

# The Pacific Journal of Baptist Research

---

---

Vol.4, No. 1

April 2008

## CONTENTS

<i>Colin R. Godwin</i>	5
Ignorant Fundamentalists?: Ministerial Education as a factor in the Fundamentalist/Modernist Controversy in the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, 1927-1933	
<i>Myk Habets</i>	33
Naked but Not Disembodied: A Case for Anthropological Duality	
<i>Charles Carter</i>	51
Key Document: The Baptist Mission in the Central Province of Ceylon (1882)	
Reviews	67

---

---



# **The Pacific Journal of Baptist Research**

(ISSN 1177-0228)

(incorporating *The New Zealand Journal of Baptist Research*)

*Editor:*

Martin Sutherland  
Bible College of N.Z.,  
Auckland, New Zealand

*Book Reviews Editor:*

Myk Habets  
Carey Baptist College,  
PO Box 12149,  
Auckland, New Zealand

*Editorial Panel:*

Rod Benson  
*Morling College*

Graeme Chatfield  
*Morling College*

Laurie Guy  
*Carey Baptist College*

Ken Manley  
*Whitley College*

Richard Moore  
*Baptist College of W.A.*

Richard Pierard  
*Gordon College U.S.A.*

Frank Rees  
*Whitley College*

Brian Talbot  
*Cumbernauld, Scotland*

Steve Taylor  
*Bible College of N.Z.*

*The Pacific Journal of Baptist Research* aims to provide an international vehicle for scholarly research and debate. The journal is published twice-yearly (April and October). Articles are fully refereed, with submissions sent to international scholars in the appropriate fields for critical review before being accepted for publication.

Topics are not limited to the Pacific region. All subject matter potentially of significance for Baptist/Anabaptist communities will be considered. However, the journal is especially interested in theological and historical themes. Material of a local or biographical focus may be accepted but, as the journal's readership will be international, preference will be given to articles establishing new findings with potential applications beyond a single congregation or person. The editor will provide a style guide on enquiry

Subscriptions: Institutions: US \$50 p.a. (two issues)

Individuals: US \$30 p.a. (two issues)

Back copies of issues 1-9 of the *N.Z. Journal of Baptist Research*: US \$10 ea.

Orders and payments to *Baptist Research*

PO Box 12149  
Auckland, New Zealand

*The Pacific Journal of Baptist Research* is sponsored by  
the N.Z. Baptist Research and Historical Society and the  
R.J. Thompson Centre for Theological Studies at Carey Baptist College.

© 2008 NZBRHS.



## **Ignorant Fundamentalists? Ministerial Education as a factor in the Fundamentalist/Modernist Controversy in the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, 1927-1933<sup>1</sup>**

### **ABSTRACT**

The fundamentalists that left the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec in 1927 have been labelled 'ignorant fundamentalists' because they allegedly possessed less formal education. Reprising Walter Ellis' 1974 research, a more detailed study of the education of those pastors who remained with the Baptist Convention and those who left shows little difference in qualifications. The 'ignorance' attributed to the fundamentalists by the modernists was illustrative of differing views of what Baptist higher education should be. While the course offerings at McMaster University represented a desire to promote Baptist social advancement and wider participation in Canadian society, the new fundamentalist school begun by the separatists - Toronto Baptist Seminary - explicitly rejected innovations in scholarly understandings such as the teaching of evolution and the higher criticism of the Bible. Although both modernists and fundamentalists retained their attachment to Baptist piety, their approaches to theological education demonstrate differing reactions to the social and intellectual changes of the early twentieth century in Canada.

Prior to the separation of the Regular Baptist Union from the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, most English-speaking Canadian Baptists from Ontario and Quebec took training at McMaster University. In the United States, a variety of regional Baptist institutions provided

---

<sup>1</sup> I would like to thank Paul Wilson of Heritage College (Cambridge, Ontario, Canada) and Ian Randall (IBTS, Prague, Czech Republic) for their helpful comments in the writing of this article.

choice for ministerial training. In Ontario and Quebec, over 90% of all degrees held by Baptist ministers were from McMaster. McMaster University's domination of Baptist ministerial education ended with the creation of Toronto Baptist Seminary by T.T. Shields (1873-1955) and his supporters in 1927.

Following the official expulsion of Jarvis Street Baptist Church, Toronto, at the 1927 Convention of the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, almost ninety churches across Canada joined the new denomination headed by Jarvis Street's fundamentalist pastor, T.T. Shields. The substance of the conflict among Canadian Baptists was theological disagreement, usually centring on the fundamentalists' desire to adopt a Statement of Faith at a denominational convention which would be binding on all Baptist churches and institutions.<sup>2</sup> It did not take long, however, for the theological controversy to become rife with politics, slander and campaigns to discredit the opposition.

The history of this controversy has been well documented, although sometimes from a partisan perspective.<sup>3</sup> Walter E. Ellis' 1974

---

<sup>2</sup> In Western Canada the fundamentalists' effort to pass a 'Statement of Faith' at the annual convention was also combined with their desire to rid the denominational educational institutions of modernistic teaching. However, Brandon College (Manitoba) did not have a doctrinal statement as part of its charter, making the task more difficult. In Ontario, McMaster University did have a Statement of Faith, so efforts there were focused on ensuring that faculty subscribed to that charter. Margaret E. Thompson *The Baptist Story in Western Canada* (Calgary: Baptist Union of Western Canada, 1975) 156-8; *Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec Yearbook 1924*.

<sup>3</sup> Leslie K. Tarr provides a rather uncritical perspective on the divisions in Baptist ranks in *This Dominion His Dominion: The Story of the Evangelical Baptist Endeavour in Canada* (Willowdale, ON: Fellowship of Evangelical Baptist Churches, 1968). See also Tarr's apologetic history of T.T. Shields, *Shields of Canada* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1967) Similarly, perspectives on the split written from the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec or from McMaster University have tended to show bias towards these institutions. For example, Charles M. Johnston *McMaster University Volume 1: the Toronto Years* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976); W. Gordon Carder, 'Controversy in the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, 1908-1928', *Foundations: A Baptist Journal of History and Theology* Volume 16 (1973; originally an unpublished B.D. thesis, McMaster Divinity School, McMaster University, 1960); J.E. Dozois, 'Dr. Thomas Todhunter Shields (1873-1955) in the Stream of Fundamentalism' (unpublished B.D. thesis, McMaster Divinity School, McMaster University, 1962). More recently, Robert Wilson has surveyed the educational controversies among Canadian

Ph.D. dissertation argued that the modernist-fundamentalist controversies among Baptists in North America were fuelled by economic and class tensions that had developed between the urban bourgeois which had gained control of the denominational machinery (modernists), and the lower class rural and urban in-migrant populations which voiced their distrust of the denominational elite (fundamentalists). In order to test this thesis, Ellis evaluated social, economic, and educational data from Northern Baptists in the United States and from Canadian Baptists in Central and Western Canada. As Ellis pointed out, the records of ministerial education in the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec (BCOQ) have special value for the study of the fundamentalist controversies among Canadian and American Baptist denominations because complete records of educational credentials do not exist for the Northern Baptist Convention.<sup>4</sup> This essay will examine more closely the educational aspect of this social division, specifically studying the educational qualifications of the ministers on both sides of the BCOQ split.

---

Baptists, 'Patterns of Canadian Baptist Life in the Twentieth Century,' *Baptist History and Heritage* 36 (2001): 35-40. For a portrait of Canadian evangelicalism and its schools, see John G. Stackhouse *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century: An Introduction to Its Character* (Toronto ; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1993). Stackhouse places Shields at the fundamentalist limit of Canadian evangelicalism, unrepresentative of the evangelical mainstream.

<sup>4</sup> Walter E. Ellis, 'Social and Religious Factors in the Fundamentalist-Modernist Schisms Among Baptists in North America, 1895-1934', (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburg, 1974) 29-30, 84. See also Walter Ellis, 'Gilboa to Ichabod: Social and Religious Factors in the Fundamentalist-Modernist Schisms, 1885-1934,' *Foundations* 20:2(1977): 109-126. Evaluating the socio-economic factors of a religious schism is a complex proposition. As Ellis notes, 'In America, schisms and revivals have always gone hand in hand' ('Gilboa to Ichabod', 124). T.T. Shields, along with many of the other separatists, was an active and effective evangelist, keen on growing and expanding the network of Regular Baptist churches. And because in any evangelistic effort new recruits were often disproportionately from the working classes, it is difficult to know whether any difference in class representation in the new Union of Regular Baptists was due to a fundamentalist approach, or simply to a greater fervour for outreach than was present in the Convention Baptists.

### **Ignorant Fundamentalists?**

One of the principal claims of the liberals was that the fundamentalists were less educated and a group whose ranks consisted largely of unlettered traditionalists from a rural background.<sup>5</sup> Modernism was the reasonable man's view, a scientific perspective of Christianity suitable for modern man. Norman Furniss, for instance, ridiculed the uneducated fundamentalists, characterizing them as men who were afraid of change, egotistical, violent, ignorant and illiterate. The fundamentalists were 'men whose principal assets were conviction and zeal, not erudition.'<sup>6</sup> In his history of McMaster University, Charles M. Johnston said of the dissenting McMaster graduates,

Many of these Alumni, as colleague G.P. Albaugh<sup>7</sup> has pointed out, may have been graduates of the English Theology course, a certificate program not leading to a degree. Billed in calendars as a 'substantial' course, it was designed for 'men of maturity and experience' who for one reason or another could not meet the more exacting admission requirements of the BD course.<sup>8</sup>

Similarly, Gordon Carder suggested that the separatists were practically all from a Plymouth Brethren background. Further, those who remained with the BCOQ and the fundamentalists were of 'highly unequal in ability and training, but of equal voting power. To the side led

---

<sup>5</sup> Modernists had no monopoly on derisive labels aimed at their opponents. Benjamin B. Warfield (1851-1921) scoffed at the intellectual abilities of liberal 'thinkers' and called them 'invertebrates' because of their accommodation of traditional Christianity to the spirit of the times. Others like the evangelist Billy Sunday (1862-1935) were even more defamatory, for example: 'Lord save us from off-handed, flabby-cheeked, brittle-boned, weak-kneed, thin-skinned, pliable, plastic, spineless, effeminate, ossified three-karat Christianity.' B.B. Warfield *Presbyterian and Reformed Review* 5 (July 1894) 188; William C. McLoughlin, *Billy Sunday Was His Real Name* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955) 175.

<sup>6</sup> Norman F. Furniss *The Fundamentalist Controversy, 1918-1931* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954) 20, 23, 38.

<sup>7</sup> G.P. Albaugh was the professor of Church history at McMaster from 1943-1975. He was a graduate of Colgate Rochester Divinity School and the University of Chicago. Interestingly, Albaugh was the director of Gordon Carder's B.D. thesis, cited below. There was a considerable degree of in-circulation of the 'ignorant fundamentalist' proposition in liberal and institutional Baptist ranks.

<sup>8</sup> Johnston *McMaster University Volume 1: the Toronto Years* 178.

by Dr. Shields flocked the majority of ministers without university training.<sup>9</sup>

But were the fundamentalists really less educated than the modernists? To establish the educational qualifications of those who remained with the BCOQ, I examined the formal educational qualifications of all practicing ministers (student, lay, licentiate, & ordained) from seven representative associations of churches in the BCOQ at the time of the split.<sup>10</sup> Of fundamentalists I have developed a list of names from two sources: (1) individuals who were dropped from the Baptist Yearbook 'List of Ministers' between 1925 and 1933 for joining the fundamentalists; and (2) individuals appearing in 1928 and 1929 records from the Union of Regular Baptist Churches which can be positively identified as originating in the BCOQ.

I will argue that it was divergent views attached to the pursuit of Baptist higher education, rather than the actual educational credentials of Convention and dissenting Baptist pastors, which has led to statements regarding the poor education of the fundamentalists. In short, the epithet 'ignorant fundamentalist' is less a statement of fact than it is a demonstration of the historical shift at McMaster University towards a more liberal and secular philosophy of education.

#### **Educational Data Collected by Walter E. Ellis (1974)**

From a survey of 28 pastors from the ministerial lists of the Union of Regular Baptist Churches of Ontario and Quebec and 278 from the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, Walter Ellis determined that **71%** of the separatists were without degrees and training, while **52%** of the Convention pastors would be found in the same category.

---

<sup>9</sup> 'Controversy in the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, 1908-1929' (Unpublished BD thesis, McMaster University, 1950) 84. Carder's 1973 article, a modified version of his thesis, lacks the unproven assumptions cited above. 'Controversy in the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, 1908-1928', *Foundations: A Baptist Journal of History and Theology* Volume 16 (1973): 355-76.

<sup>10</sup> Educational qualifications are available in the Yearbooks of the BCOQ.

**Table 1: Uneducated ministers (Walter Ellis)**

	Regular Baptist Churches (1928)	Baptist Convention (1928)
Trained without degrees or training less than equivalent to the graduate program in theology at McMaster without degree	20 (71%)	130 (52%)

This data would seem to reinforce the claim that the pastors who remained with the denomination possessed more formal education than their fundamentalist counterparts. However, four factors suggest that the conclusion may be premature. First, as Ellis himself noted, the newly formed Union of Regular Baptists was short on pastors from its inception. Ministers were recruited from independent and non-denominational sources.<sup>11</sup> Importantly, this means that Ellis' use of the 1928 list of pastors from the Union of Regular Baptists would include pastors *who did not come from the schism with the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec*, effectively skewing the results. In order to eliminate those Regular Baptist pastors who did not originate with the Baptist Convention, this present study compares only pastors who are known to have originated with the Convention, either as pastors in the BCOQ or as students at McMaster University.

A second problem with using the lists of ministers from the two denominations as Ellis did is that not all ministers were actively serving in churches at the time of the split.<sup>12</sup> A similar modification needs to be

---

<sup>11</sup> Walter E. Ellis, 'Social and Religious Factors in the Fundamentalist-Modernist Schisms Among Baptists in North America, 1895-1934', (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburg, 1974) 89. Many of the new recruits to the Regular Baptists may have had dispensational tendencies. This was to have a role in the intra-fundamentalist schism of 1931 which led to the formation of the Fellowship of Evangelical Baptists.

<sup>12</sup> Separate categories for McMaster University Staff, Foreign Missionaries, Unclassified, and Retired pastors were used in BCOQ Yearbooks beginning in 1927. Including the degrees of these ordained people in the comparison would also skew the results in favour of the Baptist Convention. Degrees held by professors at McMaster University or at Toronto Baptist Seminary are excluded from this study, which focuses on the education of practicing pastors.

made to the data selection process in order to include the substantial number of unordained clergy serving in BCOQ churches whose names do not appear on the List of Baptist Ministers. These names can be found in the records submitted by BCOQ member churches, and include students, lay pastors, and licentiates.

Lastly, Ellis' sampled only 28 pastors from the Union of Regular Baptist Churches. I have increased this number to 62 by including pastors who came from the Baptist Convention and entered pastoral ministry with the Union before 1932.

### Uneducated Ministers (new sample)

This revision of Ellis' educational data compares pastors from the Regular Baptist Churches with a representative sample from seven BCOQ Associations in 1932. There were seven English Theology graduates out of a field of thirty-eight pastors who left the BCOQ. One of these, C.J. Loney, went on to do graduate work. For those in the Convention, there were twelve graduates from the English Theology program. Three of these went on to obtain other degrees.

**Table 2: Comparison of Formal Education<sup>13</sup>**

Actual	English Theology	BA	BTh	BD	MA	DD	No Higher Education	Total Pastors
<b>B.C.O.Q.<sup>14</sup></b>	12	49	29	3	8	6	72	148
<b>Regular Baptists</b>	7	15	2	2	1	4	38	62

<sup>13</sup> The English Theology Course had lower entrance requirements than the B.A. and B.Th., and did not include any study of the Biblical languages. The course was developed at various institutions in the United States, where it was often called and 'English Bible Course'. 'No Higher Education' means that a pastor possesses high school graduation or less.

<sup>14</sup> BCOQ sample is taken from seven associations representing both rural and urban Baptist congregations: Canada Central, Guelph, Niagara & Hamilton, Ottawa, Oxford & Brant, Thunder Bay, & Toronto. Although smaller than Ellis' sample of 278 ministers, educational data on 148 pastors from the BCOQ is sufficient for a fair comparison of the two groups.

Percentage	English Theology	BA	BTh	BD	MA	DD	No Higher Education	Total <sup>15</sup>
<b>B.C.O.Q.</b>	8%	33%	20%	2%	5%	4%	49%	113%
<b>Regular Baptists</b>	11%	24%	3%	3%	2%	6%	61%	110%

A tabulation of English Theology graduates shows the two groups to have similar numbers, with a slight advantage for the Regular Baptist pastors. The most common degree held among the Regular Baptist pastors originating with the BCOQ was, in fact, the B.A., a general arts degree which included a substantial component of theology.

The choice of T.T. Shields as the leader of the dissenters was unfortunate from an educational standpoint, for Shields lived up to the modernist caricature of the fundamentalists as unlettered and combative. Although he received honorary degrees from McMaster and Temple University in Philadelphia, he never attended any theological institution.<sup>16</sup>

### **Preliminary Analysis**

While it is true that there were a number of English Theology graduates who sided with Shields, an almost equal number sided with McMaster. As the above data indicates, there were many university graduates among the Regular Baptists. The most important category for our study, those pastors without any formal education, shows only a twelve percent difference between the two groups. The fact that twelve percent more of the fundamentalist pastors possessed no formal education may have had some influence on the outcome of the schism, but it cannot be as great as assumed by Johnston and Carder.

This new sample demonstrates that, in terms of education, the fundamentalist pastors were not equal with those in the Convention. But neither were they completely lacking in formal theological education. The disparity between the groups is not so severe as to suggest that the education of pastors was a significant contributor to their leaving or

---

<sup>15</sup> Percentages do not add up to 100% because many pastors possessed more than one degree. Sixteen churches in the seven BCOQ associations were without a pastor in 1932.

<sup>16</sup> *The Telegram*, 5 April 1955, 4. Stackhouse *Canadian Evangelicalism* 24.

remaining with the BCOQ. In addition, almost all the theological education of the pastors under study (modernists and fundamentalists) was gained from the same institution, McMaster University. One may assume, therefore, that all the pastors were under similar educational influences. Perhaps the most vital observation to be made is that there was a great deal of 'ignorance' on both sides of this Baptist dispute, both modernist and fundamentalist: 49% of active pastors in the Baptist Convention and 61% of those who left to join the Union of Regular Baptists possessed only high school education or less.

If there were no significant differences in formal education between the opposing groups, what was the controversy about? If Shields and his followers did not attack McMaster because they were 'ignorant fundamentalists', why did they oppose the school? Another step can be made towards answering these questions by comparing the *kind* of education supported by the rival Baptist groups.

### Two Views of Baptist Higher Education

The centre of Shields' dissatisfaction with the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec was McMaster University. With the establishment of his own school as the cornerstone of the new denomination, Shields was free to pursue his own educational agenda. Toronto Baptist Seminary (TBS) was Shields' alternative to the wrongs he saw at the University, and although TBS was clearly much narrower in its educational mandate,<sup>17</sup> it was established to be direct competition for McMaster.

Toronto Baptist Seminary offered only one program of study, the ministerial course. Three years in length, the course was open to men 'who have the Ministry of the Baptist Churches in view, or contemplate missionary work abroad.' Students were admitted upon the discretion of the faculty; neither Junior nor Senior Matriculation was required. In a rather progressive move, TBS did not separate women into a special course of study like McMaster's *Missionary Course for Women*, but rather opened up its regular ministerial course to women 'who have consecrated their lives to missionary service.'<sup>18</sup>

---

<sup>17</sup> TBS provided for ministerial education only; McMaster University provided a full range of degrees in arts and sciences.

<sup>18</sup> *Toronto Baptist Seminary Calendar 1927-1928*, printed in *The Gospel Witness* June 16, 1927, 34-48. *McMaster University Calendar 1927-1928*, 108. McMaster continued with specialised courses for women until 1968. The Women's

With only one course of study available at Toronto Baptist Seminary and several programs at McMaster University, there is the question of which McMaster course should be used for a comparison of the two schools. The B.A./B.Th. degree combination is a possibility, since that was the denomination's ideal educational qualification for pastoral ministry. But since this program would be at least four years longer than the Toronto Baptist Seminary course, the English Theology Course is the better choice. While the English Theology Course was not the ideal education for a minister in the Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, it was considered a sufficient preparation for ordination and pastoral ministry.<sup>19</sup> In addition, both programs were prepared to admit students who had not achieved high school graduation. A comparison of these two programs will demonstrate differences in educational emphasis between the two rival institutions.<sup>20</sup>

### **Common Features**

Both McMaster and Toronto Baptist Seminary were Baptist institutions: Baptist history and distinctives were emphasized in McMaster's theological courses and in the program at Toronto Baptist Seminary. Similarly, courses in mission work and evangelism figured prominently in the curriculum of the English Theology Course and the Toronto Baptist Seminary (TBS) ministerial course. TBS followed the pattern of McMaster University in sending students out during the summers to work in rural pastorates, preaching stations, or in travelling evangelistic ministries.

Personal faith in Christ was expected by students at both schools. In this both TBS and McMaster continued the revivalist and pietistic heritage of Baptists. The required daily Bible reading course at TBS and

---

Leadership Training School was begun in 1949 with courses leading to a certificate. It ceased as a separate entity in 1968 with the development of a Bachelor of Religious Education degree, which, in turn, became the Master of Religious Education degree in 1969. Melvyn R. Hillmer 'Baptist Theological Education in Ontario and Quebec 1838-1982,' in Murray J.S. Ford, ed., *Canadian Baptist History and Polity* (Hamilton, ON: McMaster Divinity College, 1982) 46.

<sup>19</sup> McMaster University Calendar 1927-1928, 102.

<sup>20</sup> Toronto Baptist Seminary was McMaster's rival, but the reverse cannot be said. McMaster's competition was with Baptist schools in the United States.

McMaster's summer home mission trips were practical outworkings of this heritage, a defining feature of Canadian Baptist identity.<sup>21</sup>

Since both McMaster's *English Theology Course* and Toronto Baptist Seminary's ministerial course were designed for students who may not have completed high school, both were obliged to include several courses on English Language and Literature. Courses on Old and New Testament Theology, history, and homiletics were dominant in both programs. Lastly, both schools included courses on comparative religions which read almost identically in their course descriptions: a survey of world religions with an emphasis on missionary evangelism and the supremacy of Christianity.<sup>22</sup>

### Differences in Outlook

The Statement of Faith from the Trust Deed of McMaster University was chosen to embody the beliefs of the Toronto Baptist Seminary. In so doing, the founders of TBS demonstrated their assertion that they were the veritable successors of the evangelical convictions which had given rise to the denomination's educational institutions. TBS did not represent a new kind of Baptist training school; rather, it was McMaster University which was moving away from historic Baptist beliefs and even from its own Statement of Faith.

But in a move which perhaps defined the theological aspect of the controversy, Toronto Baptist Seminary supplemented the McMaster Statement of Faith with the Confession of Faith of the fundamentalist Baptist Bible Union. This document rejected the theory of evolution and critical approaches to the Bible.<sup>23</sup> The significance of these doctrinal

---

<sup>21</sup> William Brackney, ed. *Baptist Life and Thought: 1600-1980: a source book* (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1983) 149-153, 190-192; Barry M. Moody 'Breadth of Vision, Breadth of Mind: The Baptists and Acadia College,' in George A. Rawlyk, ed. *Canadian Baptists and Higher Education* (Kingston & Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988) 10-15; Joseph D. Ban 'Canadian Baptists and Renewal,' in Murray J.S. Ford, ed. *Canadian Baptist History and Polity* (Hamilton: McMaster University Divinity College, 1982) 152-165.

<sup>22</sup> McMaster University Calendar 1927-1928, 114; Toronto Baptist Seminary Calendar, 44-45.

<sup>23</sup> *Toronto Baptist Seminary Calendar 1927-1928*, printed in *The Gospel Witness* June 16, 1927, 36. The Baptist Bible Union was strongly opposed to the teaching of evolution and biblical higher criticism at public universities. The Union also opposed open church membership (the reception of members

statements lies in the fact that Toronto Baptist Seminary required all faculty and staff to subscribe publicly to the statements on an annual basis.

### Differences in Course Content

Courses common to each year of both programs are listed first in the tables below, with different courses following in italics. In a few instances, similar courses are prescribed in different years.

Toronto Baptist Seminary	McMaster University
	<b>English Theology Course</b>
<b><u>First Year</u></b>	
English Language and Literature	English Literature
Church History	Modern History
Biblical Introduction	History of Old Testament Times
Bible Exegesis	History of New Testament Times
Systematic Biblical Theology	Old Testament Interpretation
Evangelism	Missions: Introduction; Home Missions
Homiletics	Public Reading and Speaking
<i>Bible Reading<sup>24</sup></i>	<i>Introductory Sociology</i>
<i>Pastoral Theology</i>	<i>Introductory Philosophy</i>
<i>Hebrew</i>	<i>Biology: Botany and Human Physiology</i>
<i>Greek</i>	
<b><u>Second Year</u></b>	
English Literature	English Literature
Evangelism	Evangelism
Church History	History of Christianity
Systematic Biblical Theology	Systematic Theology
Biblical Introduction	Hebrew Prophecy
Pastoral Theology	New Testament Interpretation in English
Homiletics	Homiletics

from other Christian bodies without requiring them to be baptised by immersion), as proposed by Harry Emerson Fosdick and others. W.H. Brackney, ed., *Baptist Life and Thought: 1600-1980: a source book* 256-259.

<sup>24</sup> In 'Bible Reading', TBS students were required from 8:30 to 9:00am to read the Old and New Testaments, so that they would be assured to have read the entire Bible by the conclusion of their three year certificate.

<b>Toronto Baptist Seminary</b>	<b>McMaster University English Theology Course</b>
<i>Biblical Exegesis</i>	<i>Christian Ethics and Sociology</i>
<i>Hebrew Grammar and Exegesis</i>	<i>Philosophy: Logic</i>
<i>Greek Grammar and Exegesis</i>	<i>History of Education and Education Systems</i>
<i>Bible Reading</i>	<i>Philosophy: Ethics</i>
<i>Missions</i>	
<i>Non-Christian Religions</i>	
<b><u>Third Year</u></b>	
Systematic Biblical Theology	Systematic Theology
Homiletics	Homiletics
Modernism and Modern Cults	Apologetical and Comparative Religion
<i>Biblical Introduction</i>	
<i>Biblical Exegesis</i>	
<i>Eschatology</i>	<i>History of Christianity</i>
<i>Evangelism</i>	<i>New Testament Interpretation in English</i>
<i>Christian Sociology</i>	<i>Pastoral Theology</i>
<i>Missions</i>	<i>Psychology of Religion</i>
<i>Greek Grammar and Exegesis</i>	<i>Public Reading and Speaking</i>
<i>Bible Reading</i>	<i>Christian Ethics</i>

There is significant variance in course content between the English Theological Course and the Toronto Baptist Seminary ministerial course. McMaster included courses in biology, philosophy, psychology of religion, and education as part of its program. Toronto Baptist Seminary did not include any broad training in Arts, selecting rather to provide three years of Greek language and two years of Hebrew

language instruction.<sup>25</sup> In this, the school neglected subjects relating to contemporary thought (cf. McMaster's inclusion of philosophy, sociology, and biology) in order to develop students who could master the Biblical text. Indeed, not Systematic Theology, but Systematic *Biblical* Theology was taught at Toronto Baptist Seminary. It was called 'Biblical' because at TBS theology was approached 'on the assumption that the Bible is really the Word of God; and is therefore specifically, on this subject, the sole authority'.<sup>26</sup> This emphasis was over and against the real or perceived encroachment of liberalism and higher critical studies of the Bible at McMaster. According to the forces which created TBS, McMaster's theological students were taught that the Bible was not really the Word of God or the sole authority for Christian faith.

The presence of McMaster's required courses on philosophy, biology and the psychology of religion were perceived by the fundamentalists as a threat to the authority of the Bible. Yet while McMaster's *English Theology Course* does not devote as much attention to Biblically focused courses, graduates may not have had a lesser appreciation for Scripture. The faculty at McMaster, unlike that of TBS, believed that students could be introduced to higher critical methods and modern theories of science while still maintaining a vital faith and a high respect for the Bible. The first part of the course description for 'New Testament Interpretation in English', a required course for *English Theology*, declared that, 'the main purpose of the course is to give the student such a knowledge of the contents, characteristics, purpose, and teachings of the Gospels as shall deepen his appreciation of them and condition him more effectively to preach Him Whose works and words they record'. This half of the description was similar to course descriptions found in the TBS calendar, but the second half was beyond the scope of TBS. It read, 'Another important aim is to give an introduction to the history of modern criticism and to the principles of interpretation'.<sup>27</sup>

---

<sup>25</sup> The absence of Greek and Hebrew in the English Theology Course at McMaster was the defining feature of the English Theology Course, and so is not significant for our comparison.

<sup>26</sup> Toronto Baptist Seminary Calendar 1927-1928, 40.

<sup>27</sup> McMaster University Calendar 1927-1928, 111-112; Toronto Baptist Seminary Calendar 1927-1928, 119.

### Christian Faith and Modern Scholarship

While McMaster students were encouraged to integrate modern biblical scholarship with their faith, the statements of faith to which the students and faculty of TBS were to subscribe declared that higher criticism of the Bible was in direct conflict with the faith of Bible-believing Baptists. The originators of Toronto Baptist Seminary resolved the tension between the developments of modern scholarship and historic Christian faith by opposing evolution and biblical criticism in the school's Statement of Faith and curriculum. Toronto Baptist Seminary's inclusion of a required course on Modernism further illustrated this difference between TBS and McMaster. The course, 'Modernism and Modern Cults' explicitly rejected the possibility of the integration of scientific developments with Baptist faith.<sup>28</sup>

In the absence of courses on psychology and philosophy, Toronto Baptist Seminary's inclusion of a course in 'Christian Sociology' is notable. The course was to be a careful survey of 'the development of society from its primitive condition to its present complex state ... special emphasis will be laid upon present-day problems and their attempted solution'. The course description continued 'History discloses the fact that only the regeneration of the individual, and the reign of Christ, can remove the evils of society'.<sup>29</sup> No further indication of course content is given, and one might wonder about the degree of interaction with secular sociology. But why should Toronto Baptist Seminary include a course on sociology at all? Why not another Bible or theology course, or an advanced course on missions? The resistance of other fundamentalist schools like Moody Bible Institute to offer in their curriculum anything beyond Bible classes, mission courses and practical work makes a sociology course seem rather unusual.<sup>30</sup> While the content

---

<sup>28</sup> *Toronto Baptist Seminary Calendar 1927-1928*, 46. The course description states, 'While the Seminary has been established with a view especially to opposing Modernism, in the lectures of this subject an endeavour will be made to acquaint the students with the tenets of Modernism - with a view, however, to qualifying them to oppose it.' In addition to its opposition of higher critical methodology and evolutionary theory, this course opposed Christian Science and Pentecostalism.

<sup>29</sup> *Toronto Baptist Seminary Calendar 1927-1928*, 45.

<sup>30</sup> George M. Marsden *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth Century Evangelicalism, 1870-1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980) 130-32. The first exception was a writing course in English which appeared in the Moody Bible Institute curriculum in 1913.

of the Christian Sociology course taught at TBS was no doubt different in some respects from the course by the same name at McMaster (Year 2 of *English Theological Course*), the existence of this course in the curriculum of Toronto Baptist Seminary leads to the question of whether McMaster's approach had been totally rejected after all.<sup>31</sup>

### **The Goals of Ministerial Education**

While Junior Pass Matriculation was required for entrance into the English Theology Course at McMaster, allowances were made for mature students to enter the course without high school graduation. Showing somewhat lower educational standards, Toronto Baptist Seminary did not even expect Junior Pass Matriculation for entry. Rather,

The educational standard shall be left in each case to the decision of the Faculty, because the great aim of the Seminary is to produce preachers, and therefore its supreme concern is to be assured of a man's divine call to the work of the ministry.<sup>32</sup>

Essentially, this meant that for Toronto Baptist Seminary and its fundamentalist supporters, a broader background in Arts was of little importance to the ministry. What mattered most was training in the Bible and a personal call to pastoral work. Toronto Baptist Seminary was prepared to train for pastoral ministry persons who would normally be excluded from university studies. And while McMaster would accept students without Junior Pass Matriculation, such students were the exception to the rule. McMaster aimed to train scholars as well as pastors, so its programs had more rigorous entrance requirements and were necessarily broader in their contact with other secular academic disciplines.

---

<sup>31</sup> Shields' borrowing from McMaster's curriculum should be no surprise. He was on the Board of Governors of McMaster University when he started Toronto Baptist Seminary. He would have had good opportunity to observe the content of courses. And despite his objection to McMaster's curriculum and staff, he had no difficulty accepting an honorary doctorate from McMaster in 1918, or using the accompanying initials to preface his name.

<sup>32</sup> *Toronto Baptist Seminary Calendar 1927-1928*, 47. We should probably read T.T. Shields' own educational and pastoral experience into these comments. Despite his two honorary doctorates, Shields never attended a college or university.

At Toronto Baptist Seminary, the study of the Bible was central, and emphasis on the Biblical text was preferred to the broader exposure to arts and sciences offered at McMaster. This difference was Shields' principal reason for establishing his competing school and part of the fundamentalist opposition to Christian participation in the modern world.

### **A Quest for Respectability**

What Shields opposed at McMaster University was a trend in ministerial education that had begun much earlier in the nineteenth century. Although begun initially to provide a Canadian option to the ministerial training schools in the United States and in England,<sup>33</sup> the Baptists in Ontario and Quebec who were behind its educational institutions had consistently advocated high academic standards and promoted scholarly studies in disciplines outside the basic mandate of providing preachers and evangelists for the churches.

The Canadian Literary Institute, founded in July 1860, was the first venture of the Baptists of Ontario and Quebec in the field of secular education. The school was to remain open until 1926. In 1881, with the help of Senator William McMaster (1811-1887) and John H. Castle, the theological department of the Institute (the name was changed to Woodstock College in 1883) was moved to Toronto and named Toronto Baptist College. Separate funding was guaranteed for Woodstock College. Included in the trustees of Toronto Baptist College were men who reflected William McMaster's religious, economic, and political perspectives. These included Alexander MacKenzie, the former Liberal prime minister of Canada.<sup>34</sup>

---

<sup>33</sup> In 1837, John Gilmour of Montreal argued that the sending of missionary pastors from Great Britain was not sufficient to meet the needs of Canadian churches, and that a school should be opened with this in mind. Canadian Baptist College opened with two students in 1838 and closed due to financial difficulties in 1849. *Canadian Baptist Magazine* June 1837, 17.

<sup>34</sup> In an example of his influence, Senator McMaster provided the necessary financing to lure William Newton Clarke from his Montreal pastorate to McMaster University in 1883. While McMaster's theological views may have been in conflict with Clarke on a number of points, Clarke was the kind of scholar that McMaster believed could advance the fledgling Baptist University. McMaster also had a personal acquaintance with Clarke having worked with him on a number of denominational committees. Brackney

Because Woodstock College and Toronto Baptist College still lacked a complete arts programme, students were forced to take a portion of their studies at the University of Toronto.<sup>35</sup> There were Baptists who thought that the best solution was to affiliate Toronto Baptist College and Woodstock College with the University of Toronto; however Senator McMaster offered to provide the financial support for the transformation of Toronto Baptist College into an independent Baptist University. McMaster University obtained its university charter from the provincial legislature on April 22, 1887.<sup>36</sup>

While McMaster University was supposed to represent the wide-ranging needs of Baptist churches and to promote national Baptist interests, in many ways the school was the creation of one man, Senator William McMaster. McMaster was the president and founder of the Bank of Commerce and a leading politician. Like other successful Baptists of his generation, he was interested in promoting Baptist respectability and Baptist educational institutions.<sup>37</sup> Exactly five months after the incorporation of McMaster University, the senator died, leaving almost one million dollars to fund the school's future.

### **Essentials of Liberal Education**

In the early decades of the twentieth century, McMaster University's emphasis on education for the social advancement of Baptists was further expanded to promote a wider social and economic agenda. The 1920 *Educational Policy of the Baptists of Ontario and Quebec* reiterated this dual focus of Baptist educational ventures. Young men and women were to be educated in secular subjects in a Christian environment, so that 'their theoretical and practical life is organically related to the creative personality of the Saviour of the world.'<sup>38</sup> Ministerial training was forced to share top billing with courses aimed at Baptist social advancement.

---

'William Newton Clarke: A Canadian-American Cross Cultural Experience' *McMaster Journal of Theology* 3 (1993) 65-66.

<sup>35</sup> Hillmer 'Baptist Theological Education in Ontario and Quebec 1838-1982' 42-44.

<sup>36</sup> Johnston *McMaster University Volume 1: the Toronto Years* 1:3.

<sup>37</sup> Another way of promoting Baptist respectability was to finance, in 1876, the construction of a Gothic Baptist cathedral in Toronto, Jarvis Street Baptist Church.

<sup>38</sup> *Educational Policy of the Baptists of Ontario and Quebec* (Toronto, McMaster University, 1920), 17.

It was with great difficulty, however, that Chancellors O.C.S. Wallace and A.L. McCrimmon maintained the Christian environment for secular studies. Increasingly, the school developed an educational agenda designed to make McMaster a modern university able to compete with its secular rivals. It was H.P. Whidden, chancellor during the conflict with Shields, who did more than any of his predecessors to develop the school along these lines. His inaugural address was not so much on Christian education, but on 'certain essentials of liberal education,' whose goal was to 'relate the individual to his universe.'<sup>39</sup>

Yet it would be incorrect to identify any of McMaster's leadership in the 1920s as thoroughgoing secularists. For during the same period and afterwards, the institution continued to demonstrate the pietistic and evangelistic fervour that had characterised all Canadian Baptist educational efforts. As we have already seen, students at McMaster University were active in summer mission programs and evangelistic endeavours as part of their training. While perhaps not demonstrating the overt Baptist pietism of his predecessors, Whidden continued to hold the way open for Christian ethics and spirituality:

We would go a step further and say very definitely that there should be included in a working programme of liberal education *recognition of the needs and possibilities of man's moral and religious nature*. The claims of Christian education were never more likely to be recognised than today. Even by some of those who are not identified with the programme of the Christian Church, there has been placed added emphasis on spiritual values.<sup>40</sup>

---

<sup>39</sup> H.P. Whidden 'What is a liberal education?' *Canadian Journal of Religious Thought* 1(1924):39; *Canadian Baptist*, 22 November 1923; George A. Rawlyk, "A.L. McCrimmon, H.P. Whidden, T.T. Shields, Christian Higher Education, and McMaster University," 40-50, 52-53. Modernists subscribed to an ambitious methodology of inquiry which brought them not only to seek new understandings of Christian disciplines of study, but also into contact with other social and scientific fields of study. On the methodology of modernism, see Kathryn Lofton, 'The Methodology of the Modernists: Process in American Protestantism,' *Church History* 75 (2) 2006: 374-402.

<sup>40</sup> Whidden 'What is a liberal education?' 38, italics in original. Although Rawlyk cites from this speech, he neglects to mention Whidden's emphasis on spiritual values, Rawlyk 50-54. Whidden, although well acquainted with theological liberalism, was not entirely sympathetic either. He had written some years earlier of Chicago that, 'it is not exactly a hot-bed of Heresy, and yet pretty tall heretics have grown there and will continue to be grown there for some time. For a man who has thought through and around things a

### **The Culture of the Heart and the Discipline of the Mind**

Others at McMaster were much more overt in expressing their evangelistic and pietistic agenda. For Dean J.H. Farmer, ‘the purpose for which Christian schools are established is to win and train for Christ and His church the young men and women who are seeking a thorough education and who are, therefore, likely to occupy positions of commanding influence in the world.’<sup>41</sup>

Similarly, professor N.H. Parker wrote in a 1926 article, ‘The supreme task of the Christian Church has been, and is, to evangelize the world ... Today we are practically agreed that the educational feature in the church’s program is of fundamental importance [to the task of evangelism].’ Parker argued that Baptist educational ventures should be conducted with a view ‘to the culture of the heart as well as the discipline of the mind’.<sup>42</sup> Baptist educational institutions should encourage an atmosphere where the ideals of young people are shaped according to the person and values of Jesus Christ. For Parker, this spiritual transformation should take place not only in the lives of individuals, but in broader society as well. In this kind of Christ-filled environment,

It will be natural not only for Christian students to develop strength of character and robustness of faith, but it will be equally natural for those not yet committed to live the Christian life to make in calmness and quietness ‘the great surrender’.<sup>43</sup>

The battle between modernists and fundamentalists at McMaster was very much a battle flowing from tensions which had been present for years in the denomination. There were those who supported, in Parker’s words, ‘the culture of the heart as well as the discipline of the mind’, both inside and outside McMaster University. But those who believed that pietism and secularism could coexist in a Christian university had to manage not only the unstoppable advance of secularism

---

little it is not a very dangerous place; but I am quite satisfied that I did not take my regular Theological Course there.’ H.P. Whidden to O.C.S. Wallace, 21 January 1897, Canadian Baptist Archives, McMaster Divinity College, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.

<sup>41</sup> J.H. Farmer ‘Education and Denominational Life,’ *Canadian Baptist* July 1, 1926, 6.

<sup>42</sup> N.H. Parker ‘Education and Evangelism’ in *Canadian Baptist* July 1, 1926, 6. Parker was at that time Lecturer in Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis at the University.

<sup>43</sup> Parker ‘Education and Evangelism’ 6.

in the early twentieth century but also a long-standing Baptist resistance to long, academically oriented courses of ministerial preparation.

Spiritual renewal has been a continual feature of Canadian Baptist educational ventures,<sup>44</sup> and yet there were always those who protested against the rigors of institutional training. Whether it was the confidence of some early Maritime Baptists that the Spirit of God would inspire the preacher even if he didn't know his sermon text when he entered the pulpit,<sup>45</sup> or Alexander Grant's demand for pastors, 'arts or no arts, graduates or no graduates' who could endure pastoral ministry in Western Canada,<sup>46</sup> there had always been some suspicion among Canadian Baptists as to the value of higher education for ministers. A Baptist pastor could do without extended formal training. He could not do without a giftedness, call, and passion for pastoral ministry. Those who tried to encourage *the culture of the heart as well as the discipline of the mind* at McMaster University were not successful in allaying the fears of those who saw the advances of secular education taking place at the expense of personal faith in Christ.

### **Ministerial Education, Pietism and Social Advancement**

The fundamentalist-modernist controversy at McMaster University developed in an era when influential Baptists longed for their denomination to be awarded greater social respectability. Some Baptists, however, were suspicious of this social and commercial agenda. Their main interest was the education of pastors and evangelists for their Baptist churches.

---

<sup>44</sup> Joseph D. Ban 'Canadian Baptists and Renewal: Some Movements Deserving Historical Consideration,' 154-156.

<sup>45</sup> Edward Manning Saunders *History of the Baptists in the Maritime Provinces* (Halifax, NS: Press of John Burgoyne, 1902) 180-184. Hillmer suggests that although there was an opposition to an educated Baptist ministry, the main trend was towards the establishment of Baptist schools and institutions. Melvyn R. Hillmer 'Baptist Theological Education in Ontario and Quebec 1838-1982,' in Murray J.S. Ford, ed., *Canadian Baptist History and Polity* (Hamilton, ON: McMaster Divinity College, 1982) 40.

<sup>46</sup> *The North-West Baptist* 9, no. 8 (November 15, 1893) 2; Walter Ellis "What the Times Demand: Brandon College and Baptist Higher Education in Western Canada," in George A. Rawlyk *Canadian Baptists and Higher Education* (Kingston & Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988) 67.

The trend toward secularism at McMaster was part and parcel of the identification of Baptist advancement with the social and economic progress of the nation. Between 1885 and 1889 Acadia University, the sister Baptist institution in the Maritimes, entered into an agreement with McMaster in which Acadia stopped its own training of ministers altogether. Although ministerial training could be sacrificed, the liberal educational agenda could not, and with the deal Acadia was freed to develop a full arts program in its undergraduate programs.<sup>47</sup> While Brandon College in Manitoba was originally founded in order to train pastors and missionaries to meet the urgent needs of the Baptist churches in Western Canada, the first school calendar shows that the equivalent of two years of university study was required for entrance into the theology program.<sup>48</sup>

Thus when the fundamentalists objected to the development of a modern liberal arts and scientific education at McMaster University, they were interfering with the social advancement of Baptists and the development of progress in Canadian society. The institution and denomination were compelled to act to protect their educational agenda. In this context, therefore, when the content of ministerial training at McMaster University in became suspect to T.T. Shields and others, the fundamentalists were able to build their opposition to liberal, secular education on an established Baptist suspicion of higher education.<sup>49</sup>

### **Fundamentalism, Education and the Protestant Social Agenda**

Toronto Baptist Seminary was developed as the fundamentalist option to studying at McMaster University. As De Ruyter notes with regard to fundamentalist educational practices,

The first characteristic of fundamentalism is an opposition to modernity, especially to the developments in science, growing

---

<sup>47</sup> Brackney 'William Newton Clarke' 68.

<sup>48</sup> Walter Ellis 'What the Times Demand' 69-73. H.P. Whidden accepted the presidency at Brandon in 1912 based on a commitment from assurances that the Arts department would be continued. Minutes, Brandon College Board, 7 March 1912, Canadian Baptist Archives, McMaster Divinity College, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.

<sup>49</sup> As we have seen from Shields' founding of Toronto Baptist Seminary, their opposition was not to ministerial education *per se*, but to a particular kind of ministerial higher education which, they believed, was in opposition to the personal faith and conviction which Baptists had always expected of their pastors.

individualism and the significance of autonomy, and liberal morality ... fundamentalism is a strong defense or opposition by people who feel their identity threatened by the dominant modern culture.<sup>50</sup>

Models of fundamentalist education are designed to insulate fundamentalists from the world, and since McMaster University had apparently abandoned the ideal of being a Baptist Bible college in favour of becoming a modern University, this separation needed to be enabled through another institution like TBS.

Walter Ellis was right when he argued that the fundamentalist reaction to the modernism at McMaster was part of a larger set of social and economic forces affecting Baptist churches at the beginning of the twentieth century. Baptists interested in preserving their social advancement and legitimizing their faith were opposed by those who saw modernity as a threat to their pietistic and evangelical beliefs.<sup>51</sup> Yet fundamentalists were not the only ones drawing from the revivalist Christian heritage. Christie and Gauvreau argue persuasively that the Protestant promoters of social reform in Canada were deeply rooted in the pietistic tradition of evangelistic activity and personal conversion. What the reformers rejected was an over-articulated theology of the academy that was out of step with the religious needs and experiences of ordinary Canadians. According to Christie and Gauvreau, Protestant interest in human social experience encouraged the development of the social sciences in Canada and ultimately contributed to the development of the Canadian welfare state.<sup>52</sup>

In order for Canadian Protestants to influence the social and moral development of the country, the role of ministers needed to be

---

<sup>50</sup> Doret J. De Ruyter, 'Fundamentalist Education: A Critical Analysis,' *Religious Education* 96 (2001): 195, 197-122. In fairness to the modernists, however, it should also be noted that the theory of evolution and the higher criticism of the Bible were not alone in their novelty. The doctrines of inerrancy and the eschatological interpretations of the fundamentalists were recent innovations as well. Walter E. Ellis, "Gilboa to Ichabod" 122.

<sup>51</sup> Lifestyle issues, such as the willingness of some Baptists to engage in card-playing and dancing, were crucial in determining the identities of both fundamentalists and modernists. Robert Wilson 'Patterns of Canadian Baptist Life in the Twentieth Century,' *Baptist History and Heritage* 36:1-2(2001): 70-79.

<sup>52</sup> Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau. *A Full-Orbed Christianity : The Protestant Churches and Social Welfare in Canada, 1900-1940*, (McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion 22. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996) 3-74, 224-243.

revised, with the accompanying changes in the teaching of the theological colleges:

Where before 1900 biblical exegesis provided the intellectual foundation of a ministerial authority that remained largely confined to the institutional church, in the twentieth century the new ideal of the minister stressed his wider cultural role as a community leader. This necessitated the introduction of a new form of intellectual sustenance for Christian faith, modern social science.<sup>53</sup>

McMaster University was part of this Protestant social agenda, with evangelical Chancellor A.L. McCrimmon teaching courses in economics and sociology from the beginning of his tenure in 1905, many years before the conflict with Shields.<sup>54</sup> Educational institutions such as McMaster University were crucial to the social aims of both modernists who embraced the scholarly advances of the twentieth century and of fundamentalists who resisted them. In short, the control of a Baptist educational institution like McMaster meant the freedom to pursue a Baptist social agenda.

### **What is Baptist Higher Education?**

The TBS calendar described this ideal of Baptist higher education: '[Paul] esteemed the knowledge of Christ to be the most excellent of all sciences, and tells us that it had become the rule of his life to subordinate every consideration to this one supreme end, to count everything 'but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord.' Shields and his followers thought that the personal faith of students at McMaster was placed at risk by McMaster's greater openness to secular science and other disciplines. The faculty of McMaster University believed that openness to the conclusions of science and biblical criticism need not rob students of their faith.<sup>55</sup>

---

<sup>53</sup> Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau. *A Full-Orbed Christianity* 76, 75-131.

<sup>54</sup> Even fundamentalist TBS was not immune to the Christian interest in sociology in Canada. As mentioned above, TBS offered a course in sociology, in contrast with likeminded schools south of the border. In the United States, the social sciences had their beginnings in the universities in the 1890s, whereas in Canada their initial development was sponsored by theological colleges. Christie and Gauvreau *A Full-Orbed Christianity* 75-130.

<sup>55</sup> Toronto Baptist Seminary Calendar 1927-1928, 34. The perceived threat of modern science and religious studies to piety was addressed by fundamentalists banning those subjects from the fundamentalist curriculum,

McMaster University's situation was complicated. Other Baptist schools such as the University of Chicago looked at McMaster as hopelessly conservative, but conservatives in the denomination saw the school as a strong proponent of liberalism. In 1927 Chancellor Whidden wrote, "There is a touch of irony in the whole situation that an individual as conservative as myself and a university that has always been charged with obscurantism should become the special objects of fundamentalist attack."<sup>56</sup>

What Whidden faced was an intra-denominational battle for the control of McMaster between fundamentalists and modernists. And there was a third party to the power struggle: McMaster University itself. Shields himself recognised the independence of the university in the conflict, quipping rather famously: 'McMaster imagines that the Denomination exists for McMaster - not McMaster for the Denomination.'<sup>57</sup> Whidden and his successors advocated greater autonomy for the university and freedom from *both* liberal and fundamentalist Baptists in the denomination. McMaster University's independence from denominational politics grew after the 1927 split in the Baptist Convention and the 1930 move of the university from Toronto to Hamilton. This process of devolution at McMaster mirrored what was happening in other Baptist schools in North America such as Brown University, Colby College, the University of Chicago and the University of Richmond, as the Baptist identity of the schools receded to

---

a part of what Mark Noll calls the "intellectual disaster of fundamentalism." Mark A. Noll *The Scandal of the Evangelical Mind* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994) 109-145.

<sup>56</sup> Whidden Papers, Letter Whidden to Rev. R. Edward Sayles, First Baptist Church, Ann Arbor, Michigan, February 22, 1927, Canadian Baptist Archives, McMaster Divinity College, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada; Walter E. Ellis, 'Social and Religious Factors in the Fundamentalist-Modernist Schisms Among Baptists in North America, 1895-1934' 60. Despite the fact that he still considered himself a conservative in 1927, Rawlyk suggests that by the 1920s Whidden had discarded his earlier conservatism in favour of a more liberal viewpoint. George A. Rawlyk, 'A.L. McCrimmon, H.P. Whidden, T.T. Shields, Christian Higher Education, and McMaster University' 51. A thorough study of Whidden's theological convictions has yet to be undertaken.

<sup>57</sup> *The Gospel Witness*, 4, no. 28 (11 May 1925), 13. Contra Shields, it can be forcefully argued that the denomination was organised to support the educational aspirations of Baptists generally, and the establishment of McMaster University specifically.

make way for modern non-sectarian universities.<sup>58</sup> Under Whidden, the pursuit of the newer sciences such as physics, chemistry, biology and geology became the new aim of McMaster.<sup>59</sup>

The openness of McMaster to other fields of study was a foretaste of what was to come for evangelical institutions across Canada, many of which did not even exist at the time of the controversy. The tension over the inclusion or addition of liberal-arts, science and social science courses to the curricula of evangelical schools and colleges was to continue well into the twentieth century, with even the most conservative Canadian schools on the Prairies eventually conceding to join the university system in the 1980s and 1990s. Like the conflict over education at McMaster in the 1920s, behind this inclusion of courses aimed at more than Bible study, Christian ministry and personal holiness lay another goal: a commitment to participate in the shaping of Canadian culture rather than simply opposing it.<sup>60</sup>

### **Conclusion**

The extent to which the issue of higher education is related to Walter Ellis' thesis of social and class divisions needs further exploration in other denominational conflicts between fundamentalists and modernists. Questions also remain as to the impact of the non-Convention pastors who joined Shields on the tensions that beset Shields' Union of Regular Baptists after 1929. After the split with the BCOQ, did the Regular Baptists attract large numbers of pastors lacking formal education, as the difference between my results and those of Ellis would seem to suggest? Did TBS really become a training ground for these men as Shields intended, or did they eschew formal education altogether, trusting in their divine call and natural ability as Shields himself did?

There was little difference in the educational qualifications of the pastors who left the BCOQ to follow Shields and those who stayed with the denomination. Many an educated man supported the aims of the fundamentalists in their struggle against modernity. The educated separatists were from rural as well as urban Ontario. The fundamentalists did not leave because they were more ignorant or less educated than

---

<sup>58</sup> William H. Brackney 'Secularization of the Academy: A New Challenge to Baptist Historians.' *Baptist History and Heritage* 39, no. 1 (2004): 69-73.

<sup>59</sup> H.P. Whidden 'What is a liberal education?' *Canadian Journal of Religious Thought* 1 (1924):39; *Canadian Baptist* 22 November 1923.

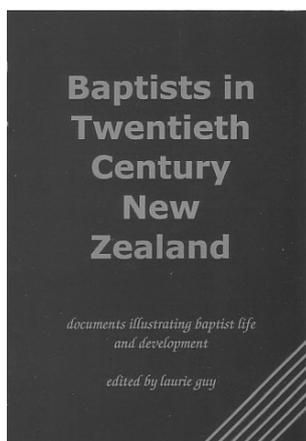
<sup>60</sup> John G. Stackhouse, *Canadian Evangelicalism in the Twentieth Century* 191-198.

those who remained with the establishment. As is demonstrated by the course offerings of the Toronto Baptist Seminary, they left because they had different views about what Baptist higher education should be. The appellation 'ignorant fundamentalists' brandished by the modernists functioned as a convenient and derogatory short-hand to express the resistance of the fundamentalists to the modern university education that was being promoted at McMaster.

Shields' new school, Toronto Baptist Seminary, was under the direct control of the Deacons' Board of Jarvis Street Baptist Church. At TBS Shields could train young pastors to oppose modernism and evolutionary teaching, while at McMaster the tension between Baptist piety and secular advances in biology, psychology and religious studies would continue for years to come. For the modernists, the young men and women who studied at TBS would remain 'ignorant fundamentalists', regardless of the number degrees they acquired from TBS or other similar institutions.

**Colin R. Godwin**  
**Canadian Baptist Ministries, Rwanda**

# **NZ Baptists - in their own words!**

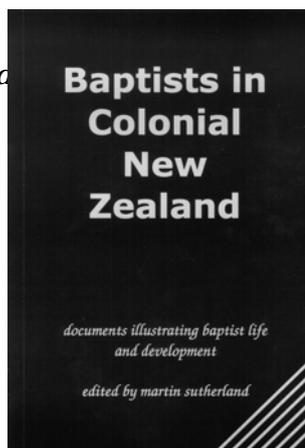


*Baptists in Twentieth-Century  
New Zealand: documents illustrating  
Baptist life and development*  
Edited by Laurie Guy,  
Carey Baptist College, 2005,  
ISBN 0-908649-08-8 (284 pp)  
(includes biographical appendix)

Price: US \$30.00 plus p & p

*Baptists in Colonial New Zealand  
documents illustrating  
Baptist life and development*  
Edited by Martin Sutherland,  
Carey Baptist College, 2002,  
ISBN 0-908649-07-X (224 pp)  
(includes biographical appendix)

Price: US \$25.00 plus p & p



Orders to: The N.Z. Baptist Research and Historical  
Society

PO Box 12149. Auckland, New Zealand

Fax 64-9-525 4096

Or Email [martin.sutherland@carey.ac.nz](mailto:martin.sutherland@carey.ac.nz)

## **Naked but Not Disembodied: A Case for Anthropological Duality**

### **ABSTRACT**

The Christian tradition has presented various theories in answer to the question of what happens after death. As is well known, the Jewish mindset is predominantly monistic while the Greek is predominantly dualistic. But what about the distinctively *Christian* perspective? Biblical scholars and systematicians array themselves along the monistic – dualistic divide. Recent treatments of theological anthropology range from strict defenses of Aristotelian-Thomistic dualism to scientifically informed monism. The present study is an attempt to present a position which is primarily informed by the biblical text and is thus distinctively Christian. What we find in Scripture is an affirmation of an intermediate state along with an intermediate body fit for such a state as it awaits the final resurrection. The impetus for such a position is found in Jesus' words to the thief on the cross that he would be in *paradise* with him that day (Lk 23.43), and Paul's teaching on the resurrection. Pauline theology presents three stages or qualities of life: a premortal life, a post-mortem but preresurrection life, and a postresurrection eternal life. At no point does Scripture present the existence of a disembodied soul. In its place we find the affirmation that to be human to be embodied, and that applies to all three of the states humanity may exist in.

Whilst the post-mortem state of the human has rarely been the dominant point of theological dispute among Baptists, neither has it been a matter of no concern. With inevitable implications for views of God, of hell, and the nature and extent of salvation, nineteenth-century debates on the 'larger hope' or conditional immortality formed part of the context for the 'down-grade' debates of the 1880s. In New Zealand the issues sparked the first major controversy among in the newly formed Baptist Union.<sup>1</sup> More recently Fuller Seminary Professor Nancy Murphy has popularized an anthropology known as 'nonreductive physicalism,' the

---

<sup>1</sup> 'Downgrade Down Under: Conflict and Cohesion among New Zealand Baptists', *Baptist Quarterly*, 37 no.7 (July 1998), 351-363.

latest offering appearing in the *Journal of European Baptist Studies*<sup>2</sup>. In response to the views represented by Murphy and others the following study offers an alternate perspective, an ‘anthropological duality’ as a more faithful representation of the biblical witness.

### I. Intermediate Worlds beyond

The doctrine of the intermediate state refers to the condition of believers between death and resurrection. The intermediate state also has reference to the worlds beyond. The first issue concerns personal eschatology, the second concerns corporate eschatology. Our major concern is with the first issue but we shall touch on the second in passing.

There are significant indications within the scriptural testimony which lead the interpreter to conclude the intermediate state exists. Along with an intermediate state is the affirmation of intermediate abodes for both the righteous and the unrighteous. The intermediate abode of the unrighteous is *hades* (the final abode is *Gehenna*) and of the righteous is *paradise* (the final abode is *heaven*).<sup>3</sup>

The interim state of the blessed is paradise: Jesus affirmed this to the thief on the cross in Lk 23.43; to the Sadducees regarding Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (Mt 22.32; Jn 8.56; cf. Lk 20.34-38); and Paul testified to this at his conversion (2 Cor 12.2-3). As Hall states:

---

<sup>2</sup> N. Murphy, ‘How to Keep the “Non” in Nonreductive Physicalism,’ *Journal of European Baptist Studies* 9 no.2 (2009), 5-16. Her other contributions to this field include: *Bodies or Souls, or Spirited Bodies?* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); *Whatever Happened to the Soul?* W.S. Brown, N. Murphy and H.N. Malony eds. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998), and ‘Nonreductive Physicalism,’ in *In Search of the Soul: Four Views of the Mind-Body Problem*, J.B. Green and S.L. Palmer eds. (Downers Grove: IVP, 2005).

<sup>3</sup> See J. Jeremias, ‘ᾠσηνᾶ’ in *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. G. Kittel and G. Friedrich, trans. G.W. Bromiley, 10 vols. (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964-76), vol. 1.657-658, who clearly shows the biblical distinction between Gehenna and Hades. On ‘heaven’ see *Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament: Based on Semantic Domains*, eds. J.P. Louw, and E.A. Nida (New York: United Bible Societies, 1989), 1:4. N.T. Wright, *New Heavens, New Earth: The Biblical Picture of the Christian Hope*. Grove Biblical Series B 11 (Cambridge: Grove, 1999) has recently mounted a convincing case that the Christian hope is not confined to an other-worldly *heaven* but in fact the New Testament consistently presents the final hope as the new earth and new heavens. *Heaven* in the New Testament is the abode of God veiled at the present time. Cf. Wright, *The Resurrection of the Son of God*.

The crucified thief...possessed an insight that almost everyone else at Jesus' execution lacked. The believing thief asks Jesus to remember him when he comes into his kingdom (Lk 23.42)...Jesus promised to the thief that 'today you will be with me in paradise.' Paradise, then, seems to be a specific place or state of being. This is distinct from the kingdom of God – a broader reality referring to an age of God's reign as well as the place of its full manifestation.<sup>4</sup>

According to Bloesch, 'Paradise is a kind of interim heaven, just as hades is a kind of interim hell. These are fluid concepts where the meaning is not always fixed. Paradise will eventually merge into heaven, and hades into hell'.<sup>5</sup> Bloesch terms this the 'near hereafter' as opposed to the 'far hereafter', or 'an interim heaven' and says this distinction corresponds to one made in late Jewish thought between the heavenly paradise and the final paradise of the world to come.<sup>6</sup> Various studies confirm that '*paradise* is a regular Jewish way of referring, not to the final destination of God's people, but to the temporary place of rest before the rising from the dead.'<sup>7</sup>

Paradise is not the place of the dead but a place of superabundant life, of resurrection life as a foretaste or shadow of the ultimate reality yet to come. We should note the words of Christ to the thief on the cross that that 'today you will be *with me* in paradise' (Lk 23.43) parallels Paul's language of dying and being *syn Christō* (2 Cor 5.8; Phil 1.23-24), which we shall speak of more below.<sup>8</sup> This is confirmed in Acts 7.54-60 where

---

<sup>4</sup> C.A. Hall, 'Christ's Kingdom and Paradise,' *Christianity Today* 47 no. 11 (2003), 79.

<sup>5</sup> D.G. Bloesch, *The Last Things: Resurrection, Judgment, Glory*. Christian Foundations vol. 7 (Grand Rapids: IVP, 2004), 138.

<sup>6</sup> Bloesch, *The Last Things*, 136-137. This view of paradise is worked out in *Dictionary of Biblical Imagery*, eds. L. Ryken, J. Wilhoit, T. Longman, C. Duriez, D. Penney, and D.G. Reid (Downers Grove: IVP, 1998), 315-317. For the views of the fathers of and ancient church supporting the interpretation of paradise as a distinct sphere of existence in the intermediate state see *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture: New Testament III: Luke*, ed. A.A. Just (Downers Grove: IVP, 2003), 364-367.

<sup>7</sup> Wright, *New Heavens, New Earth*, 19. See N.T. Lincoln, *Paradise Now and Not Yet: Studies in the Role of the Heavenly Dimension in Paul's Thought with Special Reference to His Eschatology*, SNTS Monograph Series, vol. 43 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

<sup>8</sup> While not making the explicit link between Luke and Paul see L. Morris, *Luke: An Introduction and Commentary*. The Tyndale New Testament Commentaries (London: IVP, 1974), 329.

we are told that Stephen already beheld the glory of God at his death. Jesus was standing ready to welcome him into his immediate presence. It is in light of this and other texts (such as 2 Cor 12.3) that we can understand Paul's statement: 'To live is Christ, to die is gain' (Phil 1.21). Paul is here affirming a *temporary stage*, ahead of the final resurrection when God will restore all things to himself, and renew the whole creation.

## II Intermediate Bodies Beyond

Until recently a standard Christian response to the question of what happens after death was available. Believing in some sort of dualism of human body and soul, it was thought that death consists in the separation of the soul from the body. The immaterial soul lives on in a conscious personal existence while the body decomposes. At Christ's second coming, there will be a resurrection of a renewed or transformed body, which will be reunited with the soul. Thus most believers held to the immortality of the soul and the physical resurrection of the body. The intermediate state thus entails the existence of a disembodied soul.<sup>9</sup> Such thinking is, however, more an expression of Greek thought than of biblical theology as the Greeks generally believed in cosmic and anthropological dualisms. Just a brief review may be helpful. According to the biblical testimony human beings are not trichotomous – 'body', 'soul', and 'spirit'. Our 'spirit' is God's breath, God's power working in the world (Isa 40.7; 31.3). Our 'spirit', 'breath', or 'life' comes from God (e.g. Isa 42.5; Job 33.4; 27.3; 32.8). When God breathed into *adam* they became living beings (literally 'souls', Gen 2.7). Animals as well as humans are sustained by the breath (Spirit) of God (Gen 7.15). The basic meaning of 'soul' (*nephesh*) is the principle of life which animates both humans (e.g. Ex 21.23; Judg 5.18; Ps 33.19), and animals (Prov 12.10). Soul is then extended to designate humans as persons (e.g. Gen 14.21; Ex 16.16, Num 5.6; Exek 33.6), as well as to designate the seat of desires, appetites, and thoughts. Nowhere, however, do 'body', 'soul', and 'spirit' represent three separate constituent parts of the human.<sup>10</sup> Gerald Bray

---

<sup>9</sup> This view still predominates amongst Reformed, Evangelical, and other conservative Christians. See for instance P. Helm, 'A Theory of Disembodied Survival and Re-embodied Existence,' *Religious Studies* 14 no. 1 (1978), 15-26; and W. Grudem, *Systematic Theology: An Introduction to Biblical Doctrine* (Leicester: IVP, 1994), 816.

<sup>10</sup> For biblical surveys which highlight these points in detail see J.B. Green, "'Bodies – That Is, Human Lives": A Re-Examination of Human Nature in the Bible,' 149-173; and R.S. Anderson, 'On Being Human: the Spiritual

summarizes the point well: ‘the ancient distinction between body (or flesh) and soul is not valid, because the soul is no more than the life of the body, without which we are talking only about a corpse, not about a human being.’<sup>11</sup> Likewise, with Shults we may say:

Overall, then, Scripture depicts the human person as a dynamic unity, which it considers from various perspectives using terms such as ‘soul’, ‘body’, ‘flesh’, and ‘mind’. Distinguishing these dimensions of human relationality is important, but the Bible is concerned with the salvation of the whole person in community in relation to God.<sup>12</sup>

In place of a trichotomous or dichotomous view of the human the Bible presents a more holistic and unified description. Thomas Torrance helpfully pictures a human person as a ‘body of their soul and soul of their body’.<sup>13</sup> Torrance’s use of this phrase derives from Athanasius and Karl Barth.<sup>14</sup> Barth appeared to give priority to the soul whereas Torrance wishes to see the soul and body as completely coterminous and hence neither holds a priority over the other but each inherently constitutes the other. In utilizing this language Torrance rejects a trichotomous view of the human person (as body, soul, and spirit) in favor of a description of the human as body *and* soul, related to God ‘through the power and presence of God’s Spirit’.<sup>15</sup> The human ‘spirit’ is actually an essential and dynamic correlate of the divine ‘Spirit’ - not a third object distinct from body and soul. This constitutional view is closer to the biblical testimony than trichotomous views but it also rejects strictly dichotomous conceptions. Rather than speak of some form of dualism between body and soul it is more appropriate to speak of a duality. Dualist presentations suggest two overlapping circles, as in a Venn diagram,

---

Saga of a Creaturely Soul,’ 177-194, both in *Whatever Happened to the Soul? Scientific and Theological Portraits of Human Nature*, eds. W.S. Brown, N. Murphy, and H.N. Malony (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1998).

<sup>11</sup> G. Bray, ‘The Work of the Spirit (Romans 8.1-17),’ *Evangel* (Autumn 2001), 68.

<sup>12</sup> F.L. Shults, *Reforming Theological Anthropology: After the Philosophical Turn to Relationality* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 178.

<sup>13</sup> T.F. Torrance, *The Christian Frame of Mind: Order and Openness in Theology and Natural Science* (Edinburgh: Handsel Press, 1985), 29 (slightly altered).

<sup>14</sup> Athanasius, *De Incarnationis* 15; *Contra Arianos* 2.53-54; 3.20, 30-35. K. Barth, *Church Dogmatics*. 4 vols. (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1956-1975), III/2, 325.

<sup>15</sup> T.F. Torrance, ‘The Soul and Person in Theological Perspective,’ in *Religion, Reason, and the Self: Essays in Honour of Hynwel D. Lewis*, ed. S.R. Sutherland and T.A. Roberts (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1989), 110.

whereas a duality suggests one ellipse with two polarities. What holds these two polarities together is the Holy Spirit. Likewise, it is the Holy Spirit which indwells human beings in unique ways which constitutes the *imago Dei*.

If human beings are considered along the lines of a constitutional duality then the human S/spirit is not some 'spark of the divine' (Origen)<sup>16</sup> but the ontological qualification of the soul brought about and maintained by the Holy Spirit. As Torrance clarifies, 'It is not through any alleged participation in the essence of God, as Hellenic religion and philosophy maintained, but through the objective orientation of man [*sic*] in soul and body to God, the Source and Ground of all creaturely rationality and freedom, that man is constituted a rational subject and agent, i.e. a *person*.'<sup>17</sup> Torrance wants to raise this discussion even further. What makes men and women so distinctive is that as unitary beings, body of their soul and soul of their body, they span two 'worlds' - the physical and spiritual - and are thereby able to reach knowledge of the created contingent order and divulge the secrets of its vast intelligibility.<sup>18</sup> As a result a correspondence between God and humanity, Creator and creature is spanned by the human person in the *imago Dei*.

While Torrance's discussion is dominated by epistemic concerns its basic orientation is surely correct. Torrance understands patristic anthropology to have recast current terms from Middle Platonism into a distinctively Christian anthropology, the two most important aspects being *soul* and *person*. Like the rest of creation, the soul and body are created *ex nihilo* and are contingent rather than immortal.<sup>19</sup> The soul and body of human beings are 'continuously sustained by the creative presence of God and are given immortality through the grace of a relation with God who only has immortality.'<sup>20</sup> This graced relation to God is initiated in space-time but extends to the eschaton in which the resurrection of the whole being of the person as body and soul is realized. Resurrection is to a creaturely participation in the uncreated eternal life of God.

---

<sup>16</sup> D. Cairns, *The Image of God in Man*, 2nd edn. (London: Collins, 1973), 66-78.

<sup>17</sup> Torrance, 'The Soul and Person in Theological Perspective,' 113.

<sup>18</sup> Torrance, *The Christian Frame of Mind*, 33.

<sup>19</sup> See T.F. Torrance, *Transformation and Convergence in the Frame of Knowledge: Explorations in the Interrelations of Scientific and Theological Enterprise* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1984), 333-349.

<sup>20</sup> Torrance, 'The Soul and Person in Theological Perspective,' 105.

While Torrance restricts his horizons to the resurrection, with Bloesch I affirm that, ‘the saints on the other side are not in a state of nakedness but are clothed in a resurrection body. They have not disembodied life but newly embodied life.’<sup>21</sup> In context it is clear that by ‘resurrection body’ Bloesch is not speaking about the final resurrection but a pre-resurrection body of some sort. This post-mortem but preresurrection stage in paradise is one in which the saints are clothed in *heavenly garments* or *white robes* (Rev 6.11), a symbol for bodily existence. Samuel, in his visitation from the dead (real or not!) was also clothed in a robe, giving him the appearance of a god (1 Sam 28.13-14<sup>22</sup>). In Rev 14 the 144,000, the symbol for the company of the redeemed, are pictured as being in the very presence of Christ, they have experienced the ‘first resurrection’ (Rev 20.5). What we learn from this testimony is that in paradise saints are indeed closer to God than they are in their earthly, bodily existence (2 Cor 5.6-8). However, they are not yet in their final, resurrected bodies. From this biblical testimony we assert that the saints in paradise are clothed in what Bloesch helpfully terms a *spiritual corporeality* (1 Cor 15.44).<sup>23</sup> Bloesch adds, ‘Although they do not possess their final resurrection body, the spirits of the dead in Christ are nevertheless clothed in heavenly garments’.<sup>24</sup> As such paradise is a preliminary realm of glory in which, as Erickson writes, ‘the experiences

---

<sup>21</sup> Bloesch, *The Last Things*, 139.

<sup>22</sup> The incident recorded in 1 Sam 28.3-19 where the medium at Endor supposedly brings back Samuel from the dead does not validate the Spiritualist position, for the medium herself is surprised, even alarmed, when she sees a ‘god coming up out of the earth’ and recognizes him to be Samuel. Some scholars believe that demonic spirit’s impersonated Samuel and therefore Samuel did not appear. Others believe that God himself interrupted the séance and permitted the real Samuel to appear, thereby shocking, and upsetting the medium who had not anticipated such a thing. Scripture and sacred tradition is clear that we reach the saints not directly or even through earthy channels, such as mediums, but through Christ himself. For more on the ‘communion of saints’ see R.W. Jenson, *Systematic Theology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 2:353-368.

<sup>23</sup> Bloesch, *The Last Things*, 139.

<sup>24</sup> Bloesch, *The Last Things*, 140. This view is compatible with that of, amongst others, M. Luther, *Commentary on Genesis*, WA, XXV.321; and P.T. Forsyth, *The Justification of God* (1917. Blackwood, SA.: New Creation Publications, 1988), 153.

of paradise and Hades are doubtlessly not as intense as what will ultimately be, since the person is in a somewhat incomplete condition.<sup>25</sup>

If we accept the fact that Scripture teaches an intermediate state, and that state necessitates an embodied existence, then we must ask for a more precise definition of this embodied-but-not-yet-resurrected state. A number of church thinkers provide some constructive suggestions. John Wesley writes; ‘We cannot tell, indeed, how we shall then exist or what kind of organs we shall have: the soul will not be encumbered with flesh and blood; but probably it will have some sort of ethereal vehicle, even before God clothes us “with our nobler house of empyrean light.”’<sup>26</sup> A number of recent thinkers have suggested something similar, although they limit this to Jesus Christ, and to a few saints associated with his passion. In his *Christian Theology* Erickson expresses the view that Jesus alone had a two-stage resurrection. Between resurrection and ascension Jesus occupied an intermediate body and that is why it bore the marks of the crucifixion.<sup>27</sup> In his *Systematic Theology* Grudem entertains the same idea – this time extending it to those who were raised from the grave at the time of Christ’s resurrection in Matt 27.52-53.<sup>28</sup> In relation to this event Grudem writes, ‘Since they came out of the tombs ‘after his resurrection’ we may assume that these also were saints who had received resurrection bodies as a kind of foretastes of the final day of glorification when Christ returns.’<sup>29</sup> In light of these comments it surely fits the evidence much better to simply assert an embodied post-mortem but preresurrection existence - the intermediate state in paradise - while we await the final resurrection body at the *Parousia*.

Providing added impetus to such a view is the reality that there shall be growth or progress in paradise. Even in a state of perfect sanctification one is still able to grow ‘in wisdom and in stature’, as did Jesus himself (Lk 2.52). Scripture speaks of degrees of glory (1 Cor 3.18), the lowest levels of which begin in this life (cf. Heb 12.23). Scripture also holds out the promise of a final incorruptible or eternal body. This is not a refurbished natural body but a body that has been transformed and

---

<sup>25</sup> M.J. Erickson, *Christian Theology*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1998), 1189. Erickson does not make this point in relation to an *embodied* existence in the intermediate state but to a *disembodied* existence in this state.

<sup>26</sup> *The Message of the Wesley’s*, ed. P.S. Watson (New York: Macmillan, 1964), 238, cited in Bloesch, *The Last Things*, 140, cited in Bloesch, *The Last Things*, 142.

<sup>27</sup> Erickson, *Christian Theology*, 1205.

<sup>28</sup> For another account see Wright, *The Resurrection of the Son of God*, 632-646.

<sup>29</sup> Grudem, *Systematic Theology*, 834-835.

recreated (1 Cor 15.35-49).<sup>30</sup> Calvin envisioned the interim state as one of *beatitudo* and *expectatio*. In Christ and beyond death we have the vision of God, but we still await the final resurrection of the body.

In paradise there will be perfect love and perfect holiness but not perfect peace or perfect joy. Neither will there be perfect knowledge. In John Wesley's words, 'Paradise is only the porch of heaven...It is in heaven only that there is the fullness of joy; the pleasures that are at God's right hand for evermore.'<sup>31</sup> Why may this be so? Believers in paradise will have perfect fellowship with God but not with the children of God, since the church militant still battles against death and oppression. The martyrs under the altar continue to cry, 'How long?' (Rev 6). The saints on the other side pray that God's justice might be revealed and vindicated. Until the Church is completed, restored, and resurrected perfect fellowship is not possible.

In Scripture it is clearly taught that the saints in glory have still not received all that had been promised (Heb 11.39). Apart from the church militant they shall not be made perfect (Heb 11.40). The happiness of the church triumphant is dependant upon the redemption of the church militant. In his *The last Things* Bloesch cites Bernard of Clairvaux to this effect: 'Many among us are already in the courtyards waiting until the number of their brethren shall be complete; into this blessed house they shall not enter without us, that is to say: no saints without the whole body.'<sup>32</sup> Presently departed saints are with Christ in paradise and are, mysteriously, involved in the affairs of earth waiting until one day they will accompany Christ in the final battle against Satan. They will also take part in judging the rulers on earth. Paul intimates that many of God's saints will be given the reward of having a role in ruling and judging.<sup>33</sup> Paradise is the church triumphant but the church triumphant is still engaged in the ongoing struggle against death and darkness. In the new heaven-new earth the church triumphant will be transmuted into the eternal kingdom of God and the church militant will be no more.

Now we as believers proceed from one degree of glory  
to another (2 Cor 3.18), but we shall not reach the pinnacle –

---

<sup>30</sup> P. Lampe, 'Paul's Concept of a Spiritual Body,' in *Resurrection: Theological and Scientific Assessments*, eds. T. Peters, R.J. Russell, and M. Welker (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002), 107.

<sup>31</sup> H. Lindstrom, *Wesley and Sanctification* (Wilmore: Francis Asbury, 1980), 121.

<sup>32</sup> Bloesch, *The Last Things*, 142.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. 1 Cor 6.1-3; 1 Thess 3.13; cf. Wis of Sol 3.7-8; Jude 14-15; Rev 19.14, 20.4.

uninterrupted joy and peace – until we are joined with all our brothers and sisters in Christ in the grand finale of Christ's cosmic victory over chaos and unrighteousness.<sup>34</sup>

Only Jesus has attained the incorruptible, eternal body. Enoch, Elijah, Samuel, and the other saints who rose with Jesus (Mt 27.52-53) are unambiguously embodied, but they still await the glorious consummation of God's kingdom and thus of their final, resurrection bodies. What they currently inhabit is clearly some form of interim body in anticipation of their final resurrection body like Christ's. Paul calls this the 'spiritual body' (1 Cor 15.44), what Bloesch above terms a 'spiritual corporeality'. In 1 Cor 15 Paul uses a variety of images and metaphors to illustrate what he means by a spiritual body.

### III A Spiritual Corporeality in Paul

1 Cor 15 famously outlines something of an apocalyptic timeline in an attempt to describe or articulate the future resurrection of believers. While we must not confuse scriptural metaphors with spiritual realities we have to acknowledge that we are able to grasp the latter only by means of the former.<sup>35</sup> This is, at least, what Paul does in 1 Cor 15 through the use of the imagery of seeds and fully grown plants (1 Cor 15.36-38), and examples taken from creation (vv 39-41). You sow a seed not the body which it is to become. There is a qualitative difference between the premortal physical body and the postresurrection person, or, as we read in verse 44, from the 'physical body' to the 'spiritual body'. The examples in verses 39-41 illustrate the fact that different 'bodies' can exist in unison. 'The underlying thought runs like this: if these quality differences are possible *within* the *present* cosmos, they are all the more likely between the present and the future eschatological realities.'<sup>36</sup> This is emphasized further in the three-fold antitheses of verses 42-43.

Verses 45-49 further the discussion with the typological contrast between Adam and Christ. The difference between our present existence and that of our postresurrection existence will be as different as the contrast between Adam and Christ. And yet, as we know from this corporate representation, there is something in common between Adam and Christ – their humanity, and there is something in common between our pre and postresurrection existence, our personal identity.

---

<sup>34</sup> Bloesch, *The Last Things*, 143.

<sup>35</sup> Bloesch, *The Last Things*, 136.

<sup>36</sup> Lampe, 'Paul's Concept of a Spiritual Body,' 108.

What, however, does Paul mean in verse 44 by a 'spiritual body'? Clearly it does not refer to the constitution of the body but emphasizes that God's Spirit is the only force that creates the new body.<sup>37</sup> Unlike the physical body which is created by two natural parents, the spiritual body is beyond the possibilities of the present nature and creation.<sup>38</sup> This conforms with the view of Torrance earlier that even in our premortal existence we are the body of our soul and the soul of our body. 'Spirit' is thus the Holy Spirit who indwells us and animates us with physical and spiritual life. God's Spirit is the agent of our new spiritual (*pneumatic*) body, and his Spirit already indwells believers now (Rom 8.9-11.23). Once again the analogy of the seed and plant may be applied here, while Paul acknowledges a considerable degree of discontinuity between our premortal and post-mortem existence (vv 37-38) this must be held within a robust continuity (v 36).<sup>39</sup> In seeking to define Paul's use of the 'spiritual body' Harris writes, 'It is a form of embodiment that is fully responsive to the Christian's perfected spirit and perfectly adapted to its heavenly environment.'<sup>40</sup>

Having affirmed the personal continuity of the believer in premortal and post-resurrection existence we may now specifically apply this same argument to the post-mortem but preresurrection stage as well. In that stage believers are personally raised to new life and are clothed in a spiritual body that prefigures that of the final resurrection body to come but is still short of that state. What is important for Paul is the understanding that even in this intermediate state the believer is 'with Christ' (2 Cor 5.8; Phil 1.23-24).

#### IV Contemporary Proposals on Human Nature

Arranged along a continuum, perspectives on human nature today can be characterized as more or less materialist/monist, more or less dualist. On the extreme poles are two positions - (reductive) materialism and radical dualism - both of which are incompatible with the Christian

---

<sup>37</sup> This is clearly articulated by M.J. Harris, 'Resurrection and Immortality in the Pauline Corpus,' in *Life in the Face of Death: The Resurrection Message of the New Testament*, ed. R.N. Longnecker (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998), 147-170, especially 153.

<sup>38</sup> Lampe, 'Paul's Concept of a Spiritual Body,' 109.

<sup>39</sup> The same applies for our likeness to Christ which is both 'the same' and 'different', cf. Phil 3.20-21; 1 Cor 4.8; 15.23-27.

<sup>40</sup> Harris, 'Resurrection and Immortality in the Pauline Corpus,' 153. Harris is not arguing for an intermediate state, however.

tradition. Between these two poles we find a bewildering spectrum of opinion over which Christians divide. The options include Monistic views such as: Eliminative/Reductive Materialism; Constitutional Materialism; Nonreductive Physicalism; Two-Aspect Monism; Reflexive Monism; and Dualistic views such as: Emergent Dualism; Substance Dualism; Holistic Dualism; Naturalist Dualism; and Radical Dualism. A brief response to a number of these views is required before a constructive proposal of our own is offered.

Various problems are inherent in each of these positions. It will not be necessary to provide a full critique of each position here but rather to indicate the sorts of difficulties they present. Substance dualism incurs at least four significant problems. First, the appeal to 'basic beliefs', while not unfounded, is extremely difficult to hold to in a postmodern world in which all foundationalisms have been undermined. Many philosophers of the mind also appeal to basic beliefs but do not come up with substance dualism but, conversely, some form of materialism. Their basic belief is that they are embodied animals. It is tenuous to build a theory on such a weak philosophical foundation. Second, the appeal to a soft version of 'common sense realism' suffers from many of the same objections already raised. Common sense realism is not as common nor as sensical as its advocates profess. The issues concerning human nature must be resolved by broad empirical and theoretical considerations. For instance, many Christians claim to be trichotomists. How does a common sense appeal work in that discussion? Third, the biblical testimony used to support substance dualism is actually very weak. Fourth, in almost all cases of substance dualism the temptation is given in to and a radical dualism results. While this is not the *necessary* consequence of such a view it is a common (sense?) consequence. When a radical dualism is introduced we are once again into Platonic or Aristotelian dualism and a long way from Scripture and the tradition.

Emergent dualism suffers many of the same objections, although it has its own cluster of problems. First, how can physical properties create non-physical properties? Or, how can biological existence come together to create a brain and with it an immaterial mind? This seems to be a miracle stretched to its limits. Second, the biblical testimony for this view is similar to that of substance dualism, slim. Third, if the soul/mind comes into existence through the body then it appears unlikely that it is able to be maintained without a body. Hence to posit some divine miracle by which God sustains the mind/soul between death and resurrection is inconsistent with the theory as a whole. Substance dualism is far better able to account for the intermediate state than in

emergent dualism. Fourth, if the soul emerges out of the complex configuration of neural circuitry, then in the resurrection why is it that this *new* body does not generate its own (new) soul? Or does God prevent the natural emergence of a soul in the next life in order to add from the outside the persisting soul of the individual? And if God does this there why should we not think he does it here (substance dualism)?

Recognizing the significance of such a critique advocates of nonreductive physicalism assert that consciousness, sentience, mentality and religious experience are all higher-order features of the physical world that cannot be reduced to microphysical constituents (e.g. atoms, molecules, cells, quantum events) and their relationships. *Physicalism* signals an agreement with scientists and philosophers who hold that it is not necessary to postulate a second metaphysical entity, the soul or mind, to account for human capacities and distinctiveness. *Nonreductive* indicates a rejection of contemporary philosophical views that say that the person is ‘nothing but’ a body. However, this position also is open to considerable critique. First, nonreductive physicalism suffers the constant critique that it is, in actual fact, reductionistic. Second, there is little biblical evidence to support such a view. Third, it rests almost entirely on contemporary scientific findings, especially in neurobiology and neuropsychology. Fourth, if this theory is true then it is little different from the (currently fictitious) idea that if we can build a computer modeled on the neural networks of the human brain but operating at a trillion times faster, it may in fact, under this view, constitute the creation of a human *soul* and thus the very real possibility that this computer must be considered human – or at least in possession of a soul and thus redeemable. We now find ourselves in the realm of transhumanism. Fifth, a dualist would respond to this hypothetical example and say that no matter how clever a computer may become it must still be programmed from outside. However, we could never really program into it the subjective feeling of what it is like to be alive and to experience color, beauty, music, art, love, painting, architecture, nature, parenthood, happiness and even spiritual experiences – all the things that go to make us human.

Closer to the position advocated in this essay is the constitutional view of humanity. This view is anti-dualist. If persons (souls) and bodies are distinct, as Augustine and Descartes thought them to be, then one would not expect to find the level of causal dependence of the one (the mind) on the other (the body) as we in fact do find. The constitutional view argues that if there should be an immaterial person in the future who claims to be me, that person is mistaken, and necessarily so. For as they see it, the *T* cannot exist and fail to be physical. And the physical

thing I am, they believe, has no immaterial parts such as a soul. Under the constitutional view the human person is not comprised of an immaterial soul (dualism) nor is it a compound of soul-and-body (emergent dualism or nonreductive physicalism), nor is it identical with the physical object which is the biological body (animalism or reductive physicalism). On a constitutional view human persons are constituted by bodies but are not identical with the bodies that constitute them. Why? Because *bodies* and *persons* refer to different things but you cannot have one without the other. This means that while persons are biological entities they can never simply be reduced to that of a physical organism.<sup>41</sup>

What separates this view from the one advocated in this essay is the state of the person in the post-mortem but preresurrection stage. The constitutional view can argue for some form of immediate survival upon death but it most often does not.<sup>42</sup> In its place is the belief that at death the person ceases to exist because the body ceases to exist and there is no immaterial or immortal soul which can survive. In the resurrection the person is recreated – resurrected and once again lives. Thus this view argues that as persons we exist, cease to exist and then begin to exist again. This is a miracle and without a Christian worldview would make no sense. How does this re-existence or resurrection take place? Several theories are offered the most relevant of which is *reassembly*. At the resurrection God gathers together all the bits that made up one's body at death and causes them to be propertied and related just as they were at the moment immediately preceding death. Obviously this reassembly would also entail a healing and restoration of the body from what was wrong with it at death (e.g. cancer, bullet hole). This would be the result of divine decree.

The constitutional view suffers from a number of problems, briefly stated here. First, there are obvious philosophical and intuitive problems with this theory. Does the doctrine of the resurrection require

---

<sup>41</sup> For a presentation of these views and others with critical interaction see *In Search of the Soul: Four Views of the Mind-Body Problem*, eds. J.B. Green, and S.L. Palmer (Downers Grove: IVP, 2005).

<sup>42</sup> The argument is rather philosophical and, I think, forced. It posits that at the moment of death the molecular makeup of the individual ceases to be personal and merely becomes a corpse while instantaneously the molecular structure of the body is 'translated' to heaven whereupon the person now exists. Elements of the Star Trek *transporter* are appealed to as a science fiction illustration! Cf. K. Corcoran, 'The Constitutional View of Persons,' in *In Search of the Soul*, 165.

belief in numerical sameness in regards to the body or simply a view of qualitative sameness? A commitment to this view requires a response to the following sorts of questions: What will be the size of our resurrected bodies? Will deformed bodies be reassembled with the same deformed parts? Will resurrected bodies be infant or adult in nature? What will happen if a person dies at thirty but has had an organ transplant from someone aged twenty – what organ will be reassembled to which person? Each of these questions contributes to the philosophical and intuitive problems inherent in this view. Second, the biblical evidence would seem to rule this theory out, especially in its teaching about the intermediate state, as argued above.

The biblical narrative provides a lot of information about human persons and how they relate to God, to others, and to the self. However, the biblical narrative just does not give us the explicit details or even engage in philosophical speculation about the composition and construction of the human person such as we find in many of the views represented above. What is required is a consideration of human nature which takes seriously the biblical narrative and then builds on that so as to present a picture of the person which is commensurate with the whole theological commitment to which the biblical narrative points and to other factors which have a bearing on the issue. The following is a brief attempt at such a construction.

## V Anthropological Duality

None of the positions above are fully satisfactory in light of the biblical evidence, the criticisms leveled at each view, or the wider theological commitments to which I personally hold to (formed out of the biblical witness). Therefore what I present is an alternative view.<sup>43</sup>

Certain passages within Scripture clearly indicate an intermediate state between death and resurrection, a state in which the individual lives on in conscious personal existence (Lk 23.43; 16.19-31; 2 Cor 5.8). In addition to these already mentioned texts there are references in Scripture where the distinction between body and soul is difficult to dismiss, foremost of which is Jesus' statement in Mat 10.28: 'Do not fear those who kill the body but cannot kill the soul. Rather, be afraid of the One who can destroy both soul and body in hell.' It would appear that biblical teaching does not rule out the possibility of some type of compound character, or at least some sort of divisibility, within the

---

<sup>43</sup> This view is largely compatible with the suggestion of Erickson, *Christian Theology*, 537-557, although the differences are obvious.

human makeup. This is not based on the biblical distinction between ψυχή (*psyche*), πνεύμα (*pneuma*) or σωμα (*soma*) but the possibility is not precluded on lexical grounds.

One final line of evidence is important – the transfiguration episode (Mt 17.3-9 par.) This was clearly not an apparition, nor was it a parable or a vision but an actual historical event. Moses and Elijah, both long dead, are *embodied* and conscious and yet they are not yet in their resurrection bodies. They must therefore be in an intermediate state and in an interim body.

A human life is one of personal embodied existence – nothing more nor less. And yet this does not require the assertion of reductive materialism. If personhood is in fact inseparably tied to bodily existence, the implications require some teasing out. In the Old Testament the human is regarded as a unity. In the New Testament, the body-soul terminology appears, but it cannot be precisely correlated with the idea of embodied and disembodied existence. While body and soul are sometimes contrasted (Matt 10.28), they are not always so clearly distinguished, as we have seen. In addition, the pictures in Scripture only ever regard humans as unitary beings. Seldom if ever is a spiritual nature addressed independently of or apart from the body.

The full range of the biblical data can best be accommodated by the view of holistic dualism, but not in the exact way that this has been presented so far by any of its advocates. For this reason perhaps yet another term is required in order to situate our view from that of others. Holistic dualism does not describe our position as it's stress on dualism is too emphatic. Nonreductive physicalism is no more satisfactory for it emphasizes the physicality too much. In its place we argue for an anthropological *duality*.<sup>44</sup> According to this view, a human is a materialized unitary being. In Scripture humans are so addressed and regarded. They are not urged to flee or escape from the body, as if it were somehow evil or contingent. At the same time the human is never reduced to a physical 'thing' but is always addressed as someone that is more than physical – or more than the sum of the physical parts of which it is constituted – we are spiritual beings as well. Humans possess a soul and are indwelt by the Holy Spirit. The soul, though, makes no sense whatsoever apart from the body. This duality can never be broken down – even at death - so as the immaterial part of the human (the soul) lives on without the material part (the body). Rather, at death the

---

<sup>44</sup> Erickson, *Christian Theology*, 554, 557, with whom I am in agreement for the most part, calls his view 'conditional unity' and later 'contingent monism'. The latter term is more correct on our opinion.

physical body that is inhabited now decomposes but the *person* is translated to paradise and embodied in a *spiritual corporeality*. At the resurrection this temporary body will be replaced with a perfect resurrection body like Christ's (Phil 3.21). The person will assume at both points a human body that has some points of continuity with the old body, but is also a new or reconstituted or spiritual body. One is an intermediate body suitable for the intermediate state of paradise; the other is a perfected and final body like that of Christ the first-fruit (1 Cor 15.20).

Using an analogy provided by Erickson but altering it for the purposes of the current argument,<sup>45</sup> appeal may be made to the difference between a chemical compound and a mixture of elements. In a mixture, the atoms of each element retain their distinctive characteristics because they retain their separate identities. If the nature of a human was a mixture, then the spiritual and physical qualities would somehow be distinguishable, the person could act as either a spiritual or a physical being. On the other hand, in a compound, the atoms of all the elements involved enter into new combinations to form molecules. These molecules have characteristics or qualities that are unlike those of any of the elements of which they are composed. In the case of simple table salt (the compound sodium chloride), for example, one cannot detect the qualities of either sodium or chlorine. It is possible to break up the compound, whereupon one again has the original elements with their distinctive characteristics. These characteristics would include the poisonous nature of chlorine, whereas the compound product is non-poisonous.

We might think of a human as a unitary compound of a material and an immaterial element. The spiritual and the physical elements are not always distinguishable, for the human is a unitary subject; there is no conflict between the material and the immaterial nature. However, unlike table salt, the human compound is not dissolvable. A human person is a body of their soul and a soul of their body and if this were not the case then the individual subject would not be that subject – they would be something else. So for 'you' to be 'you' requires a body and a soul not one or the other, for otherwise you would become something (but not someone) other than you are.

Perhaps another analogy which is closer to the theological home may prove useful - that of world history. According to a premillennial reading of Scripture there is yet to come an intermediate state for the

---

<sup>45</sup> Erickson, *Christian Theology*, 555.

world, something normally termed the millennial kingdom. This is a time when all of time-space enters into a new, intermediate phase of redemption in preparation for the final redemption into the new earth. This corresponds in conception to what I am proposing for individual persons. As the earth will one day be destroyed by fire but recreated or restored in perfection (2 Pt 3.10-13), after an intermediate state (Rev 20.1-6), so too the human body can be destroyed and recreated/restored by God, something which moves through several phases – creation, fall, redemption, and finally renewal.

Anthropological duality emphasizes the differences within unity between the body and the soul animated and held perpetually together by the Holy Spirit. If we may use an christological analogy, body and soul are somewhat analogous to the two natures of Christ – they are without confusion, without change, without division, and without separation. Central to the uniting of the two natures and to the uniting of body and soul is the Holy Spirit. Upon death the Christian faces an embodied existence in paradise as they await the resurrection and the new heavens and new earth. In relation to Christ's words to the thief on the cross we may declare with Ephrem the Syrian:

There came to my ear  
from the Scripture which had been read  
a word that caused me joy  
on the subject of the thief;  
it gave comfort to my soul  
amidst the multitude of its vices,  
telling how he had compassion on the thief.  
O may he bring me too  
into that garden at the sound of whose name  
I am overwhelmed by joy;  
my mind bursts its reins  
as it goes forth to contemplate him.<sup>46</sup>

**Myk Habets**  
**Carey Baptist College**

---

<sup>46</sup> Ephrem the Syrian, *Hymn on Paradise*, in *Ancient Christian Commentary on Scripture: New Testament III: Luke*, ed A.A. Just (Downers Grove: IVP, 2003), 367.

## **Key Document**

# **THE BAPTIST MISSION IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCE OF CEYLON**

**Charles Carter, 1882**

### **Introduction**

Charles Carter (1828-1914) had just a brief period of ministry in New Zealand. His pastoral work was limited to two short pastorates - at Ponsonby in Auckland (1882-1884) and Caversham in Dunedin (1885-1887). In this short time he was hardly shy. Indeed he was never far from controversy and dispute. In 1884, he objected to a perceived public slur on him by Thomas Spurgeon<sup>1</sup> and later resigned the Ponsonby charge after falling out with key lay leaders.<sup>2</sup> His Union Sermon of the same year had the title 'The Royalty of Christ'. This address drew a riposte from the Dispensationalist Rev. J.D. Gilmore, to which Carter made vigorous response in the pages of the *N.Z. Baptist*.<sup>3</sup> In 1887 he was again in polemical print as a major protagonist against the conditional immortality views of the Rev C.C. Brown.<sup>4</sup>

Yet Carter was an immensely respected figure. Within a year of his arrival he was elected as the first President of the New Zealand Baptist Union, at the inaugural conference of 1882. On his death in 1914 he was remembered fondly with three long tributes in the

---

<sup>1</sup> *New Zealand Baptist (NZB)* July 1884, 103.

<sup>2</sup> P. Tonson, *A Handful of Grain: The Centenary History of the Baptist Union of N.Z.* Vol 1 – 1851-1882 (Wellington: NZBRHS, 1982), 94.

<sup>3</sup> See *NZB* Dec 1884, 177-180; Jan 1885, 1- ; Feb 1885, 30-31; Mar 1885, 38-39; May 1885, 77.

<sup>4</sup> See *NZB* October 1887 146-149.

denominational magazine.<sup>5</sup> This high regard grew primarily from his distinguished missionary career. From 1853-1881 he was a lead figure in the Baptist Missionary Society (BMS) mission in Ceylon (Sri Lanka). He returned independently for a second period in 1888-91. His life work was the rendering and translating of Sinhalese. He completed the New Testament in 1862 and the Old Testament in 1876, both fresh translations from the Greek and Hebrew. He would make two further revisions. In addition to this massive work, he produced a Sinhalese Grammar in 1862, an English-Sinhalese Dictionary in 1891 and, published posthumously in 1894, a Sinhalese-English Dictionary. With fluency also in Tamil and Pali, as a linguist he was (as Alfred North suggested in his obituary tribute) 'altogether exceptional'.

In 1884 Carter wrote a series of articles in the *N.Z. Baptist* giving a 'Brief Sketch' of the BMS mission in Ceylon. This account is important in a number of ways. The version of the early years is standard and adds little to other reports. However the first-hand record of Carter's own years in Ceylon is much more significant. There were few BMS missionaries in this field (no more than four at a time in Carter's first period). He was the sole representative from 1858 to 1862.<sup>6</sup> Carter's description of the endeavours, style of work and challenges of the mission are illustrative of its ultimately intractable problems.

Brian Stanley has identified three principal reasons for the demise of the Baptist Mission in Ceylon: lack of resources, a failure to train local pastors and other workers and increasingly aggressive opposition from Buddhism.<sup>7</sup> Of these factors, confirmation of the first and third are found in Carter's 'Brief Sketch'. He notes out-stations and projects which were closed for lack of funds. The account closes with a somewhat rueful note that Baptist commitment to Ceylon has been much smaller than that of other Christian agencies. Carter also has some typically direct comments to make on the nature of Buddhism and the intrusion of Western Theosophy.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> NZB August 1914, 151-155.

<sup>6</sup> See the List of Missionaries in J.B. Myers (ed) *The Centenary Volume of the Baptist Missionary Society 1792-1892* (London: Baptist Missionary Society, 1892), 319.

<sup>7</sup> B. Stanley, *The History of the Baptist Missionary Society 1792-1992* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1992), 168-174.

<sup>8</sup> In 1885 Carter published a more detailed description of Buddhism. See NZB Sep 1885; Oct 1885.

The suggested factor of a failure to provide for adequate local training is not as clear. Carter refers to trusted local assistants and had a history of assisting with preparing workers. Nevertheless a systemic problem may be implied from two aspects of the mission activities he describes. The first is location. Carter was based inland at Kandy. The earlier Baptist efforts at training academies had been in the coastal settlement of Colombo which had a much longer colonial history and therefore a more developed infrastructure. The shift of focus to Kandy might well have made sense in terms of mission outreach, but may also have limited the available resources for serious training. Secondly, Carter's personal focus was on matters other than education. This was the period of his intense work on the translations and dictionaries. If Carter, as senior missionary, was taken up with that complex work for so long it would not be surprising that other major initiatives languished. Interpreted in this way, Charles Carter's account provides an important glimpse into the operation and limitations of one of the BMS's less spectacular stories.

## **A Brief Sketch of the Operations of the Baptist Mission in the Central Province of Ceylon<sup>9</sup>**

The Baptist Missionary Society was the first of modern societies to begin the work of the Gospel in the Island of Ceylon. The first missionary to Ceylon was a Mr Chater, who had been driven away from Calcutta, and failing also to gain a footing in Burmah, came to Colombo in the year 1812. He immediately began his work there and in the villages around. He was before long joined by other labourers, and an English speaking Baptist Church was gathered in Colombo. In the course of years, and after arduous toils and much opposition, native churches were formed in Colombo, and in the district around to the distance of about twenty miles, and many schools established. But it was not until 24 years had elapsed that anything was done by

---

<sup>9</sup> Originally published in four parts in the *N.Z. Baptist*, March 1882: 33-34; April 1882: 49-50; June 1882: 84-85; August 1882: 124-125.

our missionaries for the enlightenment of the central Province of Ceylon—the mountainous Kandian region.

Kandy is the ancient native capital of Ceylon, and, to Buddhists, the most sacred place in the island, having a temple which contains a relic of Buddha, said to be one of his teeth; though persons who have seen it aver that it is a piece of discoloured ivory, and not at all the shape of a human tooth. This worthless relic is kept in superb state, being enclosed in seven most valuable caskets, the outer one of which is of solid gold, about 2½ feet high, hung about with most costly jewellery, including large and magnificent rubies, sapphires, and other precious stones. The tooth, in its caskets, is kept in a small upper chamber of the temple, protected by strong iron grating, is never taken out of the caskets for exhibition except on special occasions; but it is carried about in a grand torch-light procession, for eight successive nights in the month of August; the inner casket, containing 'His Excellency my Lord's Tooth,' so called, being placed in state on the back of the largest of the elephants, of which from twelve to sixteen are employed in the procession. Morning and evening 'His Excellency,' is visited in his cell, and fresh offerings of flowers are laid on a table before him by the priests; and eager worshippers crowd the narrow stairs into the ante-chamber, and step to the front, a few at a time, to present themselves and their offerings, and to bow down before the sacred shrine.

The town is about the centre of the island and 72 miles east from Colombo. Sixteen miles to the north of Kandy there is a small town called Mátalè. In the year 1836 a member of the Colombo church, formerly a scholar under Mr Chater, having gone to reside at Mátalè, had commenced preaching to his neighbours, and was anxious to be made useful among the Kandians of that district, who till then had never heard of the true God and the Saviour of mankind. Being a man of influence, talent, and energy, Mr Daniel, one of our missionaries in Colombo, was induced to comply with his request to have some schools established in the surrounding villages. Two schools were at once commenced, and placed under his superintendence. He was not then employed by the Mission, but gratuitously devoted his leisure time to missionary work.

At the request of the Governor, the Right Hon. Stewart Mackenzie, Mr Daniel sent an intelligent native to the Teddah (archer) country, to ascertain and report upon the condition of the wild men of the forest, and the scarcely less degraded outcasts called Rodiyas. The result was that a school was opened among the latter

near Mátalè, which the Hon. Mrs Mackenzie supported till her departure from the island in 1841.

In the year 1839 another Baptist missionary, Mr Harris, paid a visit to Mátalè, with which he was so much gratified that he deemed an increase of labour in that direction indispensable. On that occasion he baptised twenty-nine persons, among whom were a Buddhist priest, and several outcast Rodiyas.

In the year 1841 Mr Harris, with his family, removed from Colombo to Kandy, for the purpose of commencing a mission in that town. Among the reasons given by Mr Harris for this step is this, 'that this part of the island is now almost in a state of spiritual destitution. At Kandy one Church of England missionary resides, but I am not aware of any other direct influence of a similar kind.' The mission was further re-inforced by the arrival at Colombo, in February, 1841, of Mr and Mrs Dawson, who proceeded at once to Kandy. In a very short time tracts and school books in the Singhalese language were printed by thousands, and sent to the various stations, where the want of them had been deeply felt. To the Kandians the press was an object of wonder and admiration. Priests occasionally came to see it, and evidently dreaded what to them appeared its almost miraculous power; though they have now for many years learnt to use its power, both for attack and defence. In the same year village stations were formed at Iriagama and Utuwan Kandy—villages about eighteen miles west from Kandy—the latter being supplied with a native preacher, and the former dependent upon the weekly and occasional visits of the Kandy missionaries. From both these places a few members were received into the Church by baptism.

A new station was also commenced at Gampola—a large village twelve miles south of Kandy -where a school was opened and a native preacher located. A substantial chapel that had been built during the year in Kandy was opened on the 25th of December, on which occasion several persons were admitted to the church by baptism.

In the early part of the year 1842 Mr Daniel visited Kandy, having had his attention directed by some gentlemen connected with the planting operations then becoming so extensive in the interior, to the lamentable condition of the Tamil coolies employed on the estate, who were sunk in gross idolatry and immorality, and utterly ignorant of the truths of Christianity. Having obtained permission from the owners of several estates to have their coolies assembled in their working time for an hour on each visit, Mr Daniel and Mr Dawson

entered upon this interesting branch of missionary operations. A native assistant was sent up from Colombo, named Thomas Gamier, a Tamil man, who had a ready command of his native language, and who soon became thoroughly devoted to his work. On an average 2000 persons were preached to monthly on estates in the neighbourhood of Kandy.

In the year 1843 the town of Kurunegalla—twenty-four miles north-west from Kandy—which had for many years been left destitute of Christian teachers of any kind, was, at the urgent request of some of the inhabitants, supplied with a missionary. The same year several were baptised there, schools established, and thousands of tracts distributed. Service was conducted in Portuguese also, there being many Portuguese descendants in the town as well as Singhalese.

\*       \*       \*       \*

In the year 1844, two other labourers—Mr Solomon Ambrose and Philip Pulla, natives of Ceylon and India—were added to the number of those who were preaching to the coolies on the estates. In the year 1846, Mr Allen gave up a pastorate in which he was settled in England, and joined the mission at Kandy; he afterwards removed to Colombo, and died there about the year 1865. The school at Iriagamma was given up, and one begun at Mahagamma—four miles north of Kandy—and in the following year, the stations of Gampola and Utuwankandy were relinquished, as Iriagamma had been, through the necessity of reducing the expenditure of the Mission.

Between the years 1810 and 1850, there were issued by the Baptist Mission 305,800 tracts and books, the greater part of them being in Singhalese, and the rest in English and Portuguese. These were nearly all the produce of the Mission press. In 1840 the press was resigned in favour and for the use of the Kandy Tract Society, which was then formed, and placed under the supervision of Mr Murdock, now Dr Murdock, Indian secretary of the Christian Vernacular Education Society.<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>10</sup> Stanley notes the financial problems of the BMS in the 1840s. The effect was such that 'by 1849 the mission had only two principal stations – Colombo and Kandy.' Stanley, 170.

From 1852 to March, 1855, Mr John Davis - late of Thames, New Zealand - laboured in Kandy and the district around very earnestly and very acceptably, when, on his removal for the sake of his health to Colombo on the sea coast, he was succeeded by the writer of this sketch, who had then been one year and a half in the island, acquiring the language and preaching at Colombo.

It would occupy too much space to give you an account in detail of all the various operations and changes since then. The missionary's time was occupied with much open-air work, preaching and speaking in Singhalese to Buddhists, with the training of students, and with Sunday and week-day services both in Singhalese and English, besides visiting, from time to time, the various stations of the Mission and making evangelistic tours. But some particulars must be given to convey some accurate idea of the work done and doing. A school for Tamil children was established at Mátalè, and one for Singhalese children at Kadugannawa—ten miles to the west of Kandy. Gampola was also visited, and much evangelistic work done in the neighbourhood. In this town a site was bought and money collected for building a chapel, for the use of Christians already there, and as a centre of operations. A native preacher was settled there, where he still continues, and after a short time, a neat and sufficiently large chapel was erected, and opened with great joy and spirit, quite clear of debt; services being conducted on that day in both Singhalese and English, and many friends being present from various quarters. An interesting congregation has continued to meet there ever since, and additions from time to time have been made to the membership, some from the ranks of nominal Christians, and others from amongst the Buddhists. The pastor of the church is also an evangelist in the whole district around. Just recently a promising school has been opened by our mission in another part of the town, and there, as in all our schools, the truths of Christianity are taught to the children from day to day besides their secular lessons. At Kadugannawa, above mentioned, a native preacher has been settled and working for years, and a small girls' school conducted under the superintendence of his wife. Here, too, a chapel, similar to that at Gampola, has been recently built, and the writer had the pleasure of opening it by conducting service in Singhalese a few days before leaving Ceylon for New Zealand last July, service in English being conducted by a brother missionary in the after part of the day. At a distance of about fourteen miles west of this place or about fifty miles east of Colombo, we have had a small congregation of Christians for some years. A neat shed, of mud walls and floor and roofed with platted cocoanut

branches, serves both for worship and for teaching the children of the neighbourhood. This is a place amongst high hills, in the midst of rice swamps on the low ground, and jungle on the higher, and at certain seasons of the year exceedingly feverish.

About eighteen years ago, a native doctor living there met with a copy of the Bible at a village he was visiting, became interested in it, borrowed it and took it home with him to read. He was not only led thereby to see the truth of Christianity, but heartily to embrace the Lord Jesus Christ as his Saviour, having invited some of our native brethren to come and explain the truth to him and others. In this way, and by his efforts to exhibit to others the treasure he had found, a few others of the village were led to accept the Gospel, and, in due time, they were baptised and united in Christian fellowship. They erected a shed, as already stated, and the native doctor assembled the children of their families, and the children of any others who were willing to send them, and taught them day by day. Under the influence of this change in a number of the people, cattle stealing, gambling and other evils which had been rife there have become almost unknown, and, in that rude uncultivated district, a sudden and marked advance in civilization and decency has been made.

From that little band two have already been gathered home to Christ: an old man who died a few years ago in wonderful triumph, exulting in the thought of going to be with Christ, and in the full assurance of eternal life in Heaven, instead of annihilation, which Buddhism teaches is the best portion we can attain to; and also the doctor, a middle aged, most excellent and intelligent man, who died more recently, in calm but full confidence of safety in Christ; both of them having testified by their pure and earnest lives the reality of their faith in the Lord Jesus. But others have been baptised into their places; amongst them, a younger brother of the doctor, who has taken up the work of teaching the children. The children and members of the Christian families are growing up with no attachment to Buddhism, and their minds fortified against it, by a good knowledge of the truths of Christianity. Clearly God is working by His Word and Spirit, and means to triumph over Buddhism, a system of fatalism, and one quite inoperative for good.

\* \* \* \*

Reference has been made to a substantial chapel which was opened in Kandy on December 25th, 1841.

Substantial, indeed, it was; but it could hardly be taken, from its appearance, to be a Christian place of worship at all. The Kandy of that time, though it had been the seat of native royalty, was very different from the Kandy of the present day. Under the British Government, and through the opening up of the country for the cultivation of coffee, Kandy, in the centre of the planting district, has very greatly increased in population, and the town has extended, and been specially improved in the vicinity of our chapel; so that the rough building—the barn—which forty years ago, when surrounded with gardens and trees, sufficed, had come to appear scarcely respectable; and through its exposure to the heat, and glare, and dust from the road which runs close by, was a very uncomfortable place for Christian worship. It was determined that a change should be made, and with the help of our missionary in Colombo, who is an architect by profession, very extensive alterations were made. These involved an outlay of about 5000 rupees, 3000 of which were contributed by natives and friends on the spot, the remaining 2000 being granted by the Parent Society out of a local fund supplied by mission property at Kandy. Out of the same fund, 1000 rupees were granted towards the chapel at Kadugannawa—opened last year—another 1000 being contributed by natives and friends there. The chapel at Gampola was built entirely out of donations by natives and friends in the district, and cost about 2000 rupees. The native churches and local friends contribute also about one-third of the cost of maintaining their native pastors and evangelists, besides paying all the incidental expenses of their several places of worship. The number of baptised communicants in these various places amounts to upwards of a hundred; and of persons—including children in the day and Sunday-schools—under regular Christian influence, to about six hundred. A few Sundays after the reopening of our chapel at Kandy, in the year 1880, the native pastor used the new baptistry, for the first time, to baptise three native friends; two of them from heathenism, and the other a member of one of our native Christian families—all three interesting and satisfactory cases. I was unable, through illness, to be present on the occasion, but a few Sundays after that I had the pleasure of baptising three members of our English congregation, and of receiving them into the fellowship of the Church.

That converts are being gathered from Buddhism to Christianity becomes now, as of old, an annoyance to the upholders of heathenism. The characteristic apathy of Buddhists has given way,

and many of the priests and leaders have been aroused to strenuous opposition. They search our Scriptures, and read English sceptical books for the purpose of finding objections to our religion. For example, they find it stated that no one has seen, or can see God; and, again, that he was seen on various occasions, particularly that he talked with Moses face to face. The threatenings found in the Prophets against the people of Israel, especially where God compares himself to a lion or other savage animal, they will have it, indicate that such a being is not a gracious being at all. It will be easily understood how plausible such objections must seem to the heathen, and how difficult it is to get them to look with fairness at the answer to them. A short time ago some American and European Theosophists, so-called - a Colonel Alcott,<sup>11</sup> Madame Blavatsky, and some others—came to Ceylon and professed themselves Buddhists. They were received with open arms by the Singhalese Buddhists, who in every place assembled in crowds to see and hear them. Their position was most anomalous, and could not have been an honest one. Indeed, Buddhism is not a Theosophy in any sense, but the most extreme Atheism. They objected to Christianity, that the Bible contains things not in accordance with the discoveries of modern science, and yet accepted Buddhism, in which a kosmology is taught that is simply a mass of falsehood and absurdities. The world, according to Buddhism, is like a flat, round table, with a rim of rocks round its edge, thousands of miles high, to keep the water of the sea from rolling over, &c., &c. The Buddhists have been greatly encouraged and aroused by the mere fact that some Europeans had forsaken Christianity and embraced Buddhism - not by any ability or facts which they were able to employ in elucidation or defence of their new views. The following will serve as a sample of what is doing - at least of one method of work—to advance the truth, and of the opposition met with.

A number of us met, by arrangement, at about 5 p.m., in one of the streets of Kandy. When we had taken our stand in a convenient position, the pastor of our native church opened by reading a few verses from the New Testament in Singhalese, and then gave an address to the crowd which, by that time, had collected. It was the season of the Buddhist annual festival, when a torchlight procession is made after dark, with drums, pipes, dances, 12 to 16

---

<sup>11</sup> Colonel Henry Steel Olcott (1832–1907) (known also as ‘Alcott’) and Helena Blavatsky (1831-1891) were founders of the Theosophical Society which had a profound impact in Ceylon.

caparisoned elephants—one of them carrying on his back, in a golden casket, the sacred tooth relic—chiefs of the people in full dress, and a crowd of some thousands, who have come in from the whole surrounding region, and from distant parts of the island. Whilst our brother is speaking, an elephant is led past to get ready for the evening. One of the men on its back, a young, bold, and impudent looking fellow, makes some jeering remarks, slaps the elephant with his hand, and points to it as an illustration of the strength of his religion. Our brother finishes his address, and I take his place, and whilst I am speaking the young man returns on foot, makes his way to the front of the crowd, and stands with a bold, smirking face right in front of me. He begins to talk, and, after bearing it for some time, I beg him to be quiet, and allow the people to hear what I have to say. I try to make it clear to the people that Buddhism is not a system of salvation, but one of condemnation; but that according to Christianity, the vilest sinner, though not whilst he loves sin—thereby meeting their objection that our religion encourages sin— but when he repents, &c., and applies to the only and true God and Governor of the world may be saved, and saved now.

The young man, and some of the leading Buddhists there, finding no way of stopping our preaching by making objections and getting up controversy, call aloud upon all the Buddhists there to retire, and not listen to us any longer; they make some commotion thereby, but on our calling out to them not to be over-ruled, but to do as they like in the matter, most of them stay, and a missionary of the Church Missionary Society present next addresses the crowd. Whilst he is speaking, our opponents return with a man prepared to speak and denounce Christianity at the opposite corner of the street. A company gathers there, too, within a few yards of us; but in the noisy street it does not disturb us, as the voice is not loud enough to reach across. After our missionary brother has spoken about half an hour, setting forth the love, compassion, and power of Christ, he descends from the bench on which he had been standing, and, being urgently requested, I take his place, but only to find that my previous shouting has deprived me of my voice, and after vainly trying to recover it sufficiently, I give place to a member of our native church, and so the work of proclaiming the Gospel is carried on until dark, when the crowd peacefully disperses. During times of more than usual excitement, we announce a lecture, or addresses on religion, in some room or chapel, where we can quietly set forth the truth, and clearly, yet kindly, show that Buddhism is of no use to man, whereas Christianity exactly meets his case.

It is amusing to see how wonderfully competent some English writers are to give advice to missionaries, as to the best way of dealing with Buddhists and heathens in general—writers especially on comparative theology. They are quite sure that Christianity would gain ground much more rapidly, if, instead of denouncing other religions as false, missionaries would admit that they are true so far as they go, and that we have come, not to overthrow them, but to build upon them, to advance beyond them, and to supersede them only in the same sense as Christianity superseded Judaism. Now, if these writers had a little more common sense and a little more modesty, they would take it for granted that missionaries—whom they would instruct, though they have probably never had any intercourse with heathens—have the advancement of the Kingdom of Christ at heart at least as much as themselves, and are wise enough not to lose the advantage of laying hold of any portion of truth already lodged in the heathen mind. But when such writers talk about admitting that those systems are good and true, though, defective, they simply show their own ignorance of the real facts of the case, and of this—which every missionary or native evangelist knows—that no Buddhist would regard with favour any of the doctrines of Christianity until he is convinced that Buddhism is false; and that the admission that the fundamental doctrines of his religion are good and sound—an admission which must be made if it is true—would be his warrant for holding faster than ever the religion of his forefathers, and to which he is bound by so many and such strong ties.

Fancy such a writer speaking to Buddhists thus, according to his own suggestion: - 'Friends, I am glad to believe that Buddhism is true, so far as it goes, and I do not wish you to give up its doctrines, only to build upon them the farther and higher truths of Christianity. For example, to begin with the most important, Buddhism teaches that there is no creator God, and that all which exists is the result of the merit or demerit of finite beings such as we, and of the self-working of Nature. It must be admitted that this is very profound and admirable teaching, and I am not going to ask you to reject it, but only to advance a step and receive an additional and higher teaching, which, by a very natural process, may even be said to grow out of that—that there is a creator God, by whom we and all things have been originated. And then there is the further profound truth and glorious prospect which your religion holds out: that no being can, by any possibility, escape the consequences of his actions until he has paid the uttermost farthing, and attains the sweet relief of nirwana - non-existence. I shall not deny the truth of this, but only suggest that

you build upon it the further truth that sins *can* be forgiven, and all their consequences escaped, and the sinner attain, at the close of this life, a conscious and eternal existence of happiness.’

Our philosopher would certainly not proceed beyond this point before his dreams would be all put to flight by his hearers asking him if he was insane, or if he had come there to deride them, or thought them so senseless as to be deceived by such talk as asking them to believe a thing to be white and at the same time not deny that it is black?

It will thus be seen that no compromise or admission of the truth, or partial truth, of their religion as a scheme for man’s salvation, is possible. We treat them respectfully and kindly, avoid harsh expressions and all calling of names, and show them that we are deeply and tenderly concerned for their welfare, and that this, as well as honesty, leaves us no alternative but to try to show that the teaching which denies the existence of a Creator is mischievously false; and that which denies the possibility of pardon, utterly useless to sinful men. The evidence for the existence of God must show the former, and the truth as it is in Jesus annihilate the latter doctrine.

\* \* \* \*

Missionaries in Ceylon, as in other heathen lands, have had the toilsome, but necessary and glorious, work of preparing Christian literature for the use of their native converts, and especially translations of the Scriptures, as the source of spiritual sustenance, and as the standard of truth to which appeal could be made at all times. It was the writer’s lot to take a considerable share in such work. In 1850, a new translation of the New Testament in Singhalese was begun, and, after several tentative portions had been favourably received, fully issued from the press in 1862. Since then we have made a new translation of the Old Testament Scriptures, which, together with revising and printing, occupied about fourteen years, having been begun early in 1863 and finished in December, 1876. The necessity for these new translations arose from the fact that the former versions—one of them the property of the Church Missionary Society, and the other supported by the British and Foreign Bible Society—were so seriously erroneous, that any person who really understood and thought of what he was reading, would hesitate to read a chapter in public. These versions had not been made from the

originals, nor with any such regard to consistency as even the use of an English Concordance and Harmony of the Gospels would have secured. A constant misusage of words and phrases showed that the translators had not a sufficient knowledge of the language for such a work, nor such command of the language as was required to give the logical connection of the thought in difficult passages and books. Sometimes the sense given is the opposite of, or very different from, what was intended, and even in simple sentences gross blunders are found.

Our edition of the whole of the New Testament consisted of 2000 copies, and of the four Gospels, the Book of Acts, and the Epistle to the Romans (bound in separate books), 2000 copies more. These being nearly exhausted by the time the Old Testament was issued, it was found necessary to print a fresh edition. With a view to this end, and in order to take advantage of the progress which had been made during the past twenty years in the settlement of the Greek text of the New Testament, so as to adopt the readings which are now generally approved by scholars, and in other respects do the utmost we could to perfect our Singhalese version of the Word of God and make it accurately represent the sense of the original, it was determined that, before reprinting, it should undergo a careful revision. Accordingly the work was begun about the middle of 1876, when the revision of the Old Testament was finished, and whilst the last portion of it was passing through the press. It is satisfactory that the close scrutiny which this work involved showed that our original translation was not marred by bad or erroneous Singhalese. At the same time it was found that it often admitted of improvement—in some cases considerable improvement—by a more precise rendering of the sense and emphasis of the Original Greek, and by a more careful exhibition of the connection of the thought between one sentence or verse and another. Just as the last few chapters of the Revelation were passing through the press last June, we received a copy of the New English Revision, and, on comparison, found, as indeed we expected, that we had generally arrived at the same results; and that, where ours differed from the English text, in almost every case it agreed either with the marginal alternative, or with the American suggestion. For example, in Rev. v. 9-10: 'For Thou wast slain,' &c., the new version differs from the old in five particulars, in every one of which our Singhalese version corresponds with the new renderings. Sometimes, indeed, our Singhalese is more accurate, or the sense better expressed, than the English—*e.g.*, James ii. 6-7: 'Do not the rich oppress you? and themselves drag you before the

judgment-seats? Do not they blaspheme?' &c. The English '*themselves*' here represents them as dragging the poor with their own hands—they oppress directly or indirectly, but the dragging they do themselves. It is difficult to suppose that this was the meaning of the Apostle, as it certainly is not necessarily the right force of the emphasis of the Greek; and why was not the same emphatic pronoun translated in the same way in the next sentence? Do not they themselves blaspheme? &c. The exact force of our Singhalese is, 'Do not the rich oppress you, And is it not they who drag you before the judgment seats? Is it not they who blaspheme?' &c. This is clearly what the Apostle intended, and it gives the same construction and emphasis to the second sentence as to the first. That this is the right rendering could be abundantly proved from the English revisers' own work: in Matt. i. 21 they render the same construction and pronoun—'For it is He that shall save His people from their sins.'

It is a wonderful and glorious fact that God is giving to all nations, and tribes, and peoples His Word in their own tongues—even though the gift of tongues has ceased—translations which are quite as clear and intelligible, and, in the case of the Sanscrit and Dravidian languages of India—as Singhalese, Oriza, Bengalle, Tamil, &c.—as grammatical, forcible, and elegant as our own English version. May His Word have free course and be glorified.

Mr Baynes, Secretary of the British Missionary Society, has lately been on a tour amongst our mission stations in India. Reports of his meetings in Ceylon were given in the *Ceylon Observer* of March 16 and 20 last, and I shall conclude these sketches by an abstract from the speech of the editor of the *Observer* on the occasion of Mr Baynes's visit to Colombo.

Mr Ferguson said: - During the period he had referred to, he had seen the mission rise from small beginnings. It was nothing to boast of now, but success would follow in God's own good time. Very much impatience was felt at home at the small statistical result. It would be well if those supporters of the mission who expected a great many converts would come out, and personally see the state of things here. When Mr Chater came to Colombo he took every means possible to announce to the Singhalese that he had a new message for them. At the first service of the Baptist Mission in this island there was not a human being present excepting the members of the missionary's household. After three years the converts numbered three. Considering that Ceylon was neglected for nearly eighteen centuries after Christ, did it not seem unreasonable that in 70 years

there should be such a great change as their good friends in England expected? To the speaker's mind the state of the case called for gratitude. In viewing what had been done here, account must be taken of the prevalent system of religion: a system which denied the existence of a God and denied the personal responsibility of man. Buddhism was said (even by people in Europe) to be the 'Light of Asia,' and far more beautiful than Christianity. In a letter by the last mail he read that two ladies had resolved to devote themselves to a life of purity, following the teachings of Buddha. He did not wish to say anything unkind, but he appealed to his friends present to say whether Buddhism had secured purity of life. Had it prevented murder, litigation and other evils? Buddhism had utterly failed here in Ceylon where, from the insular position, if in any part of the earth, it exists in its original form. The Rev Spence Hardy had said that if Buddhism is shaken in Ceylon it will receive a mortal blow which will be felt throughout the one-third of the human race that adhere to it. Such a work would surely be a great work. After alluding to the action of the Portuguese and Dutch in making the profession of Christianity a condition for civil employment in Ceylon, and the unhappy results, Mr Ferguson expressed his belief that the missionaries of the Baptist Mission had been faithful, and had preached the Word of Christ in and out of season; and if the statistical results were not all that their friends at home could wish, yet a good work had been done in sapping the foundations of Buddhism. Although those present had not had the privilege of hearing anything about the work in the Kandy district, he would remind them of the existence of their mission there. He believed the statistics from that district would bring up the total number of the Baptist Church in Ceylon to over 600 members, which really amounted to 4,000 or 5,000 being in some measure under the influence of the mission. He did not think there was any cause for feeling disheartened, but that they might well take courage for the future. (Applause.)

The Church of England and Wesleyan Missions have much more extensive operations in Ceylon than the Baptist Mission, and Roman Catholics outnumber all the Protestants put together.

**Chas Carter**  
**Ponsonby, Auckland, 1882.**

## REVIEWS

**James Beilby and Paul R Eddy, editors. *The Nature of the Atonement: Four Views*. Downers Grove: IVP, 2006. (208 pp.) [978-0-8308-2570-7]**

IVP have a range of ‘four-views’ books on a diverse range of subjects, the work under review being the latest. Beilby and Eddy have brought together four scholars from various disciplines to each present a model or theory of the atonement and then to critically reply to each of the three other views. This format has proven itself to be an efficient and extremely useful tool for those coming into to a new field of study as well as for those more established in the discipline.

Gregory Boyd (senior pastor and author) presents and defends the *Christus Victor* view of the atonement, the view that Christ achieves a decisive victory over Satan in his work on the cross and that this is the paradigm by which Scripture presents the atonement. Due to the fact that this sort of view dominated the early church for the first millennium, this position is also known as the classic view. Contemporary Pentecostals will be particularly familiar with this theme as it is one often preached and taught from that tradition.

Next Thomas Schreiner (Professor of NT at Southern Seminary) presents and defends the Penal Substitutionary view, which toppled the dominance of the *Christus Victor* model in the eleventh century in its embryonic form known as Anselm’s satisfaction model. According to this view Christ acts as the substitute and representative of sinful humanity in his act of atonement and by his sinless life and perfect death he propitiates God and expiates sin. This objective paradigm is most familiar to Reformed/Calvinists and Evangelicals. Its status is such that it has often been raised to the level of implicit orthodoxy within those traditions, meaning that challenges against it are considered challenges against the faith.

Bruce Reichenbach (Professor of philosophy at Augsburg College) presents and defends the Healing view, a subjective paradigm by which Christ's atoning work is seen as healing and restoring a fallen and diseased humanity. Old Testament (Isaiah especially) and New Testament themes are developed in this view and some early church support is also garnered. No one group has ever been directly associated with this atonement model but it is a common theme amongst Pentecostal/charismatic traditions and is popular in Eastern Orthodoxy where legal notions of sin and judgement have never been of central significance.

Finally, the Kaleidoscopic view is offered by Joel Green (Professor of NT Interpretation at Fuller Theological Seminary). According to Green no one view of the atonement is sufficient to represent the range of metaphors and images Scripture uses in regard to the atonement. Therefore we are better not to settle on one root metaphor but to have an atonement quilt whereby all the themes are given equal space – hence a kaleidoscopic view. This position, like that of the Healing view, is not allied to any particular tradition but it is becoming increasingly popular amongst evangelicals.

For many one or more of the four views will be new and may raise some very important questions. The goal of such a project is that everyone's model of the atonement will become more expansive as we each incorporate more of the biblical testimony into our theology, rather than being too reliant on a single metaphor. It may also surprise some readers to learn that models of the atonement are just that – models – and that no model or atonement theory has ever been raised to creedal orthodoxy. Having said this it is important to note a criticism of Green's view made by Boyd:

'...Green seems to deny there is any intrinsic logic to the variety of New Testament atonement metaphors...Green denies any metaphor or set of metaphors can be taken as intrinsically more fundamental than others. There is then, no normative, transcultural, overall framework within which all the variety of New Testament metaphors are to be arranged and properly understood' (p. 187).

While the first three views have a clear tradition behind them, this final one does not. While this should not discredit the Kaleidoscopic view outright, it does put the burden of proof upon Green to show this is a coherent and viable model.

Each view is clearly presented and the responses are conducted with grace and charity. Where authors do disagree with each other they

do so in ways which model theological discourse which is expressly Christian. This is a useful contribution to contemporary discussion over the nature of the atonement.

### **Myk Habets**

**Wayne Grudem and Erik Thomas. *Laminated Study Guide Charts: Systematic Theology*. Downers Grove: IVP, 2008. (6 pp.) [ISBN 978-1-84474-211-0]**

There is a range of laminated study guide charts available from IVP and on the whole they are an excellent resource. The Systematic Theology study guide chart is based on the systematic theology of Grudem (also published by IVP), and thus reflects the theology developed at length there.

The study guide is divided into seven parts: Introduction, the Word of God, the doctrine of God, the doctrine of man, the doctrines of Christ and the Holy Spirit, the doctrine of the application of redemption, the doctrine of the church and the doctrine of the future. Each section has a series of brief definitions, followed by several bullet pointed summary comments, and in some instances an illustration is provided (five in total). Biblical references are provided in parenthesis throughout the chart and the format is an A4 laminated card folded into three.

If Grudem's *Systematic Theology* appeals to people then this chart will be a welcome addition as it provides easy and fast access to clear definitions and biblical references which cover the sweep of the systematic theological *loci*. However, as there are no footnotes, no citations, and very little interaction with opposing views to those of Grudem, the use and appeal of this chart is severally limited.

With only five illustrations there is little here, if anything, which is not provided in Grudem's *Systematic Theology*. I expected a number of illustrations that could have been used as teaching aids, in addition to the bulleted points and definitions which are provided. While I can see the use this chart will be for many as a source of initial consultation, it is not as useful as many of the other charts available on the market.

### **Myk Habets**

***The Oxford Handbook of Systematic Theology.* Eds. J. Webster, K. Tanner, and I. Torrance. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. (xi + 708 pp.) [ISBN: 978-0-19-924576-5]**

&

***The Oxford Handbook of Eschatology.* Ed. J.L. Walls. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. (xii + 724 pp.) [ISBN: 978-0-19-517049-8]**

Large handbooks that offer original essays reflecting current research in a given field are often disappointing. Too often they end up as simplistic attempts to summarise existing ideas or offer downsized treatments of authors larger and more important works elsewhere. One often gets the impression these essays are the castoffs from some larger (and better) research programme cobbled together for the gain of the publisher. These two Oxford handbooks definitely do not belong in this category.

Both the volumes under review offer new, constructive essays from many of the leading scholars in their respective fields. In addition, the various editors are all in their publishing and research prime and as such have a clear grasp of their fields and have invited and edited essays which will establish themselves as some of the more useful in their field. For those looking for an up-to-date survey of eschatology or systematic theology, these two volumes are indispensable.

The *OHST* offers thirty-seven essays spread over four sections: doctrines, sources, conversations, and prospects. Contributors are drawn from a wide range of Christian traditions including: Methodist, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, Anglican, Pentecostal, and Baptist. While I could not readily identify anyone from Eastern Orthodoxy, there are many contributors who specialise in patristic and eastern theologies. Contributors are also spread across North America and Great Britain primarily. In addition, John Webster offers a weighty introduction (18 pages) in which he presents the history, task, form and organization of systematic theology as it is currently understood and practiced in the western world. The introduction itself makes the volume worth having. What is also helpful about *OHST* that each essay concludes with a reference list and then a brief suggestion for further reading, thus increasing its usefulness.

The *OHE* offers thirty-eight essays spread over three parts: Part One: historical eschatology; further sub-divided into biblical and patristic eschatology, and eschatology in world religions, Part Two: eschatology in distinct Christian traditions and theological movements, and Part Three: issues in eschatology; further sub-divided into theological issues, and

philosophical and cultural issues. Contributors are drawn from a diverse range of contexts and backgrounds including Protestant, Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox, North America, Europe, and Asia. Well established scholars abound including Wolfhart Pannenberg, Gerhard Sauter, Jerry Walls, Andrew Louth, Clark Pinnock, Richard Bauckham, David Bentley Hart, Rosemary Radford Ruether, and Robert Jewett, to name a few. In addition, the topics covered in this volume cover the field of biblical studies, constructive theology, philosophy, world religions, and cultural studies. This truly has become the definitive, authoritative handbook on eschatology currently available.

One minor criticism of this series of Oxford handbooks is that there is no consistent format across volumes. In the *OHST* each essay is followed by a reference list and then suggestions for further reading. In the main text an author-date referencing system has been used. However, in *OHE* an endnote system is adopted followed by a bibliography. This minor issue aside these volumes represent the best in current scholarship on their respective topics gathered together in a single volume for easy access and comprehensive coverage. The editors of each volume are to be congratulated for the outstanding achievement of producing theological handbooks which are of the highest quality. Every theological library must have these volumes on their shelves, as do specialists in each of these fields.

### **Myk Habets**

**Daniel J. Treier. *Introducing Theological Interpretation of Scripture*. Nottingham: Apollos, 2008. (221 pp.) [ISBN 978-1-84474-311-7]**

Readers of Scripture have long known that hermeneutics alone cannot be the path to true understanding of texts - divine or human. *Theological Interpretation of Scripture* (TIS) is the latest attempt to articulate and form communities of readers which can utilise the latest in critical biblical scholarship and at the same time, read Scripture as a holy text for disciples of Christ, filled with the Spirit. In order to do this advocates of TIS draw upon reading strategies of the past, such as the *regula fidei* and present hermeneutics, such as speech-act theory or realist approaches to the biblical narrative which lend themselves to dramatic readings of the *historia salutis*. Thus TIS is both new and old.

Readers with some awareness of the issues addressed by TIS will be well aware of what goes under the name 'biblical theology' and may well be asking what relationship TIS has to it. Treier's introductory text explains the catalysts and common themes behind TIS in part one, and in part two expounds various contemporary challenges that TIS has to face. One of those challenges is its relationship to biblical theology. Treier illustrates how 'biblical theology' has a complicated history of creation by eighteenth-century German scholars, apparent maturity in the middle of the twentieth century, and then a fall out of scholarly favour shortly thereafter (p. 103). He goes on to note that for many advocates, TIS is perhaps the latest redemption of a biblical theology, with key modifications. While not rejecting the grammatical-historical approach, TIS does not limit interpretation to these 'rules'. TIS takes a canonical approach to Scripture and asks the genuinely theological questions such as, 'What difference does Christ make to an understanding of each and every text (including, of course, the OT)? As such this approach is church-centred, somewhat hermeneutically and methodologically flexible, and creedally orthodox (p. 115). Finally, TIS is interdisciplinary and as such it seeks to break down but not eliminate the distinctions between the various disciplines of biblical theology, systematic theology and practical theology.

Treier presents an introductory text which is lucid, informative, and suggestive. His work clearly shows that TIS arose in the 1990s as a result of the work of such figures as Francis Watson, Stephen Fowl, Kevin Vanhoozer and others. Treier shows how TIS is not simply a development of but is as much a reaction to the narrative theology of the Yale School, within which he includes Brevard Childs, David Kelsey, Hans Frei, and George Lindbeck. TIS has more in common with the spiritual exegesis of some modern Roman Catholics, the 'strange new world of the Bible' that Karl Barth discovered for himself and then entered after his commentary on Romans, and the ancient Christian practices of many of the church fathers, especially that of piety and *phronesis*.

Evangelicals, scholars, and Baptist pastors feeling as if the standard assumptions of Evangelical biblical methods of exegesis are important but perhaps not sufficient will welcome TIS and Treier's helpful roadmap of this emerging movement. He shows how TIS is in continuity with the way the early church read Scripture, and how it does not have to overturn Evangelical method but rather enrich it with the addition of reading strategies the contemporary church may have overlooked. As a theologian I welcome TIS and all that it has to offer the church and the academy. Many preachers, for instance, intuitively feel

that Christ is important for a correct understanding of the OT, but struggle to know how to incorporate Christological insights into expositional sermons. TIS may help, as may Treier's introduction by showing how this intuition is credible and practicable.

An added feature of Treier's introduction is the case study he presents throughout the work on the *imago Dei*. To illustrate what an approach to one theological issue – the image of God – may look like from the different perspectives of TIS we are provided with an overview of the substantive view in line with Augustine's reading of Scripture (pp. 70-77); an overview of the relational view taking into consideration a communitarian reading of Scripture (pp. 97-100); an overview of the functional view propounded by some advocates of a form of biblical theology (pp. 119-125); a christocentric reading of the *imago* prodded by general hermeneutics (pp. 152-156); a global perspective in light of liberation and Pentecostal theology (pp. 178-186); and a final cameo with direct reference to theological method (pp. 188-199). These case studies are valuable in themselves as introductions to the various interpretations of this theological concept and helpfully provide a working illustration of what difference TIS makes when applied to a familiar theme.

TIS is a major feature of contemporary biblical-theological studies and has the potential to revitalise Christian readings of Holy Scripture in ways which are Church-affirming and God-honouring. Preachers, teachers, and academics will be grateful to Treier for providing, in his words, a 'map' and set of 'lenses' to see what this new movement is and where it may head in the years to come. 'Whatever else it means, theological exegesis deals with the Bible as a word about God and from God, and that makes this movement an exciting project! I hope you will join the quest' (p. 36).

**Myk Habets**

**Michael G Long, editor. *The Legacy of Billy Graham: Critical Reflections on America's Greatest Evangelist*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2008. (xiv + 229 pp.) [ISBN 978-0-664-23138-5]**

Billy Graham has iconic status as one of the greatest evangelists of all time. This book re-examines the pedestal on which he stands. It is a warts-and-all critique. Too seldom has this been done for the towering Billy Graham – and that while he is still alive!

The avowed aim of the fourteen scholars is to ‘take Billy Graham seriously – to acknowledge his historical significance’ (xiii). The difficulty, however, in doing this, ‘exploring the strengths and weaknesses of his lifelong ministry’ (xiii) is that the critics tend to come theologically from the centre-to-left spectrum of the church. This means that their overall inclination is to look for a ministry that deeply engaged with society and sought its transformation. The result is low levels of enthusiasm for preaching that largely called for personal conversion (with societal transformation more to the periphery of Graham’s concern).

A book of this nature thus raises the question of the nature of the Christian gospel –its core and its totality. Douglas Sturm helpfully categorises responses to societal problems such as poverty as either conversionist or prophetic (65). Clearly Billy Graham’s approach is conversionist. At a press conference in 2005 he indicated that the greatest societal problem was poverty and that the gospel of Christ was the answer to poverty, ‘not part of the answer but the whole answer’ (63). Graham’s largely not taking a ‘prophetic’ approach results in a low score card in this book.

Graham is given credit for his stand on racism, particularly his refusal to speak before segregated audiences in the American southern states in the 1950s. However, Graham was not consistent for a couple of years around 1950 on the segregated audience issue (150) and he was still bringing prominent segregationists onto his platforms to provide endorsements of his ministry into the late 1950s (152). Thus praise for Graham’s stand on racism is muted, partly through recognition that Graham did not get fully behind the civil rights campaigns of Martin Luther King (151-52) and ‘did not burn for racial justice’ (147). The book does, however, provide greater endorsement to Graham for his stance from the 1980s urging full nuclear disarmament (93-94).

In my view Graham’s being weighed from a ‘prophetic’ perspective results in inadequate credit given to his ‘conversionist’

influence. Graham preached to at least 210 million people in over 185 countries (3). At his famous 1954 Greater London crusade, seventy per cent of the 38,000 who responded publicly to Graham's appeals were for first-time commitment, with only forty per cent being church members (usually nominal) at the time, and sixty-four per cent of the converts were attending church one year later (132-33). Overall, however, there is relatively little focus on this aspect of Graham's ministry – and little acknowledgement of its value.

Perhaps the harshest criticism of Graham is his political involvement, his getting involved with virtually every president from Truman onwards and his getting too close to some of them. This is especially the case with Nixon, whom he encouraged to run for president in 1968 (29, 102). Graham followed this up by announcing prior to voting day that he had already voted for Nixon by absentee ballot – doing the same for George W. Bush in 2000 (113). No wonder that there were guffaws in 1970 when Graham claimed that he was 'totally nonpartisan' (xi).

My focus on the lack of sufficient credit for Graham's role in vast numbers of individual conversions may suggest that I am largely negative towards the book. By no means is this the case. This book very helpfully highlights the weaknesses of preaching that is reductionist in its solutions (*all* problems are solved by coming to Christ) and that fails to address the issues of the day and declare the whole counsel of God. God bless old Billy Graham. Hopefully he will be pleased with a book that causes deeper reflection on the nature and task of the gospel. For it is to that that he devoted his life.

**Laurie Guy**

**Frank W Rinaldi. *The Tribe of Dan: The New Connexion of General Baptists 1770-1891: A Study in the Transition from Revival Movement to Established Denomination*. Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2008. (xxi + 264pp.) [ISBN 978-1-84227-143-8]**

This book, based on the PhD thesis of its author, provides a comprehensive examination of the history of the New Connexion of the General Baptists. It thematically examines that movement from a number of angles including its theological emphases, sociological composition, organisational structure, evangelism and ministry patterns.

The book is particularly helpful in providing an in-depth outline of the events that culminated in the New Connexion as a whole being absorbed into the more comprehensive Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland in 1891. Exploring the factors that directly and indirectly influenced that decision provided an excellent conclusion to the book.

On the other hand I felt the material on the movement's beginnings was less well done. The book portrays the New Connexion as having a separate and sharply delineated identity from the General Baptist parent body from its beginnings in 1770. It is as if a divorce took place then and the parties went their separate ways. It is only fairly late in the book that there is clear indication that this is not the total story, with two delegates from the Old General Baptists attending the annual assembly of the New Connexion in 1890 (190). Other Baptist histories covering the period of Rinaldi's book indicate far more contact: the general assembly of the General Baptists perceiving the New Connexion as a part of the General Baptists in the period 1786-1803 (Brown 99), and Dan Taylor having a leading role as chair and preacher at General Baptist assemblies until 1803 (Brown 105). In addition Briggs indicates some interchange of personnel (as delegates or preachers) between the two sets of assemblies between 1868 and the complete merger of the New Connexion into the Baptist Union (126-27). Rather than the black-and-white picture largely implied by Rinaldi's presentation McBeth's conclusion that 'between 1770 and 1800 the relationship between the Old and New Connexions remained ambiguous' (164) better fits the evidence.

It would have been good also for Rinaldi to have addressed more explicitly the extent to which Wesleyan influence shaped the New Connexion (particularly through Dan Taylor's ongoing ministry in the new body – noting that Taylor chaired all annual New Connexion assemblies bar one for forty-six years). Brown and Briggs seem very aware of this shaping (Brown 111, Briggs 204), but Rinaldi does not seem to me to sufficiently explore this angle. Given Taylor's early Methodism and given Wesley's societies' ongoing relationship with the Church of England as *ecclesiolae in ecclesia*, it seems to be a helpful category in exploring the self-identity of the New Connexion in its early years.

**Laurie Guy**

**James M. Renihan, *Edification and Beauty: The Practical Ecclesiology of the English Particular Baptists 1675-1705*, Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2008. (xxiii + 207pp.). [ISBN 978-1-84227-251-0]**

This is a close study of the self-understanding of the Particular Baptists in the crucial period of the generation of leaders who framed and led subscription to the *Second London Confession* (first published in 1677). The Particular Baptists developed later than the General Baptists, seeking a 'self-consciously reformed' (Calvinistic) type of Church. In keeping with this, the *Second London Confession* was largely an adaptation of the *Savoy Declaration* (1658) which was itself dependent on the *Westminster Confession* of 1647.

The bulk of the book is a clause by clause examination of the *Confession* on (in turn) the nature of the church, authority, officers, public worship (including ordinances) and association. A strength of the work is that, in addition to the detailed consideration of the confessional theology at stake, attention is given to the application of the principles involved. This insistence on the 'practical ecclesiology' signaled in the title enables a number of case studies of the interaction of belief and practice in these formative decades. Dr Renihan in this way attempts to answer the call of B.R. White for 'microscopic' studies of Baptist history. On these terms the monograph largely succeeds. A picture of Baptist life as lived in specific congregations linked through the *Confession* emerges. This narrow focus is also however the source of its principal weaknesses.

Although the architecture of much of later Stuart Particular Baptist life is sketched and ecclesiological defined in this work, the wider religious and social landscape is not revealed. The three decades under examination contained periods of fluctuating persecution, political revolution, the Act of Toleration and attempts by nonconformist bodies to find unity. These have ecclesiological roots and implications but such major developments feature hardly at all in this volume.

It is of course relatively easy and potentially unfair to note what is left out of any study, particularly one such as this with a technical focus. However the very narrowness of the analysis possibly generated a second problem with the monograph as published. *Edification and Beauty* is based on a 1997 PhD Dissertation. Dr Renihan admits he has been 'unable to update its contents in any significant sense' (xix). This is a pity, as useful studies have appeared in the intervening decade and the richness of later Stuart

historiography continues to impress. In a narrow study one might with some justification feel it to be possible to get away without revision. (It is unlikely that much will be found which reworks the same evidence.) Yet the outcome for a published monograph is less satisfying. The problem is the lack of historical, intellectual and ecclesiological context. What may have been appropriate for a thesis leaves too many gaps in a published work. That the book lacks a summative conclusion exacerbates the problem.

Nevertheless, by its own lights this is good study and one which adds to the growing Paternoster series. There appears to be a problem with the index, at least in its references to the front material, but otherwise it is presented well and allows a glimpse into an important period.

**Martin Sutherland**

## Contributors to this Issue

**Charles Carter** (1828-1914) was a significant BMS missionary in Ceylon and held pastorates in New Zealand.

**Colin R. Godwin** is a missionary with Canadian Baptist Ministries, Kigali, Rwanda.

**Laurie Guy** is Vice-Principal (Academic) of Carey Baptist College.

**Myk Habets** is a Lecturer in Systematic Theology at Carey Baptist College. He is the book reviews editor of *PJBR*.

**Martin Sutherland** is Vice-Principal (Academic) at the Bible College of New Zealand, Auckland. He is editor of *PJBR*.

**International Conference  
on Baptist Studies V**

**&**

**Australian Baptist  
Research Forum III**

Whitley College, Melbourne, Australia

15 - 18 July 2009

Following four successful International Conferences on Baptist Studies at Oxford in 1997, Wake Forest in 2000, Prague in 2003 and Acadia in 2006, there is to be a fifth at Whitley College, Melbourne, Australia, from Wednesday 15 to Saturday 18 July 2009. On this occasion we are glad that the conference will also be the biennial meeting of the Australian Baptist Research Forum. All the conferences take Baptists as their subject matter, but are not restricted to Baptists as speakers or attenders. The theme this time is 'Interfaces: Baptists and Others', which includes relations with other Christians, other faiths and other movements such as the Enlightenment. What has been the Baptist experience of engaging with different groups and developments? The theme will be explored by means of case studies, some of which will be very specific in time and place while others will cover long periods and more than one country.

A number of main speakers will address aspects of the subject, but offers of short papers to last no more than 25 minutes in delivery are welcome. They should relate in some way to the theme of 'Baptists and Others'. The title should be submitted to Professor D. W. Bebbington, Department of History, University of Stirling, Stirling FK9 4TB, Scotland, United Kingdom (e-mail: [d.w.bebbington@stir.ac.uk](mailto:d.w.bebbington@stir.ac.uk)).