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EDITORIAL

THE *Eucharistic Hymns of John and Charles Wesley*, by J. Ernest Rattenbury, is coming to the end of its first, and doubtless final, edition. About two hundred copies, printed on the war-economy paper of 1948, are left, a proof that the sales of a book are not always indicative of its influence.

It is time for a reassessment of Rattenbury's subject-matter. As Gordon Rupp, EGR of the then *Manchester Guardian*, once wrote:

There is only one point at which an evangelical and Protestant doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice has been richly expounded with true Catholicity, and which points forward, not backward, to the enriched eucharistic life of 'the coming great Church' and that is the sacramental hymns of Charles Wesley.

Many High Anglicans, and indeed Roman Catholics, have discovered these hymns with delight, while the *Report on the Conversations between the Church of England and the Methodist Church* adduces them as 'an indispensable exposition of Methodist eucharistic doctrine' and by implication a point of contact between Methodist and Anglo-Catholic sacramental theology.

In what, at first sight, seems to be a scholarly, well-documented and impressive monograph on *Priesthood and Sacraments* (Marcham, 12s. 6d.), R. T. Beckwith challenges both the interpretation of Wesley's hymns and the eucharistic doctrine of the *Report*. He claims that modern Methodist writers have been influenced by Anglo-Catholics and read into the hymns anachronistic ideas of the Real Presence and the Eucharistic Sacrifice, of which Wesley could not have been aware since he did not know Newman! The hymns are entirely, and, in their period, unequivocally Protestant. Their language of Presence and Sacrifice is figurative and must not be used to reconcile evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics.

On closer examination, however, Mr Beckwith's technique of argument is open to serious objection. We can see this most clearly in his chapter on *Holy Communion and the Methodist Statement*. Here, as elsewhere, he is trying to establish what Raymond George has described as 'guilt by association'.¹ The language of the Methodists in the *Report* is reminiscent of that of those objectionable heretics Dix and Mascal. Indeed with regard to *The Shape of the Liturgy* (1945) and Methodist post-war writing on the Eucharist Mr Beckwith proceeds gaily on the assumption *post hoc ergo propter hoc*, until, suddenly, he has cause to remember Dr Vincent Taylor's great trilogy on the Atonement (1939, 1940, 1941). Perhaps the Methodists have been most influenced by Methodist scholarship, after all! And, out of the window flies the assertion that Methodists are but parasites on Anglo-Catholic theologians. But, by now the damage has been done.

This technique does not give one confidence when, in the previous chapter on *Holy Communion and the Wesleys' Hymns*, Mr Beckwith is trying to show that Wesley's sacramental teaching was what came (in 1867!) to be called 'virtualist', or 'receptionist', and that this was held by the

majority of Anglicans before the Oxford Movement. He has to admit that 'there are certain complicating factors', that Anglican eucharistic theology from Hooker to Waterland cannot be as neatly packaged and labelled as he would wish. In any case, the hymns are devotional poetry, and are uncongenial to Mr. Beckwith's literalism. But the fact is that the ill-fated Scottish Prayer-Book of 1637 implies 'A heightened doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice and Presence', though 'it does not constitute a departure from the Reformed tradition',² that Daniel Brevint's treatise, which Wesley paraphrased in the hymns, is of the same school as John Johnson's *Unbloody Sacrifice*, which Wesley took to Georgia, and which teaches that the offering in the Eucharist is more and other than that of 'ourselves, our souls and bodies'. Wesley was *not* an Anglo-Catholic beforetime. But the alternatives are not as stark as Mr Beckwith and his friends would pose—'commemorative feast or the mass'.

Mr Beckwith does not pause to ask why Anglo-Catholic and Roman views, however exaggerated and disastrous, have been found to answer deep needs of the human heart. Indeed, in places he almost seems to assume that anything written by an Anglo-Catholic is tainted and any language used in these days and susceptible of an Anglo-Catholic interpretation is false. Sometimes one suspects that he is more concerned with 'evangelical' doctrine than with the quest for truth, though, of course, he is presumably bound to believe that the two are identical. It is a pity that he does not give sufficient credit to the immense amount of contemporary research into Eucharistic origins, that he still fights on the old party battleground, and fails to recognize the phenomenal change in the new enlightened High Anglican understanding of the Eucharist.

But we must return to the hymns. Our consideration of Mr Beckwith's treatment of them has led us to imply that they are not misused in the *Report*, and that they represent a school of Anglicanism, resolutely Protestant, but not prepared to jettison all the old terms of Presence and Sacrifice. This does not mean, however, that they must be immune from critical scrutiny in the present era of theological reconstruction and liturgical reform.

To re-read them raises some of the most vital questions of our understanding of the Eucharist.

(1) Is not the language at times too redolent of the Western medieval preoccupation with Calvary, and is not the recurring image of Christ as newly-slain, his wounds still bleeding, unscriptural? Both these criticisms must stand against some of the hymns, though there is a prevailing note of triumph and joy, a fondness for the word 'eucharist', and the lines

O Thou who this mysterious bread
Didst in *Emmaus* break (29)

which might well find place in the next *Methodist Hymn Book*.

(2) What is the theology of consecration? For the most part it is properly agnostic in the true Anglican tradition.

Sure and real is the grace,
The manner be unknown
Only meet us in Thy ways
And perfect us in one.

Let us taste the heavenly powers :
 Lord we ask for nothing more :
 Thine to bless, 'tis only ours
 To wonder and adore (57).

This is also expressed in 'God incomprehensible' (59) and more grandly, in the sublime passage of the judicious Hooker, *Of the Lawes of Ecclesiastical Polity*, v. 67. Wesley would doubtless have gone on to agree that a valid Eucharist is constituted as we 'do what the Lord did with the things which the Lord took'. Several hymns would imply this, most notably and familiarly

Jesus we thus obey
 Thy last and kindest word (81).

There is, however, as is well known, at least one *epiclesis* (invocation of the Holy Spirit) among the hymns, and this is proudly offered these days as a link between Methodism and the Eastern Church.

Come, Holy Ghost, Thine influence shed,
 And realize the sign;
 Thy life infuse into the bread,
 Thy power into the wine (72).

There are also the lines (with an echo of Hippolytus):

Angel and Son of God come down,
 Thy sacramental banquet crown,
 Thy power into the means infuse,
 And give them now their sacred use (58).

It is a matter for serious and lengthy theological discussion, whether both these examples do not belie the agnosticism of the previous quotations, whether the *epiclesis* is not of *Gnostic* origin making possible erroneous notions of 'power' and 'presence' in the elements, and whether the idea of Christ or the Spirit or the power coming down so that 'we need not now go up to heaven' is not a misconception of the eucharist, which is more truly understood as lifting us beyond the veil into the Kingdom of God.

(3) How does the Holy Eucharist imply a Sacrifice? It is here that the full force of Wesley's language about the wounds still open wide is apparent. For him, the sufferings and death of Jesus are a propitiatory sacrifice. It is not simply, as with the Anglo-Catholic, William Bright,

Look, Father, look on His anointed face,
 And only look on us as found in Him.

There is efficacy in the blood as such :

Turn from me Thy glorious eyes
 To that bloody Sacrifice,
 To the full atonement made,
 To the utmost ransom paid;

To the blood that speaks above,
 Calls for Thy forgiving love;
 To the tokens of His death
 Here exhibited beneath (119).

And again :

Still, O God, the blood is warm,
Cover'd with the blood we are;
Find a part it doth not arm,
And strike the sinner there! (122).

This may presuppose an 'evangelical' doctrine of the Atonement, which is why Mr Beckwith and his friends (and indeed others) recoil from relating it to the Eucharist. But I doubt if it is truly and comprehensively the teaching of the New Testament.

The greatest hymn in this section is, of course, 'O God of our forefathers, hear' (125).

With solemn faith we offer up,
And spread before Thy glorious eyes
That only ground of all our hope,
That precious bleeding Sacrifice.

That surely is the doctrine of Cyprian, as Raymond George has said.³ But is not the older doctrine of Justin Martyr and Hippolytus and Irenaeus the true one, that in fact we offer to the Father the bread and cup? There is no need, on this understanding, to take fright at the verb 'offer', to prefer, as the *Book of Common Order* does, the words 'set forth', which are even more contaminated by dubious historical associations through the typology of the shewbread, though for every hundred who are aware of the perversions of the Mass, only one has any idea of this.

There is another sacrifice, too, of course, the non-controversial offering of ourselves. Wesley, like Cranmer, knows that this is separate from the other offering, and is only possible as our response to what we have already received. Its proper place is after communion. Whether his theology of Sacrifice is acceptable today, or not, he was not guilty of the Pelagianisms of Offertory processions, or of getting personal dedication out of focus. The everlasting Sacrifice of Christ, and the Church's offering of bread and wine in obedience to His Command matter far more than the laying on the altar of any gifts of mine.

Nevertheless, there is profound truth in the lines:

Would the Saviour of mankind
Without His people die?
No, to Him we all are joined
As more than standers by (131).

They seem very true to Our Lord's intention in the Upper Room when He gave the bread and wine to His disciples. Granted that we do not repeat, or even share, Christ's all-sufficient Sacrifice. Granted that the words in Colossians about our filling up what is lacking of the sufferings of Christ probably refer to the "quota" of sufferings which "the corporate Christ", the Messianic community, the Church, is destined to undergo before the purposes of God are complete.⁴ Yet some of us have been haunted by Bonhoeffer's insistence that Christian vocation is to participate in God's sufferings in the world and watch with Christ in Gethsemane.⁵ For him, indeed, the Church was not the gathered company of Christ's worshippers; it was Christ Himself among men. And all this the Eucharist proclaims,

provided we do not think that the 'cost of discipleship' can be paid by liturgy, in the narrow sense, or that receiving the Sacrament, though a glorious privilege and indispensable obligation, is the sole witness that is required.

These scanty and tentative notes suggest that we need a new Rattenbury. But would such a successor sell even 2,000 copies in seventeen years? Perhaps we must leave the definitive study of the Eucharistic hymns to the appropriate volume of the Oxford *Wesley Works*.

GORDON S. WAKEFIELD

¹ A. Raymond George, 'The Real Presence and the Lord's Supper', *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*, Vol. XXXIV, Part 8, Dec. 1964, p. 186.

² A. H. Couratin, *The Service of Holy Communion 1549-1662* (S.P.C.K., 1962 and 1963), p. 22.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 185.

⁴ C. F. D. Moule, *The Epistles to the Colossians and Philemon* (The Cambridge Greek Testament Commentary, 1957), p. 76.

⁵ Cf. D. Bonhoeffer, *Letters and Papers from Prison* (1953 English edn.), p. 169.

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We offer our warmest congratulations to our Review Editor, John T. Wilkinson, who has been awarded the very rare honour of the Doctorate of Divinity of Manchester University.

THE MEANING OF AUTOMATION

Edward Rogers

FOR AT LEAST ten years I have been speaking and writing of automation as the herald of a second Industrial Revolution that would be even more socially and economically disturbing than the first. The argument is frequently regarded as a peculiar but harmless by-product of my addiction to science-fiction. I have a strong suspicion that this canny refusal to be impressed arises from a complacent misunderstanding of the nature of automation.

The dominant factor in the development of the first Industrial Revolution was mechanization; the transfer of the burden of physical toil from the worker to a machine. Mechanization is still becoming more complex and elaborate; but it must be clearly understood from the outset that intensified mechanization is not automation. Basically, automation is the transfer of mental toil from the worker to a machine.

Two examples may illustrate the distinction. Many food-producing firms proudly claim that their products are 'untouched by human hands'. Usually, a mechanized process which makes cans from sheet metal is timed to flow in with a second mechanized process in which the tins are filled with a measured quantity of the product, sterilized, sealed, labelled, and packed into cartons. All depends on split-second timing, and therefore on the adjusted speed of the assembly line. This is highly sophisticated mechanization, the continuous performance by phased machines of routine tasks.

Leo, the Lyons Electronic Office, is one of the earliest electronic computers; a modest performer by contemporary standards. It works out the pay-rolls of over ten thousand employees, and has to juggle with twenty possible variants in each case—overtime, sports club dues, basic salary, P A Y E contributions, and so on. Wages slips are put out in batches totalling £750, and with each batch is a chit stating how many notes and coins and of what denominations are required. The job used to be a full-time occupation for thirty-seven clerks. Leo does it in four hours. This is relatively simple automation, the near instantaneous performance of elementary calculations.

The distinction is not, of course, one of absolute contradiction. The report on automation prepared by the Department of Scientific and Industrial research argued that it is not so much a single process as a coming together of lines of technological advance. One line is the intensification of mechanization (as in the first example given above), which links processes in automatic production lines. A second is the refinement of techniques of automatic control. The third is the rapid processing of information by electronic computers. But the mingling of this third stream with the others in the flow does in fact create a new type of process that is not just a continuation of the old. Indeed, many of those most intimately concerned with the theory and probable consequences of the new type of process wish heartily that

the confusing short-hand word 'automation' had never been coined. They prefer to talk about 'cybernetics'. Unfortunately, as so often happens, the unsatisfactory word is too deeply rooted to be weeded out.

It is intended that this article shall be purely descriptive, sketching in the background for the articles that follow. It can be no more than a sketch. A precisely accurate description would involve flight into higher reaches of the mathematics of symbolic logic, and exploration of the darkling caverns of electronic theory. But it is so eminently desirable that the basic ideas should be firmly grasped that a sketch drawn by a non-expert for non-experts may have its value.

Let us begin with a fairly simple industrial process. A worker is using a power-driven cutting-tool to cut a thick steel plate to a required shape. He is guiding the tracer by hand and the tool follows the curve or line he makes. The 'input' is given by his hand; the 'output' by the tool. The advantage of mechanization is that it extensively amplifies the application of a very small input power.

If the shape to be cut was uncomplicated there would be no difficulty in taking the man away and guiding the tracer mechanically along its appointed course—provided that the machine worked with invariable precision and that there were no variations in environment, such as temperature or humidity, which affected the steel. The snag would be that if there were such changes, either in the power-transmission ratio or in external conditions, the machine would go on cutting out wrong shapes. The human operative adjusts to such minute variations. He can see if the right line is not being followed, and can make the necessary corrections.

In the language of cybernetics, he is observing the action of the output tool and correcting errors by variations in input power. Without the human operative, even with an automatic tracer, the machine is 'open-looped'. The input affects the output, but the output does not affect the input. The operation of the man at the tracer closes the loop; for his corrective reactions mean that the output is now affecting the input. An effective automatic machine, therefore, is one in which the two-way effect is built in, so that there is no longer necessity for invariable precision or for unchanging environment. By application of the feedback principle, the machine would measure and compare input with output and would use variations from the norm as a signal and measurement for corrective action. In other words, the machine would become self-regulating.

As Dr Demczynski has observed in *Automation and the Future of Man*, practical engineers were using the feedback principle before they knew there was a principle. Automatic speed regulators worked on it in early steam-engines. In fact, we all learned it long before we were capable of understanding it. The triumph of the baby when he learns at last by trial and failure to co-ordinate hand and eye, and grasps his rattle, is control of feedback.

In the human system, input and output are co-ordinated by a remarkable computer, the human brain. The application of feedback loops to machines constructs within them some of the properties of the brain. What was needed to translate theory into practice was the development of accurate and

rapid-working sensing instruments. It is provided by modern electronics.

Today there are industrial processes which make the automatic self-regulating steel cutter look like a child's toy. In car plants, electronic computers control machines which carry out hundreds of engineering operations, making six-cylinder engine blocks from rough castings in fifteen minutes, testing them, and re-routing faulty work for correction. War provided money and stimulated the ingenuity of the electronics engineer. Anti-aircraft-gun mechanisms instantaneously computed the height, speed, and direction of approaching aircraft, allowed for wind velocities, integrated speed and trajectory of fire into the equation, and all within one second.

As war grew mechanized, global, and complicated it became necessary to transmit widely and rapidly masses of detailed information, and to collate and evaluate the overwhelming flood of detail that poured in to headquarters. The problem that emerged was of conveying information more precisely and speedily than by human speech. Out of the rarefied study of 'information content' grew a complex mathematical theory of information.

When we put together the principle of feedback control and the symbolic logic of information theory we get the science of cybernetics; the study of control and communication in animals (including humans) and in machines. On the human side it represents a new approach to the physiological mechanisms of behaviour. On the mechanical side, which is automation, it represents a combination of self-regulating machines with machines that can assimilate, collate, and process information.

As has previously been noted, the second element of the mechanical is revolutionary; for just as mechanical power amplified physical strength and skill, so the computer amplifies mental abilities.

The computers in present use are of two main types, the analogue and the digital. In the existing state of technical expertise the analogue computer is the less important. It is best fitted to be a single-purpose instrument and is mainly used for the study of scientific problems because, beyond fairly narrowly defined limits, analogue simulators are difficult to construct. I may, therefore, dismiss it briefly by quoting myself. 'The analogue computer works by simulating electrically a physical or chemical system. For example, the flow of heat through a lagged pipe, which is a physical system, and an analogue computer, which is an electrical system, can be made to obey the same mathematical rules because both can be described by identical mathematical relationships, usually differential equations. Thus, if (an) engineering operation can be accurately described by a differential equation, it can be represented by a determinate voltage in an analogue computer.'¹

Fortunately, the fundamental principles of the digital computer can be more easily grasped by the layman. It is possible logically to reduce an argument or a problem to a series of propositions, put in the form of questions to each of which the answer is simply 'yes' or 'no'. The process can be equated to a series of physical activities each of which can be expressed in one or the other of two distinct forms, such as an on or off relay. The digital computer, in fact, is constructed to play a game of Twenty (or Twenty Thousand) Questions.

The binary (yes-no) notation is translated into the 'language' of the com-

puter's on-off relay system. Then the problem posed—what is 2,793,684 times 5,831,611; or what are the wages due to a driver on a basic rate of £15 a week who had Thursday morning off but did four hours overtime on Saturday?—is logically resolved step by step. Then the solution is translated into the language of the original notation.

Breaking down a complex problem with many variables into a succession of questions to each of which a simple positive or negative answer can be given would be inexpressibly tedious without a system of response far faster than any which could be provided by a purely mechanical device. The essential element is provided by the electronic valve, which can change its state with a rapidity measured in ten-thousandths of a second.

There is a great and growing diversity of digital computers, but the general pattern is much the same in all. Certainly for all of them the toughest technical problem comes right at the beginning of the operation. An input unit has to be supplied with information expressed in the 'language' of the machine; as, for example, by a paper tape in which a punched hole represents an on relay and a positive response and the absence of a hole means off and negative. The translation has to be done by human programmers, takes a long time, and is the major source of unreliability. (It is obvious that a single error in the middle of a chain of logical reasoning will produce an inaccurate final answer.) Research is proceeding rapidly on the development of automatic reading-devices, integrated into the computer, which can translate for themselves printed symbols or standard print or clear handwriting, but this has not yet reached the production stage.

The information is fed into a memory unit, or store. There is a bewildering variety of types of memory unit—magnetic drums, electrostatic tubes, ultrasonic lines, for example—but a description of one will give the general principles. (Readers who would like more detailed and technical information should consult *Automation; its Future and Purpose*, by Dr Magnus Pyke.) In the magnetic-drum type the storage is effected by a cylindrical drum which takes an electrical record just as a tape-recorder takes a magnetic tape. The drum revolves under a fixed 'writing head', producing electric pulses which represent the data to be recorded. In the Deuce computer drum data is stored as magnetized spots at eighty to the inch in 256 tracks. When the information is wanted the spots are reconverted into electrical signals as they pass under the 'reading head'.

Though the particular item needed may be at the tail end of the queue, the incredible speed of the process means that the average time taken to dig out a particular item from a Deuce drum is one-hundredth of a second. In fact, large computers usually have a hierarchy of memory units; the slower progressively feeding the faster so that the actual calculation is done by the fastest of all.

The processing of the information stored in the memory unit is the work of an arithmetic unit, which can, as desired, add or multiply in times measured in ten-thousandths of a second.

The directing of the computer to a particular operation or calculation is the work of the control unit, which is itself directed by a previously fed-in set of instructions known as the programme. The Eniac computer, developed

at the University of Pennsylvania, operates through a series of electronic pulses produced at the rate of 100,000 a second. Control is exercised by switches, which decide whether or not an electrical pulse shall be sent to activate a particular sequence of arithmetic unit and memory unit. A master programme-switch controls the operation of up to a hundred such sequences.

What all this means is that all the information covering every logical step and every possible eventuality is supplied to the computer and stored, and then—according to the 'programme'—the requisite information is selected and calculated. The last stage, the delivery of the answer by the output unit, is in marked contrast to the tedious input operation, for the retranslation from machine language to human is performed by the machine at the speed of the machine.

The near miracle of fantastic speed and electronic mystery must not, however, blind us to the fact that the computer is a machine without initiative. The vast, faintly humming hulk, calculates with an imagination-defying nimbleness, but only in obedience to precisely detailed instruction.

A new tool of immense potency has been put into the hand of man. It comes when it is urgently needed. The proliferating size of industrial and commercial enterprises, the extension of Government involvement in social and economic life, and the inevitable pressure towards international interdependence, are threatening to drown managers and administrators in a sea of paper. Clerks battle with the tide of information like Mrs Partington trying to bale out the Atlantic with a bucket. Vitally important Government policy is decided on the basis of statistical returns that are out of date before they have been collated. Automation means that the breakdown in communications can be remedied with expeditious efficiency.

It so happens that the imposing new buildings in our big cities are nearly all blocks of offices, the outward sign of the increasing proportion of the labour force now employed in clerical work. It has been suggested that three people shuffle paper for every one that does a productive job. The computer will decimate the clerical occupations, and do the job better. Even old Leo can do the complete cost accounting, despatch recording, and ordering for 150 teashops in an hour and a quarter. That is one reason why automation is the herald of another economic revolution.

Again, as scientific and technological research grows more complicated it becomes more mathematically abstruse. Advance in industrial chemistry, nuclear physics, or space engineering, for example, depends upon the ability of the machine to do in seconds calculations that would occupy men for months or years.

But the computer is still a machine; not a self-conscious personal individual. It cannot cope with the unpredicted or the unforeseen. Clifford Simak writes stories in which all-wise and omnipotent computers and their obedient servo-mechanisms take over the Earth from fragile and illogical man. James Blish writes of the City Father computers that answer the problems of the star-voyaging cities of the future. This is the fantasy of science-fiction.

The fact is impressive enough. As the Earth and Mars swing in their orbits round the Sun, and the whole solar system rushes through the emptiness of

space, a rocket is on its way from Earth to Mars; the whole course of its trajectory planned by a computer. Six men at Fawley operate the distillation units which produce one-third of the oil products used in Britain. One day, and perhaps not very far hence, a computer may do all the clerical work of I.C.I. or Unilever or Whitehall.

But the questions they are asked, and the use that is made of the answers they give, will still depend upon human decisions; on the infinitely greater miracle of engineering encased in the human skull.

¹ God's Business, p. 71.

AUTOMATION—ECONOMIC AND SOCIOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

John F. Sleeman

I—WHAT IS AUTOMATION

THE TERM 'automation' is popularly used both in a looser and in a more precise sense. Loosely, it is applied to any process where manual operation is superseded by automatic operation, such as the replacement of machines controlled by individual workers by a centrally controlled plant, or the introduction of production lines in which work flows from one process to another without handling, or the replacement of clerks in offices using ledgers and files by punch cards or mechanized accounting systems. More precisely, it implies the replacement of human brains controlling individual machines or operations by systems involving the use of previously programmed instructions to control a whole process, with automatic correction through some form of feedback as the work proceeds. Examples would be the use of automatic transfer machinery in the motor industry, of feedback controls in oil refining and chemical processing, or the use of computers for accounting, data processing, and stores control in office work.

From the economist's point of view a precise definition is not necessary, though there are economic and social implications arising from the fact that automation displaces particular types of labour. In general, however, he regards it simply as another way of producing more efficiently, so as to get a bigger output of goods and services from a given input of productive

resources. It normally involves the replacement of more labour-intensive by more capital-intensive methods, and hence it calls initially for a considerable investment of new capital, but the increase in efficiency is so great that output is increased, not only relative to the labour employed, but also relative to capital. As an example of the scale of the change, Paul Einzig, in *The Economic Consequences of Automation*,¹ quotes the case of the Cincinnati Milling Company. In 1914 to produce 108 cylinder heads per hour involved 162 machines, with a capital cost of \$234,000, and direct labour costs of forty cents per piece. By 1949 the work was being done with six machines, with a capital cost of \$240,000, at a direct labour cost of twenty cents per piece, and by 1954 only one machine was needed, with a capital cost of \$230,000, and direct labour costs had fallen to four cents per piece.

Of course, the scope for automation is much greater in some industries and in some economic environments than in others. Because the initial capital costs are high, and because it is often costly to adjust the plant to a different product once it is installed, the best results are obtained where there can be long runs of standardized units, or where the process is continuous as in oil refining and some forms of chemical manufacture or metal processing. Automation cannot easily be adapted to the production of small batches of goods of varied type and design, nor to work where individual judgement must constantly be exercised, nor where personal services are involved. Its application is often delayed by the need to solve difficult technical problems before automated methods can be introduced, and by shortages of qualified technologists and technicians capable of planning, supervising and controlling the operations. Nor is it economical to adopt it in areas where capital and technical skill are scarce and dear and unskilled labour is plentiful and cheap, as in most of the underdeveloped countries. Its adoption is also often delayed where there is existing plant which is cheap to operate because its capital costs have been written off.

II—IN A WORLD OF SCARCITY, AUTOMATION IS TO BE WELCOMED
In principle, because automation implies greater output for less real cost in terms of input of resources, it is to be welcomed in a world where scarcity is still the dominant economic problem. As Christians, we believe that God has given us the responsibility of seeking to use the world's natural resources and men's gifts as efficiently as possible in order to meet men's needs.

Even in the rich countries of the West there are still plenty of things which we should like to do, if we could produce more. There are many who do not share fully in recent rises in living standards, such as old-age pensioners, the chronic sick, large families with only one earner, or widows with young children. We want to improve our facilities for education, medical treatment and care for those in need, such as problem families or delinquent children. We urgently need to rebuild our industrial towns to provide decent housing and a reasonable environment and to redesign our road system to come to terms with the motor-car. We are faced with the need to provide for a rising population with a growing proportion in it of non-working young people and old people.

If this is true of Britain and the West, it is still more true of the world as a whole. Two-thirds of the world's people, in Asia, Africa and Latin America, are struggling to break out of the vicious circle of poverty, while at the same time keeping up with the population explosion. Although the scope for the direct use of automation in the poorer countries may not be great, yet the increased productive possibilities which it opens up in the rich countries provide an opportunity for helping them. Increased production in the rich countries means growing markets for the raw materials and food-stuffs of the primary producers, while cheaper production of capital goods makes it easier to provide them with machines, plant, fertilizer and other equipment needed for development.

III—IT BRINGS PROBLEMS AS WELL AS OPPORTUNITIES

Whatever the problems of adjustment which automation may bring, we cannot afford not to welcome and use it. But this must not blind us to its social consequences, for just because it can bring such dramatic reductions in costs, the dislocations which it can cause are correspondingly great.

Technological unemployment is nothing new, as the cases of the handloom weavers in the 1840s or the coal-miners in the 1920s and 1930s remind us. Any introduction of a new process renders certain skills obsolete and creates a demand for new skills, but the fear is that automation may do this on a much larger scale and over a much wider range of occupations. Many of the traditional skilled craftsmen who operated machine-tools in the earlier stages of mechanization become redundant when their skill and experience are replaced by the automatic transfer machine, and many semi-skilled machine minders on mass-production work, or unskilled workers engaged in handling materials and products are also eliminated. In the office, routine clerical workers and book-keepers are replaced by the use of computers and data-processing equipment. In their place the demand is increased for the technologists and highly trained technicians who can supervise the operation of the automated processes, or plan and programme their operations.

There are thus widespread fears of a lack of demand for the services of those without the education and training to undertake such highly skilled work, together with a shortage of those who have the necessary skills and qualifications for the new jobs created. In the United States, for instance, where white-collar workers already outnumber blue-collar workers, there are signs that it is already becoming very difficult for the boy or girl who has not completed high school to get a job at all.

Of course there is also much gain in this process. A great deal of routine drudgery can be eliminated, not only the physical drudgery already much reduced by the old style of mechanization, but also the mental drudgery involved in machine minding on a production line, or in a good deal of clerical and accounting work in offices. The new types of jobs which automation opens up are mostly more interesting and more demanding than the ones eliminated. The new type of technician who deals with automated plant must have a wider educational background and a less specialized training than the old style of time-served skilled craftsman.

But changes are called for also in working arrangements. With the automated plant continuous operation is essential and the rhythm of work must be adapted to the process. Output and hence employment tend to be more steady, for it pays to keep plant going rather than cut down during slack times, because of the heavy overheads. Operation must, however, be more continuous if the plant is to be used to capacity, and shift working often becomes essential, with all its dislocating effects on family and social life. This is already true of plant such as chemical and steel works.

IV—IN THE SHORT RUN, AUTOMATION IS UNLIKELY TO BRING SERIOUS UNEMPLOYMENT

Is automation likely to cause serious unemployment? In the short run, this depends very much on the overall level of demand in the economy. If the general trend is inflationary rather than deflationary, so that demand for the country's product tends to outstrip supply, automation should ease the position by making possible increased output per man, thus easing the overall shortage of labour and increasing the supply of goods available. In general, firms will tend to use the new plant to increase output with the same labour force at lower real cost, and thus offset rising wages. There will be no general displacement of labour, for firms will be able to sell more on a buoyant market, and any redundancies of particular skills will either be taken care of by natural wastage or easily absorbed by demand from other occupations.

If, on the other hand, a general deflationary trend were allowed to set in, with demand for the national product tending to run below the level needed for full use of capacity, automation would tend to accentuate the difficulties. Faced with falling demand, firms would use their increased productivity to reduce the labour force and cut prices, so as to try to keep up output and make full use of their expensive capital equipment. This would intensify a downward spiral of falling prices, employment and income, should such be allowed to develop.

In Britain at present such dangers do not seem very likely. Compared with our competitors, we have been hampered in recent years by the slow growth of our labour force, so that, in spite of structural unemployment in the less rapidly developing parts of the country, we have experienced a shortage of labour more often than a surplus. In the next twenty years, with the rising birth-rate leading to increased numbers of children, the tendency for young people to continue longer in full-time education, and the growing numbers of old people, the likelihood is that the labour force will rise even more slowly. Between 1953 and 1963 the working population of the United Kingdom rose rather faster than the total population, by 0.7 per cent per year, as against 0.6 per cent, but in the next decade the working population is expected to rise only by some 0.3 to 0.4 per cent per year, and to remain at below the present rate at least until the end of the 'seventies.¹

The process of automation has not as yet gone very far in Britain, so there is plenty of scope for adopting it in order to make the best use of a slowly growing labour supply. Nor does it look likely that employment opportunities will be lacking in the near future for those who may be dis-

placed, though there may be problems of training them for new jobs and moving them to the places where the jobs are to be found. The level of Government spending, on education, health services, housing, urban redevelopment, road building and aid to industrial development, and the level of investment in nationalized industries such as electricity supply, not to mention the needs of defence, seem likely to ensure that the economy remains buoyant, though the exigencies of the balance of payments may continue to make it necessary to impose periodical restraint. In any case, in view of the need to make our exports competitive, we cannot afford to neglect any opportunities of reducing industrial costs such as automation may bring.

V—LONG-TERM PROBLEMS MAY BE MORE SERIOUS, BUT CAN BE OVERCOME

But what of the longer run? Is automation likely to lead to such a displacement of less skilled labour that there will be serious difficulties in providing employment opportunities for all? Is automation in this respect different in kind from earlier forms of mechanization? Up to the present, mechanization has tended to cause temporary problems of unemployment among groups of workers whose skills have become obsolete, but this has always been offset by the increased demand for goods and services of all kinds arising from the higher incomes which more productive methods make possible. In Britain today, for instance, a population five times as large as that of 1800 works shorter hours, with longer holidays and much less physical effort, and enjoys an income per head some ten to twelve times as great, in so far as comparison is possible, while, over the country as a whole, less than two per cent of the labour force is registered as unemployed.

Can we expect automation to have similar effects? By greatly reducing the amount of labour needed to produce a given volume of goods and services, it leads to a rise in real incomes, through higher wages and salaries to those operating the automated plant, higher dividends to the shareholders of the owning company, and reduced prices for the products relative to other goods. Hence there should be greater demand, both for the goods in question and for other goods and services. There are still plenty of things on which many people would like to spend more, if we had the resources to produce them. In particular, if labour became more plentiful, one would expect a growth in the supply of services which, being labour-intensive, tend to suffer from high labour costs when wages rise under full employment. Thus we might expect that increased leisure would lead to a bigger demand for recreational facilities of all kinds, with more people employed in hotels, restaurants and cafés, in sports grounds and bowling-alleys, and facilities for boating, ski-ing and motoring, in entertainment and in all the services ancillary to these. If this is not enough, we could always employ more people in the public services, as teachers, nurses, doctors, research workers, social workers, road workers, dustmen, policemen and so on. More people could also be employed in building and construction, where there is still an enormous amount of work to be done, if all our population are to be given decent housing in towns that are pleasant and congenial to live in in the

motor-age. What will be necessary is a Government alert to see where spending or other action is necessary and to make sure that it takes place.

There are also the needs of the underdeveloped countries to be met, and the increased productivity brought about by automation would make it possible for us to help them more effectively. As suggested above, this would happen both by making it possible to supply them more cheaply with the capital goods they need for their development programmes, and also by providing a faster growth of demand for their exports of food and raw materials, thus enabling them to earn the means of paying for more imports. Thus some of those displaced by automation would find employment in meeting the increased demands of the developing countries. At present, increased aid is often hampered by the balance of payments difficulties of countries like Britain and the United States, but it is up to us in the West to devise a system of international payments that makes it possible to overcome this, possibly by making the International Monetary Fund into something more like a genuine world Central Bank, able to make advances to the poorer countries which they could spend in buying what they need for development from the richer countries.

Provided that we manage to organize our affairs properly, there is no reason why automation should lead to mass unemployment and economic dislocation. It will create a demand for more workers with the technical skills needed to operate automated plant. It is not likely to spread all that fast, and there are always likely to be plenty of types of work where the judgement and adaptability of the human operator cannot be dispensed with, as well as other cases where the cost of automation would be too great to make it economically feasible. Increased leisure will also become possible and there is still plenty of scope for this, especially in Britain, where the average weekly hours worked by men in industry were still nearly forty-eight in 1964, because of the extent to which systematic overtime has offset reductions in standard working weeks.

Increased leisure brings problems of how to make the best use of it, which have recently been highlighted by concern about the spread of bingo and betting-shops and restless teenagers in coffee bars and on motorbikes. Other trends, like the growing popularity of 'do it yourself' in the home and the garden, or participant activities such as boating, ski-ing, mountaineering and hill walking, or drama, dancing and music, including pop groups, suggest that these problems are not insuperable. But we need not envisage a situation in which large numbers of men will have to make leisure the main business of their lives and will lack the sense of significance in the community which comes from having a job of work to do.

The one aspect of the matter over which American experience suggests that there is cause for concern is that both the new types of job becoming available and the increased leisure are going to demand a considerable level of education and training while opportunities for the uneducated and unskilled are likely to get progressively less. This will face us even more acutely with the problem that is already before us, of how to give the non-academic boys and girls, the present 'secondary modern types', the sort of education that will engage their interests and bring out their abilities and

fit them for the kind of jobs in which they are likely to be wanted. However, the progressive elimination of dead-end jobs may not be a bad thing in the long run, for it forces us to face this issue instead of being content to let them leave school as soon as possible to get good pay in a job that can give them little scope.

VI—AN OPPORTUNITY AND A CHALLENGE

Automation faces us with an opportunity and a challenge. It gives us the opportunity of producing a bigger flow of goods and services with less input of resources, and at the same time reducing the physical effort and mental drudgery necessary to do so. For the first time in the world's history it is becoming possible to overcome poverty and to give everyone the opportunity to make the fullest use of his potentialities. It gives us the means which, used responsibly, can help everyone to move towards the material basis for that fuller life which, as Christians, we believe to be God's purpose for all his children. As Christians we know that there are dangers in this, that riches misused can become a deadly snare, but we know also that the good steward must use to the full all the talents which his master has entrusted to him.

Thus automation also challenges us to overcome the problems which accompany the opportunities. It challenges us to see that those displaced do not suffer hardship, that all get opportunities for worth-while work and adequate leisure, with the education and training to make use of them. There will be difficulties and they may be great, but the means are there, if we have the will and the wisdom to use them. Stewardship is not only a matter of how much we pledge to give to our local congregation, nor even of individual use of time and talents; it also involves what the community does with the resources, skills and opportunities given to it by its Creator.

¹ London, Secker & Warburg (1957), pp. 6-7.

² Ministry of Labour: *Manpower Studies No. 1—The Pattern of the Future* (H.M.S.O.).

SOME THEOLOGICAL ISSUES IN AUTOMATION

John Rogan

WE ARE TOLD very regularly that the industrial life of the country must be changed by means of better technology. 'Automation' is the word often used to describe these changes, but it must be better defined. Automation is concerned with the performance of work by automatic machinery. Cybernation deals with the control of work, the word being derived from the Greek verb *Κυβερνῶ* to control, steer or govern. This control, too, is exercised by machines, often computers, governing the automatic machinery performing work. Thus automation and cybernation together involve machines doing all or part of three things: one, continuous automatic production or integration of work; two, a process of feedback in which automatic devices compare the way work is done with the way in which it ought to be done and then make, automatically, any adjustments that are needed; three, a computer technology in which machines store information and perform calculations upon it, as required. The impact of these changes will be felt on the shop floor, in offices, and board-rooms, in business and commerce, administration and government.

By means of these new techniques, it is said that a completely automatic factory is, in principle, possible. Such a factory is not economically worthwhile, however, at the present time. The introduction of new techniques is not so dramatic as this total installation. The new processes appear gradually and piecemeal: in a department, in a particular process, rather than in a whole works or industry. But unless we are quick to identify the trend, its potentialities and problems, we shall find ourselves surprised by a revolution in industrial life which has crept upon us unawares.

A Christian has no vested interest in arguing against such changes or believing them harmful. If he believes, as he should, that God is the Lord of History, he must discern God's will in the events of life. These include changes in all aspects of industrial life. God's providence will be expressed through the use of automation and cybernation as much as through social relationships and political affairs. In every situation there is potential, as well as the possibility of it being mishandled. The latter is more likely to occur when changes are accepted grudgingly or felt to be threatening.

Rightly or wrongly the Churches are thought to be against change as a whole. They are supposed to be socially conservative, clinging to outworn attitudes because Church members are out of touch with contemporary events. It is easy, of course, for a religion emphasizing both the worth of the individual and the need to protect humanity to become the mouthpiece of all fears about change. At least one Christian emphasis during such times should be upon courage. Christianity cannot cultivate in men either timidity or fear of life nor can it ever suggest that what we have inherited is inevitably

better than that to which we shall attain. To favour the *status quo*, just because we are accustomed to it, is to stand for a false humanity, and seek an escape from obedience to God as He acts in the present.

It is important, therefore, that the Christian Churches make it clear that the Gospel they preach is for changing times as well as static epochs. Moreover, as the organization of Churches is a function of purpose and not an end in itself, they will need to display in themselves flexibility, in responding to change and as a means of helping people to deal with it. Such a task, if not easy, must undoubtedly be attempted.

The influence of changes stemming from automation and cybernation are not confined to the spheres in which they first of all occur. As the field enclosures of the eighteenth century did more than increase agricultural production, but also undermined the 'sturdy yeomen' and stimulated the growth of capitalist farming, so today, changes in the content and organization of work do not only affect these things, but also the social and industrial organization of life as a whole. A Christian will therefore feel himself obliged to think through the problems that arise in all these fields as changes make themselves felt. They can be good, bad or indifferent as they occur, according to the way people react and align them to their social purposes. Automation and cybernation need to be directed by these objectives if the maximum benefit is to be derived from them. Many Christians will feel that the old belief in a 'Guiding Hand', shaping beneficently the total individual and social good, can no longer be held now, even if it were true once. The miseries of many people during the first industrial revolution are well known and need not be dwelt on. Today it will be thought in many quarters that indifference to social costs and welfare was and is unchristian, inhumane, and bad for industrial production.

The nature of social control is an important question to be debated. At the moment there is little discussion and what there is is chiefly confined to whether certain industries should be publicly owned. As raised at present, the question, does however consider the growing role of the Government both in the national life and in industry.

Various changes in industrial life have brought the Government more forcefully into a number of matters. The Industrial Training Act will no longer allow industry to regard training as an option. Companies will have either their own training-schemes approved or be obliged to pay a levy to cover training in the industry as a whole. The Contracts of Employment Act obliges companies to give their employees a written contract of service and also lays down a minimum scale for length of dismissal notices and severance payments. In principle both these acts, passed by the last Conservative Administration, present a significant change in industrial policy. Hitherto all had been left to the voluntary actions of the interested parties, except in certain matters of industrial relations. Many could be uneasy at this enlargement of the government's sphere of action but it must also be recognized that the developments of modern life have pushed governments inevitably towards increased participation in a way which would have been unthinkable in the heyday of *laissez faire*.

If the Labour Government's attempt to secure a national wages policy

succeeds, this will be another considerable advance by the government into industrial life. Macaulay put the old liberal view well when he wrote: 'Our rulers will best promote the improvement of the nation by strictly confining themselves to their own legitimate duties, by leaving capital to find its own most lucrative course, commodities their fair price, industry and intelligence their natural reward, idleness and folly their natural punishment, by maintaining peace, by defending property, by diminishing the price of law, and by observing strict economy in every department of the State. Let the Government do this: the people will assuredly do the rest.' His description has been evaded in subsequent history, not so much by political philosophy as by the pressure of industrial and social events. The catastrophe of 1931 was the final tragedy that prevented industry from operating on its own again, either here or in the United States. Today, while it is right to be vigilant in our attempt to protect human liberty, it is inevitable, and good at the moment for the government to exercise an industrial role; whether as an arbitrator in disputes, or as the protector of certain standards or even as the financier of large-scale industrial projects.

Automation and cybernation change the work of men and the whole community must inevitably be concerned about that. Industries installing these new techniques have less use for unskilled and semi-skilled men, but more for skilled workers and technicians. Hitherto industry has offered work to many unskilled men whose greatest asset was their strength as 'hewers of wood and drawers of water'. They had received little formal education and industry gave them no training.

Automation and mechanization have reduced the number of jobs open to these kinds of men. Fresh work has been created by these changes but it demands skill and ability beyond the range of the untrained and the unskilled. This is not to say that such unskilled men are beyond employment for fresh work. Some have adapted themselves extremely well, but as the older ones of them have received only the most basic general education and no technical training there is no adequate mental framework from which training can begin.

Problems of this type have been recurrent ever since the establishment of the factory system itself. In 1836 Ure had written in his *Philosophy of Manufactures* of the difficulties of adaptation to new factory work. 'It is found nearly impossible to convert persons past the age of puberty, whether drawn from rural or from handicraft occupations into useful factory hands.' Since then industrial training has developed both for adults and youths, though few think it has reached satisfactory proportions. At the same time the general level of education has increased so that there is more hope for the younger and older worker alike.

For skilled workers there is a great demand but not always for the traditional skills known in industry hitherto. These changing skills do not only affect workers on the shop floor but also 'white-collar workers' and managers. New processes and new methods of work-control affect all levels of industry.

From this a number of questions arise. We cannot assume that technical changes occurring in a buoyant economy will spontaneously create fresh

jobs for those displaced from the old. We need a good and comprehensive industrial training-system in which training itself is regarded not as a once-and-for-all process undertaken in youth, but as a continuous process throughout working life. As the Industrial Training Act gradually takes effect the position may be expected to improve.

Changes in work may bring short-term unemployment, but in certain regions lacking diverse employment it can be long term. A redundancy policy is needed both by companies and the nation. There has been considerable improvement here in recent years. Some of our principal companies now have well-planned policies drawn up after consultation with trade unions and works councils. Tribute must be paid not only to their sense of responsibility, but also to the work of the Ministry of Labour, exemplified in their publication *Security and Change*. Alongside this, the Church of England Industrial Committee's paper on *Redundancy* should be studied. This body, containing a majority of laymen drawn from industry wrote: 'Where men are handling great power and wealth biblical Christianity is concerned to ensure that just and generous treatment is both given and received; but in particular to see that the strong do not oppress the weak nor the secure the insecure; and to make the point, at all times, that human beings are to be treated for what they are and not merely as instruments of service. A Christian doctrine of man demands such a perspective. There is, moreover, something that affronts the public sense of decency and human dignity in dismissing at short notice with little or no compensation, a worker who has worked many years for the same employer.'

It can only be by proceeding from such fundamentals in our social and industrial policies that the right conditions can be created, which will allow ordinary people to co-operate in serious changes, instead of resisting them because their security is threatened. A change of job also means changed satisfactions from work. Status is difficult to assess between various industries and in factory activities. There are some declining industries, for example, part of whose labour force always have regarded themselves as an *élite* and who can find fresh work when needed but feel that their new tasks do not carry the standing of the old.

We need to make the most careful study of people's expectations and satisfactions at work, other than money, regarding them as a legitimate part of life. Various assessments have been made amongst adults and youth. Some have argued that the satisfactions rise in stages. At the elementary level there is the need to subsist—to have food, clothes and shelter—this is followed by the satisfaction of companionship and perhaps also of being recognized or appreciated by others. Then there is the satisfaction of using power over men, machines and policy, with the status that this confers, together with a preparedness to do the work for its own sake.

Amongst young people there is some evidence that they often make assessments of the following kind: they look first for a secure and steady job, followed by a chance to rise up the promotion scale, if it exists. They are sensitive to work conditions, preferring those that are pleasant and healthy, and in which there is a friendly human atmosphere. A high rate of pay and short hours come well down the list. Girls, on leaving school,

visualize a shorter working life than boys, and they are predisposed to rate pay and conditions higher than other factors.

Technical changes brought about by automation help encourage a changed attitude to work itself. The Bible emphasizes the importance of work, its satisfactions and tensions; and many theologians have emphasized the dignity of labour. Richard Baxter put it well when he wrote: 'Be laborious and diligent in your callings; both precept and necessity call you into this; and if you cheerfully serve him in the labour of your hands, it will be as acceptable to him, as if you had spent all that time in more spiritual exercises.' For Dietrich Bonhoeffer work was one of the four fundamental mandates. Protestantism has always maintained a strong doctrine of work. Indeed it has been said that modern Western civilization grew on an injunction to work. The so-called Protestant Ethic has become a familiar concept amongst the social students of our society. The argument being that the virtues emphasized by Reformed Christianity tended to help people to become prosperous. In a rapidly expanding world, frugality, integrity, honesty, justice and devotion to duty encouraged the growth of riches. The underlying belief was thought to be that man must obey God's command to have dominion over the world and this meant that man must produce and work.

Men have been obliged to work long hours to earn their bread in the sweat of their brows in agriculture and industry. We delude ourselves if we think work in pre-industrial 'merry England' was somehow more rewarding than at any other time since. It was a long hard endeavour to secure a subsistence. For much of our industrial history people have had to work in the same way, with the significant addition of a factory discipline which at times was severe. The pages of the Hammonds' work on *The Town Labourer* are eloquent about the living and working conditions of the new industrial workers. Not even the rise in real income mitigated the harshness of that environment. Since then there has been a gradual reduction of working hours. It is forecast that the introduction of automation and cybernation will reduce the length of the working day appreciably. Many students of industry consider that in a variety of ways work will be better in the new industrial order and be accompanied by a general increase of leisure. The new techniques will remove much of the sweat and toil from work. Rather than hard physical labour, greater mental attention to work-control panels will be required. Some branches of the steel industry have changed the pattern of work along these lines, where rolling mills have ceased to depend much on human muscle and use automatic machinery in its stead. At the same time, ergonomics, relating the human physique and psychology to the shape and operation of machines, will help necessary adjustments to be made comfortably and efficiently. The result of this new science should be the production of machines bent towards the human frame rather than the reverse. Many of these changes will be confined to the internal life of commerce and industry, but some public attention has already been drawn to a lorry-driver's cabin in a Leyland lorry which has been designed after ergonomic research.

As the physical drudgery goes out of work a new factor of boredom may enter. (There is no reason to suppose that much work was not boring before

(the advent of automation!) However, the supervision of automatic processes and work control demands more intelligence than strength. The possible monotony experienced by better educated people may be a new problem in our society. The work atmosphere becomes more stable, quiet and routine, but when there is some malfunction the ability to act responsibly is required. Loneliness may be an additional factor. Hitherto the labour force in many industries has been divided into a number of teams which afforded a good deal of companionship. Automation and cybernation often space people far apart. Solitary working where contact is made with others by means of telephones and 'inter-coms', however good, cannot be adequate substitutes for human companionship.

Fatigue may follow. 'Sweet is the sleep of the labourer' (Eccles 5¹²) if he has tired his body out, but if he has sat all day alone watching the dials of a machine that has worked perfectly he may feel rather differently. We must await the details of further research by which our impressions are tested against the evidence of well-conducted case study before we come to conclusions here. But we must certainly hope to devise work that is a rewarding sort of occupational therapy. Meanwhile there are a number of other changes which also ought to be noted.

The installation of automatic and cybernetic machinery is expensive and because the rate of technical change is so rapid it may be obsolescent before worn out. There is, therefore, a strong economic inducement to use machinery continuously. This usually means not long hours for the operators, but a shift system. Shifts vary from industry to industry. Some systems may be long days and nights, where a day and a night shift cover all twenty-four hours. Others may be three shifts of eight hours during the twenty-four, with the plant closed over the week-end. More recently there has been the development of the continuous working week, in which the three-shift system is operated, but continues throughout the week-end; with the labour force having days off according to a rota. In this way the machinery is used to the full, better wages are paid, and more leisure is secured. Overtime working virtually disappears, because the next shift takes over the completion of urgent tasks. The payment of an adequate base wage is absolutely essential, and the trade unions and companies in some industries have negotiated this successfully.

The shift system is bound to affect personal and domestic life, and if operated on a large scale takes its toll in the community life of the district. On shifts, especially the continuous-working-week system, a person cannot assume that his friends will be free when he is free. A diary is an essential means of making sure of a meeting. Frequent chance meetings disappear. It may be a long, long time before an acquaintance is met again. Recreations and relaxations may also be changed. There may be an increase of individual rather than team pursuits. People inevitably are less gregarious. So far no one has ventured an opinion about the quality of this possible change. There are those who stress the potentialities it contains for personal development and individuality of character; and others who see in it the atomization of our society and the breakdown of community. The publication of the Central Committee of Study Groups *Work and Leisure* has been a great help in

assessing the force of these attitudes. While the ability of people to adapt themselves to changes should not be underestimated, strains can occur and domestic life may particularly be affected. Housewives, especially with children at school, work what industry would call 'regular days'. Their pattern of life is shaped by the school week and trading-hours. In both of these the traditional week-end still plays a significant part. What is to be done when the man of the house has one week-end off every seven weeks and for the other six has two days free during the week? Does he feel rather lost? Does his wife wish he were out of the house so that she can get on with her work? We have already noted the difficulties that can occur for men at work, when the human effects of technical changes are felt. The same can apply to women at home!

The Crathorne Report was confined by its terms of reference to Sunday observance and trading. The changing pattern of the working week could now be profitably studied. It must affect the traditional English Sunday and the leisure facilities available during the week. Though only a few people, perhaps, would uphold Sabbath observance very strictly, a great many more would defend as much of the traditional Sunday as could be retained. While Sunday will remain as the special day for the commemoration of God's saving acts, it is likely to become increasingly a day when work is not optional but a necessary part of the working plan; and on which better amenities will have to be provided.

For the Christian Churches placed among such shift-working communities there must be an examination of their own life and activity, to bring them into a better relation to the pattern of life in which their members and the community are immersed and from which they cannot escape. The Churches cannot arrest this tide of change but they can adapt themselves to it and help secure its development along lines suited best to the human welfare possible in the market economy within which we have opted to live. Some may well feel that they must prophesy against the iniquities of the economic system itself. In either case Christians need to understand the situations in which people are placed, to take account of factors not to be ignored, and participate in all decision-making with which they can properly be associated. Christians will have to make sure that they are not prisoners of a past social tradition which is being undermined by change. It will not be enough to fight for the proper observance of Sunday, for example. We shall need to understand the developments of modern life and see how they affect Sunday itself. In all social and industrial questions we should be able to identify what we really stand for when the Gospel is related to the life of men. Christians will also have to face the question of leisure's place in people's lives, when offering guidance about its use to secure their general well-being. The community is as well aware as the Church that the attempt to strike a balance between Sunday worship and leisure by means of the law is unsuccessful. Attendance at worship has rarely been secured by statute, but its prohibitions have left irritations in the minds of many people. Rightly or wrongly the Christian view of leisure is thought not only to lack *joie de vivre* but over-emphasize 'serious activities' and be acutely aware of the temptations attendant on all light and trivial relaxations. A

re-examination of a Christian view of work and leisure must go hand in hand.

We shall need to recall all that R. H. Tawney and M. Weber have taught about the 'Protestant Ethic' with its emphasis upon work as an end in itself and see how this is exemplified in modern industry by reading Mr Catherwood's *Christian in Industrial Society*, published in 1964. Two American writers have also drawn attention to the way in which the U.S.A. economy has come increasingly to stress not the need to produce but the need to consume. J. K. Galbraith's *Affluent Society* looks at the economic and social implications arising from this change and D. Riesman in *The Lonely Crowd* appraises what appears to be the changes in character associated with this switch. Within the Christian tradition we shall have to look again at the biblical teaching about work, and the ways in which they have been worked out by theologians.

We might conclude that a man works not only to keep himself and his dependants but also because of his love of creating things, together with the companionship that work can give and through both of which men relate themselves to society. If any part of this three-fold cord is broken a dangerous situation can arise and must be properly compensated for. Those who have lived through times of mass-unemployment have seen the deterioration in character that results from an inability to 'learn and labour truly to get mine own living'. Maynard Keynes contributed a great deal to our understanding of this problem, which has hardly been absorbed into all aspects of our 'conventional wisdom'. What is the case for paying a low rate of unemployment money to men made redundant through no fault of their own in a prosperous society undergoing serious technical changes?

Man's love of creation has been constantly dwelt upon by students of life. The satisfactions of craftsmanship have sometimes evoked almost a lyrical response. As a proportion of the total working force, in any age, the craftsmen have always been a minority, but it was not until the growth of the factory system, with its apparently ever-increasing division of labour, that people drew much attention to the tedium and lack of creativity in production work. We cannot say precisely what satisfactions the people of pre-industrial England derived from their work. There were doubtless many dissatisfactions, but even so Canon Peter Green in *The Problem of Right Conduct* drew attention to the way in which all those who work in the countryside are constantly dealing with living things and pace their labour through the varying rhythm of the seasons. The industrial system, it can be maintained, is a man-made system in which there is no *rapproch* with the materials handled, because they are inanimate objects, no creativity in work because labour is so specialized and little freedom of spirit because of industrial discipline. Man has made another world in which both God and man can say of each other 'the darkness is no darkness with thee, but the night is as clear as day: the darkness and the light to thee are both alike' (Psalm 139¹¹). Attention has often been drawn to the growing 'cult' of 'Do it yourself' activities in leisure hours, and also to the increase in the size of families. Both are thought to be the expressions of a creativity stifled elsewhere. We need not dwell upon the way in which a man through work contributes to the general good and helps secure his stake in society, for this is obvious to all.

Reference must be made, however, to the serious effects that arise when people are deprived of their right to contribute to the shaping of their industrial life. Bad industrial relations are partly the result of such frustrated aspirations.

The importance of work in the life of men is unchallenged, but they are clearly going to be called upon to readjust its place in their lives. The introduction of automatic techniques and cybernated processes demands no less. The rising prosperity that can be expected from them will enlarge their hopes and expectations of more varied and gracious living, which in turn will affect their attitudes. Thus a reconsideration of a Christian attitude towards work is perhaps the most pressing question arising from a theological consideration of automation and cybernation; closely followed by concern for our social purposes and responsibilities. Both may be considered afresh by looking once more at our Lord's quotation from the Old Testament: 'Man does not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceeds from the mouth of God.'

THE PASTORAL IMPLICATIONS OF AUTOMATION

Michael J. Jackson

AUTOMATION is the mechanization of productive work by transfer machinery and the mechanization of data-processing by computers. It 'can best be defined as any continuous and integrated operation of a production system that uses electronic or other equipment to regulate and co-ordinate the quantity and quality of production. In its broadest usage it includes both the manufacturing and administrative processes of a firm.'¹ It leads to shifts in the labour force away from production industry to service industries, which themselves can be automated. Schools, retail selling and hospitals are capable of automation. 'Automation soon in the wards?' was a headline in *The Guardian*.

Automation is about to 'explode into medicine' as it had in other fields, Dr L. C. Payne, managing director of Elliot Medical Automation, says in an article in *Discovery*.

He envisages automated hospital wards in which monitoring equipment would be used for measuring patients' blood-pressures, pulse-rates, and temperatures. The nurse, who would work from a raised dais in the ward, would have a teleprinter to call the central computer for medical recorded data. This would be displayed to her on closed-circuit television.

Dr Payne says that hospitals which used equipment of this kind, with their

'apparent similarity to factories', would mean more personal attention for patients rather than less. Doctors, nurses and pharmacists wasted a considerable part of their time in being clerks, errand boys and glorified shop-assistants.²

It is necessary to make some assumptions in treating the pastoral implications of automation. Let us assume that we are talking about this country, that there is a steady annual economic growth of from three to four per cent, that nuclear war does not occur and that the world population growth is contained and the new mouths fed. These are major assumptions and with more space would need justifying. The time-scale can be divided into short- and long-term.

Let us call the next twenty years the short term. This period seems most likely to see the working-out of trends already present: continuing shortage of labour and of well-qualified managers and specialists, no great reduction in the working week (average hours worked in 1964 [47·8] are almost the same as in 1938 [47·7]), problems of efficient use of labour and particularly of effective employment of women. At the same time, continued economic growth should bring increase in real wages, car ownership, holidays, longer schooling, with a possibly lower retirement age. The Ministry of Labour's *Manpower Studies No. 1* comments:

Between 1968 and 1973 the growth of the working population is expected to slow down very substantially, while the total population continues to grow at much the same rate as before. At this range, forecasts of employment must be very hazardous, but it is reasonable to expect continued growth in the services sector, and a further decline in the rest of the non-manufacturing sector; manufacturing employment may be affected by technological developments as yet unforeseen, and at least some slackening in its previous rate of growth seems probable. However, the very slow increase in the labour force during this period suggests that a situation of overall shortage is much more likely than one of surplus, and that the strain on manpower resources may well be more severe during the previous five years. Efficient manpower utilization will therefore become even more essential if the task of maintaining and raising the general standard of living is to be successfully achieved with a labour force which will be smaller in relation to the total population. The development of automation and other forms of advanced technology—and indeed of any methods whereby productivity can be raised—will assume increasing importance and will to some extent be stimulated by the very fact of labour shortage. . . . Up to 1973, therefore, the likely picture is again one of tightly stretched manpower resources—probably more so than during the preceding five years.³

Society should become more mobile. We shall have more private means of transport, even if our present under-utilized public systems of transport are cut. We shall change our jobs more frequently—old jobs will disappear to be replaced by new ones, perhaps not yet thought of. We shall move our homes more. There will be less dropping of roots in one place with generation following generation. The effect will be to make a more uniform society without strong regional variation. A mobile society sets less store on the local community. A person's professional colleagues, friends and relations are likely to be dispersed about the country or indeed the world with contact

maintained by travel and telecommunications. Such a mobile society can allow for more mobility between social classes.

What remarks can be made about these trends? They are to be treated soberly. The expectation of 1984 is that it will not be so greatly different from 1965. Perhaps some of our plans may have matured. Statements like 'the application of this rapidly expanding volume of knowledge [i.e. technology] could create an economic paradise on earth: it could equally lead to a violent end to all civilization' appear extravagant. Change becomes a continuing feature of society. Our society is always in transition. We are never working towards a goal which we can reach. If change is the only constant, each change offers possibilities for good or ill.

What does the Church do in this situation? It should study and try to understand the facts, what is happening and is likely to happen, draw upon its theological resources and develop a critique. A small example and attempt at this programme was a consultation held eighteen months ago in Sheffield between the Sheffield, Scunthorpe and Tees-side Industrial Missions on the changing industrial scene in the the North of England. Technical change and automation, the new society being created by them were major themes. An attempt was made to sketch out the ethical critique and the areas in which it should be used. What follows immediately is an adaptation of the report.

Christian views of God and creation make us accept change and have a confident attitude towards it, but they make us ask questions about the ends towards which change is directed and the means by which it is effected.

At present we have all the problems of being in a transition stage between primitive manufacture and fully automated methods of production. We need to hasten this process forward, while asking the right questions.

The Christian emphases for contributing to the new kind of society which is developing are: imagination, the ability to bring constructive answers out of improbable situations, respect for the facts, the ability to look ahead with vision, flexibility and concern for human values. The criteria for assessing the new society are the opportunities it allows for full social and individual life and the exercise of love, justice and responsible power.

The following main subjects and questions emerged in the consultation.

(1) What are the responsibilities in the changing industrial situation of the North of England of

- (a) Government?
- (b) Management?
- (c) Trade Unions?

What priorities should be given in these responsibilities?

(2) *Planning and Government*

The importance of *Planning* and the dangers involved in overplanning as well as under-planning.

Linked with this is the question of *the role of government*, the place of incentives and positive direction in the location of industry, and the effects of fiscal policy.

The difficulty of private industry to know what is best for itself or the community was pointed out.

(3) *Regional Planning and Location of Industry*

What action should be taken in relation to the drift of population to the South of England? What policy should be adopted towards regional planning and the location of industry? Should the powers of local government be increased so that they can meet the needs of industrial mobility, e.g. as regards housing?

(4) *Technical Change, Redundancy and the Trade Unions*

Are the Trade Unions opposed to technical change? How should redundancy be dealt with? Can the increased working population be absorbed? Can consultation become more of a reality? How much time should be spent at work? Should there be a shorter working day or week or year or life, or should all of these be shortened?

(5) *Training and Re-training*

Attention was drawn to the recent Government White Paper on Industrial Training (now law as the Industrial Training Act, 1964) as a matter for further consideration and to the re-training centres, and the attitude of the Trade Unions.

How can we help those in transition from one type of occupation to another, by re-training, re-housing and fundamental changes in education?

(6) *Education*

How is education in its widest sense to be developed?

(7) *The New Society*

What kind of society do we want? Will this new society have a consensus about what it wants or will different groups want different things? What priorities are there to be? How will we equip people for this kind of life and what kind of skills will they need?

(8) *The Institutions*

What kind of institutions will be needed in the new society?

What role should be played by management, trade unions, the Church and politics? How should power be dispersed in view of the fact that the tendency will be towards concentration of power?

Are we going to adapt our educational, institutional and political systems in such a way as to allow and equip a technocratic leadership?

(9) *The World Context*

Are we taking the world population explosion and the desire for industrialization seriously enough?⁵

The Christian Ministry to the new society is lay. Laymen at their work and as citizens carry responsibility for the quality of this society. They require a mastery of what is happening and of Christian social critique. They help in the forming of public opinion and of social controls as citizens. In their place of work they help in the decision-making of the dominant institution of a technological society, industry. Yet it will be a Christian duty to maintain the primacy of the political over the industrial. It cannot be allowed that businessmen have primary responsibility for solving the social problems created by automation. Therefore, laymen have a duty to develop not only a social critique of the new society but also to serve in positions of political leadership in local and national government where called. Laymen have a

responsibility for making the Church politically sensitive in a changing situation where no one political philosophy can be dominant, where the choices are many and where sometimes the best has to be made of a bad job. The text for the Church is the one from Pericles which opens Karl Popper's first volume of *The Open Society and Its Enemies*: 'Although only a few may originate a policy, we are all able to judge it.'

The task of the clergyman is ministry to laymen. He becomes pastor parvorum. He has in many ways a subsidiary role, different from a dominant one he has enjoyed in most of Church history. The laymen defines the situation. The priest or minister brings the theological understanding and appropriate skills in ministry. The theological understanding is worked out together with the laymen. The minister requires sufficient knowledge of the lay situation to know where he is and 'where the shoe pinches'. He requires sufficient theological depth to make some contribution. The pastoral skills lie partly in personal grasp of the Christian discipline of life: appropriate balance of engagement and detachment, reflection and prayer, dispersion in the world and gathered in the Christian community—and in the ability to commend it. They lie partly in co-operation with the many agencies which work for the fuller life of the individual and society—education, careers guidance, etc.—and which work to restore or care for the sick—medicine, psychiatry, social care of many groups from the aged to young children. Pastoral skills lie both in co-operation with agents of education and healing and in caring for them. In a changing society under stresses from automation both aspects matter. It is doubtful if in the short term the stresses should be exaggerated and they should certainly not be exploited, but they exist and many people feel them. Laymen and ministers should be aware of them.

Much of this pastoral ministry is exercised by the Church dispersed through the world. How is the Church in dispersion to be nurtured? Here the traditional parish and gathered congregation become increasingly inadequate. They are not to be written off. They have served Church and society well in the past, and to some extent continue to do so, but a mobile society is against the small-scale geographical community. In a complex society the parish has a certain part to play, particularly in bringing a wide variety of people together. But increasingly the functional group of colleagues at work or of associates of one kind or another becomes important. My colleague, Margaret Kane, described such a group at work in a recent note.

The 'Sheffield Frontier Group', which has been meeting regularly since 1959, aims in particular to bring together City Councillors and those engaged in trade-union affairs. These are busy people, so there have been only four to six meetings in each session, which runs roughly from September to April. The group was started by a letter being sent out from the Senior Chaplain of the Sheffield Industrial Mission, to a limited number of City Councillors and Trade Unionists. The letter was followed by a visit from the chaplain, who was to have the main responsibility for the venture. The role of the chaplain has continued to be that of ensuring the continuity of the group, of stimulating its thinking, and of underlining the theological significance of the matters under discussion. By occasional visiting and personal conversations, along with the meetings, a very simple structure has been built up, within which a continuing conversation can go on about issues

touching public life. Invitations to the meetings have been limited to City Councillors and Trade Unionists, and the attendance has been between eight and twenty.

Even within such a limited group there are vastly different opinions. Those working in public life have their own political or industrial image to preserve. Behind this image is much questioning and thought. The purpose of the meetings has been to discuss political and controversial subjects with a group who hold and still continue to hold varying opinions. It has been shown that Christian belief can throw light on the questions discussed, although there are no specifically Christian solutions. This approach takes time and must be part of a settled policy.

The subjects of the five meetings in the first session (1959-60) were general topics, related to different aspects of 'The Responsible Society'. In the second year people became more concerned to sort out the philosophical background to their questions. Subsequently particular needs emerged and they were treated separately.⁷

Behind such groups the Church requires continuing agencies—industrial mission, social responsibility groups, chaplaincies in schools, universities, technical colleges—agencies in touch with life and fabric of society. It may require special institutions to support and equip these agencies—institutes for the study of Church and society like William Temple College, Rugby, founded to further the interests in Christian social philosophy and action of the great archbishop or like the lay academies of continental Europe and indeed institutes not yet in being of advanced studies closely linked with other aspects of advanced university work.

In the long term we crystal-gaze. The twentieth-century prophets from Huxley to Orwell have been of doom. The automated society is no Utopia for them. Speculation about a new leisure class of all but the top ten per cent of the I.Q. range, and about meritocracy seems unreal against the immediate trends of labour shortage, shortage of talent, and continuing overtime working. Perhaps we shall leap forward but the distinguished contributors to *The World in 1984*⁸ don't appear to think so. The long-term future may take care of itself if we take care of the short term. Dennis Gabor is right from the creative Christian point of view in calling his imaginative book *Inventing the Future*.⁹ We can and should. This is the pastoral implication of automation.

¹ W. Buckingham, *Automation, Its Impact on Business and People* (New York, 1961), page 6.

² 26th March, 1965.

³ *The Pattern of the Future*, Ministry of Labour (H.M.S.O., 1964), page 35.

⁴ W. Buckingham, *Automation*, page 1.

⁵ *The Industrial Situation in the North of England* (Sheffield, July 1963).

⁶ Op. cit., page 7.

⁷ Margaret Kane, 'Sheffield Frontier Group', *Frontier*, Summer 1964, page 106.

⁸ N. Calder (Ed.), 2 volumes (1965).

⁹ Published 1963.

SCHOLARSHIP AND THE COMPUTER

G. Herdan

THE CLAIM put forward recently by the Rev. A. Q. Morton for the Computer as challenging the Church implies:

(1) that by means of it, we are in a position to decide problems of disputed authorship in a way comparable to that by which Scotland Yard determines the identity of a person through his finger-prints;

(2) that the electronic computer uses a type of mathematics which up to now could not have been brought to bear upon problems of authorship research;

(3) that the teaching of the Church was dependent upon the outcome of such authorship investigations.

Anticipating the conclusions which are reached in this paper, it appears that Mr Morton's claim rests upon a misunderstanding of both the role of the computer and the discriminatory power of certain linguistic tests, and the importance of questions of authorship for the Church. As to (3), I leave it to more competent hands in the field of the discipline of Divinity, and have no doubt about their rejection of the claim. I shall, therefore, deal only with (1) and (2), as belonging to my field of knowledge.

I

The use of the electronic computer in many fields of human knowledge and activity is a rather recent invention, and is sometimes, in the popular mind, contrasted with what is regarded as the older forms of mathematics. Such a view rests upon what I can only call the mathematical innocence of the great majority of the population. It comes from their not being aware of the relation between computers and mathematics, and it is to be deprecated in a writer, who claims to be a scientist or a mathematician, if he fosters such a view instead of dispelling it.

It was the great physicist Mach, who worked in Vienna in the second half of the nineteenth century, who said: 'Mathematics may be defined as the economy of counting. There is no problem in the whole of mathematics which cannot be solved by direct counting. But with the present implements of mathematics, many operations of counting may be performed in a few minutes which, without mathematics, would take a life-time.'

Mach was of course not thinking of electronic computers, which in his life-time did not exist, but of what is known as mathematical functions or, as we would briefly say, of the formulæ which save us the trouble of counting. Every mathematical formula can be regarded as a means for saving the trouble of mere counting. In addition to this *mathematical* device, we have now *engineering* devices serving the very same purpose: the computers. Rightly understood, the computer does only what the mathematician has

been doing all the time when devising formulæ and, in particular, formulæ for certain relations in linguistics.

The mathematical role of computers being that of mathematical functions in general, i.e. to save the trouble of endless counting, it is evident which work in the area of language they would be primarily called upon to perform: the preparation of numerical tables, either of a statistical nature, e.g. a statistical dictionary of a given literary text or group of texts, or of numerical tables of certain important functions which are needed for work in mathematical statistics.

The usefulness of computing machinery for the preparation of statistical distribution functions of linguistic material is beyond doubt. Only we must in this connection be clear about what these machines can and what they cannot do. Provided the data have been recorded, and coded on punched cards or tape, in a way which would allow their classification in all the different combinations which might be of interest, both the work of multiple sorting and the calculation of statistical parameters could be efficiently done by machine. The machines are perfectly competent for turning out the data necessary for numerical statistical tables of any complexity as regards classification and subdivision. But it would be a waste of time to have such tables prepared if they were already available in the literature. For instance, a computational unit at Glasgow University prides itself upon being able to provide the vocabulary frequency distribution for any part of the Greek New Testament. But this work has been done already in an admirable way by R. Morgenthaler, in *Statistik des Neutestamentlichen Wortschatzes* (Zurich-Frankfurt a/Main, 1958), and to repeat it is just a waste of valuable computer time.

All this shows clearly mathematical analysis to be primary and work with the electronic computer to be secondary when used in the field of language, or in any other field of knowledge, for that matter. With this we are thrown back upon what mathematical methods, especially those of a numerical kind, have done for our knowledge of linguistics.

Only to the extent of our knowledge of the quantitative element in language as part of its use can we instruct the computer to give us the summarized results which we require for our style analysis. Quantitative linguistics therefore represents the inescapable condition for using the computer in the field of language. The contrast in the title of this paper between *Scholarship and Computer* is therefore, rightly understood, essentially one between *Scholarship and Quantitative linguistic methods*, no matter whether electronic computers are used, or desk machines or only numerical tables of mathematical functions.

Until the electronic computer was brought to bear on Bible exegesis, much had been done already by biblical scholars and mathematicians. Mr Morton was by no means the only or the first modern theologian who has used statistical methods for solving the problem of the Pauline Epistles. For previous work on these lines, see P. N. Harrison, *The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles* (Oxford 1921) and the other references in the paper by K. Grayston and G. Herdan, *The Authorship of the Pastorals in the Light of Statistical Linguistics* (New Testament Studies, No. 6, 1959, pp. 1-15), to name only these

two references. As a matter of fact, the work of biblical scholars using statistical methods goes back at least to the beginning of the nineteenth century (Schleiermacher). It is one of the least satisfactory characteristics of Mr Morton's way of writing that he does not mention any of his predecessors in the field of Bible statistics, and I need hardly stress the fact that neither Mr Morton nor the late Professor Macgregor, nor Dr W. C. Wake were the originators of the stylo-statistical methods which Mr Morton mentions.

As to the method of discrimination of style according to sentence-length, the fundamental paper is by G. Udny Yule, the eminent Cambridge statistician: 'On sentence length as a statistical characteristic of style in prose', *Biometrika*, 30 (1939). But even before Yule, sentence-length as a style characteristic was discussed by a literary scholar, Prof. A. Sherman, in his *Analytics of Literature* (Boston, 1893). Dr Wake, whom Mr Morton mentions, wrote his paper in 1957, and thus eighteen years after Yule had given the principles of the method, and I have discussed the whole matter of sentence-length as a style characteristic in Sect. 2.4 of my book *Type-Token Mathematics* (The Hague, 1960).

Both Yule and I came to the conclusion that differences between samples from texts by the same author may greatly exceed the limits of random sampling, without for practical purposes being of any real, i.e. literary, significance. For some discussion of the special difficulties of work on sentence-length, and warnings as to the considerable element of personal judgement that may affect the data based on badly and arbitrarily punctuated work, the reader must be referred to the original paper. In a case like the Pauline Epistles, the uncertainty through absence of original punctuation would seem to make work on sentence-length almost impossible, and therefore the corresponding test as being perhaps the most unsuitable of all available tests. As to Mr Morton's claim for the infallibility of the sentence-length test, it may suffice to mention that I have shown in the passage of my book referred to above that, by Dr Wake's argument, the works by Xenophon and Aristotle were written by the same author! This shows one of the troubles with Mr Morton's work: he is impervious to any objective criticism of the method which he uses. Flourishing, as he does, Dr Wake's paper is not enough, and leaves the expert entirely unimpressed. A remark by Mr Morton shows how much he has still to read in the subject he is writing about. In his booklet, *Christianity and the Computer*, he says on p. 25 that Yule's work on sentence-length is to be found in his book *A Study of Literary Vocabulary* (the correct title is *The Statistical Study of Literary Vocabulary*). This is incorrect since Yule's book does not deal with the sentence-length criterion of style. In it he only refers to his original paper which appeared in *Biometrika*, 30 (1939), 363. This one remark of Mr Morton shows that he has not read either the book or the paper. Had he read the latter, he could not have said that it was in the book that the method was described, and had he read the book, he would have known that the method did not occur there.

It will not surprise the reader if I say that the blind application of the conventional methods of statistics to linguistic matter is not to be recom-

mended. There is no doubt that a large body of mathematical statistics has its application thereto, but essentially the field of language requires its own brand of statistics, which has been established in the last years to a very considerable extent. Statistics, which is often blamed for the faults of the man who applies it, is intrinsically a very subtle instrument for drawing conclusions from incomplete evidence. It follows that mathematical statistics is not for mutton-fisted handling.

Whereas the Cambridge mathematician Yule and others have stressed the need for regarding vocabulary as a whole when using it for the purpose of style-discrimination, it has recently become the practice of some research workers not only to work with grammar words only, but even to select a few, or even one of such words, and make the analysis of linguistic material so severely restricted the basis for their far-reaching conclusions. I am sorry to say that Mr Morton's use of the Greek word $\kappa\alpha\iota$ is a case of this kind. My information on this point derives from what Mr Morton said in his article in *The Observer* (3rd November 1963). He claims that the use of the word $\kappa\alpha\iota$ and a few other grammar words in the different Epistles by Paul showed only four of them to be genuine Pauline, the remaining nine having been written by other people.

II

It cannot be denied that a somewhat embarrassing situation in the field of New Testament study, concerning questions of authorship and authenticity, has arisen. Linguistic and stylistic analysis has come to play some part in modern attempts to decide questions of authorship. However, the extent to which such analysis is used may vary greatly from one author to the next, since there is a wide range of opinion among scholars as to value of this approach. There is also the most disturbing disagreement over the relative merits of particular tests. In some cases of disputed authenticity, one critic will apply one test—e.g. sentence-length—and another will counter with an entirely different test—e.g. use of vocabulary—and probably arrive at an entirely different conclusion.

This kind of situation has raised doubts in some minds as to the value and effectiveness of the linguistic-stylistic approach as a means for judging authenticity. What looks as if it could be used as an argument against the quantitative method is that the claims which its adherents sometimes put forward in favour of it, namely that linguistic evidence is objectively measurable and for this reason superior to merely subjective impressions, does not seem to have much foundation. The present state of things fails to support such a claim. It appeared therefore highly advisable to embark on a comparative study of the linguistic tests with a view to establishing their discriminating power in questions of disputed authorship: in a word, *to test the tests*.¹

With this end in view, it was necessary to apply some of the customary tests to a group of writings where a distinction between genuine and spurious had already been established by other types of evidence, and was generally accepted. This would enable one to check the results of the selected quantitative tests against the known conclusion, and also against each other, thus

demonstrating the relative effectiveness of each test. Moreover, given a corpus once attributed to one author but now divided into genuine and spurious writings on the basis of theological and historical considerations, one would be in a position to see exactly how and to what extent the spurious work had borrowed from or imitated the genuine.

In order to be of real value for New Testament criticism, the test group would have to meet certain conditions. It would need to be analogous in as many respects as possible to other problematic collections of the Canon, such as the Pauline corpus. Within the group of writings, there should be a certain degree of homogeneity in form and content. The material should also be of sufficient quantity to allow for each test an adequate demonstration. Where is such a collection of Greek writings to be found? It so happens that we have just such a corpus within the circle of early ecclesiastical writings, in the collection of letters known generally as the 'Long Recension', once attributed to Ignatius, the early second-century Bishop of Syrian Antioch. It consists of twelve letters, purporting to be sent by Ignatius to various Churches and individuals, and written ostensibly *en route* to Rome, where the author expected to meet a martyr's death. These twelve letters bear a remarkable resemblance to the pattern of Paul's corpus. There is an inner consistency of form, notably in the salutations and the farewell greetings, and there is considerable homogeneity of thought and doctrine. The amount of writing is extensive enough for the application of linguistic tests.

Most important for the purpose of the investigation is that these letters can be sorted, according to a wide consensus of modern scholarship, into two groups:

- (1) The genuine letters of Ignatius to Ephesians, Magnesians, Trallians, Romans, Philadelphians, Smyrnaeans, and to Polycarp.
- (2) The spurious letters to Mary of Cassabola, Tarsians, Phillippians, Antiochenes, and to Hero.

That this precise division can now be made with practically no dissent is due to a series of manuscripts discovered in the seventeenth century.

It can thus be taken as a working hypothesis for the purpose of the study concerned that the division between seven genuine letters and five spurious letters is correct. It could also be tentatively assumed that the writer of the five spurious letters is one and not many. The test group then contains twelve letters—seven Greek letters regarded as genuine and five Greek letters now regarded as spurious. For the author of the first we shall use the abbreviation Ign., standing for Ignatius, and for the author of the five spurious letters ps-Ign., standing for pseudo-Ignatius.

The plan of the investigation is dictated largely by its primary objective, namely to establish by controlled demonstration of certain linguistic and stylistic tests the value and utility of such tests as criteria of authenticity. The two sets of letters will be compared with a view to discovering features which stand out as characteristic in each set, and which could serve for distinguishing the one set from the other. The tests were arranged under two major headings:

- (1) vocabulary or diction and
- (2) grammatical structure and style.

It should here be noted that the author uses 'style' in a rather restricted sense, which in principle could not be advocated. There can be no doubt that according to the general use of the word 'style', it can never be contrasted with grammar, and still less with the use of vocabulary.

(a) *The vocabulary of Ignatius*

The author's method is to list the number of lines in a standard edition of the seven genuine letters, from which numbers one could arrive at the text-length in terms of numbers of words by multiplying each line by the average number of words per line, which is between 6.5 and 7. In this way (using the upper limit of seven words per line) one arrives at a total for the genuine letters of 6,832 occurrences. The letters contain 1,090 different vocabulary items.

The author compares the numerical relation between vocabulary and text-length in the Ignatian corpus with some of the Pauline letters—e.g. Romans 7,094 occurrences and 1,068 vocabulary items, number of different words per page in Ign. 35.1; in ten letters by Paul 21.5. The conclusion seems to be that Ign. has a greater richness of vocabulary, or at least uses more vocabulary items than Paul. The author is inclined to put Ign. in this respect half-way between Paul and the Letter to the Hebrews. All this, however, is rather in the way of additional information, and is not to the point of the enquiry.

As a special criterion for the enquiry, the author uses the number of words peculiar to Ign. relative to the vocabulary of the Apostolic Fathers in the *Index Patristicus*. Of his 1,090 words, Ign. shares with the other Fathers a total of 810 words, or about 74 per cent of his vocabulary. It follows that 280 vocabulary items, or 26 per cent are peculiar to Ign. relative to the Apostolic Fathers. He arrives at an average of 0.38 such words per line with a range from 0.25 to 0.65. It is important to remember this range when using the average, a matter of which the author is well aware, though he does not use statistical testing-methods.

Of the 280 vocabulary items, 52 occur in 2 letters or more; in particular, 36 in 2 letters only, 8 in 3 letters, 6 in 4 letters, and 2 in 5 letters. None of them occurs in 6 or 7 letters.

(b) In the same way, the vocabulary of ps-Ign. is analysed.

There are altogether 5,147 lines in the five letters, forming this part of the corpus, with 3,829 word occurrences. The author has not determined the number of different vocabulary items for that part, and puts as an excuse that it cannot be done short of a pains-taking word-count.

The number of peculiar words relative to the *Index Patristicus* is here 297. The average of these peculiar words per line is here 0.58 and thus considerably higher than for Ign., the range from 0.5 to 0.69, which is obviously smaller than for Ign., all of which would seem to point to a real difference regarding the number of peculiar words. The author, however, has not applied any significance test.

Of the 297 vocabulary items, 250 occur in one letter and 17 in two letters, 3 in three letters, which gives a rather different picture of vocabulary connectivity between the letters than we have found for Ign.

(c) The author then goes on to what he calls the grammar and style of Ign.,

as distinct from vocabulary. He is, however, aware that this distinction and the decision as to whether a certain feature belongs more properly to 'style' than to vocabulary is in many cases arbitrary. As observed above, it is better to use the term style in its comprehensive sense, as that which characterizes the writings of a literary person in *all* respects, and to speak here of grammar in the sense of relations between vocabulary items in contradistinction to the criterion of 'vocabulary' itself.

And this is actually what the author does, for in his own words he now turns 'the focus of our attention to the relationship *between* words', the use of conjunctions (connectives), prepositions, relative clauses, the peculiarity in the use of modes and tenses, and general sentence-structure. In addition, he also deals with the number of quotations and the source of these quotations, and particularly the manner of citing Scripture, and favourite figures of speech.

As before, the tests are carried out for both Ign. and ps-Ign. in a parallel way. E.g. the number of particles per line is counted in each corpus and the averages are compared.

I shall not go into details here, but shall summarize the results of this part of the investigation when it comes to the conclusions which are to be drawn from the whole investigation.

In conclusion, the author gives his assessment of the effectiveness of the several tests used as criteria for distinguishing genuine and spurious work in a given corpus. He has arranged them in a sort of graded list of tests, according to their relative merits and weaknesses. He has three groups: first, the 'most valuable tests', second, the 'moderately valuable', and last, the 'less valuable' tests:

Class I: Examination of Literary Obligations (quotations)
General Diction Analysis

Class II: Use of Vocabulary
Various Forms of Sentence Structure

Class III: Conjunctions and other Particles

He also mentions the sentence-length test favoured by some investigators, but rejects it for Ign. because, as he says, the results were disappointing. He therefore saw fit to exclude these tests from the study.

All in all, he arrives at the conclusion that the results of the tests used in the study are compatible with the dichotomy of the corpus arrived at by literary scholars on other grounds, but that the tests are of different usefulness in this respect, as outlined above, and that the linguistic tools, as far as they are useful, ought to be sharpened and made as effective as possible; even those which have appeared as truly valuable tests will need sharpening and adjusting. Now these are most interesting conclusions. Not only do they lend support to the use of linguistic criteria in literary analysis, but they also enable us to discriminate between such criteria as regards their discriminative power.

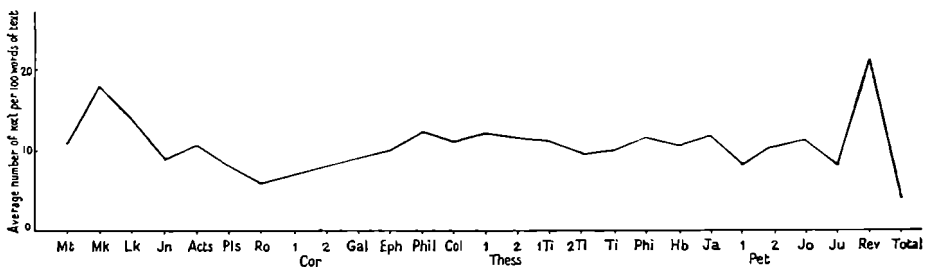
The author's graded list of tests can be accepted with these qualifications. The tests of Class I are not truly statistical, but literary ones, such as the number of quotations a writer uses, similarly the number of theologically significant phrases, titles, etc., or the number of figures of speech, which

cannot be considered as statistical variables in the true sense of the term. Not everything that can be counted is suitable for statistical work.

There remain therefore only Classes II and III to be considered for the purpose of the study in question. Since Class I does not contain linguistic tests at all, Class II now obtains rank 1 of the linguistic tests, and Class III, rank 2. Thus Mr Morton's favourite test is among the least valuable ones.

Although both vocabulary and some grammar tests (those in Class II) have been found valuable, yet there are serious considerations against the usefulness of grammar tests in general. There is by no means universal agreement as to the validity of grammar tests of this type. It has been objected, for example, that no writer remains perfectly constant in his use of grammatical constructions, of prepositions and connecting particles, and that his 'favourite' usage may well vary with age, with chronological distance between his writings and with the subject. That this objection has some basis is attested by the rather disproportionate rate of occurrence of certain propositions in the most generally accepted Pauline corpus: the characteristic $\sigma\upsilon\upsilon$, for one, appears in only eight different letters, in Colossians more often than in Romans, although the latter is four times as long; and in Galatians almost as often as in 2 Corinthians which is twice as long as Galatians. So inconsistent is the practice of a single writer, it is argued, that such stylistic data cannot be trusted as criteria for authenticity, and no comparison could be more unsuitable than that with finger-prints, which Mr Morton has used again and again.

The following Graph² shows the average frequency of Greek $\kappa\alpha\iota$ in the parts of the New Testament indicated below the base line of the Graph.



Considering that we have to do with averages here, we must not forget the plus-minus variations on either side of these points. Looking now at the curve, we find that there are considerable variations between say Romans, Corinthians, Galatians on the one hand, and Philippians, Colossians, three Pastorals and Thessalonians on the other. Does that justify the conclusion that the author of the first group of four must have been different from the writers of the others, and that all the Epistles belonging to the first group must have been written by the same author? It obviously does not by itself justify any such conclusion. Looking at the graph we see for instance that the frequency of $\kappa\alpha\iota$ in the Catholic Letters is not very different from that of the Paulines in the second group, but we know very well that there is no such thing as common authorship for the two groups. On the other hand, we find that the use of $\kappa\alpha\iota$ in the Gospel of John is quite strikingly

different from what it is in the Revelation, although there is strong literary evidence for the common authorship of the two. Another fact of this type is the significant difference between the average frequency of $\kappa\alpha\iota$ in Mark on the one hand and Matthew, Luke on the other, in spite of the very heavy borrowing of both Matthew and Luke, either independently or not, from Mark; still another case in point is the striking similarity in the average frequency of $\kappa\alpha\iota$ for John and the Acts, although the two are undoubtedly by different authors. All this shows how shaky is the evidence for or against authorship if only Mr Morton's favourite $\kappa\alpha\iota$ -test is used.

In January 1965, Mr Morton read before the Royal Statistical Society, London, a paper entitled *The Authorship of the Pauline Epistles—A Scientific Approach*, which in my opinion shows almost to perfection the unsuitability of the criteria of sentence-length and grammar words like $\kappa\alpha\iota$ for purposes of deciding disputed authorship. For a detailed *criticism of the paper*, the reader is referred to my contribution to the Discussion after the lecture, which will appear shortly in the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*.

Here I will only briefly mention some of the shortcomings of the paper. The title and content do not tally. Of the ten Sections of the paper, nine deal with Classical Greek prose. Only Section 10 is concerned with the Paulines. The criterion of sentence-length for the purpose of authorship-determination is here completely dropped by the author, and is not even mentioned in his conclusions on the Paulines.

To give just one of many examples of contradiction, when using the sentence-length criterion: from Morton's Table 39, we find the average sentence-lengths for 1 Timothy, Hebrews and Philippians at 15.05, 15.75, 15.96 respectively. In the light of the corresponding standard errors, we conclude that the three Letters are homogeneous in this characteristic of style. It follows that *we are free to regard the author of any of the three Letters as being also the author of the other two, which is, of course, at variance with the extra-linguistic, historical, and theological evidence.*

Regarding the author's conclusions from the use of $\kappa\alpha\iota$, they simply do not bear examination in detail. The differences between Romans, Corinthians and Galatians he declares as '*generally not significant*', but records a '*few significant differences*', which he excuses by saying that they could be explained in literary terms. This means nothing else but that the significance tests did only partly come out in support of his hypothesis, and partly against it. Whenever the statistical-significance tests speak against his hypothesis, he quickly seeks redress from the very source—literary criticism—which at the outset of his paper he has denigrated, and because of the supposed insufficiency of which he had strongly recommended the statistical method.

III

This leaves us with only one definitely valuable set of linguistic tests, and these concern the use of vocabulary. It is now very much to the point which Professor Brown makes, viz., the need for sharpening and adjusting the truly useful tests, that it is only the vocabulary tests which give much hope in this direction, hope founded on the considerable development of these tests

during the last ten years or so, from the state in which they were when used first by Bible critics.

It would be wrong to conceal the fact that the vocabulary tests in the study under consideration are very primitive. Indeed, the author has not progressed much beyond P. N. Harrison's work on the Pastoral Epistles in this respect. Just like Harrison, he uses the number of words peculiar to a writer relative to a larger corpus. Harrison used the words peculiar to the Pastorals relative to the other Paulines, and also relative to the New Testament, and Brown uses the words peculiar to Ignatius and pseudo-Ignatius respectively, relative to the *Index Patristicus*. But to use the words peculiar to a text relative to a group of such texts is only the first step in ascertaining what is called vocabulary connectivity. There are also to be considered the words the text in question shares with 1, 2 . . . all other texts in the group, because they are informative as to vocabulary connectivity. In the given case, a complete enquiry would have required to collect such information about *each* of the 7 Ign. letters relative to the other seven letters in the Ign. group, and the same for *each* ps-Ign. letter relative to the five letters in that group; furthermore, to ascertain the vocabulary connectivity for every one of the twelve letters in this way relative to the combined 12-letter group.

Apart from the incompleteness of information, Brown's method of comparison is unsatisfactory. The question of sameness or difference of authenticity is always considered in the light of a simple comparison of Ign. and ps-Ign. results. Since, however, the letters, and also the two groups of letters, are of quite different length, some correction is clearly indicated for the purpose of such comparisons. Such corrections for length are applied by the author in a very approximate manner, or rather by 'sight' only, which, to put it mildly, is unsatisfactory, and to put it strongly, worse than no correction. What is needed here are the figures *to be expected on the assumption of common authorship*, against which the observed figures can be safely judged. Quantitative linguistics has now developed the complete method by which to achieve this.

The exposition of the mathematics involved is too complicated to be given in this short report. The reader interested in the method and its detailed application to the various problems of authorship in the Bible will find it in my book, *Quantitative Linguistics* (Butterworths, 1964).

In conclusion, I would like to point out that in the light of what has been said above, we might almost feel entitled to reverse Mr Morton's claim about the 'Computer challenging the Church' into the counter-claim that it was the Church that challenged the Computer, namely to do its best to provide the standard which the Bible scholar requires when arguing from vocabulary connectivity in different parts of the New Testament. And I am glad to say that the Computer has responded splendidly to the challenge.

¹ M. P. Brown, *The Authentic Writings of Ignatius, a Study of Linguistic Criteria* (Duke University Press, Durham N.C., 1963).

² After Morganthaler (see p. 215, *supra*).

THE VISION OF THE FUTURE

Kenneth G. Greet

THERE ARE some things which can be much better done through the medium of sound broadcasting than television. The Reith Lectures are a case in point. They were started in 1948-9 when Sir William Haley was Director-General of the BBC and have established their place as a major contribution to education on themes of outstanding public importance. The series of distinguished lecturers have been able to concentrate their whole attention on making the maximum impact on the mind of the listener through the spoken word.

The 1964 lecturer was Sir Leon Bagrit. He has been called the father-figure of British automation, and is certainly a most effective advocate who expounds his subject with infectious enthusiasm. It is good to have his lectures in permanent form (*The Age of Automation*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 15s.), for it would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of the matters with which he deals.

It is sometimes alleged that mechanization has resulted in millions of people being subjected to the soul-destroying monotony of sub-human work, though it should be remembered that the machine has delivered us from a vast amount of drudgery and wastage of time involved in manual toil. Sir Leon Bagrit's thesis, however, is that automation can transform the world and give to mankind vast new opportunities for extended leisure and the pursuit of culture.

One great virtue of this book is that, though it is written by a technical expert, it is singularly free of the kind of jargon that is unintelligible to the lay reader. One reason for this is that the lectures were prepared by recording and transcribing long hours of discussion with the Producer, Mr Kenneth Hudson. This helped the lecturer to get his material into a form suitable for broadcasting to a mass audience.

Sir Leon begins by trying to allay the fears of those for whom the word 'automation' conjures up fears of men ruled by machines, reduced to a race of baby-sitters for all-powerful computers. He describes automation as 'an extension of man'. As an example of what science and technology can do, he points to the fact that in the United States one man on the land now produces enough food to feed fifteen men in the cities. We have also greatly increased our expectation of life, our mobility, and our understanding and control of natural processes of every kind. But all these great achievements can be immensely extended by the use of automation.

The author's definition of automation is worth quoting. 'It is a concept through which a machine-system is caused to operate with maximum efficiency by means of adequate measurement, observation, and control of its behaviour. It involves a detailed and continuous knowledge of the func-

tioning of the system, so that the best corrective actions can be applied immediately they become necessary. Automation in this true sense is brought to full fruition only through a thorough exploitation of its three major elements, communication, computation, and control—the three “C’s”.

In describing some of the applications of automation the welcome observation is made that Committee meetings and Conferences could be much briefer and more business-like. In some cases they could—wonderful thought—even be dispensed with altogether.

Automation is not to be confused with mechanization. It is not so much a matter of machines replacing men: rather it is largely a question of so extending men’s faculties by machines that they become more competent men. This distinction is so important to right understanding that Sir Leon’s homely illustration may be quoted to make it absolutely clear:

This difference between automation and mechanization is extremely important. Let me give you a somewhat homely illustration that I hope makes the point clearer. If you wanted to drink a cup of tea, following the principle of mechanization, this is what would happen. The direction in which your hand would move and the speed at which it would do so would be completely predetermined. It would move automatically and the handle would have to be in a particular position for it to be picked up by your hand, because in mechanization there would be no means of correcting any error. The cup would then move towards the place where it supposed the mouth to be. If your mouth was not there, because there was some error in the operation, the machine might well pour tea down your collar. It would not know it was doing anything wrong. This is what happened to Charlie Chaplin in *Modern Times*. The machine fed him blindly, because it was following a motion which was rigidly predetermined.

Automation, on the other hand, is a system based upon what is called ‘feedback’. It uses sensing devices, communication mechanisms, computing or deciding elements and control mechanisms. In our example of the tea-cup, if the same operation were done by automation, the eye, which is a sensing element, would communicate with the computing or brain-mechanism, telling it exactly where the cup was, where the hand was, and where the mouth was: it would then continuously signal the position of the hand, all the time it was moving towards the handle.

The computer would calculate the necessary corrections and instruct the control mechanisms, to make sure the hand moved accurately towards the handle, the sensing mechanism of the eye continuously observing and sending back information on the progress that was being made to the brain. In its turn, the brain would signal to the control mechanism the adjustments necessary to obtain the optimum result. At the same time, another sensing device, the finger, would determine the temperature of the tea, allowing for the difference in temperature between the cup and its contents. The computing mechanism, the brain, would compare this new information with what was already stored in its memory and then might signal back that the tea was still too hot or it might compute the delay that was required before the tea was ready to drink. Furthermore, the eye might register that the cup was too full and that if it were moved at too great a speed, it would spill. The hand would then be instructed by the computer to move the cup at a pace so designed that it would arrive at its destination at the right temperature and without spilling.

Because so many false ideas have gathered round the word automation it

might be better to use the word 'cybernation' to indicate a system which is based on the theory of communications and control.

In the second lecture, which deals with the range of applications of automation, any idea of a 'thinking machine' is dismissed as nonsense. The machines only do intelligent work if they are controlled by intelligent human beings.

An important part of the author's theme is that we need to be educated for the age of automation. There is already evidence of widespread popular interest in such pursuits as painting and sculpture, but great new efforts will have to be made to help people to develop whatever talents and interests they possess. This is just as important as the effort to produce a new 'establishment' of men with a thorough knowledge of both science and the humanities.

The political aspects of the subject are not neglected. Sir Leon applauds the creation of the Ministry of Technology. We lag behind the U.S.A. and Russia in the introduction of automation. Russia's space-travel programme is based on automation concepts and this has given them much valuable expertise which is being applied throughout the whole of their science and economy. In spite of our comparatively slow start we are probably in a better position to make rapid advance than either U.S.A. or Russia. We do not adopt either of the extreme positions of Russian over-centralization or American repugnance to centralization. What we probably need is a Ministry of Modernization. 'Its policy would be to encourage the introduction of the most modern and sophisticated ideas into every aspect of our lives, and at the same time to safeguard the human values which must remain paramount, and which are the sole justification for automation.'

These stimulating lectures end with a renewed emphasis on new opportunities for social enrichment. At the moment Britain is the thirteenth richest nation in the world, in terms of wealth per head. Sir Leon wants us to hold or even improve upon that position. It can't be done without automation.

But the author wants us to remain wealthy not for the sake of wealth, but for what it can do for our people and enable them to do for others. He believes that idealism is not dead. He is concerned that women, with men, shall live a full, rich life; that old people shall be enabled really to live until they die; and that we shall be better able to help the developing countries to move more swiftly to a higher standard of living. The vision which Sir Leon paints for us is one which Christians should rejoice to share.

PROCESSING PARSONS

David Stacey

MINISTERIAL training is under discussion once again, and the farther the discussion ranges, the better for the Church. Let us, however, be strictly honest. The malaise which has come upon the Ministry in some places is not due solely to faulty training. Nor will it be cured by re-drafting curricula. Let the curricula be examined by all means—the purpose of this article is to do so—but let us not imagine that all the problems that beset the Ministry can so easily be put right. If the present enquiry is to be of lasting value to the Church, it must be pressed to include training in the widest sense, the context in which the minister must do his job, the spiritual vitality (one might almost call it the self-confidence) of the Christian community, and the provenance of vocations to the Ministry. The complaint is not that common criticism is too radical, but that it is too narrow. We are in danger of making theological education into an Aunt Sally.

The fact that the Ministerial Training department of the Methodist Church has appointed three commissions, one after another (the third reports to this Conference, July 1965), is evidence of both the relevance and the complexity of the problem. A number of books have also been published, two of which are here under review. They are *The Service of a Parson*, by Edward Carpenter, Archdeacon of Westminster (Hodder, 4s. 6d.), and *Preparing for the Ministry of the 1970s*, a collection of essays by Canon H. G. Herklots, James Whyte and Robin Sharp (S.C.M., 7s. 6d.).

The Archdeacon's book deals with the whole of the ministerial life, not simply with training, and it is of far more importance to Anglicans than to Free Churchmen. For a work sponsored by the Central Advisory Council for the Ministry, it turns out to be rather disappointing. Cheapness probably dictated the poor paper and tiny print, but the tone is less easily explained. The author takes what might be called the healthy, common-sense approach to the Ministry. With a genial, typically English pragmatism he traces the life of a parson from the early days of his vocation to the time of full responsibility. He is very careful about details. It may be frustrating for those in search of a doctrine of the Ministry to find notes on the curate's landlady and the care of churchyards, but doubtless there is a constituency for whom these things are important. Certainly, if one knows nothing about the Church of England, a great deal (the oddities not excepted) can be learnt from this book. The great failing is the apparent inability to grasp that in 1965 the Ministry faces a crisis that the traditional approach, devout, humane, sincere as it may be, can never hope to resolve. Gone are the days when the minister could perform his friendly functions with 'inspired common sense', happy in the thought that he belonged. Perhaps then one could say: 'To "get on" with people is at least seventy-five per cent of his "job" ' (p. 114). One cannot

say it any longer. In 1965 many a minister is asking: 'What is it that makes my ministry eternally valid, even in this gaunt and empty church and among these cold and apathetic people?' Many are coming to see in the kindly tolerance still afforded to the parson the mask of unbelief. Fundamentally our society is in the process of rejecting the Church. On what does the Ministry rest now? To write a book for possible candidates without giving a faithful and positive answer to this critical question is surely to miss the tide.

The second book is concerned specifically with training and we might well look at the problem it has to solve before discussing its theses. It can hardly be denied that the functions of the Ministry have increased in complexity since the war. Take preaching, for example. Relevant and profound it doubtless was in the good old days, but then there were willing congregations who accepted the language and who regarded the Sunday sermon as the highlight of the week. Today we preach to congregations that are hesitant, sometimes confused, made up of men who have difficulties with theological language, and who, for the most part, are conditioned by new methods in education and by television to short pithy summaries with visual aids and plenty of discussion. Plainly homiletics is a more difficult subject both to learn and to teach than it was. The same is true all round the curriculum. Pastoralia must include study of the structure of the Welfare State because the day of coal-tickets is over. Systematic theology, if it is to be communicated, must be coupled with studies in teaching method. No one can minister without some knowledge of mental health. And so we could go on. There are the strongest possible reasons for making a curriculum that includes biblical studies, Systematic Theology, Church History, Greek (for some), Psychology and mental health, Sociology, modern philosophy, ethics, homiletics and voice-production, music, liturgy and worship, ecumenical studies, the spiritual life (which must be taught as well as caught), teaching-methods, pastoralia, the use of English, marriage-guidance, the missionary situation, some understanding of the physical universe and the way a scientist thinks about it, the special problems of Youth work, and so on.

This curriculum must be seen in relation to the students who pursue it. As far as academics are concerned, the entrance requirements of the Methodist Ministry are not high. One needs to pass three (soon four) local preachers' examinations at fifty per cent. The marking is fairly charitable and the percentage of failures is low. English language and three other subjects at O level are required. The February examination is geared to this standard. These requirements are not formidable when compared to the two A levels required by most teacher-training colleges. It will be said that academic achievements are no index of the divine call, but very few of the subjects in the list above can be called charismatic. There are, of course, many highly qualified candidates who can face a strenuous course with confidence, but the wide range of academic ability adds to the problem. It must also be remembered that the course is only part of the life. Adequate time must be given for the spiritual life of the college community. Then there are week-end preaching, circuit practice, missions bands and student campaigns. Older men and married men often have domestic responsibilities. And perhaps the

most difficult thing of all is vacation employment. Economic necessity means that many students are not students for more than forty weeks in the year.

This discussion of the problem is necessary because it is too easy to come up with slick solutions. What are the needs of the Church? What are the needs of the candidates? What is possible in four years? What can be added thereafter? All these questions must be answered together before we have a reasonable solution.

Canon Herklots, writing of the Anglican situation, raises two points that are worth noting. The first is the importance of training *in situ*. Reference is made to the work of C. J. Vaughan, a great cleric of the last century, who trained over four hundred men for the priesthood, very largely by personal example. For all the improvements that have been made in the probationer's lot since the war, one wonders if Methodism may not yet find it necessary to adopt something like the curate system. Secondly, Canon Herklots take up the theme of specialized ministries. On the face of it this is an obvious expedient. It is simply a division of labour. The difficulty here is not so much the reorganization of the colleges which it would entail as the placing of specialists within the Church. To some extent the Methodist Ministry is still in the hands of Circuit Stewards. If we are to have specialists and team ministries, the invitation system will have to be severely modified. A long-overdue reform, many will think, and a clear indication that the renewal of the Ministry cannot be accomplished by the Ministerial Training Department alone.

James Whyte speaks for the Church of Scotland, a Church well known for the academic standards of its Ministry. Mr Whyte is anxious not to let those standards go. He wants a Ministry fully qualified to preach and teach. If the purpose of lay ministries was properly grasped, many of the arguments for ministerial specialization would disappear. In a stimulating passage on the 'minister-centred church', he condemns the introspection, the 'corporate egotism', that is misrepresenting and misusing the Ministry today.

The most interesting essay is the Methodist one by Robin Sharp. The justice of his summary of present conditions will doubtless be disputed by some, but the real matter of the essay goes much deeper than this. Are we training men both to nurture and to represent a serving Church in a secular world? Or are we training men to preach to given congregations and to organize traditional churches? Mr Sharp claims that we *ought* to be doing the former and that, therefore, the present academic bias of ministerial training can no longer be justified. What is needed is a course that will help a man to see the contemporary situation in the light of God's self-revelation in history. All students can join in it, for no premium will be put on academic brilliance, and the method of teaching will be largely discursive. One can indeed see that in many discussions the lathe-operator and the civil servant will be able to open the eyes of those straight from university and, most of all perhaps, of the tutor himself, who will have been some time absent from the factory floor, to say the least. The programme will largely consist of a series of projects which may begin with a biblical passage, but which will be developed by every possible means to relate to the modern world. Genesis 1-11, for example, must involve the study of the theory of evolution from the

biologist's point of view, guilt as understood by both psychiatrist and theologian, various racial theories, ideas of creation, etc. So Scripture is immediately related to the present situation and the student enters at once into the tension felt by so many educated laymen who find it hard to read Genesis after reading Freud and Fred Hoyle. This experience of group-learning prepares the student for the many situations he will later encounter when, if he is to be a minister at all, he must join with others, Christian and non-Christian alike, in seeking practical answers to particular questions. Oracular parsons who pronounce the answers and expect to be taken seriously have obviously strayed into 1965 from the last century.

The point here is not whether it would work out in practice but whether we *want* such a scheme enough to make it work out. It possesses obvious merits. Mr Sharp has taken the trouble to see the situation as a whole. His solution grows out of a doctrine of the Ministry in the modern world. It takes some account of the great variation in candidates. It is radical. It repudiates the patch-work solution. (He makes hay of the common thesis that every crisis for Christianity requires a course of lectures on the subject in the colleges.) It has a positive approach to non-Christian writers. It is supremely relevant. There are, however, many talking-points. Are we right to withdraw all our ministerial students from the universities? On the present system, a quarter or perhaps a third of our ordinands will be graduates. This would be reduced to one seventh if there were no degrees from theological colleges. Even more striking is the thought that only about *three per cent* of the Ministry would hold degrees in theology. Again, it is doubtful whether this plan would really meet the problem of the wide range of academic ability. The course is non-academic in the traditional sense, but to study Darwin, Huxley and Camus, as he suggests, requires intelligence and critical skill. There would be some who would be silent in the seminars and who would be struggling with Sartre just as they now, allegedly, struggle with J. E. D. and P. It is, in my judgement, no criticism to say that this course would not cover the theological field systematically. Only those whose student days are far behind them could believe that any course would.

Mr Sharp's essay is to be welcomed and more must follow. It is to be hoped that this book and the Report on the future of Ministerial Training introduced at this Conference will stimulate constructive thinking throughout the Connexion. It must not end with ministerial training. No course on earth can or should prepare a man to minister to introverted congregations and redundant churches. Those who are doing this at the moment are not doing it because this is the goal of their training but because the system allows them no escape. The right men, trained properly and put to work in the right context, will yet move mountains. There will be no malaise among them.

THE GREAT CHURCH, P. T. FORSYTH, AND CHRISTIAN UNITY

Thomas D. Meadley

IN THE *Anglican-Methodist Conversations Report* three theologians only are mentioned by name, Saint Augustine, Oscar Cullmann, and Peter Taylor Forsyth. Augustine we know as one of the formative minds of the early Christian centuries, and Cullman we know as a contemporary New Testament scholar and an observer at the Vatican Council, but who is Forsyth, and why should he be selected out of all the theologians of this century?

Peter Forsyth was a Scottish Congregationalist who studied at Tübingen when it was the centre of the critical movement in biblical studies. In mid-life he underwent some profound religious crisis which rediscovered for him the doctrines of holiness and grace, and thereafter he rose rapidly as a rather lone star in the theological firmament. His latter days were spent as Principal of Hackney and New College, and Dean of the Faculty of Theology in the University of London. He died in 1921, and it was not till 1930 that his significance began to be recognized by his books going into second editions. From then till now there has been a steady stream of reissues. The Anglicans rediscovered him almost before the Free Churches, partly through the advocacy of the late Canon J. K. Mozley. The particular reason for the inclusion of his name in the *Conversations Report* can be known only to members of the two teams engaged therein. One of the turning-points was a paper by Dr Harold Roberts on Baptism, which quoted large sections from Forsyth's work,¹ summarized in the *Report* (p. 29). 'The sacraments are signs. But they are more than signs. As P. T. Forsyth taught, they are more than souvenirs or keepsakes. They are *conveyances*. And what they convey is the Gospel of the grace of God in Jesus Christ. . . .' The purpose of the reference was to quote impressive Free Church opinion for sacramental theory which is not confined to memorialism.

FORSYTH'S GENERAL POSITION

'My position is neither current Anglican nor popular Protestant. I write from the Free Church camp, but not from any recognized Free Church position—having regard, so far as I can, to the merits of the case, to early history, and the experience of religion. . . . The audience is Free Church, but the treatment means to be *Great Church*.'² Theodore O. Wedel refers several times with approval to Forsyth, and it is a reasonable inference that he obtained the title of his well-known book, *The Coming Great Church*, from this source.³ There is no doubt about Forsyth's passion for unity: 'The divided churches have become weak and even futile, through the excessive growth of religious subjectivity'.⁴ Nevertheless he is clear that

effective union must be based in profound theology. A warm fraternal spirit all round is not an adequate basis for reunion. 'All the goodwill in the world will not settle the merits of the case. In these great and venerable problems answers are not simple, else they would have been found long ago. . . . Ideal ardours without historic sense will not suffice We cannot deal with history by wiping the slate and starting afresh.'⁸ The mere fact of increased interest in reunion does not settle the matter. 'How do you know that Church Union is according to God's will? Because your heart moves you so? But many a fraternal ardour has cooled and subsided. Because it is filling the Christian air? But the passion of the disastrous crusades filled the Church high and low for a very long time.'

Any adequate Church union must be founded on a Church theology. 'Is the essence of the Church canonical or evangelical? Is it of Canon law or moral gospel? The genius of the Church is quite different according as we answer that question. And the answer must be worked out on the merits of the case, as disunion has been worked in. . . . Let us get rid of the idea that it is a matter of self-will or prejudice on either side. . . . May I add that in pressing union too hard we may be repeating the error that rent the Church—the error of pursuing the catholicity or spread of the Church faster than its holiness or quality.'⁶

The real base of unity Forsyth finds in evangelical solidarity. 'The vital power for the reunion of the Churches, the Catholic power, is the evangelical, the last moral element even in the Mass. Reunion must be planted deep, as deep as the reunion between God and man, far deeper than any reconstruction even of Churches.'⁷ This evangelical solidarity is not just a matter of evangelical experience, whereby individuals are drawn into a fellowship across denominational barriers. 'What unites people into a Church is not a common experience but a common revelation. . . . The circle is not made by contiguous points on the circumference, but by their relationship to the centre.'⁸ It is this commonly accepted and given revelation in the Scriptures which makes possible the shared experience and the effective apprehension of the new birth. 'The real unity rests upon moral and spiritual conversion, real but not standardized. It rests on a new birth; and on baptismal regeneration not at all.'⁹

THE QUESTION OF AUTHORITY

The key to every discussion is authority, which for the Christian resides in the effective power of redemption as recorded in Holy Scripture. 'All authority must be external, if it is to save us from a mere masterless subjectivity. Externality to our egoism is of the essence of the word. But there is all the difference between an external authority which is formal, statutory, dogmatic, and one which is personal, moral, intimate, kindling and creative.'¹⁰ The creative source of the Church and the Bible in the atoning death and resurrection of Jesus Christ is the true authority, to which both Bible and Church witness. All Church order must express the essential spirit and work of the reconciling sacrifice of obedience. The Church is 'the prolongation of the saving act in history which gave it birth. The Church is not the prolongation of the Incarnation, but the Redemption for which the Incarnation is a postulate.'¹¹

The first rift within the Church comes between those who see the Bible as 'the senior colleague of the Church',¹² and those who reverse the order. The first major decision on which all else depends is the relation of Scripture to Tradition. Apostolic Succession here seizes the centre of the stage. Forsyth is clear that the Historic Episcopate as a form of Church Order is not to be identified with the Apostolic Succession. 'By the apostolic succession is not meant merely the historic. It means a succession to the apostles as sacraments and not mere heralds, far less officials—the successors to them as interpreters and not publishers, as trustees of an experienced Gospel, and not of a canonical technique. . . . The real successor to the Apostolate is not the Church but the Bible as the precipitate of the apostolic message. . . . The unity of the Church rests on the evangelical succession and not on the canonical, which is legalist and Judaist, which ties up the Church more than it unites.'¹³ The main point of difference really emerges here. The technical Catholic understands that certain men are appointed to a priestly function in a legally continuous Church order, and that here their successors must remain stiffly adamant. 'I respect their scruples. I go some way with them. The democracy has no right to legislate in the Church. Within the democracy there must be a control that is not democratic, a monarchical control. The Magna Charta of that control is, we think, the New Testament. But I read the Charter differently about the monarch's will, differently from the men I mention; and I think the tide of scholarship is with me. I do not find the ministry's authority to be canonical, but evangelical. It is not patristic, but apostolic; and the apostles were neither modern bishops nor sacrificing priests.'¹⁴

THE ISSUE OVER THE MINISTRY

The crucial question every time is about the ministry, its relationship to the Sacraments, and the implications of both for the doctrine of Grace. Forsyth foresaw the line of argument which sought to by-pass the issue of principle by permissive ambiguity in interpretation. The step of acceptance is supposed to be eased by a willingness to allow the real meaning of historic episcopacy to be left undefined.

Forsyth makes two points about this deceptively charitable and conscience-easing approach. First, unless there is a reasonably clearly defined and intelligible meaning attached to episcopacy it cannot possibly be shown to be universal in its application. 'If it were suggested . . . that the episcopal should be made universal and necessary for the Church while any theory of it was disclaimed, the two things would not seem to match. Could we claim monopoly for any spiritual factor or institution except on the authority of its rational interpretation or moral monarchy? . . . Could the highest practical utility or historic prestige found unity in the Church of the historic Gospel?'¹⁵

The second point relates to the public consequence of what happens in such a service, even though there is freedom of interpretation for each participant. In fact those who have undergone any rite which could, however remotely, be interpreted as supplemental ordination, have entered a condition where traditional restrictions on covenanted grace can again hamper evangelical

freedom of action. Any such service is required to satisfy the scruples of those who hold a sacerdotal view of the sacraments which it is impossible to square with Scripture. 'Without the bishop (they hold) we have no certainty of a valid Sacrament, which seems of more moment than the Sacrament of the preached Word. That validity flows not from faith in the Gospel of our Redemption but from a canonical continuity (with perhaps several weak links). And that belief, in some of its thorough exponents, comes near to being another religion, as legalist as Judaism (though with much more atmosphere) on the points it selects to canonize. So if we complied with even a modified ordination both 'we and you' (the Anglicans) would really be yielding to a view of the Sacraments which *our* whole history and principle at least is there to disown. And the High Sacramentarians would make much play with their compliance. I am sure I would in their place. And I urge the compliants to have the courage to pass on to see and own that they have now acquired grace not only as the opportunity of ministry, but as the virtue of orders.'¹⁶

Forsyth stresses that there is no possibility of reunion without mutual recognition of Ministries. 'The crucial question between you and us is the question of the ministry—the recognition of our orders. On your side it is held (in effect, though not by all) that the unity of the Church is created by its ministry; we say it is only expressed by it. . . . If it were said that under a reformed episcopate the union contemplated would conserve the "essential values" of the non-episcopal churches, I think we should regard no value more essential than the value of our ministry as equal, in God's sight and for His purpose, to any ministry whatever.'¹⁷

EPISCOPACY, GRACE AND ORDER

Forsyth addressed himself to the Anglicans directly about the best way of attaining their end. 'You will get a general episcopacy sooner by not insisting on it as a condition of unity but as a fruit of freedom and flexibility. Polity is a matter of utility—but of sacred utility, the ability to serve the Kingdom of God and not a revealed constitution. It belongs to the secondary interests of Christianity, not the primary. . . . *I venture to suggest that you leave episcopacy to its own merits and its own spell*, as you leave much weightier matters of belief free in a liberal and comprehensive Church of the Gospel. Leave episcopacy and other policies free alongside each other as High and Broad co-exist. The other Churches are moving that way. Some of the once most unpromising of the other Churches are moving your way, and appointing provincial superintendents and moderators to protect themselves from the friability of an overdeveloped and unchastened independency. And you on your side are moving to more lay control. Why, your clergyman, as a corporation sole, is often more independent both of bishop and people than the old Independents were.'¹⁸

The main concern is to regularize order in the Church, and ministerial order by reason of its representative nature symbolizes all other order. To be a minister in the Church adequate grace and power from the Holy Spirit are required, as for any other office or service in the Church; but it is not a different kind of grace. 'The grace conveyed in ordination is but the formal

and corporate *opportunity* provided by the Church to minister that Gospel; it is not a new spiritual gift belonging to an order and its canonical entry. . . . At the same time we assure you that we think of no communion with you in which we should expect you to give up anything so great and high as your episcopacy, if only it were not made monopolist. We should give due weight and prestige to episcopacy as the doyen of the Churches. If you fully recognized our orders (as the Established and Free Churches in Scotland mutually do) I think the spell and dignity of your episcopacy would draw to you those so recognized more effectively than any insistence on it as a *sine qua non*.¹⁹

DIFFERING FORMS OF CHURCH ORDER

Forsyth acknowledges that episcopacy rose in the providence of God to 'adjust the redeeming principle to the needs of the historic situation, so it might well recognize that other forms of polity had an equal right and blessing in fitting the Gospel to serve the very different times in which *they* arose. For their day they were equally the will of God which we recognize so freely in the Episcopate. And they are so to contemporary sections or strata of every age.'²⁰ In particular the so-called sects were needed to supplement the spiritual majesty of faith with the spiritual intimacy of love. The historic Churches, Episcopalian or Presbyterian, lost the sense of warm brotherly love in aloof attitudes, awesome worship, and legal institutions. 'They (*sic* the denominations) *had* to arise, in the interest of the warm fraternity and spontaneity which *is as vital to Christianity as its stately reverence*, and which was so marked in the first sect of all—the earliest Christian Church with its *charismata*. . . . They preserved for the people the warmth of the Gospel, which is as necessary as its dignity, and the liberty which is at least as vital as its law. . . . For the lack of this intimacy the church type of love had fallen into legalism, its grace was canalized as a sacred technique, and irrigation from a central control (if we may so put it) took the place of the blessed rain from heaven. . . .'²¹

The weakness of the sect-type Churches was to allow intimacy to degenerate into a chatty matiness. The Free Churches need supplementing with much of the dignity and sense of historic continuity which the longer-established Churches have maintained, whatever their other deficiencies. The vital point comes again over the interpretation of the Ministry. 'When the sects are so blessed by the Spirit as to grow into churches, they should be recognized to have a form of ministry which is in its place *as vital to the Gospel and the Kingdom of God as the ancient canonical form*. It is a recognition the sects have to make within themselves, in making their ministry professional and settled.'²²

Concerning forms of Church government Forsyth writes: ' . . . all forms of Church polity fall under three heads—Episcopacy, Presbyterianism or Consistorialism (including Methodism), and Congregationalism. . . . All the varieties of the Great Church's government fall under one or other of these heads. Now these are not rivals. The bane is that they have been. They stand for complementary forms of the Great Church's life and liberty. Episcopacy stands for the Church's welfare and freedom as secured by authority.

Presbyterianism stands for it as secured by order. And Congregationalism stands for it as secured by local autonomy and initiative. . . . To make a thing living make it local! ²³

THE HEART OF PRIESTHOOD IN MINISTRY AND SACRAMENT

Perhaps the heart of the matter, revealing both the nearness and the distance between the technically Catholic and Protestant understanding of the Church, the Ministry, and the Sacraments, appears in the *Addendum* to *Congregationalism and Reunion*, where three points are made. First, the Church has a priestly or sacerdotal place in the world; second, the minister is priestly or sacerdotal in the Church; third, Christ is priestly or sacerdotal in the Ministry, the Church and the world.

The first and third points are common to both approaches. There is no argument about the New Testament teaching that the Church is the priestly People of God, or that Christ is the great High Priest who functions through His Church. 'It is a priestly society. It is God's corporate priest in the world. It prolongs in an historic antiphon the finished work of Christ. In the communion and power of His intercession it intercedes for the world. By Christ's grace it believes for the world, it confesses vicariously the sins the world is too sinful to confess, it offers itself as a sacrifice for the world, it praises God for the world, it stands and acts between sinful man and holy God.'²⁴

The second is the most controversial in terminology. 'The minister is sacerdotal in the Church—again I say not by prerogative but by representation. The ministry is the organ of the Church's priestliness even more than its prophetic power. And when I say "more than" I mean this. It preaches *to* the Church what it does not receive from the Church—directly at least; but it prays always *with* the Church and *from* it; it is the medium of the Church's devotion; it is the mouthpiece of its prayers, and the organ of its royal priesthood. Except for acoustic reasons it should in prayer face the same way as the people. The minister is pre-eminently priestly in public prayer. He preaches as a prophet from God, but he prays as a priest for the people. There he is even more priestly than in administering the sacraments. For these belong rather to the prophetic side, in which a salvation is given to man far more than a sacrifice is given to God. What is really offered to God, even in the Sacraments, is prayer and thanksgiving; the occasion is eucharistic; but the chief thing of all, the source of prayer and praise, is prophetic. It is God's gift of reconciliation given to us anew from Christ in the midst.'²⁵ It is in some such way that the meeting-point might be found between the truth which Catholic and Protestant are both after, but it is dealt with not by permitting an unlimited freedom of interpretation, but by precise limitation of the nature of ministerial priesthood to the representative, and the recognition of the prophetic element in the atoning sacrificial aspect of the Lord's Supper, and the priestly element in its prayerful aspect.

PRIESTHOOD, ATONEMENT AND SACRAMENT

The key is found in the third section, where Catholic and Protestant alike can find their common ground, and discern the real point where difference is observable. The Cross of Christ is 'the source of all human priesthood in

virtue of His offering of Himself for human sin once for all. . . . A real atonement was at once the supreme exercise of prayer by Christ, and the supreme source of priestly prayer in us. . . . The Church's prayer is part of Christ's intercession. Priesthood and Sacrament go together. True, for us and our kind of universal priesthood the great Sacrament is the Sacrament of the Word. But . . . the Word is not the Word of preaching only. It is also the Word of prayer. The Word of all true prayer is stirred by the Word of Grace. It is a function of it. The Eucharist by its very name is much more of a thanksgiving than a sacrifice. Christ, the living Word and true Sacrament between God and man, addressed His soul to God much more than to man. . . . His very crowning atonement was prayer, and its continual function in the Exalted is continual Intercession.²⁶

The question will rightly be asked 'If both Church and ministry are as priestly as you say, is there much reason for our schism? Why not be thorough and go over?'²⁷ A twofold answer is offered. 'First, the priestliness in the Catholic forms of the Church turn on something else than prayer, something less personal and ethical than befits the religion of moral redemption. It turns on something in the sacraments which has to be guaranteed outwardly rather than inwardly by a pure transmission of a special priestly grace in ordination through an unbroken canonical line. . . . It turns on grace treated as a saving infusion rather than an action on it of His moral person, and there must be a government guarantee, so to say, of the genuine substance, the pure "drug of immortality". Or else it turns upon the Eucharist being treated as a sacrifice offered to God instead of a gift from God. It turns on offering the body of Christ. And there must be canonical warrant that what is offered is Christ's body, which is not discerned, but only certified. There must be a code of spiritual conveyancing.'²⁸

Both sacrificial views Forsyth held to be wrong. The first reason lies in the nature of Christ's atonement. In so far as there is an atoning reconciliation by the work of Christ it is 'offered to us from Christ's part . . . conveyed anew in this symbolic form; or on our part it is prayer offered by us to God. It is a prophetic offering or it is a priestly, in that sense of the working in us of Christ's prayer.'²⁹ Herein lies the judgement on the Mass, and on the Catholic interpretations of the Eucharist. ' . . . Both the Mass, as the renewal of Christ's sacrifice, or the Eucharist, as the infusion of a spiritual antiseptic, are excrescences on the principle of prayer, the outpouring of the Holy to the Holy, which made the soul of Christ's offering of Himself to God, and which set up the true priesthood of believers.'³⁰

The second reason why 'there is no call to leave your own communion to find the true priesthood is that the Catholic forms have no monopoly. The priestly function of the Church is not tied up to a canonical succession. It is the Lord's anointing and not man's. It belongs wherever the atoning Gospel has moral and hearty scope.'³¹ The Catholic view denies the full scope of the atonement at the very moment of setting it forth as expressed in the appointed means of Grace in the Lord's Supper.

CATHOLICITY AND DEVELOPMENT

The usual argument used to justify canonical continuity and historic

episcopacy as the sole will of God is Cardinal Newman's doctrine of development. The biological concept of evolution is here smuggled into Christianity as a manifestation of the guidance of the Holy Spirit. This claim raises some questions. 'The difficulty then, of course, is to know when to stop. Why draw the line at the first few centuries? Why not keep going as Rome does? Why deny the action of the Spirit in the Greek schism, or in the Reformation in the West? Does such a theory of the divine will in the Episcopate not put evolution in front of inspiration? Does it not impose as of necessity what is not in Scripture, not in the Gospel? Does it not destroy the principle that Scripture is the arbiter of controversy? Does it not approach the New Testament through the Fathers instead of approaching the Fathers through the New Testament? . . . Is the Gospel effective in the Church only if it has the episcopal countersign?'³² If development in history is the test then the latest becomes the norm, and the proliferation of denominations becomes the evolution of the Spirit also. The various Free Churches on this showing have been raised up by God because the deficiencies in the traditional episcopal system made them necessary. Therefore any reunited Church must find ways of incorporating their witness manifestly and officially. The simplest acknowledgement of this truth is in mutual recognition of Ministries, without any possibility of interpretation by anybody as supplemental or conditional ordination.

The whole issue of the nature of catholicity turns on this kind of discussion. Catholicity, or universality, is an essential mark of the Church, but there are at least two views of where that catholicity is to be found—one finds it in the historic Gospel and the second in one particular type of historic tradition in Church government. The supreme question is whether catholicity and unity are determined by the *source* or by the *course* of Christian history. 'Did Cyprian know more of the true Church and its unity than did Paul? Is the member of the Church the new creature or the newly christened, the converted or the confirmed?'³³ Forsyth's view is that the catholicity and the unity of the Church reside in the one Gospel of redemption through the gracious atoning work of Christ for all who believe, and not in one particular order of Church government, however venerable, impressive or useful. It is the creative moral redemption of Christ's work, applied by the Holy Spirit, which originated, constitutes, and sustains the Church, and not any traditional polity or liturgy. 'If unity is in polity Christ died in vain. Unity is in the Gospel . . . not in orders nor sacraments, valuable as these are. . . . The principle of Church unity is expressed in the brand of the flock and not the make of the fold.'³⁴

TWO TYPES OF RELIGION AND REFORM FROM WITHIN

The final and only question is therefore 'What is the nature of the revelation at the source, by which we are to bind or loose, to forbid or to allow new departures? Is it evangelical or sacramental in chief? Nature is upheld by a constant creation, and not frequent touches; is Christianity the religion of constant moral redemption (in terms of the Kingdom of God and its righteousness in the Cross) or of repeated mystic nutrition. . . . Is its principle a new creation or a sustenance periodically renewed? Does character come

from decisive moral change (however slow) or by cumulative mystic infusion? Are we regenerate by the Word or fortified by the Sacraments? Is the Christian life a continual moral conversion or a continual mystic feeding? Is Christ in the last resort the eternal Redeemer of a wrecked race or the steady Perfecter of a race merely defective? That will be the difference in principle between the Evangelical and Catholic type of Christianity in the coming conflict for the lead. Is the source of life the Gospel of Redemption to the lost conscience or the sacrament of the Incarnation to a soul which is but weak and not lost? . . . These alternatives make two types of religion according as each is, not indeed sole but, dominant. Which is the principle of the revelation creative for the Church? Did that contain in chief a polity and a Sacrament, or a Gospel and its Word (with sacrament as a form of its Word)? Which was Christ's grand legacy to the world? As Evangelical Free Churchmen we feel we owe ourselves and our duty to the former of these alternatives.³⁵

¹ *The Church and the Sacraments* (chapters 9-11).

² *Ibid.* Preface &c.; cf. *Congregationalism and Reunion*, pp. 48-51.

³ The main sources for Forsyth's thought on this theme are *The Church and the Sacraments* (1917); *The Charter of the Church*, or *The Spiritual Principle of Nonconformity* (1898); *Unity and Theology* (a paper contributed to the symposium *Towards Reunion*, which sprang from two successive Conferences at Mansfield College, Oxford, in 1918 and 1919, between members of the Free Churches and the Church of England), *Congregationalism and Reunion* (two addresses given during his Chairmanship of the Congregational Union 1917-18); and *Faith, Freedom and the Future* (1912), a study of the Anabaptist contribution to the understanding of the Church.

⁴ *Towards Reunion*.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Congregationalism and Reunion*, pp. 11-12.

⁷ *Towards Reunion*.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² 'Revelation and the Bible', *Hibbert Journal*.

¹³ *Unity and Theology*.

¹⁴ *Congregationalism and Reunion*, p. 37.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-5.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 25-6.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 41; cf. *Faith, Freedom and the Future*.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 41.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 76-7.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 77-8.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 25.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-2.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-1.

WESLEY'S TEACHING ON THE NATURE OF HOLINESS

Donal J. Dorr

IT is well known that the aim of John Wesley was 'to spread Scriptural holiness throughout the land'. In regard to the nature of this evangelical holiness Wesley differed sharply from many of his contemporaries. He was accused by the extreme Calvinists, and by some of the Moravian Brethren (including Count Zinzendorf himself), of preaching 'inherent righteousness' instead of 'God's righteousness'.¹ These men felt that the doctrine of salvation by grace alone through faith alone could be safeguarded only by insisting that the sanctity of the Christian is not something which inheres in or belongs to the Christian believer, but is merely the righteousness of Christ imputed to the man who believes.²

Wesley's answer to these opponents was in two stages. First he set out to show that the believer really does live a holy life and truly loves God, and consequently that he has certain inward qualities or dispositions such as meekness, love, etc.³ The second stage of the argument is the insistence that the Christian really is made holy by these qualities of inward holiness.⁴ In this way Wesley defended his belief that the Christian is made holy not merely by imputation but also intrinsically.⁵ This is not to say that Wesley considered the holiness of the Christian to be the property of the Christian himself to such an extent that it is not primarily the holiness of God. One does not have to choose between inherent righteousness and God's righteousness as Wesley's opponents imagined. One can reconcile the two. Wesley succeeded in reconciling them by his insistence that holiness is to be found in the creature simply because the love of God is shed abroad in the heart of the Christian believer by the Holy Spirit who is given to him.⁶

Wesley realized that the Holy Spirit comes to man precisely to make man holy.⁷ For Wesley the very root of religion was 'God with us! God in us!'⁸ It is through the Holy Spirit that God dwells in man.⁹ Wesley, then, stressed the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in order to bring out His role of effecting a fellowship of the closest intimacy between the Christian and the three Persons of the Blessed Trinity.¹⁰ The holiness of the Christian consists essentially in this personal relationship towards, and communion with, God in His Trinitarian life; it is not merely something in the ethical order, a body of Stoic 'virtues'.

The foundation of the believer's personal relationship with God lies in the fact that the Christian is given the great 'dignity, of divine adoption' and so has 'access to the Almighty; such free and welcome access, as a beloved child to an indulgent father'.¹¹ Wesley explained exactly what he meant when he spoke of the regenerated Christian being the adopted son of God. God, he said, is Father in three different senses: first, He is Father of all

things, but especially of angels and of men; secondly, He is 'in a peculiar manner the Father of those whom He regenerates by His Spirit, whom He adopts in His Son as co-heirs with Him, and crowns with an eternal inheritance'; thirdly, He is Father in a still higher sense of His only Son, whom He has begotten from eternity'.¹² Adoption as sons of God cannot, of course, give Christians parity with the only-begotten Son of God,¹³ but Wesley did claim that Christians are made partakers in the divine nature. He described sanctification as 'an inward thing, namely, the life of God in the soul of man; a participation in the divine nature; the mind that was in Christ; or, the renewal of our heart after the image of Him that created us'.¹⁴

In two early sermons Wesley developed in some detail the theoretical side of the Christian's participation in the life of God. Holiness is explained as consisting, properly speaking, in the likeness to God and conformity to His will; and this is made possible for fallen man by the renewal of his nature. This renewal is the work of the Holy Spirit, who comes to us so that we are sealed 'by receiving his real stamp upon our souls; being made partakers of the divine nature . . .'.¹⁵ Our desire must be 'to partake as truly of God as we do of flesh and blood, to be glorified in his nature, as we have been dishonoured in our own'.¹⁶ Wesley did not hesitate to speak of this as a 'deified state'.¹⁷ We Christians, he said, are given 'a supplement to our nature',¹⁸ and at times Wesley gives the impression in these two sermons that it is the Holy Spirit Himself, who dwells in the soul of the Christian, which is the share which man has in the life of God.¹⁹ But the Holy Spirit obviously does not merely dwell as a guest in the human heart without effecting a change in its inmost nature. It is precisely because God gives them 'a life so properly divine' that 'regenerate men are called his children',²⁰ and there is a complete contrast between the merely *servile* way in which fallen men live, move, and have their being in God, and the *filial* life of unfallen or regenerate man.²¹

Wesley's post-conversion writings concentrate less on the theoretical side of the nature of holiness, and more on the practical aspects of the Christian life. One finds, however, a constant insistence on the fact that holiness means a sharing in the mind of Christ, and a renewal in the image or likeness of God in which the soul was originally created.²² Needless to say, the image of God in man's soul is not merely something negative, the deliverance from sin, but the supremely positive gift of being 'filled with the fullness of God'.²³

Wesley insisted that holiness is a sharing in the life of God and the mind of Christ, and that it comes as a free gift to the Christian. For this reason Wesley could agree with his opponents to the extent of admitting that holiness in the believer is not *from* himself; but he insisted that holiness is really *in* the believer, and not merely imputed to him.²⁴ Care must be taken in understanding the word 'in'. It must not be taken to indicate that holiness has been appropriated by the Christian to such an extent that it is now his and not God's. The fact is that the Christian is in need of the Spirit of God at every moment to sustain His love in the soul from each instant to the next.²⁵ Wesley explained that 'God is continually breathing, as it were, upon the soul'.²⁶ He is 'continually breathing spiritual life' into the soul of the man who is born of God.²⁷ Man's spiritual life cannot be something which he possesses inde-

pendently of God, for it is only through union with God that man possesses the holiness which is in him.²⁸ This is because spiritual life is Christ's life; believers dwell in Christ, as branches united to the vine, or members united to their head.²⁹ It is only in Him that they can flourish and bear fruit,³⁰ for they have no stock of holiness of their own.

So far we have been considering the holiness of the Christian in general. The same approach is to be found in Wesley's references to the holiness of the man who has reached 'perfection'. Perfection does not make one independent of God; even the perfect man must at every moment be endued with power from on high.³¹ From one point of view perfection may be a state achieved; but from another point of view it is a gift granted to man from moment to moment—'a continued miracle'.³² Those who are perfect do not receive 'a stock of holiness'; unless Christ gives them 'a supply every moment, nothing but unholiness would remain'.³³ There must be the continual inspiration of the Spirit to fill one's heart with love, just as a well is continually filled with water.³⁴ It is as a result of the intercession of Christ that the Holy Spirit continues to preserve this love in the heart of the perfect man, from moment to moment.³⁵

Wesley spared no pains to avoid misunderstanding in regard to the holiness of the perfect man. Such a man (says Wesley) does not say: 'I am in myself nothing but sin, darkness, hell; but thou art my light, my holiness, my heaven.' Instead, he can say: 'Thou art my light, my holiness, my heaven. Through my union with thee, I am full of light, of holiness, and happiness. But if I were left to myself, I should be nothing but sin, darkness, hell.'³⁶ The nuance of meaning is well brought out. Wesley has carefully placed himself between the two extremes—the extreme of merely imputed holiness, and the extreme of a holiness so inherent that it is possessed independently of God. He explained that man is but a void capable of being filled by God.³⁷ The gifts of Christ's grace which are given to the perfect man are really possessed by the recipient. But they do not cease to be Christ's simply because they are given to man. Christ is the source of these graces. But they are not merely *from* Christ in the sense that they are merited by Him alone. They are also *in* Christ. They are not given to the soul separately from, but in and with Christ Himself.³⁸ The perfection of the Christian 'is not like that of a tree, which flourishes by the sap derived from its own root; but like that of a branch, which, united to the vine, bears fruit, but severed from it is dried up and withered'.³⁹ The perfect man must abide in Christ as the branch in the vine⁴⁰; he must hold fast to his confident belief in God, continue to yield up his whole heart to God, and continue in prayer and self-denial, in order to continue in his state of perfection which consists essentially in union with God. If he does all this he may confidently expect that God will not fail in His continued infusion of grace.⁴¹ But without union with Christ, the Christian can do nothing.⁴²

Both Evangelicals and Catholics often suggest that there is a difference in their teaching on the nature of holiness. The Catholic may consider that the Protestant notion of holiness is something merely imputed, and that it does not do justice to the supernatural character of Christian holiness, being on the merely natural or ethical level. The Protestant, on the other hand,

may believe that in Catholic teaching the true biblical notion of holiness is obscured by Scholastic philosophizing: the Scholastic idea of grace as a '*habitus*', and the conception of 'supernature' lead Protestants to believe that Catholicism turns grace into a substantial entity.⁴³ Furthermore, Protestants may feel that the transcendence of God is impugned by Catholic notions of 'divinization'.⁴⁴ It may well be that Wesley's account of Christian holiness provides a meeting-point for evangelical and Catholic views, and suggests the elements of a solution to a problem which is largely terminological.

We have seen that Wesley was very insistent that holiness is not merely imputed but is also truly inherent in the Christian. Catholics may be inclined to associate the 'Protestant' notion of justification with an idea of holiness as merely imputed. Wesley gives the lie to such an over-simplification. Despite a strongly forensic or legalistic conception of justification, he stresses inherent holiness as much as any Catholic. He succeeds in doing this without making too sharp a dichotomy between justification and sanctification. For Wesley, sanctification was never the merely accidental result of justification; it was rather the whole *purpose* of justification. There is a very close link between justification and sanctification because in the instant in which the sinner is forgiven he is necessarily restored to the sonship of God,⁴⁵ and this means that he is given a share in the divine life—regeneration, which is the beginning of sanctification.

The inherent holiness possessed by the Christian is not, in Wesley's view, a merely ethical holiness; it is truly on the supernatural level. Wesley may not use the Scholastic terminology, but the account which we have given seems to indicate clearly that Wesley saw holiness as essentially a fellowship with the Persons of the Blessed Trinity, and a sharing in the divine Trinitarian life, in as far as it is possible for a mere human to possess it. His account of holiness in the two early sermons to which we have referred is remarkably close to the teaching of the Scholastics. In the later writings the analysis of the three levels on which it is possible to have God as Father is especially valuable. Furthermore, Wesley, as we have seen, uses the scriptural images of the Vine and branches and the Body of Christ. These two images are used by the Council of Trent to explain how the power of Christ is infused continually into the justified, and so makes their works pleasing to God.⁴⁶

It is obvious that in Wesley's conception of holiness, priority goes to the personal relationship and fellowship with God. The regeneration of the Christian by which he is given a share in the life of God is done simply so that he may have this personal communion with the triune God. We may refer briefly to some modern Catholic writers who agree with Wesley on this point. Father Charles Davis in a recent book remarks: 'The life of grace is often explained as if it were an impersonal thing. The impression is given of the infusion of some higher kind of biological life that can be lived below the personal level. But the life of grace is an intensely personal life. It is a new personal relation with God. We could not live in such personal intimacy with God unless he transformed our nature and gave it new powers. But this new, supernatural equipping of our nature is only to make possible a life that has to be lived on the personal level. It is our entry into the personal life of the Godhead.'⁴⁷

We may support this view of the life of grace by quoting from Father C. Vollert: 'Grace is a new relation to Christ and through Him to the triune God, a personal relationship, not merely an ontological change.'⁴⁸ The Catholic, then, sees grace primarily as God's loving action in communicating Himself to man, and the intimate fellowship with the triune God which results from this communication. Grace is also that which transforms and elevates man's nature, but this is not an end in itself. The purpose of the change in man's nature is simply to enable man to have intimate fellowship with God.

We may summarize briefly our conclusions: Wesley insisted that holiness is not merely imputed to man but is also infused into his soul. Holiness is, therefore, man's very own—but for all that it does not cease to be God's holiness far more than it is man's. In regard to the nature of this inherent and infused holiness, Wesley saw it essentially as an intimate fellowship with the Blessed Trinity. This implies a regeneration of man's nature, a re-birth which involves not merely a turning from evil to good on a purely human level, but an infusion of a new, divine, *supernatural life*—a participation in the inner life of God. On all of these points there is close agreement between Wesley's teaching and the Catholic teaching on the gift of grace.

¹ See Wesley's *Works* (Jackson edn), X.277 (1745).

² E.g. Wesley's dispute with Zinzendorf recorded in Wesley's *Journal* (Curnock edn), II.489 (1741).

³ *Works*, X.272 (1744/5); cf. *ibid.* p. 203.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 275.

⁵ Wesley's *Letters* (Telford edn), III.384 (1756).

⁶ *Letters*, V.203 (1770).

⁷ E.g. *Standard Sermons* (Sugden edn), I.80 (1742); cf. *Works*, X.82 (1749?).

⁸ *Works*, VII.324 (c. 1790).

⁹ *Standard Sermons*, I.80 (1742).

¹⁰ See *Works*, XI.172, VI.394 (1788), VII.324-5, VI.425; Wesley's *Notes on the New Testament* (1754).—Romans 8:9.

¹¹ *Ibid.* (2 Corinthians 6:18) (1754); cf. *Standard Sermons*, I.367, 360-1.

¹² *Letters*, III.8 (1749).

¹³ cf. *Standard Sermons*, II.45—no man can see God in His essence.

¹⁴ *Journal*, II.275 (1739); cf. *Standard Sermons*, I.526.

¹⁵ *Works*, VII.491 (1733).

¹⁶ *Works*, VII.513 (1736).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Works*, VII.492 (1733), VII.515 (1736).

²⁰ *Works*, VII.509.

²¹ *Ibid.* p. 511.

²² E.g. *Works*, VII.316 (1790); *Standard Sermons*, I.345 (1739), p. 379 (1747); cf. *Works*, VI.264 (1788).

²³ *Works*, VI.276 (1788).

²⁴ *Ibid.* X.203.

²⁵ *Letters*, III.390 (1756).

²⁶ *Standard Sermons*, II.234 (1749/60).

²⁷ *Notes on the New Testament* (I John 3:9) (1754); cf. *Works*, VIII.188 (1745).

²⁸ *Works*, XI.417 (1763).

²⁹ *Standard Sermons*, L.164 (1745); cf. *Works*, X.285.

³⁰ *Works*, XI.395-6.

³¹ *Works*, VI.398 (1788).

³² *Letters*, V.4 (1766).

³³ *Works*, XI.417 (1763/6).

³⁴ *Works*, VIII.188 (1745?).

³⁵ *Letters*, III.380 (1756).

³⁶ *Works*, XI.417.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 441.

³⁸ *Works*, XI.395 (1760/6); *Letters*, V.204 (1770).

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ *Works*, XI.395.

⁴¹ *Letters*, V.171 (1770).

⁴² *Works*, XI.395.

⁴³ E.g. E. P. Palmer, *Scheeben's Doctrine of Divine Adoption* (Te Kampen, Holland), pp. 133-8.

⁴⁴ 'Divinization' is rejected by B. Drewery, in *Origen and the Doctrine of Grace* (London, 1960), pp. 200-1; P. Scott, in his study *John Wesleys Lehre von der Heiligung verglichen mit einem lutherisch-pietistischen Beispiel*, p. 22, maintains that Wesley himself rejected the conception of divinization.

⁴⁵ *Letters*, III.377 (1756).

⁴⁶ Denziger, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, §809.

⁴⁷ *The Making of a Christian: Five Lectures on Christian Initiation* (London, 1964), p. 105.

⁴⁸ In a review in *Theological Studies*, Vol. XXIV, No. 4 (December 1963), p. 689. Father Karl Rahner goes even farther in his examination of the relationship between created and uncreated grace in *Theological Investigations* (I.319-46, especially pp. 335, 342-3).

BAILLIE REMODELLED!

William D. Robinson

IN THE LONDON QUARTERLY AND HOLBORN REVIEW, July 1964, there is an interesting and provocative article by the Rev. A. P. F. Sell entitled 'John Baillie and Christian Epistemology'. Being at present engaged on a more extended study of the late Prof. Baillie's work, I do not wish at this time to comment on the wider issues raised by sections I, II and IV of the article in question. However, in section III there occurs such a misrepresentation of Baillie's views that one can only assume a curious misreading of his work. It is about this restricted point that I wish to comment.

Mr Sell traces certain alleged weaknesses in Baillie's epistemology to what he calls the scientific model. It will be most convenient if I quote the relevant passage from the article:

Clearly the scientific model lies behind much of the discussion of verification in S.P.G., and this same model seems to lead Professor Baillie astray *when he suggests that Christian faith in God is a plausible hypothesis*. He refers to Professor Wisdom's celebrated parable of the gardener whose inaccessibility to observation caused one friend to deny that there was a gardener at all, and the other friend to insist that there was an invisible gardener. *Professor Baillie says that there are certain facts that cannot be accounted for without hypothesizing the divine, and that these facts include the religious life of mankind* (S.P.G., pp. 126-7). But is God an hypothesis? Is the religious quest merely a quest for this kind of plausibility?¹

Before any discussion on these alleged views it may be as well to examine the factual assertion. Does Professor Baillie suggest and say what Mr Sell represents him as suggesting and saying? I can only assert that Mr Sell is mistaken. What evidence is put forward to support this interpretation of

Baillie's tenets? Turning to the only reference given we read, after the quotation of Professor Wisdom's parable:

But my contention from the beginning has been that faith is a mode of apprehension which perceives something more in the total reality with which we are confronted than is manifest, or is expected to be manifest, to the senses. As far as these latter are concerned, all that transpires, *all that happens to us and around us, can be explained in purely human terms*, without leaving any remainder, *without the need of any further hypotheses*.

Baillie then quotes Hocking to the effect that experience fits both a theistic and an atheistic hypothesis, any decision between them needing some other faculty. Baillie continues:

But it is evident that *among the 'visible facts' that can be thus accounted for without hypothesizing a divine element in reality is the whole religious life of mankind*. Men of faith believe that God is active in their experience at every point, and they conceive their religious life as a bi-polar intercourse between him and themselves. At one of these poles they themselves are standing. But to the mere onlooker, who has himself no part in the intercourse and who therefore, because he does not stand at the human end of it, has no means of access to the divine end, all that transpires at the former will be explicable in purely human terms; that is to say, all that happens in the mind of the believer, his resultant action and his resultant worship, is easily susceptible of explanation in terms of his own psychological states.²

Thus, if I have read this correctly, Baillie says the exact opposite of what Mr Sell attributes to him. Rather than saying that the religious life of mankind is one of the facts unaccounted for without a divine hypothesis, Baillie contends that all the facts *can* be accounted for without such an hypothesis.

Of course, even though Baillie does say the opposite *about* a divine hypothesis of what Mr Sell says he does, it might still be true that Baillie thinks of faith *in terms of* such an hypothesis. Let us go on to examine this possibility, which, after all, is the main point of the section of the article in question.

It will be obvious from the above full quotation that Baillie did not *in that place* consider faith as an hypothesis. What other evidence are we given that he did? As far as I can see, none is offered. Apart from the inaccurate reference we have examined no support is given for Mr Sell's contention.

Again, it might conceivably be true that Baillie did think of faith as a pseudo-scientific hypothesis—a kind of provisional, empirical generalization—even though the article we are discussing does not provide any evidence to that effect. Is there anything to decide the question? Yes, I think there is, and the decision must go against Mr Sell's interpretation.

Baillie is, as Mr Sell notes, conversant with the provisional character of scientific hypothesis, '... it is generally agreed that a high degree of probability is the most that can be claimed for any scientific result'.³ He is careful to show that faith is not opposed to knowledge: 'It is... a mistake to set faith, as Kant did, in contrast to knowledge.' Faith is not opposed to knowledge, but falls short of sight. 'In the New Testament to know God and to

have faith in him are often hardly more than two ways of saying the same thing.⁶

So far it might look as though Baillie were approximating faith to other kinds of knowledge, including, of course, scientific knowledge. He is even willing to say that such faith-knowledge is, in the New Testament, in some sense imperfect. 'And yet the knowledge that is faith is not the best kind of knowledge. The concept of faith always contains both the idea of knowing and the idea of not knowing fully.'⁶ But this imperfection is not that of hypothesis. Faith really does know its object, but it is imperfect in two ways, neither of which, however, makes it provisional in the hypothetical sense. Faith is not fully knowledge, firstly, in the sense that it is not full knowledge; it does not know the fullness of its object—a point often stressed by Baillie.⁷

Secondly, faith is imperfect in that its expression is defectible. 'All human thinking is defectible.'⁸ This does not mean that faith itself is provisional, but that it is subject to error in the form of its verbal description. Faith itself is an acquaintance with reality which gives a sense of certitude and provides the criterion by which expressions can be judged: 'We are convinced that we are in touch with reality, we do know something assuredly, but when we try to express in theoretical terms what we know and are sure of, we never have the same assurance that we have got our answer quite right. We know we are thinking something that is certainly true, but there is always the risk of error in our way of thinking it.'⁹

Baillie here illustrates (no more!) his point from the facts of scientific hypothesizing, and it may be that this has caused misunderstanding of his position. The results of science, he has already noted, can never be regarded as final. 'They are all corrigible and in fact subjected to constant correction.'¹⁰ But, he argues, unless scientific theories rested on some certain knowledge, there could be no grounds for comparison between them, and no criterion for measuring advance. 'If no element of certain knowledge entered into the probabilities of science, science could not be progressive.'¹¹ This certain knowledge is direct awareness of the natural world, which science seeks to systematize, describe and explain. 'What science does is to make plain to me the real nature and implications of what I already knew, but the explanations never have the same quality of certitude as pervades the original knowledge.'¹² This appears to be not unrelated to Cook Wilson's insistence that any definition of knowledge either denied its existence or included it under another name.¹³

To turn from the illustration itself to its description, we may say that, just as science is the hypothetical description of the deliverances of our awareness of corporeal reality, so theology, or the theoretical systematization of religious experience, is the provisional, defectible and hypothetical description of faith, faith itself being our immediate contact with God.

If this scheme justly represents his thought, Baillie himself, I think, was probably guilty of a small infelicity of language when he spoke of faith itself as being not the best kind of knowledge.¹⁴ The development of his argument, however, sufficiently explains and safeguards the thought.

It will, therefore, be seen that, in this scheme, faith is not parallel to

scientific hypothesis, but to that element of direct acquaintance with reality which makes any knowledge possible, including the scientific. Scientific hypothesis, if it is to be compared with anything in religion is parallel to the theoretical systematizations of theology. Faith to the Christian is certain knowledge, though he is never quite satisfied with his expression of it. "The Christian has full assurance of being in authentic touch with the unseen. He has been visited by God's revelation of himself, of his mind and will in Jesus Christ our Lord, and divine revelation can be no other than infallible. What it proclaims is absolute truth, subject to no qualification or revision, "irreformable". On the other hand we have said that the Christian can never perfectly capture into his own thinking this infallible revelation, this absolute truth. He tries by the most suitable concepts his mind can frame, and the best language he can command, to grasp what it portends, but in this he never achieves anything like complete success, so that his theological formulations are always 'reformable', subject to correction, revision and development. Yet it is precisely and only because he has been visited by infallible divine revelation that such correction, revision and development are possible; and as these processes are carried forward, they are controlled and guided by this revelation, and ought to be controlled and guided by nothing else. This means that all his thinking has been invaded, and continues to be pervaded, by an infallibility, an absoluteness, and therefore a certainty, which he nevertheless remains unable to hold securely in his own very human grasp. . . .¹⁵

It is vital to Baillie's philosophy of religion that faith is not merely an immediate 'sensation', but also a mediated content of knowledge, i.e. it has an intellectual content, yet without being inferential. Whether he has succeeded in sustaining this position is a larger matter. I hope to return later to the question whether he established a genuine *via media* between Kant and Schleiermacher. Meanwhile, I hope that I have done more than enough to show that his idea of faith is not conceived on the scientific model, and is not, therefore, thought of as a provisional hypothesis.

¹ LONDON QUARTERLY AND HOLBORN REVIEW, July 1964, p. 227. Italics mine.

² *The Sense of the Presence of God*, pp. 126-7. Italics mine.

³ Ibid., p. 2.

⁴ Ibid., p. 4.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 4-5.

⁶ Ibid., p. 5.

⁷ Ibid., p. 5, *et al.*

⁸ Ibid., p. 6.

⁹ Ibid., p. 8.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 8.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 9.

¹² Ibid., p. 28.

¹³ *Statement and Inference*, p. 39.

¹⁴ *The Sense of the Presence of God*, p. 5.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 9-10.

SHORTER SURVEY

John T. Wilkinson

FOUR important biographical studies demand attention. George Augustus Selwyn, Bishop in New Zealand and Melanesia and afterwards at Lichfield, was one of the outstanding Anglican Churchmen of the nineteenth century. In *Churchman Militant* (Allen & Unwin, 40s.) Professor John Evans, who has lived in New Zealand for several years, provides the first full-length biography since Prebendary Tucker's important two-volume work written in 1879. It contains much new material, and in particular reveals the important part played by Mrs Selwyn, a lady of great character, in her husband's achievements. The book is beautifully illustrated. A bishop at thirty-two, Selwyn was a man of far-reaching foresight and became virtually the architect of the Anglican Church in New Zealand and the Melanesian Islands. Deeply involved in the Maori wars, the accusation sometimes made against him that his activities were directed against the Maori people is here strongly refuted. The story of the monumental figure, often and perhaps inevitably involved in controversy, is vigorously portrayed and makes fascinating reading.

The Abbé Paul Couturier, of Lyons (1881-1953), an obscure priest of the Roman Catholic Church and a somewhat unsuccessful schoolmaster, living in considerable poverty and frailty of health, did not discover the full purpose of his life in terms of ecumenical vocation until his fifties. Yet his name will for ever have central significance in the growth of the ecumenical spirit of our time. The Week of Prayer for Christian Unity, now so widely observed during 18th-25th January annually, is fundamentally the creation of this apostle of Christ. Catholic and Protestant, Orthodox and Anglican recognize in this saintly figure a spiritual power and influence which crosses over all denominational barriers. *Paul Couturier and Unity in Christ*, by Geoffrey Curtis, C.R. (S.C.M. Press, 35s.), is a biography of this man of God. Yet it is much more: it is the story of a search for the true foundations of Christian unity and the expansion of a spiritual movement in the context of which the Abbé stands aloft. As a friend and fellow-worker, Fr Curtis writes with deep insight and affection, and the reading of the book leaves an inefaceable impression of the endlessness of spiritual influence, the secret of which is in constant prayer. Speaking from the sanctuary steps on the occasion of the Abbé's funeral, the Protestant pastor, Roland de Pury, declared his greatness: 'He leaves us the example of tireless patience and charity, resolute in the pursuit of that end at once so clear and so mysterious: the unity of all those who have for their only Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ.'

For a long time the importance of Charles Wesley has been overshadowed by the constant attention bestowed on his brother John. In his book *Charles Wesley, the First Methodist* (Lutterworth Press, 21s.), Frederick C. Gill goes

far towards repairing the omission. A work of accurate scholarship, this book, delightfully written and finely illustrated, presents a lively portrait of Charles, both as to his public life and his domestic setting. By skilful use of Charles's letters to his wife, the somewhat elusive personality of the latter emerges more clearly than hitherto. Mr Gill corrects the prevailing conception that, whilst John was itinerant, Charles was not so. In some ways the contrast which Mr Gill makes between the two brothers is rather over-emphasized and there is a tendency to tone down the sharpness of temperament which Charles on occasion undoubtedly manifested. Particularly satisfactory, however, is his portrayal of the Bristol ministry and the settled London years. Throughout his life Charles remained a sound Churchman and a loyal Methodist, and perhaps for the first time we are now able to see his character and achievement in its own dimension. Mr Gill is to be congratulated on this further addition to his earlier work as a Methodist historian.

This year, 1965, marks the fourth century of the discovery of the true return route across the Pacific from west to east by a distinguished Basque navigator, soldier and cosmographer, who became a friar of the Augustinian Order in 1553, in Mexico City, later being ordained to the priesthood. This story is vividly told in *Friar Andres de Urdaneta, O.S.A.*, by Mairin Mitchell (Macdonald & Evans, 25s.), and is based on the explorer's own diary and other contemporary sources. Of him the Augustinian chronicler Grijalva wrote: 'As a preacher and as a founder of churches he had not his equal.' He was responsible for bringing Christianity and the civilization of Spain to the Philippines. A story unique in the great age of Spanish maritime discoveries, it affords fascinating reading.

Dr Patrick Fairbairn (1805-1874), Professor of Theology at Aberdeen and later Principal of the Free Church College, Glasgow, was one of the foremost exegetes of the nineteenth century. As translator of several volumes in the series 'Foreign Theological Library' (T. & T. Clark) and author of *The Typology of Scripture* (1845) he gained wide repute. Particularly concerned to challenge the unsatisfactory views of biblical prophecy current in the middle of that century, he declared that 'prophecy is utterly misapplied when it is taken as a guide-book to details happening in the civil and political spheres of the world's history'. In order to combat this false view, he wrote *Prophecy Viewed in Respect to its Distinctive Nature, its Special Function and Proper Interpretation* (1856), which he later revised. It is now published under the title *The Interpretation of Prophecy* (Banner of Truth Trust, 25s.). More than half the work is given to an exposition of principles of interpretation, and the remainder to their application to the prophecies of Daniel and to the Apocalypse. Although there will be those who in part question his conclusions, the book contains much sound material. This subject is receiving constant attention today and for the student of the history of biblical interpretation this work, now readily available, is of primary importance.

The Pentecostal Movement in the Church is finding increasing recognition in our time, and the Pentecostalist Churches are reputed to be the most rapidly growing in the world. This makes all the more welcome the first

scholarly attempt at an evaluation in the recent volume by the Norwegian scholar, Professor Nils Bloch-Hoell: *The Pentecostal Movement* (Allen & Unwin, 35s.), the purpose of which is to examine its origin, development and distinctive character. The author covers the historical, sociological, psychological and theological aspects. Special attention is given to its rise in the United States at the end of the last century, and to Norway. Pentecostalism in Germany and Switzerland is treated less fully, and little is said either concerning its influence in Britain or of its impact in overseas missionary regions, in some of which, particularly the West Indies and Africa and Latin America, it is a force to be reckoned with. This book, which reveals both the strength and weakness of the movement, should prove helpful in bridging the gulf which exists between these groups and other Christian denominations.

For the serious student of theology *The Main Lines of Development in Systematic Theology and Biblical Interpretation in Scandinavia* (Union Theological Seminary, Virginia) should prove an invaluable bibliographical guide.

Isms and Ologies: A Guide to Unorthodox and non-Christian Beliefs, by Arnold Kellett (Epworth Press, 7s. 6d.), should be useful to those who are perplexed by the bewildering variety of sects, cults and philosophies which flourish in Britain today. The author, a Methodist layman, gives an account of the origin and history of each belief, an outline of its main features and then a comparison with Christian teaching. This book could provide a profitable course of study for discussion groups and would afford answers to many questions in the minds of many folk in our present time.

The World's Living Religions (Dell Publishing Co., N.Y., 75c.), written by A. J. Bahm, Professor of Philosophy and Comparative Religion in the University of New Mexico, is highly to be commended, not least as an attempt to secure reconciliation through a deeper understanding of the essential similarities in the world's faiths. It deals fully with the religions of India, China and Japan and Western civilizations and is 'a collective effort to establish a new dimension' of sympathetic understanding in the spiritual realm.

That a new spirit now prevails in the attitude of the Church of Rome to the Reformed Churches in our time none will deny. The new pattern has emerged since Pope John's letter of June, 1959; the invitation to non-Roman churches to send observers to the Vatican Council and the tenor of the Council itself revealing a new atmosphere; the writings of Dr Hans Kung, which signify a constructive approach, all indicate that the unhappy days of polemic have gone. Is it therefore time for non-Romans to keep silent upon the deep issues that still divide? In *Roman Catholicism Today* (InterVarsity Fellowship, 4s.) the Revd. H. M. Carson, Vicar of St Paul's, Cambridge, endeavours, in no sense offensively, to assert the Protestant position against what he deems to be the doctrinal intransigence of the Roman Church. This book can well be read by Roman and Protestants alike.

First published in 1959, *The Gospels: Their Origin and Their Growth* by the distinguished American scholar, Dr F. C. Grant, surveys with remarkable

clarity and in broad outline the work of modern New Testament scholars. This excellent work is now available in a paper-back edition (Faber & Faber, 10s. 6d.).

Any volume from the pen of Professor Joachim Jeremias, of Göttingen, is eagerly awaited, and of all his writings perhaps the most penetrating and certainly the simplest is *The Central Message of the New Testament* (Epworth Press, 12s. 6d.), forming the Hewitt Lectures of 1963. The author describes them as 'four chapters in New Testament theology'. They comprise the following: the significance of *Abba* in the prayer of Jesus; the sacrificial death as interpreted by Jesus himself; the interpretation of Paul's theological formula 'Justification by faith'; the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel as 'an early Christian hymn about Jesus'. Here is the Christian message in its richness—a perfect example of pure exegesis.

Professor Bruce M. Metzger, of Princeton Theological Seminary, N.Y., is editor of *The Oxford Annotated Apocrypha* (R.S.V.) (Oxford University Press, 25s.), which is intended to serve both the general reader and the student of biblical literature. It provides a general introduction concerning the types of literature represented, the divergent attitude of the Church towards the Apocrypha and an account of its pervasive influence. Each book has an introduction dealing with composition, date and contents; each chapter has annotations explaining literary, historical, geographical and religious matters together with cross-references. In addition, there are chronological tables of rulers during this inter-testamental period, and also an index to the comments on persons, places and ideas. This is an invaluable work.

The New English Bible: The New Testament Concordance, compiled by E. Elder (Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 19s. 6d.), is intended as a supplement to existing concordances, for the words listed are not in or not in the same verses as the Authorized Version. It will at once afford illustration of new words which have now become incorporated in the language of our New Testament: e.g. *dogmatic*, *felicity*, *hailstone*, *machination*, *police*, *seduce*, *vegetables*. Full use of this concordance, however, will only be possible as familiarity with the new version increases.

From the second to the seventh centuries A.D. the Church in Africa was the most flourishing province in Western Christendom, and through its great leaders, Tertullian, Cyprian and Augustine, it exerted a wide influence. The story of these centuries is excellently sketched in *Church and Empire in Roman Africa*, by P. A. Micklethwait (Budd & Gillatt, 25s.), and has the value of covering for the general reader the subject as a whole, as distinct from the numerous writings of various episodes within this period. Written in a clear and readable style, it merits the observation made by Bishop Wand in his foreword: 'Dr Micklethwait has cast it into a mould which, while worthy of the close examination of the expert, is likely at the same time to prove both easy and interesting to the uninitiated.' A useful map is provided.

Studies in Church History (Vol. I), edited by C. W. Dugmore and C. Duggan (Nelson, 42s.), contains papers and shorter communications read by members of the Ecclesiastical History Society at its first meetings in

1962. It is a notable collection of twenty-two erudite studies on an amazingly wide variety of subjects. The first President of the Society, Dom David Knowles, O.S.B., writes on 'Some Recent Work on Early Benedictine History': Professor E. F. Jacob on 'Reflections upon the Study of the General Councils in the Fifteenth Century'. A number of the papers come from scholars in country parishes: e.g. H. A. Lloyd Jinks on 'Peter Gunning: 1613-84, Scholar, Churchman and Controversialist', and C. J. Godfrey on 'The Archbishopric of Lichfield'. T. M. Parker of University College, Oxford, writes on 'Arminianism and Laudianism in Seventeenth-century England'. The remaining papers range from Donatism to the beginnings of English Sabbatarianism; from the Irish Missal of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, to the origins of Liberal Catholicism in the Church of England. A second volume of papers read at the meetings in 1963 is in an advanced stage of preparation and is eagerly awaited.

The Reformation of the Church (Banner of Truth Trust, 15s.) comprises a selection of Reformed and Puritan documents on church issues, selected by Iain Murray. Uneasy as to the somewhat wider basis of the ecumenical movement, Mr Murray seeks to emphasize the Reformed-Puritan approach to the doctrine of the Church, and so the documents selected, though representing different groups, are taken mainly from the period 1560-1662. Believing that 'a common attachment to the Scriptures . . . is the only sure basis of Church unity', the compiler hopes that this collection 'will be of service to the number of evangelical ministers at the present time who are re-examining the nature of the Church'. Despite the limitations of this selection, however, the volume will be useful to all students of this period.

No proper edition of Cranmer's works has been printed for more than a century. This omission is repaired by the second volume in 'The Courtenay Library of Reformation Classics', under the title *The Works of Thomas Cranmer* (Sutton Courtenay Press, 42s.), edited by G. E. Duffield, with a lengthy introduction by Dr J. I. Packer, in which the development of Cranmer's theological views is set forth. The volume, which is illustrated, includes Cranmer's speeches and proclamations, his 'Preface to the Great Bible' (1540), a considerable number of his letters and his final appeal and defence (1556). An appendix gives a detailed account of Cranmer's Library.

Philip Jacob Spener (1635-1705), the founder of German Pietism and reformer of the Lutheran Church in Germany, introduced the *collegia pietatis*, devotional meetings which gathered twice weekly in his house at Frankfurt. His enthusiasm for reform and his insistence on the inner religious life of the individual had a deep influence on German Protestantism. His best known work, *Pia Desiderata* (1675), which created the Pietist movement, has now been translated into English and published by the Fortress Press of Philadelphia (\$1.75) with a valuable introduction by T. G. Tappert. Remembering the influence of Pietism through the Moravians in the life of John Wesley, this should be particularly welcomed by all Methodists.

Architecture in Worship, by André Bieler (Oliver & Boyd, 15s.), of the Faculty of Theology at the University of Geneva, is a translation of *Liturgie et Architecture* published in Geneva in 1961. This Swiss account of the interaction of worship and church-building from the time of Old Testament

sanctuaries to those of the modern ecumenical period is concise and contains many diagrammatic illustrations. Karl Barth has contributed a supplementary note to the volume and the general interpretation throughout the book is marked by this Barthian approach. It is perhaps to be expected that the best portion of the book would deal with the period of the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation, and such is the case. There is no reference to church building in Britain. Though in some respects incomplete, it forms a useful introduction to the theology of church-architecture and will doubtless prompt the serious student to larger volumes on the subject.

The Hibbert Lectures for 1962 (James Clarke, 5s.) comprise four lectures based on the theme of the Great Ejection and its significance, and, as one would expect, they reveal meticulous scholarship throughout. The first lecture on 'The Emergence of Nonconformity', by Dr G. F. Nuttall, shows that the Nonconformity which emerged in and after 1662 was 'not a new phenomenon, sudden and unpredictable in its uprising' but rather 'the latest expression of a movement which had persisted for many years, with its origins indeed in the sixteenth century'. The second lecture, by Mr Roger Thomas, Librarian of Dr Williams's Library, on 'The Break-up of Nonconformity' deals with the divergence of theological opinion which prevented permanent success in attempts to maintain a united front such as might reasonably have been hoped following the passing of the Toleration Act in 1689. The third lecture, by Dr R. D. Whitehorn, Principal of Westminster College, Cambridge, is on 'Richard Baxter: "Meer Nonconformist"'. He is shown as one who seems 'to unite in himself the best qualities of most of the partisans' in the struggle, and for whom (in the words of Dr F. J. Powicke) 'the wide extent of his conforming does but serve to prove how deeply grounded his Nonconformity must have been'. The fourth lecture, by H. L. Short, of Manchester College, Oxford, on 'Wales and the Ejection' shows how the events in Wales did not follow the same pattern as in England—a distinction sometimes overlooked. Throughout these lectures the significance of Baxter as being of primary importance in the movement is manifest.

The eighteenth lecture promoted by the Friends of Dr Williams's Library, and entitled *Methodism and the Puritans*, by Dr John A. Newton (Dr Williams's Trust, 4s. 6d.), traces a strand in Methodism which, while not ignored, has often been underestimated or minimized—the English Puritan tradition on which Wesley's parents were reared. This Puritan strain in Methodism is illustrated by the fact that in Wesley's *Christian Library*, Puritan divines form 'the largest single tradition represented in the collection'. Amongst those divines Wesley had a high regard for 'honest Richard Baxter . . . that loving serious Christian'. Dr Newton traces Methodism's debt to Puritanism in the areas of theological agreement, liturgy and worship, in pastoralia and in its ethical rigorism. Dr Newton is to be warmly congratulated upon this excellent study.

In *Faith without Dogma* (Allen & Unwin, 16s.) Margaret Isherwood claims that a world religion is needed, which should be built 'not on authoritarian pronouncements but on a basis of objectively established fact on the one hand and on subjective experience on the other'. So in the story of

evolution unfolded by science there is indication of 'grounds for faith in life': in the mind of man there is a trend towards expansion of consciousness and a deepening of his capacity for experiencing spiritual values. In these two areas of 'the outer and the inner' life seems to be meaningful 'in a more comprehensive and less controversial sense than that of narrow doctrinal creeds'.

In *Nature and God*, by L. Charles Birch (S.C.M. Press, 6s. 6d.) the author claims that whilst on the one hand no reconciliation is possible between religious fundamentalism and modern science and, on the other, that the traditional thinking of science, with a mechanistic view of the universe, is also irreconcilable with the Christian position, nevertheless the change within science and within philosophy and theology opens up a new and constructive way of looking at the natural world. Building upon the work of A. N. Whitehead, Tillich and Teilhard de Chardin, he believes that this generation can come within closer reach of an understanding of nature and God than any previous generation—time for 'the rebirth of a reasonable faith'. This is a stimulating book.

I Believe . . ., by Katharine Lonsdale (Cambridge University Press, 4s. 6d.), is the eighteenth A. S. Eddington Lecture. The writer, who is a distinguished scientist and member of the Society of Friends, argues that 'religious truth is known to us through religious experience, our own and other people's, and that religious experience includes scientific experience while going far beyond it' (p. 30). Believing profoundly that truth is a unity wherever it is discovered, Dr. Lonsdale declares that the Church's message for the world can often be hindered 'by adding or substituting dogmas that have no meaning for the honest seeker' confused by 'the archaic language of the creeds'. This is a discourse that compels attention.

R. S. Thomas, the Welsh poet, provides a fascinating study under the title of *Words and the Poet*, being the W. D. Thomas Memorial Lecture (University of Wales Press, 2s. 6d.) affirming that 'the poet's function and privilege is to speak to our condition in the name of our common humanity in words which do not grow old because the heart does not grow old'.

Three interesting items come from the Epworth Press. *Seek a City Saint*, by David Head (8s. 6d.), is a series of letters concerning holiness, written in vigorous English and with the thrust and humour which we have come to expect from the author. It is an attempt 'to translate Christianity into the thought-forms of the market-place'—the saint is the man of the city. *Rome Diary*, by Nancy Hildebrandt, (18s.), is a detailed record of three months of unexpected privilege in accompanying her husband on the occasion of the first session of the ecumenical Vatican Council at which he was an official observer. It makes most delightful reading. *A Layman Speaks Again* (7s. 6d.), by Douglas P. Blatherwick, is a revision in terms of emphasis of *A Layman Speaks* (1959), and if made a basis of discussion amongst groups of the laity could have far-reaching influence. It could stir many to decisive action for the uplifting of the Church.

RECENT LITERATURE

Edited by John T. Wilkinson

The Drama of the Bible, by Philip J. Lamb. (Oxford University Press, 30s.)

This is an exciting book, and it is by Canon Lamb, Principal of St John's College, York, an Anglican teacher-training establishment. The Drama is: Blessing in the past, Sin in the present, Doom in the near future. This is what Amos made of it, but he was not typical. It has to be a story of salvation, and this was what Hosea saw when he said that beyond the doom there is a renewed blessing. Ultimately the Jews refused the blessing with their *apartheid*, and we get the Christian version of the story of the blessing of the Chosen People. It is the pattern which unfolds itself in the epistles of St Paul, where the fight is: Is the blessing for the Jews with their exclusive legalism, or is it for all men 'in Christ'? The concluding chapter is headed 'The conclusion in eternity' and this is the story of the Book of Revelation. There are three premises to the understanding of the Bible: and they all appear early on—the essential rightness of things, the world spoilt by man's disobedience, the expectation of salvation. It is 'Up to Solomon, down to the Fall of Jerusalem', but the blessing is renewed in the later writings of Jeremiah, and in the Second Isaiah. But ultimately synagogue and Church go their separate ways. The book is well worth reading, and I think it should be read not only against one's knowledge of the Bible—where, by and large, Canon Lamb is right; but also against the modern Church situation. When the schism came in the first century A.D., was it only between synagogue and Church? Was there the same clash also between St Paul and the judaizing Christians of Jerusalem? I think the issue was Law and Faith; and I think that still is the issue within Christianity.

NORMAN SNAITH

Hebrew Law in Biblical Times, by Ze'ev W. Falk. (Wahrmann Books, Jerusalem, \$3.60.)

The book is based on the first part of a course of lectures delivered three years ago in the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. It arises out of the zeal of an ardent Zionist who twenty years ago saw the need for a Jewish basis for the laws of the new State of Israel. It is primarily for legal historians and Bible-students who seek to understand all that is in the Bible and not simply particular parts of it. The author discusses the way in which Hebrew justice was administered and Hebrew law developed; what constituted a crime and what was the punishment; laws concerning property and persons; marriage and concubinage; divorce; the treatment of children including the laws of adoption; and he concludes with the laws of succession. The ordinary devout Christian is inclined to pass all this by, but there are times even for him when a precise knowledge of Hebrew law will help in the understanding of an important passage in the New Testament. If he is anxious to know the exact law carefully explained, he will find it here in this book.

NORMAN SNAITH

I and II Samuel, by H. W. Hertzberg. (S.C.M. Press, 50s.)

This recent addition to the rapidly growing *Old Testament Library* series was first published in Germany in 1956, the present English translation by J. S. Bowden

following the revised German edition of 1960. After a very brief introduction of only four pages, the text, printed in full following Dr Hertzberg's own translation, is dealt with under seven main sections: Eli and Samuel, 1:1-3; The History of the Ark, 1:4-6; Samuel and Saul, 1:7-15; Saul and David, 1:16-2:1; King David, 2:2-8; The Succession to the Throne of David, 2:9-20; and Appendices, 2:21-4. A note on the formation and structure follows each section. The author does not, as was the fashion in earlier commentaries, attempt to provide us with a list of sources. He discards the view that there is in Samuel a continuation of the Pentateuchal sources, and stresses the great diversity of the material, consisting of larger complexes which had their own independent literary history, interspersed with other shorter narrative, archival and poetic passages. The deuteronomistic compiler has arranged this material in accordance with his theological principles, though these are not so obtrusive as in the other historical books. Although David is to the deuteronomist in a unique way Yahweh's chosen man, there is here no mere uncritical hero-worship, but the depicting of one whose weakness can be seen as well as his strength. Conversely, although the compiler is in sympathy with the view that Saul's elevation to the throne by Samuel was a mistake, he has none the less allowed the material more favourably disposed to Saul to stand. The Books of Samuel contain more first-hand historical material than any other part of the Old Testament, and provide a fascinating picture of the life of ancient Israel c. 1000 B.C. This early history forms an essential part of the history of the kingdom of God. 'Samuel and David, who make a frame round the dark, problematical figure of King Saul, are figures of striking significance . . . and much of the message of the Bible is embodied in their lives and in their struggles; and all three, each in his own way, are forerunners and heralds of the real King.'

S. C. THEXTON

Isaiah 55-66 and Joel, by D. R. Jones (Torch Bible Commentaries). (S.C.M., 16s.)

The wise provision in this series of commentaries for a separate volume devoted largely to Trito-Isaiah has enabled the author to supply a long-felt want of the English reader of the Old Testament. Here is found an exposition of chapters 56 to 66 of Isaiah characterized by a critical awareness of ancient and modern work on the subject and a sober judgement on the issues involved. The greater part of the chapters are dated 538-520 B.C. with a small section (56:1-8) 520-516 B.C. The author treats cautiously the question of unity; chapters 56-66 'present a single, impressive, prophetic witness'; but he allows that more than one hand may be traced. The relation with Deutero-Isaiah he sees as a complementary one, with verbal borrowings: 'the creative use of chapters 40-55 is far more pervasive than has always been recognized.' The Dead Sea scrolls are rarely mentioned, but are not overlooked; the author apparently found—correctly in the reviewer's opinion—few of their variations from the Received Text significant. The author revises his own previous opinion by stating now categorically that sacrifice was not offered on the Temple site between 586 and 520. This has important bearing on the date of some sections.

The book of Joel is regarded as a structure following the pattern of other prophetic books. The idea that it is largely a liturgy is rejected, for reasons which do not convince the reviewer. The author supports the growing consensus of opinion that the book is a unity. He argues strongly for a date after 520 B.C. and perhaps about 500; thus agreeing with the conclusion reached in a study of Greek and Arabic evidence by Jacob B. Meyers, whose findings appeared too late for him to consult.

This volume is a most valuable addition to the Torch Commentaries. H. COOK

Prophecy and Covenant, by R. E. Clements (Studies in Biblical Theology No. 43). (S.C.M. Press, 13s. 6d.)

Prophets and Wise Men, by William McKane (Studies in Biblical Theology No. 44). (S.C.M. Press, 13s. 6d.)

Jeremiah, by Joseph Woods (Epworth Preacher's Commentaries). (Epworth Press, 12s. 6d.)

Modern research in the subject of prophecy has compelled us to abandon the view of the prophet as an isolated phenomenon, influencing and finally dictating the course of the Old Testament theology. The prophet must be related to the cult, the law, the psalms, and the wisdom material. Dr Clements begins from this ground and proceeds to the thesis that canonical prophecy begins with Amos because of his attitude to the covenant when he predicted its end. In the enquiry, the author discusses the election traditions, the relations of covenant and law, and of prophet and cult, and the question of eschatology in the prophets. He favours the wider definition of eschatology, and consequently finds it in the pre-exilic prophets. He sees the priestly reform of the cult as the result of the prophets' criticisms. He concludes that the distinctiveness of the canonical prophets lay in their concern with the covenant between Yahweh and Israel, and that Amos is the first of them because he announced the end of the covenant. One wonders whether Amos' prediction of the end of the covenant can have been so amazingly fresh as Dr Clements suggests; whether he has given enough attention to the form of the covenant, which required the penalty clauses pointing to its end (Joshua 24:19ff for example). The new political situation occasioned by the stirring of Assyria (which is mentioned at the end of this study) may account for more in Amos than the thesis allows. In all, this is a valuable, stimulating, and well-documented study of prophecy, and the questions the author raises all repay careful scrutiny.

Mr McKane's study is concerned with the relationship of prophet and statesman. Rejecting the idea of seeing this relationship in the light of that between prophet and cult, the author demonstrates that the prophet sees the policies of the statesman as misdirected altogether, since they ignore the fact that the real threat to the nation's peace and security is not Assyria or Babylon, but the judgement of Yahweh. On the other hand the statesman cannot abdicate his responsibility to seek the security of the State through all the powers his experience and skill lend him. From his point of view the prophet ignores the dynamics of the historical situation, and wants to introduce what is extraneous to history into practical politics. The quarrel between them is about power, which in analysis must prove to be both material and spiritual. Thus a most topical issue is raised. Mr McKane examines the use of wisdom-terminology by the prophets, defining 'old wisdom', the prophetic attack upon it and reinterpretation of its language. He wisely avoids an exhaustive treatment in a monograph of this size; but takes key passages to demonstrate his points. He has a chapter on wisdom as esoteric knowledge, and another on the controversial eighth chapter of Jeremiah. This is a stimulating study which makes one desire the exhaustive examination which alone can provide the ground for a clear judgement on its thesis.

The commentary on Jeremiah is a valuable addition to the series of Epworth Preacher's Commentaries. The brief introduction gives a summary of the times of Jeremiah, an assessment of the prophet as a man, and a discussion of the composition of the book. The commentary is naturally mainly exegesis and homiletics, the latter outweighing the former in the attempt to make the book of the greatest value to the lay preacher. A few faults may be pointed out. There are

misleading statements like 'Even at this stage, centuries after Abraham, children were still being sacrificed' (p. 44), which gives the impression that child-sacrifice was a continual feature of Israelite life (also p. 90). A statement on p. 61 suggests that the exodus took place 'nearly a thousand years' before the time of Jeremiah. Sometimes the *RSV* is uncritically followed—as at 18:14. The treatment of Jeremiah's confessions is inadequate, as when in commenting on 20:7 the author says, 'The prophet roundly accuses God of being a liar', without apparently realizing that an entirely different exegesis is possible. But these are faults in what must be recommended as a successful undertaking of the great task of presenting in a short space, for the use of the preacher, one of the longest books of the Old Testament.

HERBERT J. COOK

The Ten Commandments, A Study of Ethical Freedom, by Ronald S. Wallace. (Oliver & Boyd, 21s.)

The emphasis in recent thinking about morality has been upon liberty and love, and it is interesting that a writer should turn to the ten commandments for a text on which to preach freedom. In the last year or two we have had a number of expositions of the fulfilment of the law in Christ. Dr Wallace helps us to understand the prior word of Jesus, 'I came not to destroy the Law', and offers us an interpretation of the commandments by means of the Gospel. Within the glorious liberty of the children of God the commandments are seen as the categorical imperatives of an I to a Thou: *Thou shalt. . . Thou shalt not. . .* In their positive form they tell us the direction in which we must move in expressing the liberty we have in Christ; in their negative form they point out what is incompatible with such liberty. It must be admitted that Dr Wallace reads much into the ten commandments that would sound strange to the ears of the primitive semitic people to whom they were first given. Nevertheless he offers a way of thinking about the ten commandments that makes sense to the twentieth-century Christian and the twentieth-century Jew would find much to approve. In the introduction Dr Wallace acknowledges his debt to Calvin and Barth, and this influence is evident throughout the book. This is a Bible-centred exposition of the Christian ethic with the consequent weaknesses involved in such an approach, yet there is much good material here for the preacher as well as for the biblical student. While this is in no way a book of sermons it could well provide material for a series of sermons or discussions on Christian standards in the contemporary world.

BERNARD. E. JONES

Early Christian Rhetoric, by Amos N. Wilder (The New Testament Library). (S.C.M. Press, 25s.)

The dictionary defines 'rhetoric' as 'language designed to persuade or impress (often with implication of insincerity, exaggeration, etc.)'. Professor Wilder, though aware of these unfortunate connotations attached to the term, chooses it for the title of his book because 'it has the advantage of covering both written and oral discourse'. The book is concerned not so much with what the early Christians said as how they said it; and for the author the operative word is *said*. He repeatedly stresses that behind the New Testament writings lie certain distinctive forms of oral speech which were employed by Jesus and by the early Christians. Successive chapters deal with the Dialogue, the Story, the Parable and the Poem, and a concluding chapter adds reflections on the use of Image, Symbol and Myth. The treatment of all these subjects is illuminating and suggestive, and the wealth of literary references and comparisons makes the book very interesting reading. In these days when the problem of language and its meaning is engaging so much

attention in the spheres of literature and philosophy, and when the Christian Church is so concerned with the problem of communicating the faith. Professor Wilder has rendered a valuable service by publishing the fruits of his thinking on the 'language of the Gospel' (to use the phrase which forms the sub-title of the book).

OWEN E. EVANS

The Reformation of our Worship (W. T. Whitley Lectures for 1963), by S. F. Winward. (Carey Kingsgate Press, 21s.)

Anyone who is reasonably familiar with the Liturgical Movement will find little that is particularly new in this book by a Baptist minister, but it would form an excellent introduction to aspects of the thought of that Movement, though there is little reference in it to contemporary liturgical reforms in Continental Protestantism, Roman Catholicism, and Anglicanism. There are six chapters which draw fruitfully upon the Old and New Testaments and the history of the Church, and which then relate these findings to the needs of (particularly) Free Church worship. 'Worship, Life and Cult' stresses that *latreia* and *leitourgia* are used of cult *and* conduct, liturgy *and* life in the New Testament. 'Worship as Dialogue' is strikingly illustrated in the story of Jacob's Ladder: 'Here is revelation and response, message and prayer, divine promise and human vow, the sentiment of awe and sacramental act, symbol and sanctuary.' 'Worship as Offering' distinguishes between true and false views of sacrificial worship. Too often he says today the worshipper goes to get a blessing rather than to make an offering. 'Embodied Worship' warns us against an unbiblical dualism between material and spiritual. 'To abolish ceremony is to excommunicate the body from worship.' 'Liberty and Liturgy' discusses how we can avoid two dangers ever present in the history of the Church's worship—at one extreme 'the prescribed, inflexible, excessively stylized liturgy', at the other 'the disorder and anarchy, the subjectivism and individualism... which results when the traditional pattern and forms of Christian worship are jettisoned'. The final Chapter, 'Congregational Participation', outlines the growth of the medieval priestly monologue Mass so often continued in Protestant worship in the form of the dominant minister in the pulpit, and suggests ways in which members of the whole Body may become articulate in worship. One of the most striking features of the book is the approving attitude towards the Old Testament cultus, for many of the Catholic-Protestant tensions about worship (and much else) have arisen out of differing attitudes towards the significance of the Old Testament for Christians. The substance of this book could well be turned into a series of addresses to be given to a study-group of the congregation which would then be turned free to scrutinize radically the quality and forms of its worship.

ALAN WILKINSON

The Greeks and the Gospel, by J. B. Skemp. (Carey Kingsgate Press, 25s.)

The author of this book (the W. T. Whitley Lectures for 1962) is Professor of Greek in Durham University; and it is always worth while to see what a classical scholar has to say about the New Testament. He suggests that in recent years the Hebraic element in the New Testament has been overemphasised. The words of St Paul in Corinthians 1, where the Gospel is said to be foolishness to the Greeks, provide the point of departure. Professor Kemp discusses the place of these Greeks in the early Church, and their identity. He distinguishes the 'ordinary', the 'intellectual', and the 'religious' Greek, and the relation of each class to the Gospel. The 'ordinary' Greek is difficult to define but he was characterized by political awareness, love of free speech, and versatility. It may well be that some Hellenic characteristics were carried over from the '*polis*' into the Christian

Church. In interpreting such a term as *ecclesia* in the New Testament it is right to begin with Israel and the Old Testament but we must not leave out of account the 'citizen assembly' of Hellas. In the final chapter the author discusses among other matters the part that Plato and Aristotle have played in the development of Christian thought, and the place that should be given to the 'wisdom' of the modern age. He is surely right in maintaining that the study of Greek thought by Christian thinkers is still a most rewarding exercise. This somewhat slender book is a timely one and has much of value and stimulus. The lecture-style has been retained; even so it is curious to find the expression, 'like Socrates did' (p. 117). There are a number of small slips; e.g. Byzantine (29) and Massachusetts (117) are misspelt.

T. FRANCIS GLASSON

The Paradox of Scottish Culture, The Eighteenth Century Experience, by David Daiches. (Oxford University Press, 10s. 6d.)

The last session of Scotland's Parliament met in 1707. The union with England had paradoxical cultural results. There ceased to be a Scots literary language, and it degenerated into a series of regional dialects which were liable to be treated with nostalgic and antiquarian interest. The national feeling expressed in the Jacobite movement made possible at first a new kind of national culture, but it soon dwindled into sentimentality. The Presbyterian Church of Scotland, rent by various schisms, was prevented by its doctrinal ethos from being the home of literary culture, though it did an enormous amount to canalize and express Scottish national feeling. The small number of Roman Catholics and Episcopalians did a good deal to maintain Gaelic. On the other hand, the Scottish legal system did produce a great variety of interesting minds and talented writers. The re-planning of Edinburgh in the late eighteenth century created what the *literati* called the 'Athens of the North', but paradoxically this encouraged the production of a neo-English type of literature. Though they took an interest in synthetic Gaelic poetry, they ignored the genuine Gaelic literature. The paradox is very evident in the case of Burns, whose language varied from conventional English parnassian to true Scottish forms. 'Burns's achievement represented a highly precarious balancing between a number of conflicting forces; it was a *personal* achievement, and was not available for fruitful imitation.' Later generations sentimentalized the Burns tradition, and his weakest poems came to be the most admired and imitated. It was tragic for the future of Scottish culture that there was so little fruitful interrelation between Gaelic and non-Gaelic culture in this period of the eighteenth century. All who are concerned with the promotion of minority cultures, of whatever kind, in an age of ever-increasing cultural uniformity, would find it salutary and admonitory to read this study. ALAN WILKINSON

The Office of Bishop in Methodism, by Gerald F. Moede. (Publishing House of the Methodist Church, Zurich, Switzerland.)

How extraordinary to read a book with such a title that does not refer, except obliquely, to the historic episcopacy, but to that form of constitutional episcopacy that obtains in American Methodism! The book is no poorer for the shock it gives, since over here and especially since the 'Conversations', we are swaying to and fro in the theological tug-of-war about historic Episcopacy as it may affect us in British Methodism. Actually this is a scholarly and well-documented book which may be of primary interest in the States and Europe and yet has much significance for us in Britain. Historically there is an admirable precis and comment on Wesley's views and the development in American Methodism to the present day. A penultimate section is daringly entitled, 'A true international

Methodist episcopacy', disregarding the Catholic contention whether Anglican, Greek, or Roman, that no other foundation can man lay in this regard than that which hath been laid. This emerges into a final consideration of the future of the Church episcopally considered. Taking John Lawson's words that 'the undivided Church by ready and widespread instinct fixed upon the succession of Bishops and their agreement with one another in doctrine as a leading token and effective means of the continuity and authority of the Church', the author maintains that American Episcopacy emphasizing the 'vertical' nature of the Church and the Anglican Communion stressing the 'horizontal' aspects of history and continuity, need each other for mutual enrichment. He would, therefore, wish (and the presumption must be that it would apply first to the Protestant Episcopal Church of America) a mutual 'wider commissioning' so that Methodists can enter into closer fellowship with Christians of widely divergent traditions. So he swings to his conclusion: 'In this way will Methodism, in accordance with its own understanding of the need for the oneness and wholeness of the visible Church, be striving more faithfully to abide by the will of its Lord, that all in every place who confess Jesus Christ as Lord may be in visible fellowship with one another, hearing the Word of God together, partaking of the Lord's Supper together, served by a ministry recognized by all, and by showing forth this unity which transcends all other differences, witness to the world that Jesus Christ is Lord.' Dr Moede may not fully appreciate the difficulties involved in his simple suggestion of commissioning, leaving the word to speak for itself. Concerning his vision, however, none will cavil.

MALDWYN L. EDWARDS

John Wesley's Concept of Perfection, by Lee George Cox. (Beacon Hill Press, U.S.A., \$3.50.)

None would deny the author has worked hard on this book and yet it misses the mark. But first the merits, that the demerits may not loom overlarge. The author has a reasonably satisfying bibliography with some American works on the subject, including doctoral theses not known to British writers. Even here, however, there are strange lacunae. The important work of Colin Williams, *John Wesley's Theology Today* is not mentioned, nor Eric Baker's *Faith of a Methodist*; and why make general references to Wesley's works without detailed reference to his Sermons and Treatises on Perfection and more especially the *Plain Account of Christian Perfection* (1777). The chapter headings on Sin and Grace, Stages in Perfection, Present Perfection, The human limits, Sins of the Sanctified, and Summary, show a patient investigation of the many facets of Wesley's teaching, though here again one is astonished that the author should entirely miss Wesley's stress on holiness as social and its necessary outworking in community life. There is an interesting section on the 'holiness sects' in America but how much the author could have profited by reference to Elmer Clarke's *Small Sects of America*. On the debit side of the ledger is the impossible attempt to reconcile Wesley's teaching on entire and gradual sanctification. Why not say that Wesley did not deny the first, but increasingly maintained that when it happened it usually did at the point of death, with heaven already in sight? As for the author's quite proper realization of Wesley's teaching on instantaneous holiness, why try to remain uncritical of John and to suggest it can happen but even so one must still press on in holiness afterwards? Better to admit that here Wesley was listening over-indulgently to others and not trusting his own judgement on that issue. If Dr Cox had kept more closely to Wesley's treatises he would have learnt that the teaching of holiness is never to be separated from his total teaching of salvation which affirms that all by faith can be saved; all by the Holy Spirit's witness can know

they are saved; all by the Holy Spirit's indwelling may pass on to full salvation. No mention is made in this book to Charles Wesley, but it is impossible to talk of John Wesley's teaching without reference to his brother since he constantly turned to his brother's hymns to find both illustration and confirmation of his views. If one follows this clue and turns to the hymns he quoted, it is abundantly clear that Wesley's approach to Perfection does not lie in the heavy categories of the author but in his splendid statement that 'we expect to love God with all our heart and our neighbour as ourselves, because He will in this world cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of His Holy Spirit that we shall perfectly love Him and worthily magnify His holy Name'. The truth is that any statement of holiness that does not quicken the mind can be regarded as inadequate, for Wesley was not an academic 'systematic theologian' but one whose theology could be preached because it was 'an invitation to life'. MALDWYN L. EDWARDS

The Existence of God as Confessed by Faith, by Helmut Gollwitzer. (S.C.M. Press, 35s.)

'In Germany it is the theologians who are making an end of the good God,' wrote Heine a century ago. To many people it appears as though theologians in many parts of the world are now fulfilling the same function. Some protest with fear; others eagerly welcome a release from God as a 'thing' or a 'person' and hope to find in 'God' an explanation of man's own existence and the way to responsible living. Gollwitzer is aware of the attractiveness of this way of thinking to many of our contemporaries. He is also aware that 'there is nothing beyond theism but a-theism in the sense of atheism'. But he is equally persuaded that there is need to de-objectify God. This need, however, must be presented to us not by a prior metaphysic, one which goes back to Kant and which reached its logical outcome in Feuerbach, but, rather, by attention to the God who reveals himself through his encounter with Israel, in Jesus Christ and in the proclamation of the Gospel. Not for a long time has encounter-theology been so ably expounded. Perhaps the chief contribution of this book lies in its fresh account of anthropomorphism and analogy. Here is a warning to those who forget that 'being itself' is as anthropomorphic as is orthodox language about God, and that a 'depth' account of God involves no less use of analogy than does talk of God 'above'. Most important of all is Professor Gollwitzer's insistence that Christian talk about God is not simply an example of general talk about God. 'What is at stake is nothing less than the distinction of the living God from the dead God of general truth.' From atheists, as well as from Tillich, Bultmann and even *Honest to God*, Christians must learn to welcome the death of the 'general' God. We need to be confronted anew by the living God and to find ourselves afresh under the call which, says Gollwitzer, is peculiar to the Christian message and 'which in concentrated form runs: "He is"'. This is a book of first importance for the current theological debate.

FREDERIC GREEVES

Philosophy and Religion, by Axel Hägerström, translated by Robert T. Sandin. (Allen & Unwin, 45s.)

It is not surprising that a little boy who thrust his hand into the fire in order to experience for a brief moment in this life a foretaste of the unending damnation preached by his father should grow up into a philosopher opposed to dogmatic theology. In a memoir contributed by Professor C. D. Broad, Hägerström's philosophical pilgrimage is described. Born in 1868, he became the founder of an anti-metaphysical philosophical movement which grew up in the earlier years of this century at Uppsala University in Sweden. Hägerström, who died in 1939, seems

to have been unaware of the English anti-metaphysical philosophy initiated by Moore and Russell. Similarly the English philosophers sharing in the discussion between the two wars were unaware of Hägerström's thought. The slogan which provides the title of the first essay is *Praeterea censeo metaphysicam esse delendum*—'Moreover I propose that metaphysics must be destroyed', a task in which he has had many collaborators. The essays translated were originally written decades ago and while it is strange to find James and Eucken described as contemporary philosophers there is much in the volume that might have been written in the last ten years, particularly the last essay, entitled: 'The Truth-value of Christian dogmatics'. This is a volume which must be taken into account in any historical review of twentieth-century thought and the English translation of Hägerström's main writings is a welcome if belated addition to the *Muirhead Library of Philosophy*.

BERNARD E. JONES

Relationship and Solitude, by Peter Munz. (Eyre & Spottiswoode, 30s.)

Professor Munz describes this as a book about ethics, an area he defines as 'the science of good and evil, the knowledge of what we ought and ought not to do'. But more precisely the book discusses—as the sub-title indicates—the relationship between ethics, metaphysics and mythology. There are various problems which seem to be ignored and assumptions that are made rather too easily. Thus in the definition quoted it is assumed that ethics is a science (or else 'science' is used loosely to mean any kind of knowledge), and the distinction between 'good' and 'ought' seems to be ignored. However, this does not really affect the author's problem which is that of the cognitive value of ethical judgements. The way in which he sets about answering this question is rather unusual. He begins with 'some dogmatic ethical assertions' and then shows that, 'given certain epistemological considerations, these assertions are not dogmatic and irrational'. In other words, his whole approach is a good deal more concrete than the kind of thing which we have seen in recent moral philosophy, a fact which will gladden the heart of many theologians. Theologians will also take comfort from (though philosophers may not be convinced by) the assertion that the naturalistic fallacy is committed only in those cases where a value is inferred from the facts of human behaviour which are known by mere empirical observation. The theme of the book is that relationship (i.e. absolute love) and solitude (i.e. absolute detachment) are mutually dependent upon one another; and the quest is then for a picture of the world in which they occur in such a way which entitles us to describe them as good. The crucial point in his argument is that metaphysical principles can co-exist. He reaches this point after showing the two ways in which he thinks a metaphysical doctrine may be related to myth—i.e. either it is the explicit description according to which a symbol is turned into a more specific symbol or it is the last term in a series of typologically related symbols. This co-existence of metaphysical principles Professor Munz illustrates from Goethe's *Faust* and from the history of Mariolatry in the development of Christian Doctrine. Co-existence can either be a matter of different interpretations of the same symbol or a matter of competing systems of symbols. As an example of the latter he discusses very briefly how the early Christological controversies are to be understood as a conflict between symbols of the creation and emanation types. The symbol and metaphysics of relationship are of equal importance as those of solitude. The concluding stage of the argument is that knowledge of human nature involves having a picture of human nature that will include 'features that are becoming and fitting'. 'The judgments that absolute love is good and that absolute consciousness is good, are metaphysical doctrines about the symbol picture.'

This bald summary of what is essentially a complex argument, while it will hardly do justice to it, will serve to illustrate what a difficult book this is. There is no doubt, however, that it contains some illuminating discussion of its theme. Thus it helps us to understand how it is that certain seemingly abstract notions about God inevitably involve the believer in moral behaviour. This is the kind of thing H. H. Farmer expounded in his discussion of what he calls 'the axiological otherness of God' (*Revelation and Religion*, pp. 54 ff). Professor Munz's discussion, however, is so complex and difficult that one is often tempted to dismiss it as confused and tedious.

J. HEYWOOD THOMAS

Bertrand Russell on Education, by Professor J. Park. (George Allen & Unwin, 25s.) The publication of this book in England is timely for, though educationists would hesitate to follow Lord Russell as a practical teacher, all are indebted to him for stimulating ideas. It is not without significance that it is an American Professor who has called attention to an aim of education which is certainly not party political. The fact that Russell's book *On Education* was reprinted at least seven times in twelve months underlines the interest which he provokes. And 'provokes' is the right word. In this survey of Bertrand Russell's educational thought, corrected no doubt by the special talks with him, Professor Park shows why there is provocation, at any rate for the practising teacher. His easy narrative style provides an illuminating and stimulating introduction to Lord Russell as an educational *agent provocateur*! The very fact that his thesis is so stimulating tends to lead a reviewer to comment on Russell rather than Park. His portrayal of Russell's diagnosis of the perils of education serves to emphasize the poverty of Russell's own parental solutions! He is better seen as a visionary in considering an international university. Bertrand Russell is a thinker who, brought into painful contact with practical living through marriage, the need to educate his own children, and two world wars, formulated ideas as Rousseau did. As Professor Park shows, his diagnosis was good, his remedies not so good. This book makes it clear that Russell 'did not develop a scientific theory of education', but 'his insight into what science is, how the scientific frame of mind can be cultivated, and how science is being misused and falsely worshipped can both enlighten and alert us'. Even more perhaps are we alerted by his suspicion of the State, the Church and 'the Herd' as directors of education, though it is interesting to note the emphasis on compassion, a quality which Russell recommends despite its Christian origin. The chapter on Russell's 'sources of theory' is the least satisfactory simply because in a book of this size it has to be sketchy. But perhaps this sketchiness was intended? It certainly whets the appetite to read or reread Russell's own writings more carefully, and an excellent bibliography provides the guide to comparatively minor writings. Professor Park has provided a scholarly introduction to the mind of a thinker, has implied a query about Russell's status as an educationist, and has revealed the perils of the thinker turned practitioner.

F. CYRIL PRITCHARD

Instrument of Peace, Biblical Principles of Christian Unity, by Douglas Jones. (Hodder & Staughton, 16s.)

This book by the Lightfoot Professor of Divinity at Durham is the response to a request for a biblical study of ecumenism. The purpose of Church unity is not merely to increase the evangelistic impact of the Church or to remove confusion, but to make it 'the instrument of the unity of all mankind'. So unity is not merely desirable, it is essential to the Church's function. Professor Jones draws illuminatingly upon Old as well as New Testaments. Thus when he mentions the Papacy, it is not in relation to the Petrine texts, but in the context of the 'constant prophetic

emphasis on the one shepherd and on the centrality of Zion as the effective centre of unity—to which all the nations shall flow'. Professor Jones considers three common pictures of unity to be unbiblical: (1) The federal view might at first sight find support in the federal structure of the Twelve Tribes—but all found unity in the one father, Jacob, and were bound together by a common focus of worship at Jerusalem, and by the common hope of the one Messiah; (2) The notational type of unity (urged by writers like Dr Martin Lloyd-Jones) would be based upon the common acceptance of certain evangelical propositions. But the decision as to who is a genuine believer is not ours but God's. There is the danger of the 'genuine' Christian praying 'I thank thee O God that I am not like other men, formal, nominal, unspiritual. I have justifying faith, Christ is my Saviour, I am right with Thee'; (3) 'The idea of an invisible Church is as foreign to the thought of the Bible as the idea of a soul without the body.' Israel was concrete and visible, recognizable by Sabbath and circumcision. 'The emergence of the Christian Church was in no sense a retreat into invisibility. The new Israel was every bit as visible as its predecessor; only the outward marks of her invisible mystery were as different as befitted her new character.' Again and again the Church has fallen into division because it has forgotten its servant character. As the prophet was to Israel, so the Church should be to the world. The priestly nature of the Body as the instrument of the High Priesthood of Christ is focused in the priestly nature of its Ministry. The great argument for episcopacy has been bishops like Augustine, Latimer, Gore and William Temple, 'living embodiments of the father-in-God ideal, shepherds of the flock, *servants* of Christ'; the great argument against episcopacy has been autocratic bishops concerned only for their own prestige. In all questions of the Ministry 'the rigid application of the *sola scriptura* principle, in the sense of seeking a blueprint for the ministry within Scripture, is unworkable and erroneous, rather like the Sadducean refusal to acknowledge any light outside the Torah'. Disunity not only disables, it also distorts. He quotes F. D. Maurice: 'I believe that the language of some excellent persons, who say we must not give up truth for the sake of unity, though it contains a valuable meaning, is yet far less sound than it appears to be; for I see truth is suffering every day and hour from the absence of unity.' Uniformity would be disastrous, and he is anxious that provision should be made for Methodists to continue their distinctive contributions within an organic union. This book is expensive for its 120 or so pages, but it would make a valuable study for an ecumenical group, especially if they were willing to look up the wide range of references from Deuteronomy to Karl Barth. But it is often tantalizingly brief on major questions.

ALAN WILKINSON

Nonviolence: A Christian Interpretation, by William Robert Miller. (George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 35s.)

A book on this theme is timely, and this a good and useful book. It is the product of the pressure of contemporary events, of Christian interest and of wide reading. It is not propagandist, but springs from the desire to clarify issues and to help those who are concerned about social injustice and social inequality, and who are seeking the ways of effective protest and reform. Definitions are important and these are made carefully. There are three basic types—nonresistance, passive resistance and active nonviolent resistance. The origins of the idea are far back in history, in ancient Hindu writings and in Christian teaching. Gandhi drew his doctrine from the Sanskrit *ahimsa*—'nonharm' or 'inoffensiveness'—and added, what did not belong to it, ideas from the Sermon on the Mount and 'love in the sense of St Paul and much more'. The author delineates the range of operation of nonviolence,

stresses the importance of training for campaigns, the need for organization, long-term plans and sustained effort. He recognizes the possibilities and the limitations, the successes and the failures of the method. The dynamics of nonviolent conduct demand integrity and empathy; and the agapaic love required comes only from faith and the grace of God. Nonviolence is not enough of itself, but it allows scope for love, and gives time for the pressure of economic factors and of the desire for stability and order. The possibilities of international organizations are considered and the contribution of Christian Churches is emphasized. In the latter part of the book, the writer gathers together well-documented stories of historic events from the Moravian Indians' nonresistance in 1782 to nonviolence in the Southern United States since 1955. In each case, there is something to learn—the importance of the personality of the leader, the discipline, patience and steadfastness of the members, the realization that victory through nonviolence may be followed by violent repressions, the inspiration of Gandhi may give place to the methods of Hitler, and spiritual resources are essential. Much in the future depends upon our assimilation of the lessons of the past.

FRANK M. KELLY

Obedient Rebels: Catholic Substance and Protestant Principle in Luther's Reformation, by Jaroslav Pelikan. (Student Christian Movement Press, 25s.)

This important book by the Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Yale 'unites two of the deepest concerns of my thought and scholarship, the Reformation of the sixteenth century, and the ecumenical movement of the twentieth, and studies each in the light of the other'. Dedicated to Paul Tillich, who taught the author to speak of 'Catholic substance and Protestant principle', it explores both the Catholic and the Protestant elements in Luther's thought and shows how the two were integrated in the one man's experience. The first part of the book examines what is described as 'Critical Reverence towards Tradition'; the second Lutheran history, described as 'Unity despite Separation' (of particular value here is the account of negotiations between Lutherans and Czechs and Poles, including the Consensus of Sandomierz, presented here in English for the first time); and the third relates the dialogue between Catholic substance and Protestant principle to the ecumenical discussions, especially as it affects America today. But, although the author addresses himself particularly to the American scene, clearly his thesis is of universal application in the conversations on unity for all Churches. It is a long time since the present reviewer has scored so many passages in a book or noted so many pages to be looked at again. To give a couple of these quotations may serve as well as anything to convey the flavour of the book—of Luther, 'Nor was he a Catholic on some questions and a Protestant on others; in fact, he was both a Catholic and a Protestant in his interpretation of the very same issues': and: 'If tradition is primitive, Protestant theology must admit that 'Scripture alone' requires redefinition. But if tradition is exegetical, Roman Catholic theology must admit that 'Scripture alone', properly understood, is correct' (p. 180). It is to be hoped that this well-written, clear and stimulating contribution to the ecumenical discussion will have the wide reading it deserves.

H. MORLEY RATTENBURY

The Beginnings of Indian Philosophy, by Franklin Edgerton. (Allen & Unwin, 45s.)

New Dimensions of Yoga, by Yogi Raushan Nath. (Rakesh Press, Delhi, Rs. 15.) The Hindu sacred writings are very numerous, very lengthy, and often tedious and repetitive. Dr Franklin Edgerton has performed a notable and needed service by giving us, within the compass of some three hundred pages and in a new trans-

lation, a representative selection of passages from the *Vedas*, the *Upanishads*, and the *Mahabharata*, which covers adequately the sources of early Hindu philosophy. His Introduction provides an interpretation of the texts that follow, and is a fascinating guide to Hindu thought. He argues that the teaching of the *Upanishads* is not, as in Deussen's words, in 'sharp contrast to all the principles of the Vedic ritual', but that distinctive upanishadic ideas, arising out of developments associated with the ritual, can be found in germ in the *Vedas* and *Brahmanas*, and that a similar philosophy, though in a more sophisticated form, underlies the *Mahabharata*. This closely-argued thesis, though it does not explain how the world-affirming religion of the *Vedas* turned into the world-denying faith of the *Upanishads*, yet claims to find a clear thread of continuity in Hindu thought; and the reader can test for himself the validity of the argument by consulting the translated texts, to which full and frequent reference is made. This is an excellent introduction to early Hinduism, the fruit of a lifetime's study.

Yogi Raushan Nath present us with a modern version of Hinduism. Yoga is at present becoming popular in this country very much as a health-and-beauty cult; for the Hindu, of course, it is much more than this—a way of salvation. Raushan Nath accepts the traditional basis of Yoga; he outlines the Eightfold Path, familiar to students of Hinduism; he gives detailed instruction on the enunciation of the sacred syllable, 'Om', and on the control of the breathing; but the book consists largely of spiritual meditations in which he appears to be attempting for Hinduism what the Bishop of Woolwich has attempted for Christianity. 'One of the new dimensions of Yoga,' he says, is 'co-ordination of Science and Spirituality'; he too, like the bishop, describes God as Ultimate Reality; and he has a discussion with an atheist which bears an odd resemblance to the argument in *Honest to God*. Though his language often has a Christian flavour, and phrases like 'the grace of God' are quite common, these have to be understood within a context of thought which is basically Hindu. The goal of life is God-realization, which seems to be equated with self-realization; and Yoga is offered largely as a technique by which a man saves himself. But there is much in this book that is sound and sensible, and, in some of the things that they are contending for, Christians would find an ally in Raushan Nath.

G. ERNEST LONG

A Thousand Lives Away: Buddhism in Contemporary Burma, by Winston L. King. (Bruno Cassirer, Oxford, 28s.)

To those who wish to know what Buddhism means in the life and experience of the people in a country which is more than ninety per cent Buddhist, how they themselves interpret and practise it, this book can be recommended. It deals with contemporary Theravada Buddhism in Burma. The author, Dr W. L. King, has not only a good acquaintance with the Buddhist Pali Canon, but has lived and studied in Burma where he received the friendly assistance of monks and laymen. Under the guidance of a competent Guru he practised for a brief period Buddhist meditation techniques, and gives an interesting account of his experience in an appendix. Burmese Buddhism, like Buddhism everywhere, though grounded in the three basic negations, non-permanence, not-self and the unsatisfactoriness of life, reveals many diverse and seemingly unreconcilable elements. The arduous meditation techniques of monks to win Nibbana, the penetrating psychological and philosophical interpretations of contemporary Buddhist scholars, and the noble ethical standards of the eight-fold path seem to be far removed from the popular worship at Buddha's shrines, pagoda religion, belief in nats and nature spirits, good-luck symbols, astrology, folk-lore elements and festivals beloved of the common people. Dr King's book has the merit of showing how all these

manifestations of Burmese Buddhism form a continuum in which the hope of Nibbana is both the motive and the goal. Dr King deals with the tensions occasioned by the impact of Christianity and Western science, and discusses the attempt to show that Buddhism is experimental and scientific. He touches on the problems which arise through monkish orthodoxy, Buddhism's amazing cosmology, political and social factors in the modern situation, and the missionary resurgence of Buddhism in which laymen take an active part. The last chapter deals with the centrality of meditation in Buddhism. Buddhist meditation-techniques undoubtedly help towards physical and mental well-being, and the attainment of serenity, peace of mind and benevolence. This may help to account for the contemporary appeal to fear-ridden and neurosis-conscious people in the West. But these benefits of meditation are only valuable as by-products. The purpose and goal of Buddhist meditation is the attainment of release from this life in Nibbana. The book is both appreciative and critical, and will help to a better understanding of the problems which face the Buddhist world in the contemporary situation.

D. HOWARD SMITH

BOOKS RECEIVED

- ALLEN & UNWIN: Otto Heilbrunn, *Conventional Warfare in the Nuclear Age*, pp. 164, 21s. Franklin Egerton, *The Beginnings of Indian Philosophy*, pp. 362, 45s. H. P. Owen, *The Moral Argument for Christian Theism*, pp. 128, 16s.
- BANNER OF TRUTH TRUST: Iain Murray (ed.), *The Reformation of the Church: A Puritan and Reformed Anthology*, pp. 414, 15s.
- BASIL BLACKWELL: A. S. Kapalrud, *The Ras Shamra Discoveries and the Old Testament*, pp. 88, 14s.
- BUDD & GILLATT: P. A. Micklem, *Church Reform in Roman Africa*, pp. 151 + map, 25s.
- CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS (Cambridge Bible Commentary on the New English Bible): E. J. Tinsley, *The Gospel According to Luke*, pp. ix + 217, 17s. 6d. (School edition, 10s. 6d.; Paper, 9s. 6d.). A. M. Hunter, *The Gospel According to John*, pp. ix + 205, 17s. 6d. (School edition, 10s. 6d.; Paper, 9s. 6d.). R. R. Williams, *The Letters of John and James*, pp. 144, 15s. (School edition, 9s. 6d.; Paper, 8s. 6d.). Margaret E. Thrall, *I and II Corinthians*, pp. viii + 197, 17s. 6d. (School edition, 10s. 6d.; Paper, 9s. 6d.). T. F. Glasson, *The Revelation of John*, pp. xi + 128, 15s. (School edition, 9s. 6d.; Paper, 8s. 6d.).
- CAREY KINGSGATE PRESS: J. B. Skemp, *The Greeks and the Gospel* (W. T. Whitley Lecture, 1962), pp. 123, 25s. S. F. Winward, *The Reformation of Worship* (W. T. Whitley Lecture, 1963), pp. 126, 25s.
- JAMES CLARKE: G. F. Nuttall, Roger Thomas, H. L. Short, R. D. Whithorn, *The Beginnings of Nonconformity* (The Hibbert Lectures), pp. 100, 5s. Helmut Thielicke, *The Ethics of Sex*, pp. 332, 30s.
- COMMON FACTOR: *Common Factor*, Vol. I. No. 2, pp. 27, 3s. 9d.
- EPWORTH PRESS: Arnold Kellett, *Isms and Ologies*, pp. 156, 15s. Nancy Hildebrandt, *Rome Diary*, pp. 165 + 4 plates, 18s. J. J. Vincent, *Christ and Methodism: Towards a New Christianity for a New Age*, pp. 124, 8s. 6d. David Head, *Seek a City Saint* (1965 Lent Book), pp. 127, 8s. 6d. J. Woods, *Jeremiah* (Epworth Preacher's Commentaries), pp. 176, 12s. 6d. R. Williamson, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (Epworth Preacher's Commentaries), pp. 137, 12s. 6d. Douglas P. Blatherwick, *A Layman Speaks Again*, pp. 93, 7s. 6d. Neil Alexander, *The Way of the Lord and the Way of the World*, pp. 60, 5s. Ian Macpherson, *God's Middleman*, pp. 161, 16s. N. G. Snaith, *Notes of the Hebrew Text of Genesis 22-5 and 27*, pp. 106, 10s. 6d. Epworth Press Conversation Booklets, each 2s. (15) Franz Hildebrandt, *Reunion and Reformation*. (16) G. W. Underwood, *Intercommunion and the Open Table*. (17) T. E. Jessop, *The Anglican-Methodist Majority Report*. (18) John Kent, *Federation or Union?*
- FABER & FABER: Winston L. King, *A Thousand Lives Away: Buddhism in Contemporary Burma*, pp. 238, 28s. F. C. Grant, *The Gospels: Their Origin and their Growth*, pp. 216. (Cloth, 21s.; Paper, 10s. 6d.). Hans Joachim Schoeps, *The Jewish-Christian Argument: A History of Theologies in Conflict*, pp. 208, 30s.

- HODDER & STOUGHTON: Douglas Jones, *Instrument of Peace: Biblical Principles of Christian Unity*, pp. 128, 16s. Stanley G. Evans, *The Social Hope of the Christian Church*, pp. 296, 30s.
- LUTTERWORTH PRESS: F. C. Gill, *Charles Wesley, The First Methodist*, pp. 239 + 15 plates, 21s.
- MARSHALL, MORGAN & SCOTT: E. Elder (compiler), *New English Bible (N.T.) Concordance*, pp. 401, 19s. 6d. F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (London Commentary on the New Testament), pp. 447, 30s.
- NELSON, THOMAS & SONS (HERDER-NELSON): Otto Karrer, *The Kingdom of God Today*, pp. 255, 28s.
- OLIVER & BOYD: R. S. Wallace, *The Ten Commandments*, pp. 181, 21s. Andre Bieler, *Architecture in Worship*, pp. 96 + illustration, 15s.
- OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS: B. M. Metzger (ed.), *The Oxford Annotated Apocrypha*, pp. 298 + maps, 25s. Patrick Devlin, *The Enforcement of Morals*, pp. 139, 25s.
- PETER SMITH: Cyril Eastwood, *Life and Thought in the Ancient World*, pp. 184, 17s. 6d.
- S.C.M. PRESS: Joachim Jeremias, *The Central Message of the New Testament*, pp. 95, 12s. 6d. L. Charles Birch, *Nature and God* (S.C.M. paperbacks), pp. 128, 6s. 6d. J. Robinson, *The New Reformation*, pp. 142, 6s.
- SUTTON COURTENAY PRESS: G. E. Duffield (ed.), with Introduction by J. I. Packer, *Thomas Cranmer* (Courtenay Library of Reformation Classics, No. 2), pp. 370 + 4 plates, 42s.

NOTABLE ARTICLES FROM PERIODICALS

- The Expository Times*, January 1965.
 Life after Death: II. The Philosophers; Plato and Kant, by Leonard Hodgson.
 Ventures in Liturgy: I. The Order for the Celebration of the Eucharist as used in the Chapel of Queen's College, Oxford.
 Concerning the Duration of the Ministry of Jesus, by D. Howard Smith.
 Church Tradition and the Ordination of Women, by G. W. H. Lampe.
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