this book the reader may perhaps wonder (*a*) whether you have quite done justice to the Christ of Calvary when you have described Him as, "the expression in finite human terms of the evolutionary purpose in human history" (p. 215); and (*b*) whether the tension between Science and Religion can in fact, ever be finally resolved. Truth is one; but man approaches Truth in different ways. In religion he makes contact with Truth through an act of commitment; in science he considers it in an attitude of detachment. The approach of religion is existential; that of science, conceptual. Though this deep tension will always persist, many superficial tensions (the sort of things they love to debate in the Science Sixth) can be, and are, resolved in this book. It can be recommended for Christians of all ages, who are having difficulty getting through the Science Sixth!

W. D. HUDSON.

For the Baptist Minister, by John O. Barrett. (Carey Kingsgate Press. 1s.)

This excellent manual is intended to provide the young minister with information about the Baptist denomination. Some older readers will find themselves regretting that so succinct and lucid a statement was not available when they began their work. Mr. Barrett describes the basis and purpose of the B.U. and the B.M.S., the work of the Associations and the Superintendents and various Baptist institutions. Considerable space is given to the beginning and ending of pastorates. There is a wise section on the relation of a minister to his deacons. (A companion section on the function and conduct of church meetings would have been useful.) Information is given on a variety of relevant subjects, including Income Tax and, unexpectedly, on manuals of worship. Altogether it is a most useful booklet for all officers of Baptist churches.

F. BUFFARD.