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Baptists and the World's Crisis.

FROM the time when John the Baptizer was preaching repentance to listening crowds in the wilderness of Judea and baptized in the Jordan those who in earnest responded to his appeal, till the present day, Baptists have been conscious of being entrusted with a special message to their fellow-men. Their mission has been and continues to be to emphasize and defend the truths of the gospel as they are revealed through Jesus Christ, taught by Him, and committed to His followers in the New Testament scriptures. The call to repentance and faith in the Son of God as Lord and Saviour, which was the key-note in the preaching of John the Baptist, Jesus Himself, and the apostles, is ever the watch-word of the Baptists. They adhere to and lay stress on baptism as it was taught and practised by Jesus and His disciples. They organize their churches after the apostolic pattern, and insist on maintaining the New Testament principle that only regenerate persons are entitled to baptism and church membership. They stand for the right of every man to worship God and serve Him according to the dictates of his own conscience, and they believe that the access to God and His throne of grace is open and free to every individual, without mediation of priest or saint. They hold that love should be the law regulating the relation between God and man, between man and man, and between nation and nation. In faith they are waiting for the kingdom of heaven, the kingdom of righteousness and peace, to be established on earth through the workings of the powers of God.

The acute crisis, with its indescribable confusion and suffering, into which the world has been betrayed in our days, calls for radical changes. A time is come for old things to pass away and leave place for new and better things. The situation demands new men, a new social order, a new standard for international relations, and a revival of the religious life in the Christian churches. In view of this we may well ask: Who has a message better adapted to the needs of the hour than the message of the Baptists? Others may preach the same truths wholly or in part, but that is no reason for the Baptists to be reticent or hesitating. Let us rather be confident that God has called them out and made them strong in numbers and rich in resources, because He expects

them to play a prominent part in the great efforts that must be made to solve the tremendous problems of the present world crisis.

To the call for new men Baptists can best respond by repeating again and again with new emphasis the momentous words of Jesus to Nicodemus: "Ye must be born again." That is to point out the only way in which men can be renewed and become new creatures in Christ. The Baptist message has always pointed to a new social order and to peaceful relations between the nations, in fulfilment of prophesies of Old Testament prophets and upon practical application of the teachings of Jesus as set forth in the Sermon on the Mount. No company of believers can be more zealous for an ardent spiritual life in union with Christ within the church than are the Baptists. They are a missionary people peculiarly adapted to meet the yearnings and burning questions which fill the hearts of innumerable men among the present generation. They would be blind to the signs of our time if they did not realize their calling and be awake to the fact that they are expected to be a crying voice in the world heralding the advancement of Jesus Christ as Saviour, Lord, and King to deliver individuals and nations from present misery and bring about a new era of righteousness, prosperity, peace, and happiness.

An opportunity is before the Baptists now the equal of which has never been before. Everywhere the people hear them gladly and appreciate their work. This is true of other parts of the world, but it is especially true of Europe. The Commissioner of the Baptist World Alliance, Dr. J. H. Rushbrooke, knows this better than anybody else, and his reports are wonderfully hopeful. It is significant among other things that he has been permitted to explain the Baptist position and plead for liberty of religion according to Baptist principles before leading statesmen in countries where laws for extended liberty are in the making. Obstacles which formerly have blocked the way for missionary efforts are being removed, and the people are longing for the liberating power of the gospel and the consolation of the gospel message. Surely a challenging opportunity is before the Baptists. Are they prepared to meet it?

The formation of the Baptist World Alliance which has been developing since the first World Congress was held in London in 1905, has united Baptist bodies of the various countries, brought them into contact with each other, given them occasion to learn to know each other and has awakened a consciousness of solidarity which was unknown before. The unions who are numerous and strong have reviewed the world-

wide mission fields together, and have become inspired with a growing zeal for a victorious extension of the evangelizing movement which they represent. The small and weak sister organisations in different lands have been encouraged and made to feel that they may count on support from their more favourably situated brethren, and be enabled to go forward with their work in the sure hope that, some day, they too shall be numerous and strong.

At the call of the Executive of the Baptist World Alliance a conference was held at the Baptist Church House, London, in July 1920. Besides members of the executive committee this conference was attended by representatives from the United States, Canada, and many European countries. There the need of evangelical mission work in European lands, and relief work as well, was discussed and plans for systematic efforts were agreed upon. Each of the leading mission organisations was to share in the relief work and take upon its responsibility certain areas for evangelising mission work and ministeriall education. The mission societies concerned approved of the plans drawn up, and began to act upon them as soon as necessary arrangements could be made. The result is that a systematic and most promising movement for the revival of New Testament Christianity in Europe is fairly started. This is evidence enough to show that the Baptists are awake to their opportunity, their call from God, and their responsibility at this eventful juncture in the history of the world. They are also intent on going forward in earnest determination and carry out their mission. This was fully realized from reports made, from words spoken, from decisions made, and from the spirit prevailing at the conference held at London in the first week of August 1922, which was a repetition and an augmentation of the former conference in 1920.

This year, in the month of July, numerous representatives of the Baptist world from nations near and distant are to meet at Stockholm, Sweden, to hold the Third Baptist World Congress. Then the whole situation to which we have wished to call attention with these lines, will stand out in full view before the great assembly. Suggestions will be made as to what it involves and what it demands from the millions of Baptists connected with the Baptist World Alliance. We are confident also that resolutions will be adopted which shall voice the determined intention and resolute will of the constituency of the Alliance to be true to the challenging call of the hour in face of the need of suffering and erring humanity. Voices have been heard, who would fain tell the Baptists to desist from evangelizing efforts among nominally Christian

people, but over against this stands ever the Master's command: "Go ye therefore, and make disciples of all the nations baptizing them into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you."

C. E. BENANDER.

Stockholm, Sweden.

Baptists in Continental Europe.

A Survey and an Appeal.

The Baptist Commissioner for Europe is issuing this statement simultaneously in America.

BAPTISTS have in Europe a magnificent opportunity; British Baptists in one degree, and in still larger degree, American Baptists are rising to it. It is not that they are called upon to send over large numbers of missionaries. Only in two or three countries would the presence of foreigners be of advantage, and even in those exceptional cases it is to be hoped that ere long native leadership will suffice.

It is indeed a distinctive feature of the Baptist movement in the "old continent" that it has almost everywhere depended from the outset upon native workers. To a large extent it has arisen as a result of the simple reading of the New Testament, without the intervention of any human expositor or preacher. The most influential of all leaders in continental Europe has been Johann Gerhard Oncken, and in this respect he is typical. He was converted as a youth in England, but when he returned to his native land as a colporteur and evangelist he had not yet come into contact with Baptists. It was his keen interest in the Book he sold, and his constant perusal of its pages, that led him to withhold his first child from "christening" and soon afterwards to reach the definite conviction that it was his duty be be baptized as a believer. He waited five years for a "Philip," until Professor Sears of Newton came to Hamburg. The date (April 22, 1834) when Oncken was baptized with his wife and four other persons, in the river Elbe, may fairly be regarded as the birthday of the modern Baptist movement east of the North Sea. There were already in France and elsewhere tiny groups of Baptists that had come

into existence since the beginning of the century, but these were practically negligible, nor have they since displayed any remarkable energy. In Oncken, however, a man of genius had appeared, a great gift of God to his generation, and his vast energy and skill in organization furnished a new impetus and laid broad and deep the foundations of a new Evangelical Reformation.

It is not my purpose to trace, in this brief article, the history of the religious awakening that began in Hamburg, and whose effects have extended throughout the whole of the German-speaking world and far beyond. From the North Sea to the Ural Mountains, and from the North Cape to the Balkans, there is no considerable body of Baptists that is not indebted directly or indirectly to Oncken's work and influence. In most countries the earliest preachers were won and baptized by his missionaries.

An outstanding quality of this pioneer-evangelist was, his power of impressing upon the members of the churches he founded the obligations of the Great Commission. A well-known anecdote sets this in relief. Oncken, a few years after he had commenced his life work as a Baptist, was once asked: "How many missionaries have you?" He gave in reply the number of *members* then registered. His questioner explained: "You misunderstood me; I asked how many missionaries, not how many members," but Oncken calmly rejoined: "With us there is no difference: *every member is a missionary.*" So we find artisans, peasants, clerks and others bearing their witness; the movement has progressed and still progresses not merely through organized effort but through the spontaneous activity of individuals. And, as we have already noted, in not a few instances the experience of Oncken himself has been repeated; the Book itself without the preacher has called Baptist communities into being.

Let me cite a few figures to illustrate the remarkable numerical growth of the denomination in continental Europe. Then are of course merely approximate:

In the year 1800 there was no Baptist church on the mainland of Europe.

In the year 1850 there were about 4,000 church members.

In the year 1900 the number had risen to about 220,000.

In the year 1922 it is certainly more then 1,250,000, and perhaps approaches 2,000,000.

Such figures with the accelerated rate of growth in recent years, amply justify the description of the Baptist movement in Europe as "the most significant spiritual fact of our time."

The full meaning of the foregoing totals appears only when they are analysed. Continental Europe is not a homo-

geneous unity, but a most diversified complex of races, languages and conditions. Amid all the variety, however, the broad fact stands out that the Gospel as presented by our denomination is securing a hold everywhere. Its progress is comparatively slow in some Roman Catholic lands: Bavaria, Austria, Italy, France and Spain do not reveal such striking advance as is elsewhere apparent. Yet in these lands a firm foothold has been secured, and the future is bright with promise.

Consider a few of the peoples among whom the message is securing wide acceptance:

(1) Among the Scandinavians of Northern Europe—Denmark, Norway and Sweden—there is not only numerical progress but a firm organization which guarantees further advance. In no European country is our position so solidly established as in SWEDEN. Its 70,000 Baptist members represent a larger percentage of the total population than is found in any other country east of the Atlantic, except possibly Russia, and they include men of distinction and influence. The Swedish Baptists celebrate in 1923 the seventy-fifth anniversary of the foundation of their first church, and the occasion will be marked by the holding of the third Baptist World Congress in their capital city of Stockholm. It is to be hoped that multitudes of British Baptists will visit Stockholm next July to share in their brethren's joy.

(2) A sharp contrast to the cultured Scandinavians of the North is presented by the Latin RUMANIANS of the South-East, simple peasant folk for the most part. Of these, however, during the last five and twenty years, many thousands have been won to the Baptist faith and have proved their fidelity by a brave stand against continuous pestering as well as serious outbreaks of persecution.

(3) The inhabitants of the two republics of Esthonia and Latvia on the Baltic coast are markedly different in race, language, and culture. The ESTS are a people of Mongol descent, akin to the Finns, with scant literature, somewhat uncouth and prone to extremes of vices. The LETTS are of Aryan descent; they have a wealth of poetry, especially lyrical, and are among the most advanced of the nationalities once subject to Russia. But in responsiveness to the Baptist message and in the rapidity of Baptist advance there is nothing to choose between the two peoples.

(4) Of all Slav nationalities in Europe the most fully developed is the Bohemian. CZECHO-SLOVAKIA is the restored and enlarged Bohemia, and the religious ferment in Czecho-Slovakia is appropriate to the land that produced John Hus and Jerome of Prague, and later the Moravian Brethren. For

years Bohemian men and women had been leaving the Roman Catholic Church; recently a large number of these seceders have united to form the semi-Protestant "Czecho-Slovakian National Church," but multitudes have merely floundered in negation. Now the Baptists are getting hold of these. The denomination has in its rapid advance outstripped at least three others during the past two years. Its membership includes not only Czechs and Slovaks, but Germans and Magyars, and a short time ago the Czecho-Slovak Baptist Union was able to make the proud boast that it is the only organization in the land which includes in perfect harmony "all the four nationalities.'

(5) It is scarcely necessary to speak of the well-organized and comparatively long established German movement. But it is worth while to record that within the past two years entirely new developments have appeared in POLAND. When Dr. Brooks and myself visited that land early in 1920 we were disappointed to discover that the "Polish Baptists" of whom we had heard had in reality no existence. The churches in Poland were exclusively German-speaking, were led by German-speaking pastors ,and were making their appeal only to the German-speaking minority. No impression had been made upon the Poles proper—the Slavs and Roman Catholics forming the majority, and apparently the Pole was more difficult to win than any other European. But it can now be reported as a result of new methods of approach that within recent months several hundreds of Slavs have been baptized as converts from Roman Catholicism.

(6) HUNGARY is remarkable as being inhabited by a race without any near relation in Europe. The Magyar stands alone, and often bitterly bemoans his friendlessness. But these people, so sharply distinguished from all around, have shown themselves equally sensitive to the Gospel. The problem in Hungary is to find buildings to accommodate the thousands who desire to worship and to listen to the preaching of the Word. The Seminary at Budapest recently opened and maintained by Southern Baptists is doing much towards meeting the needs of trained leaders.

(7) But of all lands RUSSIA furnishes the most striking illustrations of Baptist advance. It is difficult to give precise figures, since Russians are far less interested in statistics than ourselves and far less concerned if organization should be somewhat loose. There is also among certain of the simpler brethren a curious objection to gathering statistics, based on the Scriptural account of David's sin in "numbering the people." It is nevertheless possible to report certain striking facts. I noticed recently in scanning a report on relief work

in a small district of Southern Russia that there were within this limited area no fewer than sixty churches of our faith and order. In all parts of the famine-region, relief work has involved contact with large numbers of Baptists. In one Russian city not long since there were baptized on a single day more converts than on the day of Pentecost. In the middle of the year 1914 the best information I could obtain (for inclusion in a little book then preparing) put the number of baptized believers in Russia (including both "Evangelical Christians" and "Baptists") at 106,000; in 1922 the most conservative estimate of the strength of these bodies (which now have accepted a common declaration of faith and order) gives it as 1,000,000; whilst a less cautious but equally well-informed authority puts it as high as 2,000,000. Certainly there has been, and is, a movement of enormous strength—by far the most important religious movement in Russia. It appears clearly the will of God that Baptists should play a decisive part in shaping the future of that vast land.

We see then that responsiveness is not restricted to any one nation or any one racial group. Our message is making its successful appeal to men of all types and conditions.

Why is it that such progress is taking place? The explanation must be sought in the distinctive characteristics of our Baptist testimony, in our historic and fundamental principles. Let us recall in what guise Christianity has heretofore been known to many nations of Europe. Normally it has been presented in the guise of a great ecclesiastical organization closely allied with the State. The Protestant church in Germany for example, was of this kind. It was intensely conservative in the political sense, militaristic, imperialistic. Few of its pastors ventured to display the slightest sympathy with any democratic movement or with any effort towards social or political reform. For the common man, the chief message of the church was an exhortation to respect the established order. It is small wonder that the working people of Germany turned away from such Christianity. In fact, from the point of view of Prussian politicians, the church was no more than a refined police force acting in the interests of the State.

It is scarcely necessary to refer to the general character of the Roman Catholic Church. Its long history reveals a persistent antagonism to freedom of every kind. No marvel that it has lost the allegiance of multitudes who refused to walk in blinkers and to submit mind and conscience to the dictates of a priesthood. Small wonder that President Masaryk regards as the twin foes of his long-oppressed nation "Vienna and Rome"—the Hapsburg dynasty and the Papacy.

But in my judgment the severest condemnation of any great historic church is that which must fall upon the Oriental Orthodox Church. This church has never had a Reformation. In the course of its history ritual has continuously received increased emphasis. Prostrations, the kissing of icons, pilgrimages to shrines, have become the characteristic expressions of piety. Among the masses superstition abounded, akin in quality to that of the medieval pre-Reformation church of the West. For centuries the two great factors operating upon the Russian people were politically the Czarist regime and religiously the Orthodox Church, the two acting in close alliance. The results are evident: tyranny in the State, matched by slavish submission on the part of the masses; ignorance so wide-spread that over eighty per cent. of the population was classed as illiterate; superstition rampant; and evil shameless.

These great historic ecclesiasticisms have become discredited with the monarchistic systems that sustained them. It is no mere coincidence that in days of enlarging freedom and vigorous aspirations for self-government the Baptist message should find acceptance, and that acceptance should be rapid where it has the advantage of multitudes of enthusiastic voluntary propagandists. For consider what is involved in our position:

(a) The Baptist stands in principle for the separation of Church and State; he boasts of the work of Roger Williams and of the Virginia Baptists who recorded the principle of religious liberty in the Constitution of the American Republic. The New Testament Christianity he presents can never be an instrument of political tyranny and reaction, or the New Testament Church a mere slave or echo of the State.

(b) The Baptist proclaims that the subjection of mind and conscience to a priesthood is entirely opposed to the teachings of the New Testament. The Book knows no priestly caste, and the message which uproots sacerdotal pretensions and tyranny brings a great deliverance.

(c) Moreover, the common man for whom the great historic churches have had no real message except a demand for submission, finds himself in the Baptist conception of the church wondrously uplifted. He is counted in the community as a brother and an equal; he learns that the true church of Christ is a spiritual democracy.

(d) Above all, the positive character and evangelic warmth of the message, the direct preaching of the Cross, and the constant appeal to the New Testament, explain the response.

It is no accident that Europe under present conditions finds hope and help in the Baptist message; it comes as the emancipating word for heart and conscience, mind and will.

There is in the story of continental Baptists very much for which to give God thanks, and the future is bright. What is needed from Baptists in other lands is the fellowship of prayer and of continuous brotherly interest. Central and Eastern Europe are poor; it is impossible for our fellow-Baptists from their own resources to set up seminaries to train their preachers, and printing presses to disseminate literature; in some instances they are even short of Bibles. Our strong communities can and should gladly meet these needs. For a few years it will also be necessary to assist the impoverished churches in maintaining their pastors; but the grants in aid of pastors should be reduced until they cease altogether as the economic position is restored. It would be disastrous if Baptists were represented in any land by permanently subsidized churches.

On the question of the form of assistance, the Continental Committee of the Baptist Union can be trusted to reach sound conclusions. This article aims merely at describing broad facts so that our constituency may gain a clear general impression of the progress of the work. Increasingly clear is it that no political arrangements will of themselves make a new world; statesmen may do their utmost, but the best of them recognize that without inward personal renewal, individual transformation, all else is vain. The spiritual task is of supreme importance. Our Christ leads in this; His shall be the victory and the Kingdom.

Jesus is worthy to receive
  Honour and power divine,
And blessings more than we can give
  Be Lord, for ever Thine.

J. H. RUSHBROOKE.

An Early "Baptist" View of Scripture.

"SALVATION does not depend upon acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures, however useful and good they may be for this purpose."

That will perhaps appear a strange or even startling declaration to many readers. On what grounds its author rested it, we will inquire presently. But first let us see who the author was. He was one who held believers' baptism. Now supposing we knew this, and nothing further, we might naturally conclude him to be a Baptist of the latest times, and even then, one of the "left wing." No such thing! He was an Anabaptist, i.e., a Baptist of early Reformation days; and what is more, by the testimony of foes as well as friends, he was one of the most gifted, trusted and influential of the leaders of the infant community. If, indeed, we have regard to consecrated abilities and purity and beauty of character, there is perhaps hardly a nobler figure to be found in the whole Reformation movement. Hans Denck is the man. Before detailing his views upon Holy Scripture, let us make a very brief survey of his life and work.

Of his early days scarcely anything is known. He appears to have been born in Bavaria about the close of the fifteenth century, and he graduated as Master of Arts in Basle. That he was a man of uncommonly good education is sufficiently proved by the fact that before the end of his short life he produced, in conjunction with another Anabaptist scholar, L. Hätzer, a translation of the Old Testament prophets from the Hebrew. Of this translation Martin Luther, while disparaging it in public on the ground that a heretic could not rightly interpret the scriptures, made, we are told, considerable use in his own version of that part of the Bible. At Basle, Denck heard the Lutheran Oecolampadius lecture on Isaiah. But the views which he advocated subsequently show him more indebted to a reading of Tauler and other of the German mystics of the later middle ages.

Fuller information about his doings begins with the autumn

of 1523, when, on the recommendation of Oecolampadius, he was appointed rector of the school of St. Sebaldus at Nüremberg. The new order had already been introduced there, under the leadership of Osiander. But the moral results were sadly disappointing. Luther's insistence that a man is justified by faith in Christ alone, apart from any performance of the works of the law became a pretext for grave licentiousness. It was especially this antinomianism that made Denck seriously dissatisfied with the teachings of the Reformers. In 1524 he was already involved in a controversy with Osiander. Its immediate subject was the Eucharist. Unfortunately no details have come down to us. Perhaps Denck was scandalised by the admission of manifestly unfit persons to the Lord's table. Whether this were so or not, it is likely that he thought already of the presence of Christ as experienced only by a soul truly surrendered to His will, and accordingly stumbled at the materialistic association of that presence in the Lutheran doctrine, with the elements of the supper. In December there was a disputation before the magistrates, after which Denck was required to submit a confession of his faith. This he did. In January 1525 he he was sentenced to banishment or imprisonment. He withdrew from the city, but was pursued by calumnies which increased the difficulty of finding permanent harbourage elsewhere. Among other charges, he was reported to make light of the scriptures, but especially to teach disobedience to the civil authorities—an accusation which, in his case, had not a shadow of foundation. For his part Denck besought forgiveness from his persecutors for any wrong he might unwittingly have done to them. Throughout his life he shows a pathetic longing to be at one with all his fellow-Christians. He acknowledges himself a man "who has erred, and may err again." He professes that he will never seek to retaliate for any injury he has experienced. In face of persecution he contends that "in matters of faith, all should take place freely, voluntarily, and without coercion."

Denck went first to St. Gall, where he found domicile with an Anabaptist. Here he published a little book, which is in effect an expansion of the principles announced in his confession. ("He who truly cares for the truth, may prove himself herein," etc.). It is the chief source for a knowledge of his views on scripture.

By the summer of 1525, the Anabaptists were in conflict with the magistrates of St. Gall, and Denck moved again, this time to Augsburg, where friends obtained for him liberty to teach. Here he was brought into full communion with the Anabaptists, apparently through the instrumentality of their

eminent leader, Balthazar Hubmeier. There followed a rapid growth of their community, and its extension to other cities of upper Germany; but also a keen attack upon them, which singled out Denck particularly as its object. He fled once more to Strassburg, where the reforming leaders were inclined to look with favour on the Anabaptist positions. There Denck published books against Luther's denial of freewill and of the obligation of Christians to perform the law. The cause made rapid headway. But Zwingli, the leader of the Swiss Reformation, was able to force a persecuting policy upon the heads of the Strassburg Church, with the result that Denck was soon driven from the city.

After some wanderings he was called to the help of the Anabaptists in Worms, and came thither early in 1527. Here he published his translation of the prophets, and also a beautiful book, *Of the true love*. Again the propaganda began to achieve wide success, and again it provoked persecution.

Denck now returned, perhaps by way of Switzerland, to Augsburg. He presided there over a conference of Anabaptists, and was sent by them on a mission to Switzerland. In the autumn of 1528 he came once more to Basle, worn and weak in body, and troubled in mind by the failure of his endeavours to promote unity among Christians and by the increasingly political complexion that some Anabaptists were now giving to their movement. He appealed to his old teacher, Oecolampadius, to procure him liberty to rest there awhile, admitting his fallibility and expressing regret for some harsh utterances into which he had been betrayed. Oecolampadius met him in a friendly spirit, apparently hoping to win him back from his errors. He induced Denck to write another confession, which might serve to remove misconceptions as to his views. This Oecolampadius presently published under the entirely misleading title of a *Recantation*. But before this Denck himself was dead, his undermined constitution having succumbed to the plague.

After this brief statement as to who Denck was and what he did, we will now return to the question of his views of scripture. It would indeed be an interesting study to outline his religious teaching in general; but as this would demand far more than the space at our disposal, we shall only refer to it so far as may be necessary to the explanation of our immediate subject.

There is, however, one belief of Denck which is fundamental, and which underlies all his teaching—his belief in the "inner light." He holds that man in his actual state is a sinful and miserable being. At the same time he has the consciousness of a sinless and blessed condition, and he

longs for it. This he owes to the presence within himself of a divine spark that gives witness to the holy will of God. It is indeed a spark of the eternal Word; it is thus essentially identical with the Christ, who became incarnate in Jesus. Jesus was perfectly obedient to the divine will. The natural man is disobedient: he pursues the will of the self, and herein lies his sin. He can, however, if he will, conform himself to the light within, though not without the aid of divine grace. The inward light is itself a gift of God. And if only man is *willing* to do the divine will (John vii. 17), straightway the grace that enables him to do it is forthcoming. If he seeks good, God works good in him. "He who truly seeks God," says Denck, "also truly has Him." It is such obedience to God's word, in reliance on God's grace, that constitutes saving faith.

Where, then, does the scripture come in? The answer is that it echoes the inward witness. Man's sinfulness has made it necessary. It serves the purpose of recalling to activity and corroborating that inward witness. But without the concurrence of the latter it could not convince and convert. In the act of complying with its requirements a man in effect accepts the scripture as of divine origin and authority. But how does he arrive at such a conclusion? Denck recognises in the frankest way what we call the human element in the Bible. It consists, he says, of words written with man's hands, spoken by man's mouth, and heard with man's ears. How then do we know that the message which it conveys to us is God's truth? Suppose, says Denck, you were to receive from an unknown person a document which promised you great good, you would not confide in his promises until you were certified as to the character of the sender. What is it, now, that certifies us that the utterances of Scripture are those of an all-wise, all-mighty and merciful God? It is the fact that the voice within us, the religious feeling of our own heart, says the same things. Our conviction of the divine origin of Scripture rests on the coincidence of its declaration with those of the highest instincts of our own nature.

By this time it will have become apparent in what sense Denck affirms the Scriptures to be indispensable to salvation. He means that there is implanted in every man a knowledge which, if he will but heed it—as he can do—will bring him to God. Were it not so, and if salvation depended on knowledge of the Scriptures, it would, he says, be out of the reach of millions of mankind. On the other hand, he is far indeed from making light of the Scriptures. The Scriptures have their value herein, that they testify of Christ. But they cannot give us eternal life. If we would have that, we must, as

they bid us, come to Christ Himself (John v. 39, 40). The true way to show our reverence for the Scriptures is to conform to their precepts. No man can esteem them more highly than he who keeps what they teach, namely, to love God alone with all the heart. People who, while neglecting to do this, extol the Scripture, merely make an idol of it. Denck himself claims to esteem it above all human treasures. And not without warrant. On all points he makes his appeal to the Scriptures; and his mind is so saturated in them that even the expressions and images of which he makes use are constantly those of Scripture.

This paper would remain incomplete without at least a brief indication of Denck's ideas respecting the interpretation of Scripture. He cannot subscribe to Luther's dictum that it is plain and open to the comprehension of the natural man. True, the word of God in itself is clear; but man's understanding is clouded by the darkness of earthly passions which spring from self-seeking. By nature we understand the secrets of God less than animals understand our speech. It is through the play of such selfish passions that divisions arise in the Church of Christ; and each party founds itself upon Scripture. For the Scripture contains passages that, so far as the words go, are opposed one to another. The opposition, however, is only on the surface. "Two counter-passages must both be true, but one is shut up in the other as the less in the greater, as time in eternity, as space in infinity." Here, by a depth and truth of insight at which one can never cease to marvel. Denck lights upon a principle of vast sweep and importance. In the Scriptures we have a heavenly treasure in earthen vessels. There is an eternal truth which in different passages finds a more or less complete expression. From this perception it is but a step to our present day conception of a progressive revelation in the Scriptures —Denck adds, "He who leaves a counter-passage standing and cannot reconcile it, is lacking in the ground of the truth." The business of the expositor is to collect all the divergent passages, and compare and reconcile them. But this task is beyond the natural man. Scripture is not of private exposition, but it belongs to the Holy Spirit, who also gave it, to expound it. Scripture is the utterance of the Spirit of Christ, and only he who has this Spirit can interpret it rightly. And he alone has the Spirit who conforms his life to the divine will. Humility and patience are the signs of His possession.

In his first book Denck collects and deals with some eighty counter-passages. He was especially exercised about the Lutheran doctrine of election to salvation or damnation. He

admits the Scripture passages on which the Lutherans rested their assertion of the condemnation of the wicked, e.g., "these shall go away into eternal punishment" (Matt. xxv. 46), but he sets counter-passages over against them, e.g., "God willeth that all men should be saved" (1 Tim. ii. 4), and he asks why his opponents should *prefer* to believe one set of passages rather than the other. His own heart tells him that God is just and merciful. This suggests the ultimate solution that God's eternal purpose is the salvation of all men, whereas the doom of punishment announced against the wicked is a measure having for its object their conversion from their evil way and recovery to the way of God.

It will be noticed that here Denck's final appeal is to the verdict of the inward voice. Similarly, when he is interpreting the divine declaration in Isaiah, "I create evil." This passage cannot mean that God is the ultimate author of sin: for again, our hearts tell us that God is just and good. Sin He only *permits*, and even out of sin He brings finally good. The evil that He *creates* is the misery that follows sin, and incites the sinner to return to God.

It is remarkable to what an extent Denck succeeded in anticipating views which have gained wide recognition only in comparatively recent times. To specify the details, however, would unduly lengthen this paper, and can hardly be necessary; the observant reader will have noted them for himself. The object of the paper will have been served if it has been made clear that those who accept such views, so far from abandoning the positions held by noble pioneers of our Baptist confession, who sacrificed all their worldly prospects to remain faithful to it, are rather returning to those positions.

A. J. D. FARRER.

The Place of Baptism in Baptist Churches of To-day.

An address given to the Ministers' Session of the London Baptist Association at Woolwich, June, 27th, 1922.

THE aim of this paper is not to go over the familiar New Testament proofs that baptism originally meant the immersion of believers on the profession of personal faith in Christ, nor to trace the historical process by which the aspersion of infants has been substituted for it in the greater part of the Universal Church, nor to denounce the inconsistencies or errors underlying the differing interpretations of infant baptism given by our fellow-Christians of other churches. The subject is the place of baptism in the Baptist Churches of to-day, its meaning and its function for ourselves. My references to the interpretations given by other Christian Churches will be, so far as I can make them, sympathetic and positive. A common fault of many addresses on baptism by Baptists is that they are too negative, that they are often more concerned with showing what New Testament baptism is not, rather than what it is.

1. THE PLACE OF BAPTISM IN NON-BAPTIST CHURCHES.

A convenient starting-point is given by the brief reference to Baptism in the recent report of the Lambeth Joint Conference, a report which has aroused considerable controversy in Baptist circles. It is there said that "Baptism is by the ordinance of Christ and of His Apostles the outward and visible sign of admission into membership of the Church." Such a statement is obviously an attempt to find the Greatest Common Measure of a number of conflicting views, and those who know the difficulty of finding such a formula will be least likely to indulge in carping criticism of it. But if we are inclined to accept it, strictly for that purpose, several things must be remembered. It is quite true that amongst Baptists, baptism is usually "the outward and visible sign of admission into the membership of the Church"—but the sign derives its meaning from what the Church is understood to be. The Report indeed tells us that the Church "consists of all those

who have been or are being redeemed by and in Christ," but the appropriation of this redemption and its relation to baptism is, for obvious reasons, left undefined. Faustus Socinus could have accepted the definition before us, for in the Racovian Catechism, baptism is defined as "a rite of initiation." Initiation into what? there, of course, the possible ambiguities begin. I am reminded of a joint conference in the north in which I took part. The Anglican view of baptism was stated, and then the Baptist, whereupon I was asked by the Anglican chairman whether since Anglicans held to regeneration by baptism and Baptists to regeneration by conversion, we could not find common ground in that we both believed in regeneration. The question might form an exercise for a class in logic, and we should hope that some bright mind might detect the fallacy of ambiguous middle. But there is something more important here than the perils or advantages of ambiguity. *Does* the New Testament regard baptism as "the outward and visible sign of admission into membership of the Church"? That may be a natural description for the second century, when the Church was taking shape as an organized institution, but in the New Testament it is primarily a spiritual community, whose life-breath is the Spirit of Christ, and water-baptism is the outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual baptism of the Holy Spirit: "in one Spirit," says Paul, "were we all baptized into one body . . . and were all made to drink of one Spirit."

We may, however, agree to take the statement of the report as representing the maximum agreement as to baptism in the Christian Churches of to-day. Consider, briefly and quite sympathetically, what it is that representative Churches would add to that definition, in order to lead up to our own distinctive (Baptist) statement. In the significantly bare form of the "Book of Congregational Worship," the essential things are a promise by those who bring the child that he shall be brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, and a declaration of trust by the minister that "hereafter he shall not be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ." That is dedication at its simplest, and no explanation is offered of its connection with baptism, except for words borrowed from the Anglican liturgy though hardly in the same meaning!— "We receive this child into the congregation of Christ's flock." The same words appear in the Wesleyan order, with the addition "that he may be instructed and trained in the doctrines, privileges and duties of the Christian religion." The prayers for a change in the child's nature *follow* instead of preceding the act of baptism, and the emphasis falls on the covenant of the parents, to be subsequently realized in the personal

covenant to be made by the child when he comes to responsible years. The Presbyterian order emphasises the doctrine that baptism is a sign and seal of the covenant of grace, which includes children as well as parents. Baptism is a divine pledge that God will fulfil His part in giving grace. The Anglican service takes us into a different realm, for it prays *before* the act of baptism, "sanctify this water to the mystical washing away of sin," and declares *after* the act, that "this child is regenerate and grafted into the body of Christ's Church." The emphasis here falls on the actual activity of divine grace in water-baptism, not on the pledge of future activity. The underlying doctrine that baptism cleanses the child from the guilt of original sin, that is the guilt involved in his descent from Adam, finds fullest expression in the canons of the Council of Trent, which frankly make baptism necessary to salvation. So we reach the opposite pole to the total rejection of water-baptism, by the Quakers; their attitude is that, as Robert Barclay says, "we do always prefer the power to the form, the substance to the shadow," and "we find not anything called the seal and pledge of our inheritance, but the Spirit of God."

2. THE PLACE OF BAPTISM IN THE BAPTIST CHURCHES.

The common element which is found in all these interpretations of baptism is the necessary *passivity* of the infant baptized. Whether baptism be called dedication, or covenanting by parents, or the sealing of a divine covenant, or an actual regeneration, it is throughout something done to, nothing done by, the baptized. So far as he is concerned, all of them are non-moral acts, though the act of the parents or sponsors is properly moral. The Baptist position is not simply one phase in this succession of interpretations; it stands outside of them all as the only baptism which is strictly and primarily an ethical act on the part of the baptized. That, if we care to remember our origins, is the natural logic of Separatism, the proper sequence of the idea of a separated Church. John Smyth was writing his autobiography when he said that "The Separation must either go back to England (i.e. the Anglican Church) or go forward to true baptism." A pædo-baptist Separatist is always in unstable equilibrium, which explains why baptism falls into a relatively insignificant place, or drops out altogether, amongst Congregationalists. The Baptist stands or falls by his conception of what the Church is; his plea for believers' baptism becomes an archaeological idiosyncrasy, if it be not the expression of the fundamental constitution of the Church, as the

body of those who have been baptized into the Spirit of Christ, as witnessed by the evidence of moral purpose and character.

But if we are ever to justify this position, we must put the emphasis in the right place. We must frankly and clearly say, and say it again and again, that the external act of baptism is always subordinate and secondary to the baptism of Spirit. Better far to take the Quaker position out and out than to obscure that emphasis. Yet we know how it is obscured by what seems to many our superstitious insistence on the quantity of water. An amusing instance of this popular confusion is given in the life of the late Henry Barclay Swete. As a curate, he publicly baptized an infant by immersion, strictly in accord with the rubric of the prayer-book. But this unheard-of act created a commotion in the parish which led the old parish clerk to say, with grave shaking of the head, "Mr. Henry ought never to have done such a thing; that were believer's baptism." Personally I think it would be a real loss and a real misfortune to the Christian Church if baptism by immersion were not to be represented by a living testimony in the Church. But if we let others think that immersion is of the essence of the matter in our eyes, we gravely imperil our real witness to baptism as a personal profession of repentance and faith, an act at once moral and religious, an act of human personality entering into conscious fellowship with the divine. It is worthy of notice and a fact which we ought to teach our people, that the first modern Baptist Churches, General or Particular, practised affusion, not immersion, and that immersion was in both cases, an afterthought. The principle of believers' baptism arose independently of the question of the best mode of expressing it, and they should still be distinguished.

We must certainly eliminate the question of the proper mode of baptism when we turn to two questions of considerable importance on which Baptists are divided, viz., the distinct questions of "strict" or "open" communion, and of baptized or "open" membership. In regard to the question of "strict" communion, I do not propose to stir the dust of ancient controversy, and to revive the arguments of Bunyan against Kiffin in the seventeenth century, or of Robinson and the Rylands against Booth in the eighteenth, or of Robert Hall against Joseph Kinghorn in the nineteenth. It is perhaps sufficient to point out that the issue is practically settled for the greater number of British Baptists. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Robert Hall could write "Strict Communion is the general practice of our churches, though the abettors of the opposite opinion are rapidly increasing both in numbers and respectability" (II. 16). At the beginning

of the twentieth, Charles Williams could write, "Charles Haddon Spurgeon, with the majority of British Baptists, invited all who loved the Lord Jesus Christ to commemorate with them His love in dying for them" (page 25). That result has come about by the larger logic of the essential unity of the Church, over against the narrower logic that a man is not fully a Christian in our sense unless he has been baptized according to what we regard as the New Testament baptism. For to most of us in this country it certainly seems that to exclude a fellow-Christian from the Lord's table is to reflect on his Christianity—that is certainly what *we* feel when the Anglican refuses such communion to ourselves. But the question of "open" membership is distinct from this, and calls for particular notice at the present time. There are not a few members of Baptist Churches who have never been baptized in any external sense. This strikes not unsympathetic observers as a curious anomaly. A few days ago, a distinguished Presbyterian said to me, "I can't make you Baptists out. There seem to be two distinct parties among you. I can understand the position of the strict Baptist, but I cannot understand that you, of all Churches, should admit un-baptized persons into your fellowship." It would certainly be a curious result, if the practice of open membership should become as predominant amongst us as that of open communion has done! Our dictionaries would then define a Baptist Church as the only one which did not make baptism a condition of admission. But before we shake our heads in alarm at this melancholy prospect, let us consider what is really involved. I have urged that the question is not to be settled off-hand by the analogy of the open communion question. The Lord's Supper is the Lord's gift to the Church; it lies outside our jurisdiction in a sense in which the administration of the affairs of a local community of Christians do not. It seems to me a matter of expediency rather than of principle as to whether that community shall consist only of those who are personally pledged to the practice of believers' baptism, or whether others, acknowledged to be Christians also, should also share in the administration of that particular Church. Under our present constitution and polity, we cannot refuse the right to an independent judgment on the part of each Church to judge for itself as to what is expedient, whilst equally we could not deny the right of the majority to refuse to recognize as a Baptist Church one in which the testimony to believers' baptism ceased to be effective. That there is a certain peril in the increase of open-membership Churches I do not deny, though I doubt whether the peril is as great as it seems, if the ministry itself be genuinely Baptist. I

was brought up in the Church of the Rylands, and listened at the reception of each group of new members to the words of the Church covenant:—

> And whereas we differ in our Judgments about Water-baptism, We do now Solemnly declare, That we that are for Infant-Baptism do not hereby, nor will not impose on the [consciences] of any of our Brethren or Sisters that are among us who are for Baptism upon Profession of Faith. And on the other hand We that are for Believers' Baptism do not, nor will not impose upon the Consciences of any of our Brethren or Sisters that are amongst us that are for Infant Baptism.

Yet, in practice, College Street, Northampton, was and is a consistently Baptist Church, and most Churches would envy the constant succession of baptisms by immersion upon profession of faith under the ministry of John Turland Brown. If you have a convinced Baptist at the head of an open-membership Church, I do not think you need fear the issue.

But are all Baptist ministers convinced Baptists?* That, I think, is one of the most important issues before the Baptist Church of to-day, and by it will be decided the future of the Baptist denomination. If I may judge from private intercourse with my fellow-ministers, there are not a few of the younger men who whilst regarding believers' baptism by immersion as the New Testament baptism, are asking themselves whether its distinct denominational maintenance is really justified in face of far more important and living issues. I am convinced that we are reaching a point at which we must make more of baptism, if much less is not to be made of it. The chief point, indeed, of what I want to say is that baptism is not maintaining its importance in the eyes of many among us, because Baptists are not proclaiming with sufficient clearness the full doctrine of the New Testament Baptism. I have urged this point once already before the London Baptist Association, and I am glad you have given me the opportunity of returning to it. My point is briefly expressed by saying that we have been so driven to the assertion of *believers'* baptism, as against the baptism of infants, that we have failed to maintain the not less important emphasis on believers' *baptism*, in the fulness of the New Testament meaning, a baptism of the Holy Spirit.

If we are to be convinced men ourselves, and to convince others, it is not enough to say that to baptize means to

*Since the above was written I have been told of an instance in which three suitable candidates for baptism were refused by a "Baptist" minister in a Baptist Church, on the ground that believers' baptism by immersion might offend certain pædo-baptist worshippers!

dip, or that faith always precedes baptism in the New Testament, and that infant-baptism is a later device. Great principles are not decided by archaeology, any more than great thoughts by etymology. The flank of such arguments, however true, is easily turned by the remark, "Is it worth while to insist on such things, worth while for those who see life steadily and see it whole?" Nor is it enough to take refuge in a command, and make baptism simply a matter of obedience. Sufficient as that is to many, it may easily become a mere piece of legalism, which fails to take us into Pauline Christianity. I do not think that Paul was making light of baptism, as some argue, when he said, "I thank God that I baptized none of you." But I remember how he regarded the observance even of the sabbath as but a shadow of reality (Col. ii., 16). If we are to convince men that the command to be baptized is still binding upon them as a moral and religious act, it must be by showing that it is still intrinsically worth while. On what grounds can we argue this? Let me summarise familar arguments in order to lead to one that is less familiar than it should be.

3. THE INTRINSIC WORTH OF BELIEVERS' BAPTISM.

(1) Modern psychology has thrown into brilliant relief the importance of *acts* as influencing thoughts. "Actions speak louder than words." There must be some definite act of repentance and of faith, if they are not to become obscure and dim in retrospect. We live largely by memory, but memory depends upon landmarks. Hence the New Testament, with unerring instinct, anticipates our psychology, and says, "with the heart man believeth unto righteousness; and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation" (Rom. x. 10). I have no doubt that Paul is here referring to the confession of faith made at baptism. Now the baptism of believers emphasises more emphatically than any words, that which the believer confessed at his baptism in words, viz., the repentance and faith, the conversion from darkness to light which is one half of the meaning of baptism. Paul appeals again and again to the baptism of believers, especially in the sixth of Romans, as the foundation of his moral or religious exhortations. "You know where you were then," he says, "see what you ought to be now." Baptists alone or practically alone in the Universal Church can make such appeals, for to all other Churches baptism predominantly means something which can never be remembered by the infant. No really moral appeal to the grown man can be based on what others did to him as an infant.

(2) In the second place, it has become increasingly impossible for men of any historic sense, men with vision of the perspective of history, to accept any ancient creed in the exact sense of the original words. We may read our own meaning into them, and honestly think we mean what they said; but if we take the words in their historic meaning, we shall find inevitable changes from one generation to another, without any necessary break of real continuity. Now the two great creeds of the Universal Church, the Apostles', and the Nicene, were originally baptismal confessions, the expression of that which the baptized person accepted as his faith. They are of real value still as marking the historic line of development of the Christian faith, and as challenging each of us to test his own faith by that line. But Baptists who stand for the maintenance of that very baptism of believers out of which these two creeds have developed, are in a position of unique opportunity, if they will only realize their privilege. We, less than any other part of the Christian Church, are dependent on creeds, because we have maintained that personal profession of faith in baptism from which these creeds themselves have sprung. Because of that personal profession of loyalty, made in baptism itself more clearly and forcibly by us than by any other part of the Church, we can afford to make less of any form of words, however true. One of the great reasons for maintaining the method of immersion is its symbolic expression of the historical truths on which our faith rests—the death and resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ—and of that personal union with Him which true faith implies. That is our creed, expressed in a manner far better than mere words. It gives the necessary liberty to changing forms of language and idea, yet it secures the continuity of the evangelical faith, as the present spirit and temper of Baptist Churches of to-day clearly proves. I believe that this is a part of the case for believers' baptism by immersion which would make a great appeal to many thoughtful men to-day, if it were clearly stated, and given its full weight.

(3) But most of all, I want to urge that our peculiar denominational emphasis on believers' baptism should enable us to meet a great need of the religious life of to-day, I mean the recovery of the New Testament emphasis on the Holy Spirit. We have been unconsciously afraid of teaching the relation of the gift of the Spirit and water-baptism, because so much is made of it by those who believe in baptismal regeneration and appeal to the words, "Ye must be born of water and the Spirit." We have thrown our emphasis on baptism as a personal and human profession of repentance and faith. It is that, and that needed to be emphasised. But

the uniquely ethical character of our baptism safeguards us from the risk of misunderstanding, and leaves full room for the evangelical sacramentalism of the New Testament. The moral and religious experience of repentance and faith becomes the channel of the Spirit, and is psychologically reinforced by the definite expression of this experience in water-baptism. If we teach men that water-baptism is of real value on the human side—if it is not, we have no right to practice it—may we not teach that it is in the same way of value on the divine, possibly a real occasion, always a powerful declaration, of that baptism of the Spirit which is the true secret of Christian sanctification? It is of baptism with this deep meaning that the apostle speaks when he says, "One Lord, one faith, one baptism" (Eph. iv. 4,5), for he has just said, "There is one body, and one Spirit." It is of the divine significance of baptism as the outward expression of the inward gift of grace that he writes, "But ye were washed, but ye were sanctified, but ye were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Spirit of our God" (1 Cor. vi. 11). It is of water-baptism, as the sign of spiritual baptism that he says, "As many of you as were baptized into Christ did put on Christ" (Gal. iii. 27). In fact there could be no *Christian* baptism in the full sense before Pentecost.

I believe that by the fuller proclamation of this divine side of baptism, as the expression of divine grace, not less than, and in the same sense as, we already make it the expression of human faith, we should draw nearer to the New Testament, regain some of the real truths about baptism which other Churches have expressed in spite of their errors, and that we should also do not a little to strengthen our own convictions and the convictions of our people in regard to the value of believers' baptism. If you put little meaning into a rite, it will inevitably tend to drop out, just as the rite of Baptism tends to do among the Congregationalists. If you put much meaning into it, the rite will become of central importance, just as it is in the Catholic Church. But what we need to do is to put the whole New Testament truth into it, which is amply sufficient to deliver us from the errors of Catholicism. If we do that, I believe we need have no fear of consequences, and that even where there is open membership, the intrinsic worth of believers' baptism will maintain its observance. But if we do not make more of baptism than we are doing, I fear that we shall as a denomination, make still less, and that open membership may become a line of drift into Congregationalism, which I should personally deplore. It is in no narrow spirit of mere denominationalism, I trust, but in the interests of the whole Church, which still needs that portion

of truth we bring to its common good, that I venture to apply to our Baptist testimony the words which Wellington wrote of the maintenance of his position at Torres Vedras, on which the issues of the Peninsular War and the ultimate overthrow of Napoleon depended: "I conceive that the honour and interest of our country require that we should hold our ground here as long as possible; and please God, I will maintain it as long as I can."

H. WHEELER ROBINSON.

The Late Midland College.

Historical Section.

IT seems desirable, since this institution has come to an end, that some record of its beginning, its progress and its service to our denomination, should be preserved. In the first number of *The Baptist Quarterly* Dr. Whitley has reminded us that whilst the Bristol (Ministerial) Education Society was first in the field to provide for Baptist needs, it was followed by a General Baptist Education Society which "was gravely affected in its theology by the general Arian drift" of the eighteenth century, and did not long survive. But it had a rival in the New Connexion "Academy," which under different names and in different locations, continued its useful work until 1920—a period of 123 years. The "General Baptist College" was therefore the third Baptist College to come into existence.

1. ORIGIN AND PURPOSE.

The term "Academy" is significant. It was used of all good schools, whether kept by ministers or by ladies. At one time or another it was descriptive of such colleges as Horton (now Rawdon) and Hoxton (now Hackney). The modest designation was due to the fact that it was not possible at first to do more than place a few students under the care of some trusted and competent minister for training, and often the arrangement wore the aspect of a higher boarding-school.

Soon after Rev. Dan Taylor had founded the New Connexion of General Baptists in 1770, he became concerned about the better equipment of its ministers. "Men of culture and ability were rare in the ministry and an educated pastorate was slighted." At the annual meeting of the G. B. Association in 1797, it was resolved to provide an Academy, and Mr.

Taylor was urged to become the head of it. He feared that he might be called to the position when he pleaded, year after year, for action to be taken. There was a general opinion that he was best qualified for the work and he did not want it to be thought that he was trying to "set up and signalize himself." Though nearly sixty years of age, Mr. Taylor put wonderful energy into the new undertaking and had for the first student, his own nephew, James Taylor, whose life closed at Hinckley. The first home of the college was in London.

The question of location arose repeatedly in the history of the College, and as early as 1812, Mr. Taylor was requested to leave his metropolitan pastorate and remove into the midland counties where most of the General Baptist Churches were situated. But as he was seventy-five years of age, it was agreed that he had better retire from the college than risk all that the proposed change might involve. During the fifteen years he had served the Academy, he was not only diligent in his pastoral work, but very devoted in his visitation of churches throughout the connexion. He died in 1816 and was buried in Bunhill Fields.

Rev. J. H. Wood, in his *History of the General Baptists*, shows how early the idea of the college took root in Dan Taylor's mind. In 1779 he wrote on "A plan for assisting young men in their studies for the ministry,' and added:— "The design has annually obtained credit and reputation since it was first begun by a poor blind brother in Wadsworth (now Birchcliffe) Church and myself." As the churches increased in number, the necessity for such an institution became more apparent, and the foundation of a fund for the purpose was laid by the contribution in 1797 of twenty-five donations amounting to £174 17*s.* 6*d.* and the promises of eight subscribers totalling £16 per annum. From the opening of the Academy at Mile End in January, 1798, to the time of Mr. Taylor's resignation in 1811, nineteen students, gathered from Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, and Wales, came under instruction.

2. SUBSEQUENT LOCATIONS.

It has been shown how it was only for the sake of retaining Mr. Taylor's services that the Academy remained fifteen years in London at the beginning of its history. Apparently, a similar reason operated in the removal of it to Wisbech. For there, Rev. Joseph Jarrom was pastor of the church now worshipping in Ely Place, and he was regarded as well qualified to train candidates for the ministry. During the twenty-three years of his tutorship, thirty-seven of them became ministers

or missionaries. One of the most eminent was Rev. John Buckley, D.D., at the head of the Orissa Mission, India. His appreciation of the work done at Wisbech and subsequently, is apparent from a letter he wrote in 1858, in which the following occurs:—"Take the last fourteen years and how stand the facts? Are not some of our most important pulpits filled, and worthily filled too, by ministers that have left the institution within that period? Have the Home Mission stations which some of them have occupied, decayed and become extinct under their ministry, or exhibited a vitality and increase before unknown? Have the discourses preached for the last six years before the association indicated that piety, talent and energy were departing from us? I devoutly bless God for many of our young ministers and pray that they may be long spared to make full use of their ministry. I believe that we never had no large an amount of sanctified ability and earnestness in the ministry among us as at the present time, and I rejoice to entertain this conviction."

In 1825 an "Education Society" was formed by representatives from several of the Midland General Baptist Churches "to afford such instruction to brethren apparently gifted with ministerial talents as shall tend to qualify them to become more useful preachers of the Everlasting Gospel." Rev. Thomas Stevenson, minister of Baxter Gate Church, Loughborough, was appointed tutor, assisted by his son, Rev. John Stevenson, M.A. Here again, it is shown by the choice of Loughborough that first consideration was given to the question of tutorship. So when this "Society" was merged into the Wisbech Academy in 1838, the Midland town was preferred for the work of the united Institution (known as "the Academy of the Connexion"), and Thomas Stevenson was retained as tutor until 1841. During the sixteen years of his office thirty-five students passed under his tuition.

From this time it seems to have become necessary to determine the location of the academy apart from the pastoral sphere of any minister who might take charge of it. In succession to his father, Rev. John Stevenson, M.A., of Borough Road Church, London, was appointed tutor and he stipulated that the academy should be in London. He started with ten students, but was compelled by ill-health to resign in the following year. Meanwhile, however, the following conflicting resolutions were passed at successive committee meetings, and they seem to indicate that Mr. Stevenson's resignation brought divided counsels to an end for the time being:—

December 8, 1841. "That the Committee is gratified with Rev. John Stevenson's acceptance of the Tutorship of

the Academy; but as our brother cannot see his way clear to leave the [Borough Road] Church where God has been pleased so abundantly to bless his labours, we do not feel empowered to remove the Institution from the Midland District without the sanction of the Association."

May 17, 1842. "That considering the importance of having the Academy in the Midland District we recommend our esteemed friend Rev. John Stevenson, M.A., to re-consider the subject, and trust that he will see his way clear to accede to the wishes of the Committee; but if he cannot do this, we recommend the Association to take such steps as will secure its permanent settlement in the Midland District."

July 26, 1842. "The Committee heard with pleasure that Rev. John Stevenson, M.A., had engaged very commodious and eligible premises in a healthy situation (18, Grosvenor Place, Camberwell) in which to conduct the Institution."

As suggested, the issue was submitted for decision to the General Baptist Association at its assembly in Loughborough, June 1843, and it was resolved:—(1) "That the location of the Academy shall be in the Midland District. (2) That Rev. John Stevenson, M.A., be affectionately requested not to resign his office as Tutor." Mr. Stevenson wrote that there was "not any probability of his removal into the Midland District," and it was therefore resolved "that Mr. Stevenson's resignation be accepted"—in view of the state of his health. It was further agreed that Leicester should be the location; that the tutor be not allowed to take charge of any church; and that Rev. Joseph Wallis of Commercial Road Church, London, E., be requested to accept the office of tutor. Mr. Wallis acceded to this request and continued in office fourteen years, during which time forty-four students passed through the institution, and its annual income, which in 1800 was only £136, had risen to £390 in 1846.

In 1856 controversy was revived as to the location of the institution. Rev. S. C. Sarjant, B.A. (who afterwards seceded to the Anglican Church) raised the question whether it should not be fixed in London, whether secular instruction should not be taken entirely free from the usual routine of study and acquired at one of the colleges of the University of London, and whether a theological course similar to that given in Scottish divinity halls, should not be given, either by means of a resident tutor, or with the aid of a stated series of lectures from other ministers. Rev. J. C. Pike also submitted proposals, but the prevailing opinion was in favour of removal to Nottingham and the obtaining of suitable premises for the erection of a building permanently devoted to the business of the institution.

The death of Mr. Wallis in 1857 necessitated a new appointment, and when the business came before the G.B. Association, meeting again at Loughborough on June 24, 1857, it was significantly resolved:—"(1) That for the sake of securing unanimity, the present locality of the institution be Nottingham. (2) That there be a Principal of the College who shall be assisted in the business of the Institution by one or more Tutors." It is noteworthy that here the term "College" occurs for the first time in the records. In pursuance of these resolutions, a home for the college was provided in premises acquired at Sherwood Rise, Nottingham, whilst Rev. Wm. Underwood was appointed principal, and Rev. Wm. Rawson Stevenson, M.A., classical and mathematical tutor.

In 1861 more commodious property was purchased at Chilwell—about four miles from Nottingham—and to that (then more rural) retreat the Principal, the tutor, the students, and the staff migrated. The buildings are still visible from the train at a point near to Beeston Station, but they are dwarfed by what remains of the gigantic munition works not far away.

Dr. Underwood and Mr. Stevenson resigned in 1873, after having had the training of thirty-seven men in the sixteen years, and they were succeeded by Rev. Thomas Goadby, B.A., and Rev. Charles Clarke, B.A., respectively.

Within a few years the University College was founded at Nottingham and in order that the Baptist students might there study classics and science, our college was removed from Chilwell to 89a, Forest Road, which was its final home, and so a second time it was located in Nottingham. The property at Chilwell was sold for £4,550. The purchase of the premises at Nottingham cost £3,400 and the erection of a house for the principal (89b, Forest Road) involved further outlay. Accommodation was thus provided for fifteen students so that this remained the smallest of the colleges in England and Wales. During Principal Goadby's term of office 1873—1889, fifty-two men underwent training. After two years of administration under a "Tutorial Syndicate," the college had for its principal Rev. T. Witton Davies, B.A., Ph.D., D.D., who resigned in 1898, when twenty-seven more men had received training. From 1899 to 1913, Rev. S. W. Bowser, B.A., was principal and thirty-eight students entered under his *régime*. Rev. John Douglas, B.A., was tutor from 1904 to 1909. Just before the Great War and until 1920, a "House Governor" occupied the principal's residence and three more students were added to the list. About three hundred have been educated since the "Academy" was founded in 1797.

Early Baptists in Hampshire.

THOMAS COLLIER had the honour of being blamed in 1646 as having "done much hurt at Lymington, Hampton, and all along the West Country." A year earlier he had founded a Baptist church at Poole, and he now had two assistant evangelists, John Sims and [? Peter] Row. Guildford, Portsmouth, Bishop's Waltham, Upottery, Westbury Leigh, North Bradley, were scenes of his activity. In 1653 there was a general movement among Baptists to organize into churches and associations, and two years later the Western Association drew its eastern boundary to include Dalwood, Lyme, Upottery, but to exclude Hampshire.

On June 3, 1655, one hundred and eleven Baptists living in twenty villages of Wilts and Hants met at Birdlymes in Porton, the residence of Colonel John Reade, late governor of Poole, and organized as one church. They drew up elaborate rules, and recognized as joint pastors Reade, Walter Pen, Edward Bundy; to these they added three more, and two deacons. Some account of this wide-spread community will be found in the first volume of our *Transactions*, at page 56, drawn from the first church book, which ends with 1685. But there is more to be said, even as to the early days, about the Baptists up the Avon, the Test, and the Itchen.

Thus on the west of the New Forest there were groups at Christchurch, Ringwood, Fordingbridge, Downton, Salisbury, Amesbury, Bulford, Rushall, Devizes, with Marlborough across the watershed on the Kennett. In 1669 it was reported to the Bishop of Winchester that at the hamlets of Hordle and Milford, between Christchurch and Lymington, there were three little companies meeting, whose leaders were Edward Currell, Richard Gillingham, one Cole, and Robert Ellyott, a silkman of Christchurch; the leader at Fordingbridge was not named. The Cole in question was perhaps Peter Cole of Downton who took a licence for his house at Honiton in 1672; at the same time licences were taken for Salisbury, Stowport, Porton, Amesbury and Bulford, revealing as preachers in those parts James Wise of Salisbury, John Reade, Thomas Long of Amesbury, Henry Sharpwell, Henry Pen of Broadchalk.

At Lymington a licence was taken by Robert Tutchin junior, son of a Presbyterian minister, and described as a Presbyterian. But that same year he was fined two shillings for

a disturbance, and Mr. King in his *Old Times of Lymington Revisited*, comments that he was a Baptist, and father of the man who compiled the Western Martyrology.

In the valley of the Test, the bishop heard of three Baptist meetings at Southampton, entertained by Richard King, Thomas Trod, and William Harding senior. Three years later, Harding and King took out licences, King to preach in his own house, Harding in any licensed house. By a mistake far too frequent in the office, they were both called Presbyterian. And by another mistake in reading a flourished capital, King has been generally called Ring in all Baptist histories. At Romsey, the house of John Wight was licensed, at Broughton the house of Henry Abbott. At Over Wallop, where the bishop thought there were only forty Anabaptists served by vagabond runabout preachers, licences were taken for the house of John Kent, and John Alchurch as preacher. At Whitchurch the house of John Dozell was licensed, with Richard Bunny of Stoke as preacher; and he took another licence for his own house at St. Mary Bourne. Across the Downs, the bishop heard of Nash at Newnham; but this place was more in touch with Reading and Wokingham.

East of the Itchen, one Post of Botley was reported to the bishop as preaching to twenty or thirty Baptists at Droxford; and in three years Edward Goodyeares of Bishop's Waltham took a licence for his house. Portsmouth was really linked with Chichester, and the only Baptist church here was general, one of the few that survive to the present day, Unitarian now.

The Declaration of Indulgence in 1672 gave an opportunity for the church to re-organize, and on February 22, 1672/3, another general meeting was held, when it was reported that Penn and Cole had long been in jail; Reade, Penn and Thomas Long of Amesbury were chosen pastors. On the last day of the year 1674/5, Reade was appointed to attend the Assembly convened in London for May. Nine months later, Henry Pen of Chalk and John Kent of Wallop were added to the pastors. A fire having done much damage at Broughton, the church met at Salisbury and voted £24 to relieve distress; this speaks well for the strength in the hamlet, and for the liberality of the church.

The Assembly at Bristol in 1679 proved rather sticklish for form, and actually advised that Reade, Penn and Long be ordained by imposition of hands. So after more than twenty years ministry, they received this outward and visible sign. The meeting, however, caused a record, useful to us, that the regular meeting-places were now Basingstoke, Andover, Salisbury (where rent had been paid since 1657) and Devizes; also that the

cause at Fordingbridge was independent of this church. Four years later, Stephen Kent was chosen another pastor, and he with Richard Kent shepherded the flock near Whitchurch. On January 17, 1685/6, four people were baptized at Wallop, and the first book ends with the record that after all the persecutions there were still ninety members.

The Declaration of Indulgence in 1687 encouraged Richard King to notify the authorities of Southampton that he intended to use the house of John Greenwood for regular preaching. After the Toleration Act had made the situation legal, a general meeting was called in London of all churches approving the 1677 revision of the Westminster Confession, which was republished for the occasion. King and Greenwood went, the two Kents, Joseph Brown and John Lillington from Christchurch, besides a fine group from Wiltshire. They reported another church at Ringwood.

It was felt in some quarters that a wide-spread church was inconvenient, and as there had been misunderstandings between Pen and Reade, only dispelled by arbitration, a general church meeting was held at Salisbury on December 9, 1690, when the members in that city were allowed to organize as a separate church under Walter Pen. They began a new book with a record of that fact, noting that the country members, with Reade as their pastor, might settle for themselves where they would meet. It proved, however, that they preferred to crystallize into three more churches, Whitchurch under the Kents, Southampton under King, Porton and Broughton under Reade. Evidently all four of these churches might equally claim to have a continuous history from 1655 at latest. Whitchurch has a fine series of documents from 1656 to 1852, Broughton has church books from 1699, but the Salisbury book of 1690 has been lost, and everything at Southampton prior to 1790.

Associations were re-arranged in 1690, and the Wiltshire churches joined the Western. While the great debt owed to John Reade was recognized in keeping up meetings in "The Hall" at Porton, yet it is clear that most of the members preferred to meet at Broughton, though collections were taken alternately at the two places. In 1693 John Rumsey was ordained at Lymington, Benjamin Keach coming down for the purpose. When his pastorate ended, we find Joseph Bermester the leading delegate thence to the Association at Ringwood in 1701. The Association met regularly at the various churches, within the county, but always chose Broughton rather than Porton. By 1696 ground broken at Gosport proved so fertile that John Webbar, perhaps of a Tiverton Baptist family, was settled as pastor of a new

church. His activity soon provoked the Presbyterians, and led up to a series of lectures by them on infant baptism. King went over to take notes, and feeling ran so high that in 1699 a full-dress debate was held at Portsmouth, three on each side, with the governor and the mayor present. King took a shorthand report which was transcribed, and the printed book attained a good circulation. Within five years a meeting-house was built on the West Dock Field at Portsmouth, the stone being brought from the ruins of Netley Abbey. This was the beginning of the orthodox Baptist churches round the harbour, John Lacy being the first pastor, from 1732 till his death in 1781. Their history has been compiled by F. Ridoutt, and published in 1888; it had few points of contact with the inland churches of the county.

Broughton was far the most important church at this time, as is shown by the fact that when Portsmouth needed £100 to buy its premises, and the largest local gift was £5, the total London subscription £29, Broughton gave £45. This must be credited largely to the influence of Henry Steele, baptized in 1680 at the age of twenty-six. Nineteen years later he was ordained pastor, King and Richard Kent laying hands on him. He gave two cottages and a burial ground, while his brother Thomas re-modelled the cottages into a meeting-house. The brothers were timber merchants, and bought warships to break up; the oak of the *Royal Sovereign* may yet be seen giving a most unusual and handsome appearance to this rural place of worship. In 1704 it was decided that Broughton and Wallop should form one church; six years later the last collection was taken at Porton, and the link with the birthplace was severed.

Southampton in 1707 received Stephen Kent from Whitchurch, though King was still senior pastor in 1715. From this time the sea-port church fell on bad days; we can trace a meeting-house in Blue Anchor Lane, and some small endowments, but the church ceased to attend Association or to correspond with its neighbours, and with 1764 regular worship was dropped. The resuscitation with 1769 and the revival with the help of Steadman of Broughton, lie beyond the limits here adopted.

Whitchurch tried to tempt Richard Adams from Devonshire Square, but the letters printed in our *Transactions*, ii., 161, show that he was unwilling to come. It was 1714 before Edward Mumford was induced to come from Horsley Down. He was followed seven years later by John Grant from Broughton, who encouraged them to build, so that in 1726 they registered with the Bishop of Winchester a new meeting-house on Wood Street. The effort of paying for it, how-

ever, was such that they said they could not maintain a pastor, and Grant left for Coventry. Their forefathers preferred a minister who could build up a church; they preferred to build a meeting-house and starve a minister. Benjamin Briton followed, then an aged minister named Hopkins who died in 1757. When Charles Cole came from Bradford two years later, there were but thirteen members. The Benhams, however, were liberal, and a new meeting-house was erected on Bear Hill Street in 1777. Cole had a long pastorate of 55 years, acceded to the wish of some people at Longparish, and after preaching there for four years, started them in 1764 with a house of their own.

The westerly causes slowly decayed. Christchurch lingered on, but nothing is known of it except that no meeting-house was ever erected, and the last pastor was a stocking-weaver named Lester, living about 1765: it died soon after he did. At Ringwood Nathaniel Lane lived till 1715, but so old and poor seven years earlier that Barbican in London sent him help. In 1728 the church consulted the London ministers as to calling Caleb Jope, and was warned against him. After that it slowly died. In the heart of the Forest is Lyndhurst, but the church there had adopted General Baptist views, and was ignored by the others: evidently it was an offshoot of Downton, where Henry Miller did good work for many years. With the death of George Jackman in 1755, Lyndhurst also sank into torpor, only to be aroused after a quarter of a century by Aldridge of Downton. Fordingbridge had Thomas Eastham in 1715, and disappears soon afterwards from Baptist life. Lymington persuaded Richard Chalk to come to them from Salisbury in 1705, and then for sixty years had no history, except that John Voysey succeeded Chalk in 1746.

The only live church was Broughton. Thomas Steele had a son William, who was an energetic treasurer, and kept on with new plans which made the people subscribe. His uncle Henry trained preachers, sending Grant to Whitchurch, and himself went preaching, so that William had to raise funds to pay supplies. Naturally then, on the death of Henry in 1739, the nephew succeeded him. He was not satisfied with the work of the General Baptists at Downton, and sent Jacob Taunton to start a Particular Baptist Church there The family was rich, and cultured, and in William's daughter Anne it made a great gift to the denomination. Anne Dutton of Great Gransden was a most constant letter-writer, as our pages have shown; but she did good service in stirring up Anne Steele. The writings of "Theodosia" and those of "One who has tasted that the Lord is gracious" are a good illustra-

tion of the contrast in Proverbs, "Every wise woman buildeth her house; but the foolish plucketh it down with her hands." Anne Steele's hymns are sung still by people of many communions; the diatribes of Anne Dutton are antiquarian curiosities. The Bible used by both in succession is one of the literary treasures at Broughton. William Steele guided the church successfully through the bad years of the century, and lived to see James Fanch of Romsey enter on a campaign that re-vivified older churches, and planted many new.

W. T. WHITLEY.

Welsh Baptists till 1653.

THE religious developments in Wales between 1639 and 1669 have been most carefully investigated by Mr. Thomas Richards, M.A., of the Secondary School at Maesteg. He has studied manuscripts at Oxford, Lambeth, the Record Office, the Museum, Sion College, the House of Lords; while scores of printed works are catalogued as further sources. The value of his work has been recognized by the National Eisteddfods of 1918 and 1921 awarding prizes for two works. And he has placed English readers under deep obligations by publishing in English. The first volume is in print as "A History of the Puritan Movement in Wales from the institution of the church at Llanfaches in 1639 to the expiry of the Propagation Act in 1653." Arrangements for publishing the second are pretty well advanced. Meantime we take advantage of the author's permission to use the first volume freely. First we present a summary of his conclusions in general; then we select the chief facts relating to Baptists, who played quite a minor part at this period.

The first stage of the Puritan revolution in Wales lasted till March 25, 1650. During that period there had been two civil wars, of forty-two months and of five months. The two Houses of Parliament and the committee for Plundered Ministers dealt very freely with parishes at that time, in Wales as in England; and details are given of 132 ministers who were installed afresh or were approved by their authority. They diverted the revenues of sinecure livings to maintain a a preaching ministry; they provided suitable spheres of labour for the Puritans of the Llanfaches school; they acknowledged

the claims of the Welsh language; they deprived the bishops, deans, etc., of all power and revenue.

For the next three years a Commission was given to 71 laymen to govern the clergy and schoolmasters of Wales, ejecting those who were delinquent, scandalous, malignant or non-resident. Their places were to be supplied by men approved by a panel of twenty-five prominent Puritans, chiefly ministers, and the new men were to be paid not more than £100 for a minister, £40 for a schoolmaster; ministers might be either settled or itinerant. In practice the Commission came to exercise far more powers than ecclesiastical, and Mr. Richards sums up that Wales during their term of office was governed by a military middle class. He shows that it included many Englishmen, and many who were able to make their peace with Charles II.

In their three years they left untouched 127 ministers in South Wales, and many in North, but ejected 278. To replace them they found 63 itinerants, including some of the 25 "approvers"; and they supplemented them with about two dozen ministers and lay preachers. Admittedly they could not provide enough, but when one opponent charged that there were seven hundred parishes unsupplied, he really shows how bad was the shortage or the pluralism before the Commission began, more than four hundred parishes having been neglected. The numerous gaps were supplied unofficially by some unpaid ejected ministers, by sectarians specially paid, by men like Erbery who on principle declined state pay, "and by a growing school of Baptists who deplored the relation between Church and State." The three years thus saw the growth of private meeting-places which appear as the conventicles of the Restoration period; the suggestive origins of church meetings, Sunday schools, and set scriptural studies, which became marked features of later Nonconformity; and the popular expedient of open-air preaching which was imitated by many of the Methodist revivalists a century later. The Commission also introduced the new type of Puritan preaching schoolmaster, State subvention of learning, sixty schools free for all classes, and a restricted experiment in the co-education of the sexes.

How a third stage of the Puritan period saw Triers and Trustees, and how the Anglican tide submerged all these reforms, will be told in another volume. And we hope that Mr. Richards will have leisure to investigate, and that another National Eisteddfod will give the opportunity to publish, a further instalment of such interesting and accurate history. Meantime we take from his pages the story of the Baptist movements in Wales down to 1653.

There is scarcely any evidence to support Joshua Thomas

stating that Baptists began in 1633 at Olchon. The two leaders, Vavasor Powell and William Erbery, were not Baptists in this period, and both appear as opposing Baptists publicly.

In after days Powell himself evolved, and so did some of the men and the churches that he influenced. It must therefore be borne in mind that he was busy in Radnor before 1642, then became an army chaplain, went to Dartford for thirty months, published a concordance and a Bible, accepted a position as one of the "approvers" and took pay derived from tithes, proved the guiding spirit under the commission, recruited, commanded a troop of horse, disarmed Royalists, evangelized widely, and became marked for revenge. Yet this was deferred, and when the act ran out in 1653, Powell and Major-General Harrison were able to secure the "rule of the saints" for the rest of the year. He preached pre-millennial and high Calvinist doctrine, but did not become Baptist till 1655, after which he adopted to some extent and temporarily the Baptist plan of Association meetings for ecclesiastical and political ends.

Hugh Evans is less known, and so is the movement he began. He belonged to Llanhir, was apprenticed in Worcester, joined the General Baptist church in Coventry which is known as early as 1624. Moved by the thought of his native land so scantily supplied with the gospel, he went back about 1646, accompanied by Jeremy Ives, who stayed some time. They worked over Radnor, Brecon and South Montgomery, and were presently helped by Daniel Penry, Rees Davies, Evan Oliver, John Prosser, John Price, and William Bound. Evans accepted an appointment as Itinerant, with state pay, and thus excited some misgivings. Another worker was Thomas Lamb, the famous General Baptist from Colchester and London; his help was perhaps due to Jeremy Ives, who belonged to London. After itinerating in this district, he accepted a lectureship at Brecon in 1651 and 1652. Next year the Quakers appeared, and as usual they badly damaged the General Baptist churches. Evans died in 1656, and after a visit by George Fox next year, John Moon attacked Evans in print; this led to a spirited defence by two of his friends, Price and Bound, to which we owe our knowledge of this movement. It still survived when Henry Maurice wrote in 1675, but is not to be confounded with the more southerly declension from the Calvinists which evinced itself sixty years later, and resulted in one or two Unitarian churches.

David Davies was invited by the parishioners of Gelligaer to fill the vacancy created by the death of Robert Covey, about 1648. He became Baptist, under the influence of John Miles, but he continued to use the parish church and take the

tithes. Joshua Thomas long ago published an account of his tactless doings in the Association, and how be became pastor of a Baptist church known first as Llanharan, then Llantrissant. At the latter place he held a debate with Erbery. He undertook work under the Commission, itinerating chiefly in Glamorgan, Brecon and Carmarthen. In March 1654-5 he settled down again at Neath, while Griffith Davies six months later settled at Gelligaer. He is not to be confused, as he was in our *Transactions*, vi., 166, with David Davies who was instituted by parliament to Tremaen in June 1646, and was ejected by the Commissioners for the Propagation.

John Miles was the greatest driving force. He may have been in the army, and have settled down in Gower. Certainly he was baptized in London in the spring of 1649 at the Glass-house church, which abounded in soldiers. Within six months he had founded at Ilston a Baptist church, which in later days was associated with Swansea. He accepted the post of Approver under the act, with the pay appertaining. But he was a Baptist first and last, winning Davies and Prosser, organizing churches, linking them into an Association over four counties, guiding their meetings, publishing their minutes, finding his bitterest opponents in the Quakers. He had to defend himself against the Abergavenny church for taking state pay, but was so sure of his ground that after his Approvership had expired, he accepted another post as lecturer at Llanelly.

Jenkin Jones, another Approver, who like Miles had matriculated at Oxford, differed from him on the question of open communion. Month by month he broke bread in the parish church of Merthyr for all who came. For his services there he declined all pay, and his influence was seen twenty years later in the great number of people still assembling in conventicle. He did not hesitate to enlist troops in 1654, like Powell. After some six or seven years itinerating, he settled down in 1657 as rector of Llanthetty, being at the same time pastor of a Baptist church: despite all the troubles afterwards, he lived to take out a licence in 1672 to teach at Cilgerran in Pembrokeshire.

Of other Welsh Baptists there are glimpses. Evan Bowen, a mason, could hardly understand English, but was useful as an Itinerant in Brecon and Radnor, then settling at Llanafanfawr; but there is no sure evidence he was Baptist. Anthony Harry, elder at Abergavenny, dealt in the endowments at Llanvapley. Morgan Jones, though of "dry tongue," proved competent to take charge round Swansea when Miles went to America. Edward Prichard had remarkable evolution; in 1645 he had entertained the king at his house in

Llancaiarch, he was made Commissioner in 1650, governor of Cardiff, and then became an ardent Baptist. Another prominent layman, Christopher Price of Abergavenny, was appointed solicitor to administer the commissioner's decisions in Monmouth. The church at Mynyddislwyn sent out many lay preachers, for whose services handsome payment was made.

Admittedly there was no indigenous Puritan movement except on the border. It was English influence that planted Puritanism; and even more stress might be laid than by Mr. Richards on the fact that it was English military influence. It is worth noticing that several Englishmen came to stay for awhile. The cases of Abbott and Tombes are well known; glance at a few laymen.

Colonel Thomas Harrison was head of the whole Commission; but his life needs no re-telling, and he was not Baptist at this stage. William Packer, Esquire, is the famous officer who in the early days of the civil war was cashiered by a Scot because he was a Baptist; and his case called out a smart rebuke from Cromwell, who said that his faith should be no bar: there is however no evidence in these pages that Packer took any very active part in administering Wales. Hugh Courtney was made Quartermaster-general and governor of Holyhead, so his work both ecclesiastical and military lay mostly in the north-west. He was a Fifth-Monarchy Baptist, so after December 1653 he distrusted Cromwell as untrue to the light within: after repeated quarrels, he was bidden retire to his native county of Cornwall, and at the Restoration he had to go into permanent exile. Another Fifth-Monarchy Baptist, in a much obscurer post, gives perhaps a more average case. Richard Goodgroome was appointed in 1650 as usher, or second master, in the school at Usk. This new fact, made known by Mr. Thomas Richards, is the key to the whole Baptist movement there, which has hitherto been unexplained. For it had a strong Seventh-day tinge which was to be traced even fifty years later, and we could not account for it. But Goodgroome was a Fifth-Monarchy man, and the same literalism which led to those views, led in every district to Seventh-day views, once politics ceased to be a possible pursuit for Baptists. Goodgroome indeed left Usk soon, for he was with the army at Waterford in 1654 and 1656, publishing on political matters, then was evidently dismissed for his opposition. On the fall of the Cromwells, he was re-commissioned, and towards the end of 1659 he joined in a petition that evinced Fifth-Monarchy tendencies. He became chaplain with Monk in Scotland, and was regarded as sufficiently dangerous to be imprisoned at the Restoration in Hull, and kept

there for seven years at least. In 1671 he was ardent enough to preach on London Bridge, prominent enough to be thrown into the Tower, military enough to excite the intercession of Colonel Blood. He now proves to have given the bent to the Baptists on and near the Usk, which resulted in the Millmans holding by the Seventh-day, and attracted a Stennett to the district.

While we have to thank Mr. Thomas Richards for the new light on General Baptist and Seventh-day Baptist origins in Wales, it ought to be said that his work has no narrow scope, but is a thorough and wide study of the whole movement in the Principality which began its conversion from Papal ignorance, till it became ultimately the stronghold of the Free Churches.

London Preaching about 1674.

THE Puritans took their preaching very seriously. As the universities trained men to debate rather than to preach, gatherings were instituted in many counties, when young ministers received weekly criticism, much on the lines of a college sermon class to-day. Lancashire was specially favoured by Queen Elizabeth, who allowed the Bishop of Chester to organize these throughout the county. What instructions the ministers received as to length of sermon is not on record; but it is well known that the parishioners in many places defended themselves by putting up an hour-glass, which dribbled out its contents in sight of all. One minister was bold enough to invite his congregation to take a second glass, but this is the exception which proves that the rule was to the contrary. In those days there were no golf-courses or chars-à-banc or newspapers advocating Sunday trains, and a favourite pastime for Sunday afternoon or evening in Puritan homes was for the children to recount the morning sermon. In a few cases the elders entered up the result of the family memories, and such sermon books give many valuable peeps into the religious life of the time. One such book, kept by the Hartopps of Newington, was recently analyzed in the *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society*. Another has come into the keeping of Mr. E. Williams, of Hove, who has lent it for study. It is a pocket octavo of twelve sheets, bound in vellum, filled with minute writing.

A great many sermons have no name attached, which suggests a regular pastorate. The names of about fifteen ministers are recorded, and most appear to be nonconformists of the time of Charles II.: Baines, Carr, and Ward predominate. The last seems to be the man ejected from Stapleford Tawney; not Nathaniel, who died at Shenfield 1653. Carr can hardly be Gamaliel of Aldham and Lambourne, who died 1662; it may be Nathaniel Carr of Ardley, or the incumbent of Boxted. Bethell, Goade, Rider, Rook, Skipworth have not left any conspicuous trace, but we find apparently Daniel Williams, Obadiah Hughes, Jeremiah Baines, and Nehemiah Cox to represent the Old Testament, Matthew Mead, Joseph Osborn, Philip Lamb, and Thomas Hardcastle for the New. As three of these men ministered in Horsleydown, Clapham, Peckham, and nearly all were in London about 1674, we may have some closer idea of time and place.

All the reports are drawn up in a way that reminds us of Ian Maclaren's sermon-taster, who ranged her heads mentally by the shelves of her dresser, the sub-heads on the plates there displayed in order. They are mostly brief sentences, numbered and labelled as Argument, Objection, Answer, Doctrine, Exhortation: just in the atomistic style suggested by numbered chapters and numbered verses rather than a flowing discourse. Whatever disadvantages attach to the plan, at least this particular hearer obtained an astonishing amount of argument and doctrine, and was manifestly trained to orderly thinking. An illustration may be welcome to show by what fare the Puritans profited. We choose much the shortest, anonymous, perhaps only a week-evening address by the pastor: the contractions are expanded, punctuation and spelling modernized.

Acts xvi. 30. *And brought them out, &c.* The words contain in them a weighty question propounded by the trembling jailor, occasioned by a miracle which the Lord wrought for His eminent servants, Paul and Silas.

Doctrine. That it is the main concernment, and ought to be the continual care of every child of God, diligently to enquire, How he may be saved.

Reason I. Because of the hardness and difficulty here: for though all expect and look for heaven and promise themselves as good a title as the most exact and circumspect walk, but 1 Peter 4, 13. certainly not before God Hab. 1, 13. not before Christ II Thes. 1, 7. not even before men Matthew 7, 13, 14; 16, 24; I Cor. 6, 9, 10.

Reason 2. Because all other questions unless they may be reduced hereunto are altogether unprofitable and vaine, Psalm 4, Psalm 15, 1. This is a necessary question, Psalm 24, 3.

Now if God's holiness be such that the righteous, though

their sins be pardoned, can scarcely be saved because of their sins, then certainly the wicked whose sins are not pardoned shall certainly be damned.

If they who are God's children, his jewels, &c.—Then certainly those who are his open enemies.

Were there no difference betwixt the godly and the wicked &c. But there is a vast difference and disproportion betwixt the godly and the wicked in view of their spiritual condition.

1. The wicked need these helps.
2. Those obstructions which the godly have which render their salvation difficult.

1. The godly were converted, they were regenerated. Now by virtue of this they are exalted to know God; but yet for all this they shall scarcely be saved, and through fire.
2. The godly have the effectual & powerful aid of God's spirit; they are made partakers of the divine nature, which is as sure a forerunner of glory as the day-star is of the rising of the sun. But those that are wicked, that are strangers to the Holy Spirit—the spirit of worldliness and uncleanness and pride &c, they are forgetful, not having the Spirit.
3. The godly are able to pray in an acceptable manner.
4. They have the promises of God.
5. They have a lively faith.

Baptist Bibliography.

FROM time to time, the thousands of entries of books and manuscripts bearing on the history of British Baptists, already published for the Baptist Union, will be added to in these columns. Especially we may anticipate communications from Mr. W. H. Allison, librarian of the Samuel Colgate Baptist Historical Collection, which is in the care of Colgate University at Hamilton in New York State. This was already the finest collection in existence, and has recently been augmented by the gift of many books and pamphlets collected in England by Mr. Champlin Burrage, which will be known as the Burrage Collection in honour of his father, Dr. Henry Sweetser Burrage. Meantime we catalogue material come to notice during 1922.

56-647. Among the officers signing were Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Lilburne, Major Paul Hobson, Captains Abraham Holmes and Richard Deane, Lieutenants Mason, John Turner, Nathaniel Strange. The book is in the Angus Library.

99-649. The remonstrances and resolutions of the Protestant army of Munster, now in Corcke. Published at Corcke on October 23. Copy at the university library, Cambridge.

100-649. News from Powles, or the new reformation of the army: with a true relation of a cowlt that was foaled in the cathedrall church of St. Pauls in London, and how it was publiquely baptized by Paul Hobsons souldiers.

66-652. Letter from the church at Waterford on January 14,1651/2, signed by Thomas Patient, Will Burgess, Edward Hutchinson, Edward Marshall, Richard Sutton, James Standish, Thomas Brenton, Peter Row, Will Leigh, George Cawdron, Richard Lallerook, Edward Roberts. Printed and controverted in 110-653.

51-658. William Bound was helped in the Welsh edition by John Price of Nantmel, and perhaps by his brother-in-law William Price.

123-660. The entertainment of Lady Monk at Fisher's Folly, with an address made to her by a member of the college of Bedlam at her visiting these Phanatiques. Broadside, reprinted by J. P. Collier. Note that Thomas Rugge's Mercurius Politicus Redivivus says that in November the

Countess of Devonshire entertained the king at the same place; Kiffin's meeting-house apparently did not occupy the whole of the premises.

6-670 was by Samuel Parker, chaplain to Sheldon: this book attracted attention at court, and Charles ordered Cambridge to make him D.D. next year; James made him bishop of Oxford in 1686. On the other hand, 8,670 was by Nicholas Lockyer, the ejected provost of Eton, and its publication compelled him to leave the country. Roger l'Estrange was author of 9-670.

35-670 was attributed to Vavasor Powell by Mr. Champlin Burrage, because that name is written on the manuscript, but in another hand. Mr. Thomas Richards of Maesteg utterly scouts the attribution, saying that the doctrines are quite contrary to those steadily taught by Powell.

19-680, though advertized throughout December 1680, was not issued till January 1680/1, in which month chief-justice Scroggs was inpeached. The book is in the Museum.

12-685. Note that John Facy and Peter Row were transported to Barbadoes.

27-689. Benjamin Harris published at Boston many editions of The New England Primer; the first may have been 1689, but this numeration is arbitrary.

40-692. The trust deed of the school at Bacup, headquarters of the Rossendale Baptists, was executed by J. Holden, J. Hoyle, J. and L. Lord, David Crosley.

41-692. Benjamin Harris, now "printer to his excellency the governor and council," published the Boston Almanack for the year of our Lord 1692, by H. B. Harris, also published many works for Mather.

18-751. John Wesley. Thoughts upon infant-baptism, extracted from a late writer [William Wall, 12-705, issued in Latin 1748.] Bristol.

37-765. Manuscript sermons preached at Tiverton by Thomas Lewis and others, Angus library.

27-768 is said in "Rylandiana" to have been written by James Fergusson, F.R.S., for John Collett Ryland, by whom it was published.

17-769. Ash died in 1779 and Evans in 1791. The eighth edition was by Isaac James of Bristol, who supplied a list of authors and a preface in 1801; the ninth, in 1814, was edited by Kinghorn of Norwich, who brought out also the tenth in 1827, adding a small supplement.

37-769 was by Zechariah Thomas; it may be seen at Aberystwyth, and in the Public and University College Libraries at Cardiff.

38-772 is the same work as 55-772. This biography

of Vavasor Powell was translated from 23-671 by William Richard of Pencoed, who also translated 33-773.

74-795. Catalogue of the library of Bristol Baptist Academy, compiled by Joseph Kinghorn.

60-803. Joseph Kinghorn. Address to a friend who intends entering into church communion. Norwich. Second edition 1813 with 65-824 appended: third edition 71-824.

59-804. Joseph Kinghorn. Arguments, chiefly from scripture, against the Roman Catholic doctrines, in a dialogue. Norwich.

95-808. Joseph Kinghorn, Observations on the Norfolk Benevolent Society of Protestant Dissenting Ministers; for the relief of the necessitous widows and orphans of dissenting ministers, and of ministers who are by age or affliction incapable of public service. Norwich.

67-813. A second edition was published next year, with reply to 68-813.

89-815. William Jones the "Scotch Baptist" began the *New Evangelical Magazine*, changing the title in 1825 to the *New Baptist Magazine*, and ending in 1826. A set is in the Angus library.

90-805. Charles Lloyd, LL.D., published anonymously, *Travels at Home and Voyages by the Fireside.* A copy is in the Museum.

108-816. Joseph Kinghorn. Fifth report of the committee of the Norfolk and Norwich auxiliary Bible Society. Norwich.

103-819. Reynold Hogg of Keysoe. Personal religion, in four parts.

131-829. Joseph Kinghorn. Remarks on a country clergyman's attempt to explain the nature of the visible church, the divine commission of the clergy, etc. [53-829] being a defence of dissenters in general, and of Baptists in particular, on New Testament principles. Norwich.

119-834. Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* was published in Arabic at Malta.

120-834. George Murrell of St. Neots published a sermon preached to the association, on the Triune God.

Should any other material relevant to British Baptist history be known to readers, especially to librarians, they are requested to notify the editor, who will assign a number, and publish for general information.

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Baptist Historical Collection, Hamilton, N.Y.
Baptist Union.
Baptist Union of Scotland.
Birmingham Public Libraries.
Congregational Library, Boston, Mass.
Doctor Williams' Library, Gordon Square.
Friends' Reference Library, London.
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