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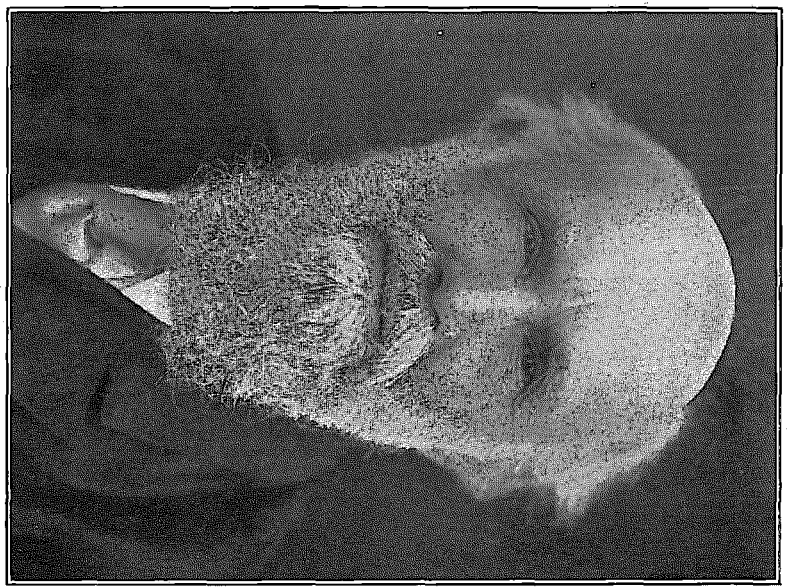

The Baptist Quarterly.

John Clifford.

1836—1923.

WE should be ungrateful to regret the passing of Dr. Clifford after so long a life, filled with such worthy service, yet his home call brings to the denomination and to the whole Christian world a sense of heavy loss. His greatness, acknowledged even by those who differed from him, made him a typical figure in our midst, so that our very Gospel seemed to be invested with charm and increased persuasive power so long as we could point to him and say, "This man is a Christian." To those who loved him, that is his greatest distinction. He was a follower of Christ, and in that difficult task of following, John Clifford achieved.

Others have spoken of his winsome personality, his rare qualities of mind and heart, his catholicity of spirit and his influence on almost all Christian communities, not to speak of the nation at large. Here we must confine ourselves to some estimate of his service to our own denomination, and of his position as a *Baptist*. Any denomination might be proud to claim him; it will be forgiven us if we boast a little that he was one of us.

Even during his lifetime he was frequently numbered with our worthies. Spurgeon and he did not see eye to eye on matters theological, but their names are inseparably linked. It is well. Every just mind in the future will think of them as twin stars of great magnitude, nor will men when they speak of Robert Hall, Fuller, Carey, Maclaren, and the rest, hesitate to add the name of one who was second to none in virile piety, and equal to any on the devotion with which he served his day and generation. Too early it is to measure the obligation under which he has laid us; but a place for him in our Baptist history is assured. His name liveth for evermore.

Like Carey he sprang out of the quiet life of the village community, and again like the great missionary he owed much to his own grit, perseverance and patience. His life-story is one of

the romances for which the religious life of the nineteenth century is famous. He was a strange product of the "hungry forties," lived through the blackest time that the Midland counties have seen, claimed life and found it through Christ, and in his prominence at the capital city of England, he preserved his simplicity and sanity of his early days. This accounts to some extent for his unfailing optimism—he had witnessed so much progress through the years. This accounts, too, for his hatred of all social and priestly tyranny. From the beginning he knew life as it is, got down, so to speak, to the very bone, and then found that Christ, and Christ alone, is great enough to meet man's individual and corporate need. Never did he enjoy himself more than when expounding Baptist principles, and his exposition of Baptist principles will stand for a long time. If we have any distinctive emphasis, then Clifford surely was the embodiment of it. And always for him the centre was Christ. Called on at the first meeting of the Baptist World Alliance to welcome the delegates from all countries, he began by noting "the place which Jesus occupies in the Baptist faith and in Baptist life. . . . His place is supreme in the life of the individual, supreme in the life of the Christian church, and supreme also and ultimately in the life of the world." Those who knew him, recognize here the characteristic note of his personal religion. It was the well-tune note also of his public ministry.

We venture to think that his influence will live in the modern movement to secure the reign of Jesus in every department and realm of life. That idea is one of the deep factors operating to-day in Christendom, and John Clifford was a pioneer of it. His social sympathies were something more than the result of early memories and experiences; they sprang straight out of his apprehension of the Gospel, and had behind them the compulsion of clear thinking and a stern logic. He knew that the Sermon on the Mount is for all time, the final and only ethic, because he discerned that Jesus is indeed the Son of God; and if he had any intolerance in his nature, it was for systems of thinking or worshipping which tended to place the great Master in the background and obscure His meanings and significance for the *whole* life of man. It was this that made Dr. Clifford *something of a prophet*, whose word will live on in this new age which happily he was spared to greet.

The high value he set in education will also be part of his legacy. There is no need here to tell how he struggled in the early days to acquire knowledge or to enumerate the number of degrees he took after entering on his first and only pastorate. The fact of significance is he was an educated man. He be-

lieved in education. Believed in it as an additional equipment for the ministry, and in his own ministry proved that faith has nothing whatever to fear from enlightenment. Indeed, he stood always for enquiry, and to this end he was found with open and alert mind. He was one of the few who never stop thinking, with the result that he was alive in old age. Many will strive to emulate him, and already his example has counted for something in our ideas and ideals. As a denomination we are committed now to an informed and instructed ministry, and one of the reasons why we are so committed is John Clifford.

Brought up a General Baptist, Dr. Clifford always had a great love in his heart for the old body. His interest in Baptist History was very deep, and his knowledge wide. He was from the beginning one of the Vice-presidents of our Historical Society, recommending its work on many occasions, and taking to the last a loving interest in the *Quarterly*. He recently recalled with great pleasure the various Baptist publications with which he had been connected. Always it was a joy to him to see his beloved denomination striking out on new lines, attempting fresh ventures, and visualizing future tasks. His soul had its windows open towards the East. It is from the dawn he beckons us to-day.

Some Thoughts on the Psychology of Revivals.

I BELIEVE in revivals for the same reason that John Foster believed in Apostolic miracles—they are bells to call people to church. The chasm between organized religion and the democracy is deeper trenched than ever, and a new generation is growing up which, in the words of one of their number, has no use for us. The problem is how to reach these aliens from the commonwealth of Israel. By love and devotion—the service of the men and women surrounding us whether they attend our services or not. That is the normal way. By making our Sunday schools effective. That is the strategic method. By making our rusty bells peal forth once more, and manifest the unmistakable acts of the Holy Ghost. That is the demonstrative and spectacular way. What struck me most about the Welsh revival of 1904 was the irresistible appeal it made to the confirmed outsider. He is not without his religious hunger, and he will come back again when he sees that the church means business and God Himself is in the camp.

Revivals have no doubt unpalatable features. I cannot recall a single mission or revival which has not provoked both the angel and agnostic in my nature. The sun that wooes the flowers multiplies the weeds—the summer that shapes and hues the roses stiffens and sharpens the thorns. But weeds can be eradicated, and thorns can be avoided, while the roses can be gathered and enjoyed. It is not difficult to disentangle the true from the false in any of these great movements. Take the choicest revival in history—the Franciscan upheaval. There are several things in the Umbrian revival to which all the readers will take exception. But no one can object to the glorious sense of God which filled the valleys, awed the villages and gladdened the hearts of ordinary men and women. St. Francis went about telling merchant and toiler, peasant and prince that the great God loved them, that all men were to give up hatred and strife and to love and help one another, that the Kingdom of God, the brotherhood of the Great King, was actually come. There was no pressure or strain or hysterics, but the Umbrian peasants spontaneously swayed like

a field of growing corn in the wind and sunshine of divine grace. And this is the one common characteristic of all genuine revivals—the realization of the Kingdom of God as already come—the acceptance of the rule of God as an accomplished fact, and the vivid perception of His Spirit as actually at work in the lives of men. Just as at a general election politics dominates and absorbs the thoughts and activities of men, so during a revival religion becomes the be all and end all of the church and its environment. Men seek first of all the Kingdom of God and His righteousness, and religion becomes enthroned in its sovereign place.

I readily admit that there is one thing better than a revival, and that is a church that needs no revival. I sympathize with the men that are distrustful of all such movements, and some of them are the best spiritual craftsmen I know. I know the extravagances that are bound to come. Not will only the saints be glad, but the cranks will be boisterous. Not only will there be ethical but magical results. But the winter of our discontent is so bleak that I would welcome the summer, and risk its weeds—welcome Pentecost and risk its tongues.

The dangers which the psychologists indicate are common to all human activities and enterprises—are there to be conquered, to be controlled and directed, are benefits when harnessed, and are only perils when brooking no restraint.

There is first of all the excess of emotionalism, and every wholesome Christian hates the strain and tension of many of our revival meetings. But all have to admit that emotion is the mill stream that turns the wheel which grinds the corn. It is only dangerous when it inundates the valley instead of concentrating on the wheel-clappers. It is e-motion, a movement from thought to action. It is the outcome of some kind of an idea, and the impulse to some kind of activity. The important thing is that the producing thought should be true and not false, wholesome, and not unhealthy, definite, and not vague, elevated and not grotesque, cogent and not intoxicating. Provided the generating idea is divine, the danger is not to feel too much but to feel too little. What preacher is there who has not felt if he could only do justice to his theme he would stir both himself and his congregation out of their arid placidity. When some Unitarian ministers ridiculed the Ulster revival in the the presence of Dr. Martineau because strong men fell down as dead in the services, that bold spiritual thinker replied, "Gentlemen, if we were to realize the presence and majesty of God we would fall prostrate, too." It is more emotion that we want, provided it is of the right sort. Equally important is that this engendered emotion should be directed into ethical and practical channels. On no aspect of revivals are certain

psychologists more withering in their criticism than on the artificial methods of the enquiry-room of urging converts to express their decisions in petty and artificial actions often dissociated from the ideal and the spiritual. The answer of course is that a genuine revival creates life, and has no need of enquiry rooms. These latter are associated with missions where forced methods are accommodated to scant and reluctant life. There is nothing to be feared from spiritual emotion, howsoever intense and ecstatic. Both Poulain and Scaramelli, the Catholic experts, acknowledge its prevalence, pointing out that the Roman order prevents it from public expression. If it is obstructed it produces morbidity. If it is allowed to evaporate, it produces reaction, but if is shunted into practical channels it fertilizes life and beautifies society. The showers of blessing fell on Wales twenty years ago, but the religious leaders mismanaged the trenches. There is need to-day of a dynamic potent enough to change the world—and this is the love of God produced by the preaching of the sublimest truths of the evangel and skilfully directed to the most practical of uses. The second objection is the fear of hypnotism. Granted that almost all the revivalists would have made good mesmerists, and that many of them use the methods of the craft without knowing it, yet there is nothing wrong about suggestion. It is the way whereby most ideas and projects come into the minds of men. It is the mother's method—hence her love. It is the author's method—hence his style; it is the politician's method—hence his oratory; it is the salesman's method—hence his persuasiveness and tact. Suggestion is right, it is weak and passive suggestibility that is wrong. It is the preacher's duty to put the truth as persuasively as possible, but it is the hearer's duty to receive it with all his mind and strength as well as with all his heart and soul. Take heed how ye hear, is the Master's warning. The Holy Spirit does not overwhelm, but convinces, and says, "Son of man, stand on thy feet." Let us admit that there are few people in our congregations who have a firm grip on their own personalities, and that the more suggestible they are the more readily do they troop into our enquiry rooms. Women are said to be more suggestible than men, and it is certainly true that women find it easier to become Christians in public meetings and men through "a quiet think" away from the crowds. But there are two facts that must not be forgotten. The best results of a revival are not seen in the enquiry room. The best type of convert is the one who goes quietly away to think it out. Spurgeon's strong disinclination for an after meeting, and his plan of inviting the impressed to come and see him during the following week, proved him a doctor of souls as well as a winner of men. He

had great powers of suggestion, but he demanded reflection from his hearers as well. The second fact is decisive. If the majority of us, as it is alleged, are easily suggestible, it is better that we should be recipients of good rather than bad suggestions, for the one demoralizes and enslaves, while the other liberates, and imparts independence and virility. By giving way to temptation we grow more suggestible, but by surrendering to Christ we receive the truth that makes us free. The gospel supplies the suggestion that cures unbalanced suggestibility.

The third objection is the riot of the herd-instincts. For a few years group psychology has been the fashion, but there are already signs of a welcome reaction. Not that it does not contain much that is true, but that it does not contain all the truth. A man, to begin with, is an individual, and a crowd can never be more than an aggregate of individuals, so the true group psychosis is that which enriches the individual by giving to his concrete experience a universal meaning and purpose. Personally I would prefer to follow the example of my Lord, and convince men and women one by one, and it is noteworthy how sparingly He used group psychology. His disciples, however, profited by it on the day of Pentecost, and men can be induced to do in a crowd what they are reluctant to do in individual seclusion. If the company is low, they will debase and demean themselves, but if the company is choice they will outsoar their normal selves. They cry *Hosanna* among the followers of the Lord, and *Crucify Him* among the priests. When it is maintained that a crowd is always worse than the individuals that compose it—that it is destructive rather than constructive—that it can say "No" far more effectively than it can cry "Yes," we reply that a revival surrounds the unconverted with praying people, and places him in the best spiritual atmosphere, and further that this if conclusive tells as much against the church as against missions. The herd instinct is after all divinely implanted, and is intended to help and not to hinder. It is not wrong to huddle together when winter winds are bitter, or to use sympathy to grow character, or to use the crowd to help the individual. Only his personality must not be outraged, his individuality must be enriched rather than overborne, and his purposes must be harmonized rather than merged or swamped. The fear is that next day he will shiver in his own loneliness, and feel that he has made a fool of himself. If there has been any undue pressure exerted he will revolt against the outrage, and recoil into unbelief. If, however, the gregarious influence has given him vision and won him into consenting harmony, he will strive to maintain normally the heights he has reached abnormally. The trellis work rears the rose, increases its

beauty, and spreads its fragrance, and the herd instinct, which is strong and vigorous, can be rightly used to train the spiritual instincts which are comparatively weak and ineffective.

But to draw this article to a close. A revival is a spiritual summertide. In winter we have light, but in summer light and warmth. It is light and love—light first and foremost, and the light distributing and controlling the warmth. If we could do the barest justice to the everlasting gospel emotion, suggestibility and crowd psychology would drop into their proper places. He that expresses a great thought, says Emerson, releases an earthquake. And our problem is to find the liberating and energizing thought. Every great revival in the past has come from a surprising discovery of a new or a vivid realization of an old truth. I believe the present truth to be the Immanence of God—the omnipresence of the Divine Love—or the abiding Presence of Jesus Christ, which I take to be its human and intelligible expression. This at the present time is more of a philosophy than a theology, and more of a theology than a religion. The prevalent conception of God even among intelligent Christians is a supreme Being enthroned in a distant heaven, primarily concerned about the world to come. The divine omnipresence has to be Christianized, put in the terms and the Person and the sacrifice of Jesus, for I am driven to the conclusion that the human mind can only give its devotion to a human personality. Theories and attributes are poor preaching stuff. "He preached unto him Jesus." Closely allied to this is the doctrine of prayer as one of the aspects of the divine omnipresence. God answers the prayers which He Himself has inspired. Intercession is in reality the divine using the human—Calvary reproducing its spirit in the solicitude and sacrifice of the priesthood of believers. Two years ago I should have written revive the old prayer-meetings, to-day I write change them from top to bottom and learn the tremendous significance of New Testament intercession. Then true social service is the divine immanence at work, shaping the Kingdom of Heaven. Christians are now awake to this, but they are no more than decent Jews seeking the justification and rectification of the the world by laws and schemes and organizations. But salvation comes through grace by faith. What is needed is a new spirit, and the spirit comes not by Old Testament but by New Testament methods. Sir John Ervine in a recent lecture declared there was no modern drama, neither could there be any drama worthy of the name until we regained our faith. And this applies with equal pertinence to politics, economics and citizenship. Just as we claim personal salvation by faith and work it out in fear and trembling, so also must we claim

social redemption by grace through faith, and work it out with reverence and courage. We have to use the poet's words to hang to the skirts of divine immanence and thereby outstrip Martin Luther by making social salvation by faith the mark of a standing or falling church. Because I believe the good must be ultimately the rational, my only hope of a revival is in the great revolutionary truth of the Immanence of God expressing itself as the energy of love and intercession in the individual Christian and as the spirit of brotherhood in all the activities and relationships of society.

THOMAS PHILLIPS.

BAPTIST BIBLIOGRAPHY.

THE following unique tracts have recently been added to our library. The numbers indicate the place assigned in the Bibliography :—

10-711. George Kelley, Elder of Portsmouth General Baptist church. A sermon preach'd before an Assembly of Messengers, Elders, and Brethren, at the meeting-house in Dunning's-Alley in Bishopsgate-Street, London, on Wednesday the 23d. of May, 1711. Threepence.

12-759. Reprint of this circular letter to the Irish Association, by Samuel Fry of Horsleydown in 1761.

58-776. Daniel Noble and Joseph Brown. The letter of the Messengers, Elders, and Representatives of the several churches met at the General Assembly held in Barbican, London, on Wednesday, May the 29th, 1776. With minutes of the meetings. Twelve pages.

58-786. A declaration of the deacons and members belonging to the General Baptist churches, in East Kent, relative to their pastors and ministers. Canterbury, January 12. Seven pages.

63-789. Sampson Kingsford. A short address to professors of religion. Canterbury. Twelve pages.

The Renaissance of Worship.

IN the new preface to his recently re-issued *Mystical Element of Religion*, Baron von Hügel reaffirms his characteristic conviction that all valid and vital religion begins, proceeds, and ends with the Given. "The Otherness, the Prevenience of God, the one-sided relation between God and man, these constitute the deepest measure and touchstone of all religion." The words may stand here at the outset as indicating the thesis of this condensed essay, namely, that the genesis of Christian worship is the sense of debt to God awakened by the realization of His grace toward us, and deepened by increasing knowledge and experience, until it becomes (in the phrase of Juliana of Norwich) "a holy, marvelling delight in God." From this standpoint it may be seen that the ultimate problem which faces us in any attempt to restore the true spirit of Christian worship is how to revive and re-awaken this sense of debt which has become dead or dormant in so much of our present-day religious life and thought. There are, indeed, signs of a sincere desire to cultivate an atmosphere of reverent devotion in our corporate worship, but our danger is that we may approach the problem from the wrong end, and only achieve a dull formality, or an aesthetic sentimentality, attitudes which are as far removed from that joyful adoration which is the differentia of Christian worship as cold reflected moonlight is from warm vivifying sunlight. Our primary and urgent need is a rediscovery of the dynamic of Grace.

Such is the conclusion to which this brief article tends as it moves among certain outstanding facts with a view to interpreting them and suggesting some applications to the problem of worship as we meet it in our churches.

I.

The facts of the situation, both outside and inside organized religion, are challenging and disturbing, but they must be faced. In this matter of Public Worship we cannot afford to ignore the psychology of the Present, and the most rapid and superficial survey reveals two marked characteristics —the attraction of the super-normal, and the appeal to the senses. The former is apparent in the spread of superstitious

customs, the multiplication of mystical cults, particularly the vogue of the séance; and the latter chiefly in the popular influence of picturesque methods adopted to arrest the eye. Commerce makes its appeal by means of pictorial advertisement; journalism through the illustrated paper, literature is popularized by the cinematograph, and education aided by objective demonstration. For six days in the week most men and women live in an environment which is rapidly developing the avenue of approach to mind, heart, and will along the pathway of sight. Both these tendencies are being reinforced by present-day science and philosophy. The discovery of radium initiated a revolution in the scientific interpretation of the material universe, so that to-day we have (to quote Evelyn Underhill) "a huge vision of time and motion, of a mighty world which is always becoming, always changing, growing, striving, and wherein the word of power is not Law, but Life."

In Philosophy the older materialism is being slowly eclipsed by the newer vitalism, and Life is more and more interpreted in terms of Energy. As regards the appeal to the eye, the new psychology is rediscovering and re-emphasizing the immense part played by sense-stimulations in sub-consciously shaping character. Modern thought is thus providing a situation favourable to belief in the supernatural and miraculous, and to a revival of the ministry of Symbolism in Worship.

When we turn to the sphere of organized religion, we discover further significant facts in those various tendencies towards free and fuller devotional expression which are doubtless symptomatic of a deepening experience and a wider vision among the younger minds of our churches. "The Free Church Fellowship," for instance, is showing a healthy spirit of devotional venture in discovering the value of group-thinking, the ministry of silence, guided intercession, and the combining of free and liturgical prayer. "The Student Christian Movement" represents a wider constituency, and reveals a more adventurous and challenging spirit. The "Book of Prayers for Students" issued by the Movement, is a remarkable compilation. Along with forms of devotion from such Free-Church sources as Martineau, J. R. Miller, and John Hunter, and established churchmen like Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop Wilson, and B. F. Westcott, it includes prayers drawn from the Liturgy of the Greek Orthodox Church, and the Roman Breviary. Many of our Free Church Students are familiar with this little volume, which is acting like leaven in some minds and hearts. "The Society of Free Catholics," a fellowship of clergy, ministers, and lay men and women drawn from

from all branches of the church, has naturally provoked prejudice and opposition, partly through its use of the much misunderstood term "Catholic," and its association (in the public mind) with the ritualistic innovations of Dr. Orchard at the King's Weigh House Church. Whatever the views and practices of individual members may be, the ideals of the society must be judged by its published "Basis." The third of the eight points defining its position states:—"We would foster the mystical development of the soul; we uphold the sacrificial significance of Worship; while recognizing the worth of the simplest forms of sincere worship, we believe in the grace of sacraments, the necessity of expressing devotion in visible forms, and the value of appeal through the senses to to the soul; and all this we shall seek not by imposing our will upon others, or by hasty innovations, but by labouring to secure an appreciation of their spiritual right and their adoption by common consent." It is impossible to overlook the recent revival of "Anglo-Catholicism," which to an outsider appears to be the most vigorous section of the Church of England just now.

This hurried glance at some main currents flowing in or around the churches reveals a very strong tide moving in the direction of liturgical and ritualistic forms of Worship. We may regard it as an extreme re-action, a temporary phase, a dangerous tendency, but even if we view it with distrust we should endeavour to diagnose the situation so as wisely to determine our attitude towards it.

II.

How, then, shall we interpret the situation? Most of us have our personal affinities or prejudices, but these must be brought to the criterion of the New Testament. A true doctrine and development of Worship will spring from a root firmly planted in apostolic principles; that root is the grace of God realized in experience. To state this is to suggest the most crucial problem of Christian theology, namely, the application of Divine Grace to human need; is it normally received directly, or mediated through human channels and material elements? The question divides Christendom into two main camps, but each side acknowledges that, however it comes to men, the source of Grace is the redeeming love of God, and its symbol is the Cross. "He loved me and gave Himself for me" is the marvelling confession that conditions the whole of apostolic and primitive worship; there is not a page from "Romans" to "The Revelation" from which that note of humble gladness is absent. Outside the Scriptures it is re-echoed in many writings of the early Fathers. "On the so-

called day of the sun," wrote Justin Martyr (about 100-167 A.D.S "there is a meeting of us all who live in cities or the country, and the memoirs of the Apostles or the writings of the prophets are read, as long as time allows. Then when the reader has ceased, the president gives by word of mouth his admonition and exhortation to follow these excellent things. Afterwards we all rise at once and offer prayers. . . . When we have ceased to pray, bread is brought, and wine and water, and the president likewise offers up prayers and thanksgivings to the best of his powers, and the people respond with Amen." This adoring gratitude clearly expressed itself in primitive Christianity in three ways—in speech, song, and sacrament, giving to the Church the sermon, the hymn, and the Eucharist.

From this fact and these forms almost all subsequent elaborations in Christian thought and worship have sprung, passing and repassing through three stages—the evangelistic, the scholastic, the ritualistic. The form of primitive worship was at first a spontaneous development of the simple synagogue service, but when the Lord's Supper was added, by degrees the Sacrament became a holy Eucharist, and the chief medium for expressing reverent gratitude. It will probably be found that the source and sanction of Christian ritualism, particularly in Protestantism, spring from a developed doctrine of the Lord's Supper. Round this central act of worship has gathered a wealth of ceremonial elaboration that has too often obscured its essential significance, but the fact of such manifold development is a witness to the mighty devotional impulse which sought to express its gladness in so many symbolic and picturesque ways. "It is only a living tree that puts forth too many branches."

III.

What shall be our attitude in view of these things?

Protestantism has always realized the peril of this ceremonial overgrowth, and it has been one of the special ministries of Nonconformity to bear witness to that primary experience and those primitive sources from which all valid developments have sprung, and apart from which they lose their vitality. In doing so, it has been necessary to limit ourselves so that our witness might be vivid, but that need not imply our denial of the value of symbolism and the validity of ritualism *for some souls*. One of our most loyal and scholarly Baptists, the late Professor Medley of Rawdon, writing concerning the abnormal revival of ritual in the Anglican Church admitted that "in some respects it is fitted to meet those spiritual sensibilities which are an integral part of human

nature, and which claim their satisfaction in acts of worship and communion with the Unseen." Nevertheless we realize that in a divided Christendom Nonconformists have a special calling to preserve primitive apostolic values and perspectives.

Baron von Hügel analyses modern church consciousness into three elements:—the Historical and Institutional, for which most types of Catholicism and Ritualism stand; the Rational and Speculative, expressed in scholasticism and modernism; the Experimental and Mystical, represented in various forms of Evangelicalism, and especially characteristic of Nonconformity. A re-united Christendom may perfectly combine the essentials of all three elements, but we shall not further such unity by a superficial copying or enforcing of elements which are not natural to any particular branch of the divided Church. For this reason attempts to enrich our Free Church services by introducing symbolic ceremenialism must ultimately prove disappointing. If it be true that ritual is related to dogma, and that a high doctrine of the Real Presence in the Sacrament is the chief source of most ceremonial elaborations, then Nonconformity at present does not provide the doctrinal soil in which such symbolism can take root and develop. Its strength lies in other directions, and we shall best revive the spirit of worship in our services by recovering the note of apostolic joy in our preaching, the spirit of apostolic praise in our singing, and the attitude of apostolic gratitude in our sacraments. "It is the highest and holiest of paradoxes that the man who really knows he cannot pay his debt will be for ever paying it," writes Mr. Chesterton in his delightful essay on St. Francis of Assisi. "He will be always throwing things away into a bottomless pit of unfathomable thanks." The renaissance of worship will come through the re-experience of that sense of infinite debt to Divine Grace.

P. FRANKLIN CHAMBERS.

Wolverhampton has seen many varieties of Baptist life. The earliest was a mixture of Unitarian and Seventh-day beliefs, which hardly paved the way for ordinary work. At the end of the eighteenth century, when Pearce of Birmingham was rejuvenating the Midland Association, ground was broken in Horseley Field. The staunch old Calvinists countered two years later at Noah's Ark yard. Ever since, there have been these two types, while the New Connexion provided a third in 1831. Mr. Leslie Chown has given a readable sketch of the two older causes, in the *Express and Star* for November 23, to celebrate the sixtieth anniversary of the present building in Waterloo Road.

The Place of English in the Theological Curriculum.

THE recently accepted regulations for non-collegiate men seeking an entrance into our ministry include the study of English language and literature. One wonders that for so long it has been omitted. Probably in the near future the force of circumstances will compel a drastic revision of our ideas of ministerial training—the present interest in the matter seems to foreshadow it—and it requires no gift of prophecy to see that when the time comes, the claims of English will prove irrestible. Even our colleges will have to find larger room for it.

There are, all would admit, two fundamental qualifications for standing in a pulpit as an accredited and efficient minister. First, the possession of a living message born of experience, and then surely some ability to articulate that message for the help of others. Which of these is the more important it would be difficult to say, but happily the question is purely academic, for in the actual work the two are inseparable. Without the message the sermon is wind—hot or cold, yet still wind—but also unless it is meditated in such a way as to reach and find the hearers it is but vain beating of the air. Lord Charnwood says of Abraham Lincoln that he had the rare gift of being able "to take with him the minds of very many very ordinary men." That is, he could not only think but also persuade. And if a minister of the gospel is a minister first he is a pleader afterwards, and for pleading some knowledge of and facility in language is required.

But is not all this everywhere assumed? Why labour the obvious? Because there is some justification for thinking that the assumption goes too far.

When a man appears before one of our Boards, seeking admission to the ministry, efforts naturally are made to see that he has the root of the matter in him. He is tested fairly thoroughly to discover the reality of his experience, and the substance of his message. Little chance would he stand if it were felt that he failed in this essential. Yet, in spite of that, he is given a course of intensive training lasting over a period of five or six years, all with the view of helping him

to a yet closer grip and clearer vision of the message he already has. In theory, at least, it is not the purpose of our colleges to change a man's essential message, rather they encourage him to be himself to the end—though it is understood that he needs help in order to elucidate it further, to test it in the light of church history and wider life, and so win a greater definiteness and certainty.

But ought not a man's power of utterance to be equally trained? No man of course would gain entrance into a college who had not in some way demonstrated that he had the gift of speech—but once in college, he finds this more or less taken for granted. He may do a little English for his Matriculation examination, but fortunate is he if he finds an interest in the art of expression, running head and neck with his interest in Theology and Biblical Science. These become important while the other sinks for the time into the background. If so, is it not one of the weak points in our ministerial equipment?

Of course it can be argued that a man's message, if vital, will inevitably find its mode of expression. Give a man something to say, and he will say it. That is true enough, and no view of the matter would be correct which failed to begin there. But equally true it is that it is difficult to make bricks without straw. I mean there is another side to the truth—as every author and journalist to-day recognizes. Even when a man has his message clear he is still dependent on his vocabulary, and vocabulary can be enlarged, style can become more vivid, and speech not merely correct but telling. After all, it is not merely a matter of finding a way of saying what one has to say, but *the* way, which, while it does justice to one's thought, is at the same time easiest and pleasantest for those who hear. The proclamation of the Gospel is not just the uttering of truth. It is the declaration of the word in such a way as may win for it a ready acceptance and make it easy of assimilation.

The missionary in a foreign country is a good example in this respect. He is always close to the problem of language, and he knows well that a knowledge of the thought forms, and even the prejudices of the people amongst whom he labours is as important as a clear vision of his Gospel: that is why it is becoming increasingly common for missionaries to soak in the literature of their adopted land. Many of them make it a life-long study, realizing that there is nothing so characteristically national as a national literature. And that is so of our own. Where better are reflected the peculiarities of English life, the guiding lines of English thought and development in the years, the atmosphere of our country than

in the great treasury of English literature? To get in the pulpit the spirit and tone of our master-writers, is for every public man a decided gain, and in these days when it is demanded that a minister should be a man of his people and of his age as well as one who holds eternal verities, we cannot leave too much to natural endowment, or rather, shall we say, we cannot despise the additional advantage of training. Great preachers, like Maclaren and Spurgeon, have well known how to appreciate this rich portion of our heritage. Lesser men require to profit by it even more.

In the past undoubtedly there has been a certain amount of prejudice against giving the study of language too prominent a place in ministerial preparation. Part of the prejudice was undoubtedly due to the way it was conceived. Too often it has been no more than a study of grammatical rules and exceptions (for which English is famous), and then a cramming up of dates of births, deaths, and so forth. Stopford Brooke's Primer is admirable, but what a pity to stop where Brooke leaves off! The study of the subject matter itself—the reading and examination of the great works—was too often regarded as a mere holiday task, something over and above the necessary thing, an extra if we were keen enough to do it. The beauty of the landscape was missed often, because of the absurd preoccupation with the telegraph poles. However, all this is changing. The teachers of English themselves are changing it. Witness, for example, the books of Quiller Couch. Let any one see what he makes of English language and literature, and then say whether there is not here a subject which is worthy of deliberately life-long study on the part of all who could endeavour to persuade and uplift his fellows.

The second reason why the subject has been looked at askance is the fear of filling the pulpits of our land with literary *dilettanti*, happier in turning a pretty phrase to one in wrestling with saving truth. The essay style of preaching is rightly condemned. In fact, our people have a horror of it. But the only way surely to avoid that evil is not by discouraging men from the study of their medium, but by deepening their experience and desire. Where passion fails no language whether pretty or otherwise, will be living. But when passion surges up in its great forceful waves it will be all the more effective if in the prepared mind it finds fitting forms to use. Let it be quite understood that the secret of true speech is not beautiful language but *fitting* language. The art is not in saying the thing prettily but in saying it aptly. But that can never be done—save by the born genius, who is very rare—without prolonged study of the material language offers and the ways in which it has been used.

We do not of course claim that study, however well-directed or long-continued, can make a genius. In this also one star differeth from another in glory. But we maintain that any man's ability can be greatly enhanced by guidance and practice, and that sermons which often are felt to be deadly dull, could be lifted on to the plane of effectiveness, were there behind them a real acquaintance with such principles as modern English masters expound, and in them the ringing cadances of our great English prose. A Paderewski find it necessary to practise many hours a day. There is a corresponding drill necessary to him who aspires to be an effective speaker. Such drill we think should begin in college, that the student being aware of its value may cultivate it through the years.

A. DAKIN.

To the Honourable Commissionrs of the War Office. Please to inform me of Christopher Watkin, son of Henry Watkin, a Protestant of the Denomination of General Baptists, born at Castle Donington in the county of Leicester the 3rd day of March 1777, attested by Thos. Pickering, pastor, Jno. Bakewell, elder, to the General Baptist Society in Castle Donington aforesaid. N.B. Christopher Watkin went with the Duke of York the first time into Holland in the 15th regiment of Light Dragoons in the Colonel's company, and has not been heard of since. Please to direct for Henry Watkin at Mr. Jno. Bakewell's grocery, Castle Donington, Leicestershire. Henry Watkin.

Fifteenth Drags. A man by the name of Watkin was in the Colonel's Troop of this Regt. in 1794 and was killed on the Continent. The Register for the above Period is with the Navy Baggage at Dartford so that it is not known whether his Christian name was, or was not " Chrystopher." G. Anson L'Cor. R.L.D.

If you have occasion to apply here again upon this business, be sure to let this letter accompany your application.

[Postmarks. Loughborough 109. Nov. 14, 1800.]

The New Biography of William Carey.

WILLIAM CAREY,

By S. Pearce Carey, M.A.

Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton, Ltd., London. Illustrated. Price, 12s. 6d. net.

THIS is a book for all time. "The last and best word on Carey," and yet perhaps it is more truly the book for the hour—to-day's crisis in human history. Here is the author's graphic delineation of the times in which Carey first saw visions —the words reveal his biographer's terse and vivid descriptive power:—

> "Carey was fortuned, as we have seen, in his English environment. Education was arriving for the children of the poor. Wonder was reborn at the beauty of Nature. Our Empire was getting established in America and India. Captain Cook was charting the isle-strewn Pacific and outlining south coasts for Britain's inheritance. Sons of the Pilgrim Fathers were buying new freedoms with blood. Home fights were being won for the people, Parliament and Press. Free churchmen were challenging statutes that denied them fair citizenship. France was in the birth-pangs of a juster day. Britain was blushing for her slave trade. A fresh vision was dawning for the possibilities of Man. Compassion was waking for the imprisoned and insane. Westminster was protecting India from British greed. Clergy were called to devout social service by the life of William Law. Wesley was publishing the vitalizing evangel. Redeemed ones were quickened to poetry and praise. Rigid Calvinisms were yielding. Churches, weary of inefficient isolation, were beginning to combine. Collective prayer was becoming a contagion, scientific studies were pregnant with unimagined results. Industrial, commercial and social change was at the doors. Britain's business world was being reasoned into an opening of closed gates. The unevangelized peoples were burdening at least a few British consciences, and constraining them towards paths of missionary toil. This was the environment of Carey's English years."

History repeats itself. "There is sorrow on the sea, it cannot be quiet." This Life of William Carey suggests the only true solution for human restlessness—Christ, and a world-wide proclamation of the Evangel of God. Why should not the Baptist Church of Great Britain and America lead the way to-day, as they did then? A Church ablaze with holy zeal to win a world for Christ would cast out the devils that infest Europe, and bring a new Pentecost. This thrilling record sounds the trumpet-call of the Gospel of Christ for the world. Jehovah asks again, "Whom shall I send, and who will go for us?"

A recent review of the biography of Archbishop Benson, by his son, says, "The biographical fashion of to-day encourages an intimacy and frankness that were hardly permissible in years gone by. Frankness means only the unveiling of affection." So it has been with Pearce Carey. It took him ten years to gather "the whole worth-while story" of his hero, and his aim, in which he has been wonderfully successful, was personal—the disclosure of a man rather than the history of a movement. He makes his hero intimate with all who read his life. Readers of this volume put it down with the feeling that the founder of modern Protestant missions is no dim haloed personality of the early nineteenth century. He lives. You know him, you see him. He grips you. He touches your heartstrings. In him and with him you see anew the prophetic vision of Christ and the world problem. "Behold, the glory of the God of Israel came from the way of the East, and His voice was like the sound of many waters, and the earth shined with His glory." And he stands beckoning to you. A man of like passions with ourselves, of weakness and frailty and sin, humbled every time he gazed into his soul's depths, cheered as he recognized who had loved him and chosen him, and thrust him forth to fight the stupendous powers of evil in heathen lands. "This is the word of the Lord unto Zerubbabel, saying, Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord of hosts. Who art thou, O great mountain? Before Zerubbabel, thou shalt become a plain, and he shall bring forth the headstone with shoutings of Grace, grace upon it."

The Baptists of the Midlands have cause to rejoice in the part their fathers played during Carey's thirty-two English years. Pearce Carey calls us once again to take heed unto the glory of the village—the village church, the village pastor, the village children. It was not Canterbury, York, London, Liverpool, Glasgow, in which the Almighty searched for a man after Christ's own heart, a man to lead the forward movement—the aim of which was to win a lost world for God. It was

Paulers Pury, Hackleton, Piddington, and Moulton. "But thou Bethlehem Ephratah, which art little to be among the houses of Judah, out of thee shall one come forth, unto me that is to be ruler in Israel, whose goings forth are from of old, from Everlasting." Many great missionaries have been, like their Master, village bred men and women. And yet it was the cities that saved the movement in the great crises of its early years. God needs His Jerusalem as well as His Nazareth. Paul was city bred and city born, even though most of the Apostles were villagers. Let Baptists not forget to glory in their villages and in all their infirmities.

William Carey was fortunate in his friends—and in his colleagues. Pearce Carey gives bright cameos of many worthies as he threads the pilgrim way of his famous relative. Above all others, Andrew Fuller—whose portrait we miss from the illustrations that so fittingly adorn the story—Robert Hall, John Ryland, Samuel Pearce, John Sutcliffe, Reynold Hogg: and on the foreign field, Marshman and Ward—names "to remember in the early morning"—John Thomas, Yates, Mack, Chater, and others. And the members of Carey's own family, too,—Felix, Jabez, Eustace, and William,—are also thrown upon the screen in faithful portraiture. They cause both anguish and joy to the doctor's heart: and the faithful historian is true to life in his fashioning of the prosaic, the romantic and the tragic play of plastic circumstance. This is one of the abiding values of his record.

Pearce Carey has been a discoverer—and his discoveries add to the charm of his beautiful story. He discovered John Warr—to whom he reverently dedicates his book—"John Warr, of Yardley Gobion, Potters Pury, the fellow apprentice to whose importunity Carey owed his early quest for God." Listen to this call to personal evangelism, the quest for the soul of a friend.

> "Meanwhile John Warr sought God with all his strength, till Christ became his conscious Saviour and his living Lord. He learned what it was to be reborn from above. There was he vastly rich: only a shoemaker's apprentice, but having struck the treasure of the field. God's pearl was his, and in his hand. God's pearl was in his soul. Desire to share his secret soon possessed him. He talked of Christ to Carey and his master, not for discussion, but to win them for his Lord. Says Carey, 'He became importunate with me.'"

Pearce Carey has discovered the heroism of a woman—the Doctor's first wife, and the mother of all his children—whom other biographers have only dispraised. Dorothy Carey was illiterate, a home bird who "had never so much as seen

the sea." She was within "a month of motherhood" when her husband came to tell her of his appointment to the foreign field; and she would not—would not, consent to his going. Like the church at which he was pastor, at first she resisted, and rebelled. Then she gave him Felix—their eight-year-old, bright, gifted boy to go with him. They parted in anguish. But God blessed the way. The vessel on which his passage had been taken left without them. Some weeks' delay gave him time to revisit the cottage home. John Thomas pleaded with Dorothy to make the sacrifice. At last she cried, "I'll go—if my sister here will go with me." She went—and it cost her health, and happiness, and a mental disorder which harrowed her and her house for the next thirteen years. Her spirit passed into a permanent gloom. It was the price she paid for daring to go to India in those unsheltered years." And she died in the first week of December 1807, "offered upon the service and sacrifice of the Faith." It is a pathetic story, tragic in its illumination of the home atmosphere in which Dr. Carey laid the foundations of his glorious work. Pearce Carey has discovered "the song in the mud of things." We join him in laying a wreath of roses upon her grave. We should have appreciated a portrait of her, and of Charlotte Carey.

Pearce Carey has discovered for some of us a new angle of vision for what he terms "the woe,"—the schism between the home authority and the Serampore trio that darkened the period 1817 to 1830. It was a claim to equal comradeship and freedom against a demand for control and possession of property and funds. It is a dead controversy, and God forbid that it should be repeated. We agree with Smith that the dispute brought "into Christlike relief the personality of Carey." Yet it is not without its message for to-day. Controversy is in the air. The Bible League is denying freedom, and industriously disseminating mistrust and false charges. Even our denominational leaders are quarrelling over Christian unity. Some mission stations, too, are weak and ineffective because of the lack of love among the brethren and sisters. Christ's service is not that way. The world vision calls to humility and fellowship in love and sacrifice and service. Let us close up the ranks, as Browning says, Pearce Carey's love for whom adds to the wealth of his story,

> Where the serpent's tooth is,
> Shun the tree.

"And the word of the Lord came to Zechariah, Execute true judgment, and shew mercy and compassion every man to his brother, and oppress not the widow, nor the fatherless, nor the stranger, nor the poor, and let none of you imagine evil

against his brother in your heart." It is passing strange how long it takes Christ's disciples to get level even with Old Testament ethics.

One misses the ring of laughter in the lives of the missionary giants of those days. Their letters were over emphasized with other-worldliness. Friends of the modern descendants of the Carey family associate the name with peals of merriment, with human joy, with boysome friskiness. Dr. Carey, with his neat and antiquated dress, his mind and benevolent face, seems to have been able to smile, but never to laugh. He had one hobby—only one. "To watch things grow was his dear recreation" in childhood and into oldest age. The experiences of his wonderful and famous College garden were the experiences of his life, and of the Mission. The under gardeners were a trial to his faith and patience. He had a hunger for new specimens. Storms and inundations destroyed in a few hours the work of years, even as the Press fire, and the sad controversy, sought to blast the value of a life's vigorous toil. But Carey was a giant in faith, and a believer in the omnipotence of prayer. He watched things grow—slowly, wonderfully, beautifully. His converts grew, till Krishna Pal became a thousand: his colleagues grew, till weird John Thomas became the staff of thirteen stations: and his translations grew, until the early attempts at Bengali saw six whole Bibles, twenty-three New Testaments, and Gospels or portions in five other languages. Well might William Carey be a lover of the prophets, and especially of Isaiah. We know no fitter words with which to close this review, and to commend this book, well printed, beautifully illustrated, to every pastor, every Sunday-school teacher, and to all who are lovers of Christ and His triumphant course:

"My covenant was with him of life and peace, and I gave them to him that he might fear, and he feared Me and stood in awe of My name. The law of truth was in his mouth, and unrighteousness was not found in his life. He walked with Me in peace, and uprightness, and did turn many away from iniquity."

HERBERT ANDERSON.

Continental Anabaptists and Early English Baptists.

WE are attaining a much clearer view of the sixteenth century Anabaptists, who were long slandered and were much misunderstood. Justice has been done to them by such historians as A. H. Newman and T. M. Lindsay.

One question about them is of peculiar interest to Baptists: What is our own relation to them? It was assumed by Rippon that in substance they and we are one; in this he simply adopted the view of those who opposed them and us alike. He was followed by many other Baptists, such as Orchard in 1838, Armitage in 1887, Carey Pike in 1904. On the other hand modern Pædobaptists are most cautious in alluding to any connection, and Richard Heath even speaks of the fall of Anabaptism in 1536, which seems an error of another kind. It seems well, therefore, that the question should be examined by itself. The case for distinction is stated here, and the case for a certain indebtedness is presented separately.

I. THE ANABAPTISTS OUTSIDE ENGLAND.

It is well known that during the sixteenth century people called by their enemies "Anabaptists" were well known in Saxony, all along the Rhine, at Augsburg, in Tirol, Austria, north Italy, Moravia, Bohemia, Poland. Also that some of them took refuge in England and won a few converts, two of whom published books on their views. Lindsay's map in his second volume on the history of the Reformation illustrates the distribution.

It is equally well known that some of them obtained power at Münster, where they were attacked and exterminated. It is less notorious, but well established, that in the very next year a congress was held near Bockholt, in Westphalia, when reorganization began. There soon emerged a leader, Menno Simons, whose influence was great from Wisby in Gothland to Flanders, and perhaps as far south as Strasburg. Though his disciplinary methods were repudiated elsewhere, yet his name

was gradually adopted by all, and the "Anabaptists" of the sixteenth century are continuous with the later "Mennonites." But there was fierce and steady persecution, which exterminated all in Italy, and most in south Germany and the Austrian dominions. The Moravian section had most vitality, and, because of their communism, they have received close attention from modern Socialists. Most of these who escaped or did not conform, took refuge in South Russia. And the emigration to America, which began as early as 1650, has been greatly quickened in the last fifty years, so that more than half the whole are now in the United States and Canada. Full accounts are given by themselves in the new *Schaff-Herzog* and in the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics;* while the United States Census Bureau has issued modern reports dealing with their history, and touching even on their condition in Europe, where they exist in Switzerland, Germany, Holland and Russia.

It is agreed that there are no Mennonites in England today. The question is as to the relation in the sixteenth and Magistracie, Ministerie, Church, Scripture, and Baptisme.

II. THE ANABAPTISTS IN ENGLAND.

Allusions to these begin with 1528, and have been gathered together by Baptist historians; they may be seen conveniently in Crosby, I, 38, and in Evans, *Early English Baptists*, volume I. At first we read of "all Dutch, certain Dutchmen, nineteen Hollanders, born in Holland, &c"; but in 1539 King Henry spoke of such foreigners having "seduced many simple persons of the King's subjects," and next year the French ambassador implied that twelve London citizens had adopted the opinions of the Flemish Anabaptists. Bishop Ridley soon enquired of his clergy whether Anabaptists were holding conventicles, and he was actively concerned in the death of Joan of Kent, a Colchester woman, condemned for a characteristic Anabaptist doctrine. Fox refers often to the "Anabaptists lately springing up in Kent," with many details. Doctor Some, in 1589, declared that some persons of these sentiments had been bred at our universities, the Anabaptistical absurdities having been specified by him in 1588 as touching Magistracie, Ministerie, Church, Scripture, and Baptisme.

When we find also that the new Articles of Religion take express notice of Anabaptist doctrines, it is clear that the continental immigrants had won English adherents, that there were now English Anabaptists. In 1562 Elizabeth ordered "the Anabaptists. . . from the parts beyond the seas . . . [who] had spread the poison of their sects in England, to depart the realm within twenty days, whether they were natural-

born people of the land or foreigners." But the persecution by Alva sent more and more over, so that in 1575 there was a capture of a whole Flemish congregation.

The question, then, is whether these English Anabaptists won by the continental immigrants have any continuity with the English Baptists. There may be continuity of external organization, quite compatible with remarkable changes, even of doctrine; an extreme case is the technical legal continuity of the Church of England despite the changes at the Reformation. Whoever would assert this as between the English Anabaptists and the English Baptists, must produce evidence. There is remarkable dearth of evidence after 1577, and as yet there is nothing to show that the English Anabaptists had any formal organization.

Probably more interest would be felt in a resemblance of doctrine or methods. There is a remarkable opening of communications to-day between the Church of England and the Orthodox Churches of the East, of which one after another is declaring that there is no bar to inter-communion; and possible relations with the Church of Sweden are being explored. Though no one would assert any external bonds for centuries, inner resemblances are being tested. So it is quite reasonable to examine what the English Anabaptists held.

The last three Articles of Religion suggest that their enemies were struck with their communism, their objection to oaths, weapons and war. More important are two of their works, which have been printed in our *Transactions*, iv., 91, and vii., 71, showing views in 1557 and 1575. The earlier work is a lengthy criticism of Calvinism, especially the doctrines of reprobation and final perseverance. The later is a discussion whether it is lawful to revenge wrongs, by invoking the law or by using force; it widens out to object to judicial oaths, to acknowledge kings and magistrates, and incidentally grants authority to the Old Testament, in so far as it is not "abolished by the newe."

These two works are not complete expositions of Anabaptist tenets, but they probably show what were the points that chiefly excited attention. To them we may add the view of Hoffmann imbibed by Joan of Kent, that our Lord's flesh was created in the body of Mary, and owed nothing physically to her. Then we have all the leading ideas that were held by the English Anabaptists, and they are all directly due to the continental Anabaptists or Mennonites.

How long these views persisted in English circles it is not easy to say. They certainly were not widely spread, for Bishop Jewell in his *Apology* of 1567 said that England did not know the Anabaptists. But when the Separatist Church of 1586

largely migrated to Holland, where contact with the Mennonites was easy, we find that some of the English presently adopted Anabaptist views, and after a while were excommunicated. In 1597 John Payne published at Haarlem a warning as to eight views held by the English and Dutch Anabaptists in Holland:—Christ did not take his pure flesh of the Virgin Mary; The Godhead was subject to passions and to death; The infants of the faithful ought not to be baptized; Souls sleep till the resurrection; Magistrates ought not to put malefactors to death; Wars are condemned; Predestination and the Lord's day are condemned; Free will and the merit of works are held.

This is good evidence that there were English Anabaptists in Holland at this time. Though the account of their tenets is from a hostile witness, we are able to compare with the confession drawn up by Hans de Ries in order to explain himself to another group of English, eleven years later. The emphasis is very different, but Payne's account is not incompatible.

The points here mentioned are none of them characteristic of English Baptists: only in a single respect is there coincidence, the refusal of baptism to infants. As to the other points, on some of them Baptists were divided in opinion, on others they held the exact opposite. This comes out well in the familiar story of the intercourse of Smyth, Helwys and Murton with the Mennonites.

III. THE FIRST ENGLISH BAPTIST CHURCH.

In the year 1608 or 1609, John Smyth baptized himself and most of the people who had come with him from England, then they formed themselves into a church. They were speedily asked why they had not sought baptism at the hands of the Mennonites; and as they were actually living in premises belonging to a Mennonite, communications were opened. They compared opinions, and it is quite instructive to see how utterly independent they were of one another at first. Smyth stated his views in twenty articles, Ries edited his confession anew into thirty-eight. On comparison, with a view to union, the English split into three groups. The first, says Richard Clifton, separated from the others "holding the error about the incarnation of Christ." The second, and largest, headed by Smyth, saw no obstacle to union, and asked for it; but the Mennonites hesitated and shelved the matter, till after the death of Smyth (whose self-baptism was a difficulty to them), the application was renewed, and the English were recognized as a church in communion with the Mennonites. The third, headed by Helwys, revised the confession of Smyth, and declined fellowship with the Mennonites.

Of the first group, further information is wanting. The second group remained as an English Mennonite church in full communion with the Dutch Mennonites; a generation later, when the members had learned Dutch, there was a union of three churches including this, into the one strong church still worshipping on the Singel.

The third group, under Helwys, returned to England, the first English Baptist church on English soil. The story of its intercourse with the second group was told in 1862 by Benjamin Evans from documents still to be seen at the Singel. Though the translation was poor, and the arrangement mistaken, there is nothing wrong as to the main point, that the English Baptists, now increased to five churches, differed from the Dutch and English Mennonites on several points:—As to Christ assuming his substance from Mary, the lawfulness of an oath, the weekly celebration of the Lord's Supper, the administrator of the sacraments, the fulfilling magistracies, and the bearing of arms.

These matters were discussed at considerable length, and in the end both sides agreed that the differences were too serious to permit of intercommunion. The correspondence ceased, and was never renewed. One or two single persons, such as Murton's widow, crossed to Holland, and were received into the English Mennonite church there, in one case expressly on the strength of the baptism in 1609: but there was no transfer from church to church. After 1640 there was an absolute cessation of all intercourse.

More than that: the idea of Succession arose at a most early stage, and Helwys declared that it was "Antichrist's chief hold." Not merely did these churches disclaim succession as a fact, they objected to it as unnecessary, and insistence on it as distracting.

Each party has developed independently. Professor Kühler says that his fellow-believers in Europe to-day no longer abide by their original tenets as to ecclesiastical discipline, bearing of arms, or civil office; that their opinions are unchanged as to baptism and oath-taking; that most are liberal, while the more conservative profess a biblical orthodoxy. In America Professor Horsch gives a lengthy description of the six groups into which they are divided: all are very quaint in their practices, most retain feet-washing, anointing of the sick, the kiss of charity: they oppose oaths, lawsuits, war.

In many towns of Russia, Germany, Holland, America, there are Mennonite churches and Baptist churches. They have no more intercourse with one another than Methodists with Presbyterians.

IV. ENGLISH REPUDIATION OF THE TERM "ANABAPTIST."

Not only did the English churches of 1611-1630 break off intercourse with the Mennonites, they were at pains to dissociate themselves in English eyes from the Anabaptists. In 1615 they signed an epistle as "His Majesty's faithful Subjects, commonly (but most falsely) called Ana-baptists." They presented a supplication to the King in 1620 as "loyal subjects, unjustly called Ana-baptists." Even a generation later the confession of 1660 was "set out by many of us who are (falsely) called Ana-Baptists."

They were not indulging in any etymological argument, but were repudiating connection with the well-known people called in England "Anabaptists," though abroad they were equally known as "Mennonites." The doctrines of these men were fairly well known, and the English disclaimed them. Busher was at pains to uphold royal authority, within due limits. In 1615 the followers of Helwys reiterated, "We do unfeignedly acknowledge the authority of earthly magistrates, God's blessed ordinance, and that all earthly authority and command appertains to them." "For all other things we hold, as the lawfulness of magistracy, God's blessed ordinance, of Christ our Saviour taking his flesh of the Virgin Mary by the wonderful work of the Holy Ghost, &c., you may see them in our Confession in print, published four years ago." To the rejoinder, many that be called Anabaptists hold the contrary, and many other strange things, they reply, "We cannot but lament for it." To the further point, you will yet be called Anabaptists, because you deny baptism to infants, they reply, "So were Christians before us called Sects; and so they may call John Baptist, Jesus Christ himself, and his apostles, Anabaptists; for we profess and practise no otherwise herein than they, namely, the baptizing of such as confess with the mouth the belief of the heart. And if they be Anabaptists that deny baptism where God hath appointed it, they, and not we, are Anabaptists." Here the similarity of view on the one point is admitted, and dismissed as clouding the issue; the gist of the argument is that connexion is denied with the well-known men who had strange ideas as to oaths, magistracy, the flesh of Jesus.

In 1644, when civil war was breaking out, another association of the word was recalled, that the Anabaptists of Münster had dared to fight, and Doctor Featley tried to scare men with the thought that English Baptists would behave as at Münster. Therefore, the English Calvinistic Baptists, with whom he was in actual contact, took up the challenge, and they, too, said

three or four times that they were "commonly (but unjustly) called Anabaptists." They, too, spoke of their views on magistracy and private property, and quite plainly dissociated themselves from "some unruly men formerly in Germany, called Anabaptists."

It is therefore submitted that English Baptists have no kind of continuity with English Anabaptists or with foreign Anabaptists, whether formally or by kindred doctrine. The latter have no cause to be ashamed of their history, and they tell it plainly; we have no cause to be ashamed of it, but they are as independent of us as are Unitarians and Congregationalists.

W. T. WHITLEY.

The Relation between English Baptists and the Anabaptists of the Continent.

IT will be well to make it plain at the outset that it is not the purpose of this paper to maintain a connection between the early English Baptists and the Continental Anabaptists. It is frankly admitted that in the present state of our knowledge —or perhaps we should rather say, ignorance—the evidence to establish such a position is not forthcoming. Perhaps it never will be forthcoming. Neither, on the other hand, are we at present in a position to deny the connection. That, at least, is the modest contention of this paper.

The word "relation" in the title is deliberately chosen. It is of course a very wide and vague term. Relation may indeed be negative as well as positive. If positive, it may vary indefinitely in the degree of its nearness; and it may be direct or indirect. Two bodies are directly related when it can be shown that one is originated by, or avowedly continues, the other. In the present case, there can be no question of affirming such a direct relation. It has, on the contrary, been definitely disproved. On this point I have nothing to except or to add to what has been adduced by Dr. Whitley, or by Mr. Champlin Burrage in his *Early Dissenters*. The English Baptist movement was not founded by Anabaptists from the Continent, nor by Englishmen who had been baptised or ordained by such Anabaptists, nor did the English Baptists profess to reproduce the principles of the latter.

But was there an *indirect* relation between the two bodies? Were the founders of English Baptism in any degree influenced by Anabaptist propaganda, whether in the shape of oral teaching or written apology? Unfortunately evidence on this subject is so far lacking. We have no statements from them showing consciousness of a debt to Anabaptism. On the contrary we know that the early English Baptists were concerned to affirm their distinctness from the Anabaptists. As to the significance of this fact something will be said later on. In the absence of express testimony from the persons themselves, we have to fall back upon inference from points of seeming similarity between the two bodies. Here, in the nature of the case, there may easily be considerable difference in the conclusions favoured by different judges. It is a familiar phenomenon that where evidence is fragmentary or ambiguous, the decisive factor in the conclusion is apt to be the judge's personal prepossession, and the same evidence which seems to one man to warrant a certain conclusion, seems to his opponent equally or more consistent with the opposite conclusion. To take a familiar instance, the Catholic has no difficulty in discovering his own conception of episcopacy in the earliest Christian literature, canonical and extracanonical.

Now, on the question before us, different investigators have arrived at opposite conclusions. For the positive view we may cite Professor McGlothlin, who in his article on the Anabaptists in Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* says, "It is possible, and indeed probable, that there is some connexion between them and the Independents, English Baptists and Quakers, all of whom show some of the peculiarities of the Anabaptists." For the negative view it is sufficient to quote Dr. Whitley. In his Baptist History just published, he says, "Baptists are to be sharply distinguished from the Anabaptists of the Continent, some of whom took refuge in England as early as 1530, but had won only two known English adherents in 40 years" (p. 17). I must be allowed to call attention to the word "known" in this sentence. "Two *known* adherents in 40 years." Yes: they happen to be known because they uttered their views in tracts which are still (more or less) extant. But is it sound to infer from this fact that English Anabaptists were very few? It is the argument from silence, which is always precarious. Is it not a much more probable inference that there were silent members greatly more numerous than those who found a voice on paper?

On the next page (p. 18) Dr. Whitley says, "It is inexcusable to-day to confound the continental Anabaptists of the sixteenth century with the English Baptists of the seventeenth century." If he means to repudiate any debt of the

latter to the former, "inexcusable" seems rather a strong word. Why this apparent warmth of feeling? When one sees English Baptists like Dr. Whitley and Dr. Shakespeare so eager to deny all connection between Baptists and Anabaptists, one is tempted to wonder whether they are—of course, unconsciously—influenced by any bias against the Anabaptists. That a strong prejudice against the latter determined until quite recently the accounts given of them by Lutheran and Reformed Church historians, we all know. This prejudice was based on certain peculiarities, troublesome to constituted authority exhibited by various Anabaptist sects, and especially on the lamentable extravagances perpetrated by a small section of the Anabaptists when, frenzied by savage persecutions, they got the upper hand for a brief season in Münster. Is it possible that the recollection of the said eccentricities has anything to do with the apparent reluctance of some English Baptists to recognise any debt to a body, the vast majority of whose members are now recognised by impartial historians to have lived quiet lives of conspicuous piety and morality?

At all events, it is the object of this paper to plead for the maintenance of an open mind on the question of relationship, and by showing an *à priori* probability that Baptists were influenced by Anabaptists, to give an impulse, if possible, to a search for further evidence on the subject, and to its favourable consideration if (or when) produceable.

It is not contested that from about 1530 Anabaptist refugees from persecution found their way into England, that they carried on propaganda here, and met with a certain or rather, an uncertain, amount of success. Were the founders of English Baptism influenced in some degree by that propaganda? We have seen above that the main evidence on this point at present available must be derived from a comparison of the known tenets and practices of the two bodies. But here at once we are confronted by serious difficulty. Take practice first. We are largely ignorant of the forms of organization and worship adopted by the Anabaptists. We do know that they laid very little stress on outward forms, whether of practice or belief. Principal Lindsay remarks (Reformation II, p. 422), "What characterised them all [he is describing mystics and Anti-trinitarians as well as Anabaptists], was that they had little sense of historic continuity, cared nothing for it . . . that they all possessed a strong sense of individuality, believing the human soul to be imprisoned when it accepted the confinement of a common creed, institution or form of service, unless of the very simplest kind." They found the mark of the true church rather in the presence of a certain spirit and life—those, namely, which were characteristic of New Testament

Christianity, as they understood and sought to reproduce it. Hence it is not remarkable that we hear little of their observances, and that what we do hear shows wide divergence between different sections of the Anabaptist group. Mr. Bax notes that some of them refused even the ceremonies of baptism and the Lord's Supper.

Of their tenets, it is true that we know a good deal more. Nevertheless, the method of comparison can hardly be applied so immediately as Dr. Whitley applies it. The reason is that here again there is an extreme divergence between the tenets of the various sects of Anabaptists. Lindsay tells us that "some [Anabaptists] maintained the distinctive doctrines of the medieval church (the special conceptions of a priestly hierarchy, and of the Sacraments being always excluded), others were Lutherans, Calvinists or Zwinglians; some were Unitarians, and denied the usual doctrine of the person of Christ; a few must be classed among the Pantheists" (ib. p. 424). It is in fact extremely difficult to name positions that were held by all, or even by the majority of the Anabaptist sects. Sebastian Franck, a contemporary and not unkindly observer, declares that no two sects agree in all points. Lindsay mentions repudiation of the State Church as "perhaps the one conception on which all parties among them were in absolute accord" (ib. 443). Elsewhere he says, "It is simply impossible to give any account of opinions and practices which were *universally* prevalent among them. Even the most widely spread usages, adult baptism and the 'breaking of bread,' were not adopted in all the divisions of the Anabaptists" (ib. p. 446).

To begin with the tenet alluded to in the nickname Anabaptist—while all Anabaptists rejected baptism of infants, and held that only conscious believers belonged to Christ's Church, not all practised the baptism (or rebaptism, as their opponents said) of the believers who joined them. As to ceremonies in general, we have already noted that Anabaptists attached little weight to them; but, whereas most rejected those of the State Church, some, on the principle that all forms are matters of indifference, allowed themselves to show outward conformity. There were Anabaptists who wandered about preaching their views, and Anabaptists who discountenanced preaching. Anabaptists who observed Sunday as a feast, and others who refused to do so. The view that Christ did not derive his human flesh from Mary was by no means characteristic of Anabaptists in general; nor, apparently, was the notion that the dead sleep, in a sort of intermediate state, until the Judgment Day. Communism, for the support of the members of the society, was by no means universal among Anabaptists; perhaps the greater number inculcated a Christian stewardship

of his possessions on the part of the individual. Almost all maintained "passive resistance," i.e. they acknowledged the duty of obedience to the civil magistrates, except in matters of religion, and held that for disobedience in these matters they were to suffer persecution without resistance or retaliation. But some, not all, denied that a man could be a magistrate and a Christian. War and capital punishment were contrary to the principles of Anabaptists in general; but there was a section which taught that one day the faithful would be used as the Lord's instruments for the violent overthrow and execution of the ungodly authorities of this world. This view, however, was no more typical for the generality of Anabaptists than was the "millenarianism" of the followers of Melchior Hoffmann. On the taking of an oath, and the use of law courts, there was probably no less diversity of view. Not to multiply further these points of difference, we will merely add that while the majority of Anabaptists were honourably distinguished by the austere purity of their morals, there were apparently some who were antinomian in teaching or practice.

It is this bewildering variety of tenet among Anabaptist sects which accounts for the extremely different estimates of the movement pronounced by modern historians. According as he attends primarily to this or that group of tenets, the historian may proclaim it "medieval" or "modern"—it may appear to him reactionary, or in the van of progress. Thus, according to Lindsay, the face of Anabaptism was toward the past. "The whole Anabaptist movement was medieval to the core; and like most of the medieval religious awakenings, produced an infinite variety of opinions and practices" (ib. p. 441). Contrast with this the finding of McGlothlin. "The Anabaptists were several centuries in advance of their age. Some of their tenets, then universally anathematized and persecuted, have been adopted by all civilized lands, e.g. universal religious toleration; and thus have been widely incorporated in the newer lands (America and Australia), and are making headway in the older societies, e.g. complete separation of Church and State; yet others are still objects of endeavour, only seen as far-off boons, as, for example, abolition of war. . . . It is remarkable that these people should have drawn from a fresh study of the Bible so many great ideas that still float before the race as high and distant ideals." (op. cit. 411-2.)

Enough has now been said to show the great difficulty in the way of an immediate comparison of Anabaptist tenets with those of the English Baptists. But while it is impossible to make a list of specific tenets common to Anabaptists in general, it is possible to distinguish a few fundamental ideas which underlie and give character to all their sects. There is the idea

of the individual soul's direct access to, and fellowship with God, independent of the meditation of church or priest. This, again, rests upon some doctrine of an "inner light"—a spark of the divine spirit in the individual, which, if heeded and obeyed, suffices to lead him in the ways of God. The true church consists not of persons mechanically included therein by accident of birth or performance on them of any ceremony, but of those who are actually saints—persons whose lives are under the control of the divine Spirit. All such are brethren, and belong to the fellowship of God's people. How He intends them to live, as individuals and as brothers, they are to learn from the New Testament Scriptures. As nearly as possible they are to reproduce the faith and life of the New Testament saints. In virtue of the divine spark within him, each individual has the ability to understand and interpret these scriptures for himself.

Now this broad type of a simple, practical Christianity, ruled by the individual's own devout study of the New Testament, reappears on English soil in the Baptists. If there were Anabaptists here, seeking, and with some success, to propagate their faith, as we know to have been the case, it is not a natural supposition that they may have exercised some influence on the first Baptists? That the Baptists drew widely different conclusions from the New Testament in many details, is a fact that presents no real obstacle to this supposition. We have seen that on the Continent Anabaptist sects arising in different regions and under varying conditions, adopted widely different views. It can be no marvel if on English soil the same germinal ideas gave rise again to a quite novel type.

There is, indeed, one serious objection to the hypothesis. As Dr. Whitley points out, the English Baptists themselves were careful to disavow any connection with the Continental Anabaptists. But the objection is not fatal. It was natural that the Baptists should wish to escape, if possible, the odium that everywhere attached to the Anabaptists, and the persecution which followed them. And the differences between themselves and the Anabaptists were so many and obvious that they might in all good conscience believe themselves quite distinct from them. But still this would not prevent the possibility of a certain indebtedness on their part. We are all apt to find encouragement and strengthening in our convictions when we see them exhibited also by those of a different party from ourselves, and are ready also to borrow or accept from them ideas that fit in with the general frame of our thinking. And this is likely to be much more decidedly true of a small, obscure sect, oppressed and universally denounced.

I venture, then, to suggest that there is sufficient likelihood of Anabaptist influence upon early English Baptists to

make it worth while to seek for further and more direct evidence on the subject. And I will end this paper by quoting in support the words of one whose opinion carries far more weight than mine. In *Baptist Historical Transactions, VII*, pp. 72-3, Dr. A. Peel recalls his statement elsewhere that in the century before that in which George Fox began his work, there were in many parts of the country bodies of worshippers—sometimes having much in common with the Anabaptists or the Family of Love—whose views were much akin to those of Fox's followers, and urges "as yet there has been no real and systematic research concerning Anabaptist congregations in London, Norwich and elsewhere. . . . There is a real opportunity for investigators in this field." I have only to add that the "elsewhere" should specially include those districts of Northern England whence came the first English Baptists of Amsterdam.

A. J. D. FARRER.

The Lincolnshire Conference

of the New Connexion, 1791-1803.

THE New Connexion of General Baptists organised in 1770, and planned to have two Associations; the Southern, however, soon died out. As its most energetic members were of Methodist extraction, they had previously instituted Conferences, at which standard questions were put, to elicit information and provoke discussion. The first of these was the Midland, dating from about 1750; the second was the Yorkshire, about 1772; the third was the Lincolnshire. The Minutes of the Midland, or Leicestershire, are in the Society's possession, and lengthy extracts have been published in volumes v—vii. The earliest minutes of the Lincolnshire Conference are the subject of the following study: later minute books are in the Society's possession.

Many records of Christian ministries and denominational effort are hidden in MS., books, letters, and paragraphs in old magazines stored up by descendants of contemporary owners, and in many cases unknown and forgotten.

In an old parchment-bound book, eight inches by six inches, of seventy-six pages and eight more stitched, are extant the minutes of an Association of Christian Churches and ministers from June 1791 to March 1803. The book has on and within the cover, Thomas North, Spalding, Lincolnshire, Feb. 2, 1802.

The minutes show the desire for truth, consistent living, New Testament discipline, mutual help, and fraternal union that in all ages has exercised the hearts of those who are actuated by spiritual impulses.

The minutes record forty-five meetings—quarterly, with some omissions. The place of meetings are in this order: Gosberton, Fleet, Boston, Wisbech (St. Peters), Coningsby, Spalding. Then repeated with addition of Bourne, Tyd St. Gyles, March, and Peterborough.

The first page is headed "1791. As General Baptists. For the good of us now (with Gods Blessing) and our Successors, the following is left on Record."

NO. 1.

At a meeting of Ministers houlden at Gosberton, Thursday June 23. 1791.

Ministers who attended were

Thompson,	Boston	Burgess	Fleet
Freestone	Wisbeach	Ewen	Do.
Rusling	Spalding	Binns	Gosberton
Wright	Do.	With several Church members.	

About 11 o'clock the Meeting was opened with prayer after which Bro. Thompson was appointed Chairman, Bro. Freestone moderator. Bro. Ewen scribe, then the following things were agreed upon. 1. The desine of the Meeting with each other for our mutual Benefit, as Ministers for the advantage of our respective Churches, and for the glory of God.

2 it was unanimously agreed that the meetings be houlden once every Quarter, and that the Midsummer Quarterly meeting be at Cunningsby in order to accommodate our aged Bro Boyes, the other places of meeting to be Boston, Gosberton, Spalding, Fleet or Lutton, Tidd St. Gyles & Wisbeach.

3 Agreed that ye following Questions as the Ground of our proceedings be constantly attended to.

1. What have we heard or know about each other's preaching since our last meeting?
2. What difficulties have we to mention.
3. What can be done more for the advancement of Religion amongst us?

As the meeting will necessarily be attended With some Expence it was conveyed in what method such expence should be defrayed whether ye Church where such meetings is houlden shall pay the whole Expence and so in rotation, or whether each Church shall bear the Expence of its own Ministers attending these meetings? after some Consideration the latter mode was preferred as being most Equitable: and we reccommend it to the Consideration of all our Churches we agree that against our next Quarterly meeting Bro. Burgess procure a Quarter-Book to insert all the Minutes of this and our succeeding meetings of this kind——and also the copies of the minutes of each meeting be forwarded from one to another for the advantage of our Churches Respectively. Agreed that at each Quarterly meeting a sermon shall be preached: and that the nomination of the Preacher be left to the Ministers of that Church where such meeting is to be houlden—and also that such minister be scribe at the meeting houlden at his place or else find a person to officiate in his room And moreover for the sake of order it is agreed that every one who speaks to any Question

shall address himself always to the Chairman at such meetings. A case from Wisbeach immediately connected with the third foundation Question was brought into this meeting——which for want of Time ws postponed & to be particularly attended to at our next meeting—— Tis agreed that the next Quarterly meeting be houlden at Fleet on ye 27 day of September 1791, at which Time Bro. Ingham of Maltby is appointed to preach & in case of failure Bro Wright of Spalding.——

Signed in behalf of the said meeting.

W. Thompson, Chairman.

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Minutes of a Quarterly Meeting of Ministers, holden at Fleet, Wed. Oct. 22,

1796

Ministers present

	Briggs ..... of	.....Gosberton
	Taylor	.....Boston Moderator
	Freeston	.....Wisbeach Chairman
	Smith	.....Tyd St. Giles
Brn.	Binns ...	.....Bourn
	Rusling	.....Spalding
	Wright	..... do.
	Ewen	.....Wisbeach
	Burgess	.....Fleet Scribe.

Morning Business.

Br. Taylor opened the meeting with prayer.

The Chairman read over the Minutes of the last Meeting.

Br. Freeston informed the Meeting, that he has admonished the Friends at Peterborough, about the Impropriety of Mr. Friends preaching among them: but the admonition was attended with very little effect, if any, for some time afterwards.

Q. What have we heard or known, of each other as Preachers, and of our Preaching since last Meeting?

The *stated* Labours of one of our Brn. were Spoken of as appearing to give much Satisfaction, and as affording a pleasing prospect of Usefulness:

Some Occasional Sermons, by others, were mentioned, some with approbation, and some rather otherwise.

Q. What difficulties have we to mention?

Some were mentioned, Arising from Temporal Encumbrances, and Family Illness. . . . Others, Arising from ungracious Members; and who appear to have such, even at the *Time* of their Admission. . . . and others, from the Inactivity of members in matters of Church Discipline.

Afternoon Business.

Q. What have any of our Members now present, to Remark concerning us as preachers, and of our preaching?

Only one or two members being present, they declined making any Remark.

Ques. What can be done, more than has been done, to promote Religion among us?

The Friends at Peterboro' having expressed their desire, that Brother Wright of Spalding supply them regularly *every* Lord's Day; and Br. Wright having desired the *Advice* of this meeting on the Subject. . . . We are Unanimously of Opinion, that he would do well to Accede to the wishes of the Friends there, at least that he make a Trial for the ensuing Quarter. And we also at the same time recommend to the friends at Peterbro' that they make it a point of Conscience to Indemnify Him, for such Expenses, & loss of Time, which he must unavoidably incur thereby.

The Peterbro' Friends, having wished to have the Lord's Supper, administered to them: The Subject was taken up; in attending to which, It was observed that, *properly speaking,* there being but 2 only of the old Stock remaining as members of the Church: It appears that the most orderly step that can be taken will be, that those who live there & are members of other Churches (as for instance 2 are of Wisbeach) be Dismissed in a regular way, from their Churches, to the remains of the Peterbro' Church, thereby to increase its number, and form, as it were afresh, a kind of foundation of a Church to whom the Ordinance man be administered, & by whom Church order may be maintained. When such an Union or junction, has taken place, they may then apply to any neighbouring Pastor, whom they think proper, to administer the Lord's Supper among them, untill they be suited with a Pastor of their own,

Were members of Churches to meet together, & to pray for the advancement of the Redeemers Interest at large; & in particular for their own Spiritual Prosperity, and their Ministers' greater usefulness: it is thought, It may prove a mean of encreasing the Interest of religion whereas, they appear too much to leave the whole of the work unto the Minister, without uniting their assistance to his Endeavours.

It is also the opinion of this meeting, that were such Ministers as are at liberty for it, to preach in surrounding Neighbourhoods it would have a considerable Tendency for Spreading the Gospel. The following Question is left till the next Meeting,

"Where are there any Scripture reasons, why an unordained

minister should not administer the Ordinance of the Lord's Supper: or, by what authority, does such an one Baptize?"
The next meeting at Tyd St. Giles's Jan. 3rd 1797.

So in succeeding meetings as the years passed, various matters arose and were carefully discussed and recorded. In April 1795 " Br. Binns of Gosbeston having received an Invitation to remove to Bourn, wishes for the opinion of the meeting."

Questions of Ordination, Laying on of Hands, Use of ecclesiastical titles, the use of " Mr Deacons collection of Hims in preference to Dr. Watts." Straitness in Preaching, and on one occasion some candid and Friendly Animadversion was made upon Defects in Pulpit Action, Grammar, provincial dialect, Division of Subjects, Turgidity or Swollenness of Style, Enunciation, Circumlocution, etc."

The question arose of others than the ministerial delegates being present at the meetings, and it was decided that church members might attend after the morning session. Thenceforth a separate list appears on the Minutes, on one occasion five Sisters being present.

The minutes of the last meeting recorded in the book are as follows.

Minutes of a Quartely Meeting of Ministers & Church Members holden at Boston, Ives, March 8th, 1803.

Br Burgess of Fleet——Chairman
Binns——Bowin——Moderator
Jarrom——Wisbeach——Scribe
Bartol——Spalding
Taylor——Boston
Bissil——Gosberton
Sawor——Boston

Br Stn Small
Church Worker
Boston

Br Burgess opened the Meeting with Prayer, and read the Minutes of the last Meeting.

Quest 1st. What have we, of any of our Members now present, heard or known of us as Preachers, or of our preaching since last meeting.

Under this Quest it was observed that, the discourses which have been heard by us, have in general, given good satisfaction. It was thought that one of our friends is sometimes rather too long in his discourses, and rather unhappy in the manner in which he places the Emphasis upon some pronouns when in prayer. It was thought that another of our Ministers wd do well in endeavouring to be more lively in the former part of his sermon. It was also thought that in the Discourse delivered at the general Meeting at Fleet, too high an Enconium was passed upon the

Institution of the Fund: the same remark was made, relative to the enconium passed upon Deacons, in the discourse preached at the Ordination of Mr. Anderson to that office at Fleet. Quest 2nd What difficulties have we to Mention?
Some of an experimental nature, were mentioned. The friends complain of the opposition which they experience in their religious course, from the remains of sin. Nothing of a particular Nature was Mentioned by the Brn present. It was observed that, in the present state, it must not be expected, that, we can be free from difficulties.
Quest 3rd. What more can be done to promote religion among us? It was thought, that if we could get our hearts more engaged in the cause of religion we Should be able to do more to promote its prosperity. It was farther observed that, we do consider the importance of religion, and engage more frequently and fervently in prayer.

T. R. HOOPER.

Redhill, Surrey.

Reviews.

RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENTS IN WALES, 1654-1662. By Thomas Richards, M.A., 532 pages. National Eisteddfod Association.

This is practically a continuation of a previous Eisteddfod prize essay, which has been appreciated in our pages: and the second prize essay contains enough for a third volume reaching to 1669. We sincerely trust that funds will permit such publication, for we do not recollect any work comparable with this, except Dr. Nightingale's studies of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire.

The present instalment has two main divisions. First, the days of Triers and Trustees. It is shown how new Puritan ministers were approved, and installed, how parishes were re-arranged geographically and financially, how Edward VI's plan of itinerant preachers was taken up on a great scale under a new Protector, how South Wales profited also by unpaid preachers, how the Fifth-Monarchy and the Quaker movements affected the principality. Every statement is carefully documented, and the whole story is set forth most clearly. Four lists are given of men who did official work, and another of the unpaid preachers of South Wales.

Second, the struggle for Uniformity. This is part of a story well-known in England, but the Welsh side has been very poorly known. Every step in the process is carefully traced, with abundant lists and pages of description. First, at the return of Charles, many royalist clergy who had been ejected, returned forthwith and ousted any intruder. Then, under an act of September 1660, there was a second clearance. At Bartholomew's day, 1662, there was a testing time which sorted Puritans into eight classes:—(1) those who conformed and stayed, (2) those who conformed, but got other livings, (3) those who conformed and were re-admitted, (4) those who conformed but had to be re-ordained, (5) those who conformed, were re-ordained, and admitted to new livings, (6) those who did not conform and left, (7) those who left but afterwards conformed, (8) those who left, conformed, but ultimately left permanently. With this model of classification, future English

studies ought to be much better. There is such abundant material here, that we attempt only to introduce to our readers that which concerns Baptists, a very small fraction of the whole. There is an important clue, that Baptists were of three types, radiating from three centres: the Generals, the Strict, the Open.

Hugh Evans, of Llanhir, had been in England, and at Coventry had joined the ancient G. B. church. He returned, and with the help of Thomas Lamb and Jeremy Ives won many converts in Radnor and Brecknock. Though he died in 1656 there was a goodly band of teachers left, including William Bound of Garthfawr in Llandinam, Henry Gregory of Llandewi Ystradenni, John Price of Nantmel, while on the upper Wye were Rees Davies, Evan Oliver, Daniel Penry, and John Prosser. But as happened often in England their churches were badly damaged by the Quakers, and in 1675 the report of Henry Maurice shows they had shrunk into the single congregation of Peter Gregory in Radnorshire. It may be worth while adding that no Unitarians evolved from this section.

An outside minister came in 1656 to strengthen these Generals, William Rider. As he is too little known, a note or two may be given as to his career. He appears in 1654 as member of a church in Denbigh, which sent up to London a resolution on public affairs, published by Nicholls in 1743. This gives the exact link desired by Mr. Richards to equate him with the man who in 1651 had joined with the church at Wrexham in a letter, and who in 1655 signed Powell's *Word for God;* it possibly locates him at Welshpool. His visit of 1656 was to Abergavenny and the Hay, to explain the importance of the Six Principles, and to lay hands on newly-baptized people. He could not speak Welsh, and Robert Hopkins of Aberavon had to interpret for him. After this he found his way to London, and on December 29th, 1659, joined in a G. B. manifesto objecting to a national paid ministry, but acknowledging magistracy. He was dead by 1668, when he was succeeded by young Benjamin Keach. This enables us to say that he was Elder of the G. B. church in Southwark, which, in 1623-4, split from the original church of 1612, and still worships on Church Street, Deptford, though it has become Unitarian. Spinther James was misled in associating it with Goat Street, which is the home of the new P. B. church founded by Keach when he changed his views.

The Open Baptists, evolved from the general evangelical work of Wroth and Cradock, were found chiefly in the south and centre of Monmouthshire, with Llantrissent on the Usk as their centre. Their leader was Christopher Price, apothecary, bailiff of Abergavenny in 1657. William Thomas of Llangwm

visited Bristol and London. Walter Williams of Llandegfedd had obtained access to the parish churches, and excited derision by his inability to read the parliamentary proclamations. This section profited by the work of John Tombes in Hereford and Abergavenny.

Far the most important group of Baptists is that associated with John Miles, drawing state pay at Ilston, in Gower, and with John Price of Cwrt-y-carnau. In the Swansea district there were John Bevan, basket-maker, John Davies, Leyshon Davies, Jenkin Franklin, David Jenkins of Llangyfelach, John Knight, Evan Llewellyn, Robert Morgan, Edward Robert, John Thomas and Lewis Thomas, besides Thomas Proud and Rhydderd Thomas, drawing state pay. Eastward were Henry Lewis, at Tythegston, near Kenfig, Hopkin Abraham in the Vale of Glamorgan, Howell Lewis between Merthyr and Aberdare, Captain Thomas Evans of Eglwysilan, and Thomas Jones of Llantrisant, for Gelligaer, with Griffith Bevan at Rudry. Near Aberystruth and Blaina Gwent was Thomas Harry. A group round Abergavenny challenged the laxity of Christopher Price; these included Francis Gyles, Thomas James, Richard Jones, William Morgan, John Parry, William Prichard, David John Richard, and Richard Rogers. And at Olchon and the Hay the standard was held by John Rhys Howell, James Hughes, Thomas Watkins, Howell Yohan. Walter Prosser did his work, paid by the state. Rowland Charles, David Edwards, Henry Fleming, Lewis Havard, Edward James, cannot be placed either doctrinally or geographically.

Mr. Richards traces all this Strict Baptist movement to the fact that John Miles in 1649 went to London, and there learned from the Baptist church which met at the Glass House in Broad Street. He wonders why Miles did not seek his compatriot, Kiffin. He proves that his Glamorgan helper, Edward Robert, cannot be the Edward Roberts of that Glass House church, whose career we could set forth from 1650 to 1676. But he overlooks that the church of Kiffin in 1649 was less important than the Glass House, which took the lead for many years in London. It was as old as Kiffin's, signed the confession of 1644 and 1646, its pastor, Thomas Gunn, having already a fine record; its members in 1650 were many and weighty, while we know the names of only two in Kiffin's church. Edward Roberts was already a leader in it, and doubtless it was for this reason that Miles found his way there, and elicited the advice to organize regular churches. It was Glass House which initiated general correspondence between Baptist churches, and advised the formation of associations. The church apparently migrated at the Restoration to

Beech Lane, and was so furiously persecuted there that it fell to the rear, Roberts transferring his energies to Ireland.

It is possible to recognize how some of these men had become entangled in the system of state pay, and were freed from it, voluntarily or otherwise. If in Glamorgan both sheriff and under-sheriff were Baptist in 1658-1659, the downfall was imminent. David Davies of Llantrisant and Neath, Morgan Jones of Llanmadock, Morgan Jones of Newcastle, Thomas Joseph of Llangeinor, Thomas Proud of Cheriton, and Howell Thomas of Glyncorrwg, had no sort of ordination that either Presbyterian or Anglican respected; they had only possession; and in 1660 that was by no means nine points of the law. The Triers, indeed, had passed four men, but the King as early as June began turning such people out, and by August 6 Jenkin Jones had been displaced from Llanthetty, Morgan Jones from Newcastle, John Miles from Ilston, and Thomas Evans from Maesmynus. Miles soon sailed to New England with many members of his church, and the minute-book, but found the descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers as loath to receive them as Charles to tolerate them. However, they did at last get leave to found a new Swansea.

For the fortunes of all Baptists involved, the careful indexes of this volume give ample clues. We wish that other parts of the country could be studied as thoroughly, both for dispossessed clergy and for Baptists.

ADDRESSES BIOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL. By Alexander Gordon, M.A. Published by Lindsey Press, 5s. net.

Rev. Alexander Gordon was formerly lecturer in Ecclesiastical History in the University of Manchester, and has long been known as an authority on Nonconformist History in the British Isles, some of his work on the subject being in the Dictionary of National Biography. These facts are a sufficient guarantee of the accuracy and quality of these newly published studies. There are ten addresses in all, and the book contains many delightful pictures of Nonconformists. It is an example of how interesting history can be made when written with sympathy and imagination. The sketch of Thomas Firmin is particularly good, and useful for all who are studying the attitude of Nonconformity to social problems. Firmin distrusted the efficacy of mere almsgiving, and sought to fathom the problem by personal contact with the poor, and to offer some remedy by economic effort. He adopted the principle of providing work, taking to linen manufacture for the purpose.

The book is very good also for the light it throws on the early Nonconformist Academies. There is one chapter on Early Nonconformity and Education in which the motives leading to the establishment of academies are expounded, and a vivid impression given of the determination of the pioneers who wandered from place to place taking students and all the establishment with them in order to secure some measure of peace in which to work. The same subject arises again in the biographical sketch of Woodridge, whose place as a reformer of the education system is indicated. How many know that Latin persisted as the medium of lectures even in Nonconformist institutions until Doddridge made the change? However, it is as an example of the "Catholicity of the Early Dissent," that Woodridge is portrayed.

In the last address on Richard Wright, there is interesting Baptist material, Wright having been connected with the Baptists of Norfolk before becoming a Unitarian. Of the five persons who met in 1805 to found a Unitarian Missionary Fund, all were, or had been, in the Baptist connexion. The book abounds in items of this description. It is excellently written, and a worthy addition to the Nonconformist library.

PUDSEY AND ITS BAPTISTS; A SOUVENIR. By W. T. Garling. 144 pages, abundantly illustrated.

This handsome booklet is full of characteristic stories. One section deals with the general story, though only archæology illumines the Roman period, and the British survival of the kingdom of Elmet. The Moravian settlement is described; did Zinzendorf choose the place because it was called Fall Necke, reminding him of Fulneck in Moravia? One of its scholars last century was H. H. Asquith. The second section tells of the town as it is, and as it was within living memory: such a picture of industrial Yorkshire as gladdens the heart of every northerner, with literal pictures of dear old matrons and sturdy tykes. "A countryman with clogs, corduroys, vulgar striped waistcoat, threadbare blue coat, and a hat worse than a bricklayer's labourer" astounded a lounger at Leeds by asking for a second-hand Infinitesimal Calculus: it was Samuel Ryley of Pudsey. Trade, politics, social customs, are described at length. Mr. Garling, however, crowns the column with the capital of the Baptist Church. The denomination was known in the borough from 1826; his own church from 1845. It has done well for itself, its sister churches, and its town, to which it supplies a mayor this year. A third section is a *pot-pourri*, a directory of town and denomination, with quotations which throw very unexpected lights into the predilections of leaders, usually reputed sober.

INTERCESSION SERVICES: FOR CONGREGATIONAL USE IN PUBLIC WORSHIP. 64 pages, 1s. 3d.; Matlock, George Hodgkinson.

Here are twenty-two services arranged for joint audible prayer. They may much enrich worship, and will certainly deepen devotion; they have been drawn from many sources, including ancient Christian and modern Jewish. Dr. Jowett commends the book from experience.

TRANSACTIONS OF THE UNITARIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY; October 1923. 88 pages, Lindsey Press.

The quality of these pages is always high. Of general value is a paper on the evolution of church government in an English Presbyterian organization at Bridgwater. Of special interest to us is the lease of 1693 for the General Baptist meeting-house in Portsmouth: the indenture makes no stipulation as to doctrine, but simply ensures that so long as two people maintain the continuity of the congregation, the house is for them. Dr. Street presents reasons for still believing that Thomas Hollis, senior, and Thomas Hollis, junior, were not only Independents in church connexion, but were not Baptists. A farewell sermon at the Taunton church in 1808 by T. Southwood Smith raises puzzles, for Job David was pastor then.

The Nations Turning into the Baptist Road, was the theme of a striking cartoon at the Baptist Exhibition in Stockholm. The facts and the idea supplied by one of our members were elaborated by other enthusiasts, and embodied in a picture thirty feet long and ten feet high, painted by Mr. Tom Kerr, of Edinburgh. A plate of this has been prepared, three feet long by one foot high, and may be had from the Carey Press for a shilling. It ought to be in every Sunday school and many a home.

A Hebrew antiquary has offered to throw new light on the career of Charles Maria du Veil, of the seventeenth ventury, about whom Stinton gathered little, and no later Baptist historian learned any more. We hope during this year to present a sketch very different from that hitherto current. And from the same source we expect notes on other men who passed over from Judaism to Baptist ranks.