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The Baptist World Alliance and the approaching World Congress.

The Significance of Toronto.

THE Baptist World Alliance has come of age. It was formed on July 17th, 1905, at the First World Congress in London, England. In the early years it aroused comparatively little interest, and the interest was not always sympathetic. Some people, especially in America, imagined that it might invade the rights of existing organisations or interfere with the autonomy of national groups. The fears have proved unfounded. The Alliance is in fact dependent from first to last upon the national unions and conventions. They are its constituents, from which its funds are derived. It has no personal members or endowments, and it is to be hoped that it may never have either. Precisely as a fraternal organisation, sustained by the interest of the national groups, and embodying the common mind of the living community throughout the world, the Alliance has a true and useful place in Baptist life. It is able to express the essential spirit of Baptist churchmanship, its democratic and voluntary character, and withal its genuine and far-reaching unity of faith and outlook.

Only since the Great War have the potentialities of the Alliance begun to be realised. First of all, it enabled our people to think together over the problems of reconstruction in Europe, by convening the London Conference of 1920; and the result of that conference was the relief programme and the co-ordinated plan for the assistance of European Baptists—financed and carried through, not by the Alliance (which has no administrative authority), but by the mission boards and committees of America, Canada, Britain and other lands.

The inspirational value of the Alliance during the post-war period has been appreciated in a remarkable degree throughout the world, and I am convinced that it has now secured a permanent place in the affection and confidence of Baptists as a whole. The Stockholm Congress of 1923 was a great occasion, but of perhaps larger importance has been the work of the Executive Committee during the years following. It was on the initiative of the Executive, led by President Mullins,

that "regional conferences" were called throughout Europe, and these have aroused a denominational world-consciousness in lands in which hitherto only a local and even a "parochial" outlook had prevailed. The wide vision, statesmanlike exposition, and evangelical intensity of Dr. Mullins contributed in no small measure to the effect of these conferences. Their influence will not pass; it is registered in the feeling of our people, who now "belong together" more intimately than ever before. Within the Alliance, too, minor groupings are emerging, and these are significant of unified evangelical endeavour. The Copenhagen Conference (for example) provided the occasion for a series of resolutions in which Danish, Norwegian and Swedish Baptists set forth their sense of a peculiarly close relationship and their determination henceforth to act continuously with one another in furthering the interests of the Kingdom of God. The Baptists of the Baltic Republics are similarly drawn into intimate fellowship.

It had been hoped that President Mullins would be able to visit South Africa, where Baptists have long felt their isolation; but when it unhappily appeared that his health would not permit the journey, the Executive was fortunate in securing Dr. W. Y. Fullerton as its spokesman at the Jubilee celebrations of the South African Baptist Union. Dr. Fullerton not only addressed united gatherings, but has the unique distinction of having visited every Baptist church in the Dominion of South Africa. To-day the sense of isolation has vanished; the brethren in this part of the Southern Hemisphere know themselves part of a great whole, and they will be strongly represented at Toronto. (I hope that the Executive will during the next quinquennium fix a regional conference in Africa, and that the Alliance may also link up with the Latin-American Baptist Congress fixed for 1930). Similarly, though Australasia is far distant, contacts are multiplying. Australia is co-operating in assisting mission work in Holland; and almost the first action of the Baptist Union of Australia was to express its sense of world-fellowship by affiliating with the World Alliance. The Dominion is sending a powerful delegation to Toronto, and New Zealand will also be represented. Moreover, connection has been established by the Alliance with some of the indigenous churches of India and the Far East, and as these develop the intercourse will become more continuous and intimate.

There is indeed no assignable limit to the services which can be rendered by a body having the cultivation of Christian fellowship as its supreme end and holding aloof from special administrative tasks. It can survey the world as a whole, gather

facts, study needs, pass on suggestions to executive bodies, and perform a multitude of other functions as a "clearing-house."

Of outstanding importance is the service of the Alliance in the exposition and defence of the Baptist principle of religious freedom. I can speak here with exceptional and detailed knowledge. As Commissioner for Europe it has been my duty, on behalf of the mission boards, to which I am responsible, to maintain before Governments the rights of our brethren; and it has been an immense advantage to be able to do so not only as spokesman of the mission boards, but of the Alliance. Governments listen more readily to the opinions of a body whose membership is world-wide; moreover, this is not in their eyes a merely foreign body, since it actually includes those on whose behalf it interposes. At Geneva, too, the League of Nations can listen to representations from the Alliance, precisely because its membership covers those directly affected, so that it has their implicit and explicit authority to speak. In the long, difficult, and delicate task of contending for religious liberty in Rumania, the existence of the Alliance, and its promotion of a world-protest on behalf of the persecuted, have been factors of primary and decisive importance.

In the light of such considerations, the Congress of this year will appeal to all who care for the maintenance and effectiveness of our Baptist witness. At Toronto we shall pool our experiences; points of view, characteristic of all lands, will find expression. The World Congresses are occasions for renewing old friendships and forming new; no gatherings of Baptists are of equal value for widening our horizons and enabling us to appreciate the significance of New Testament Christianity throughout all the earth. The approaching Assembly will have peculiar worth in bringing home the significant changes of perspective within the denomination. Europe has rightly received a large share of attention during the after-war period, and must necessarily take a foremost place in our interest for many years to come. The development of preachers' schools, the struggle for freedom in religion against mediæval ideas that are still influential in certain lands, the immense possibilities bound up with the opening of Russia—such subjects will receive attention from the delegates of the Baptist brotherhood. Nevertheless, in our world-survey the outstanding facts will probably be those connected with the growing strength and independence of churches in Eastern lands, where nationalist feeling plays a new part and the indigenous groups are asserting their claims to a larger autonomy. The Toronto platform provides for Indian and Burmese and Chinese to

speaking for themselves; and their Western fellow-disciples will give sympathetic hearing to these brethren and will endeavour to gain a full understanding of their outlook. A period of tutelage is natural at the outset of missionary enterprise in new lands, but Baptists never desire that it should be prolonged. A time arrives when the missionary becomes the adviser, "*primus inter pares*" at most, and this is a stage in the normal advance towards full self-government, self-support, and self-propagation. How far the indigenous churches have moved on this road, Toronto will in some measure reveal. Not only so; it will bring us face to face with responsibilities which a denomination such as ours, now in the forefront of the evangelical peoples of the world, must assume in christianising lands that are opening to new settlers. "Frontier tasks" are to be considered; and our obligations to Western Canada, South America, and Australia, as great populations arise in hitherto unoccupied or sparsely peopled regions, will take definite form for the thought and conscience of the Baptist world. It is also to be hoped that suggestions will emerge at Toronto for a careful survey of lands still to be possessed.

Nor will the Congress be destitute of significance for the older and larger communities there represented. "Non-Christians in the home-lands" is the title of an address by one who is exceptionally qualified to speak; and the immense subject of religious and Christian education, whose problems burden the heart and mind of all serious people, comes up for careful survey by experts. These problems will also be dealt with through the "exhibit of methods," which is no "side-show," but an essential and important feature of the Toronto assembly. What duties have we in relation to peace, the conquest of the military spirit, and the reconciliation of classes and of races? Not merely formal addresses, but sectional meetings permitting full and free discussion, will be devoted to these great issues.

It goes without saying that throughout all our proceedings the Lordship of Jesus Christ, His all-sufficiency for all things, dominates our thought. We shall consider afresh the call to carry on the Great Commission; and our governing idea from beginning to end is set forth in the text that has been chosen as the Congress motto: "To sum up all things in Christ."

J. H. RUSHBROOKE.

The Early Years of the Baptist Union.

I.

A DEQUATE minutes of the Baptist Board meetings in 1810 and 1811 would be of the greatest interest, as it was in those years that the London ministers had "frequent conversations at the coffee house" concerning the "General Union of Particular Baptist Churches" that had long been mooted. Unfortunately, the scribe of that period was not a Boswell. On the 27th March, 1810, he records the annual appointment of three to represent the Board on the committee of The General Body of Protestant Dissenting Ministers of the Three Denominations: his next minute, twelve months later, is similar. Except for two or three matters with which this paper is not concerned, nothing further is minuted until the 26th March, 1812, when the General Body appointments are recorded once more. The animated debates on union; the fears lest the blessed independency of the local church, "which we hope will always continue independent," would be imperilled; the communications from the country; the important resolutions to convene the gatherings which eventuated in the Baptist Union: all are unrecorded. The writer lacked vision, or he would have given us a vivid picture of those days of small beginnings, when, amid the convivialities of the Jamaica Coffee Rooms, some "of the pastors of seventeen churches, and other ministering brethren" made their far-reaching decisions.

The earliest printed record of the proposal to form the Union is Joseph Ivimey's "Union essential to Prosperity" in the *Baptist Magazine* of June, 1811. This paper has been admirably summarized by C. M. Hardy in "Former Secretaries of the Baptist Union" (*Baptist Quarterly*, ii, 217). In the following August, the *Baptist Magazine* reverted to the subject in "An Address to the Baptist Denomination," by B. D., who lamented that, having no annual assembly, the Baptists were "a rope of sand, without cement, and consequently without strength." In October, a correspondent drew attention to a resolution of the Association of the Baptist Churches in North Wales, "That a closer union and connexion among the Baptists throughout England and Wales, Ireland and America,¹ would be a glorious thing, and we resolve to do all in our power to promote it" . . . The same Magazine in January, 1812, gives a "Welsh Speech in favour of Union" delivered in the preceding June at Newport,

¹ America! Did this Association foresee the Baptist World Alliance? Rippon had given much information of America in his *Register*.

Pembrokeshire, at the meetings of the Western Baptist Association in Wales, where, with Celtic fervour, the speaker declaimed "it appears that every consideration of importance calls on us in the most impressive manner, to cry out, till all our brethren hear, UNION, UNION, yes Union of the most extensive, firm, and durable nature." Three months later, in April, another article "On a general Union of the Baptists" appeared, and in June further support was given in a letter that occasions a smile. It is addressed "The Fathers of the Particular Baptist Churches in England, to their Sons, in the year 1812," and purports to be signed by William Collins, Andrew Gifford, Henry Forty, William Kiffin, Hansard Knollys and Benjamin Keach. It commences: "It is now more than a Century since we left the vale of tears which you inhabit, and became the residents of this celestial country," and later declares their knowledge "that our God has put it into the hearts of many to promote the good of your churches, and his own glory, by a more general union of exertion and christian fellowship than at present exists among you. This we too attempted, and for a time we prospered. But the 'Accuser of the Brethren' succeeded in filling the minds of many with evil surmisings, and unholy censures, till he at last defeated the good design." Fortified by this earthly communication from the heavenly regions, the London ministers, in the same number of the Magazine, gave notice that, following the Missionary Services on the 24th June, 1812, "The next Morning at eight o'clock, precisely, a meeting will be held at Dr. Rippon's Meeting house, Carter Lane, to take into consideration the proposed measure for an annual general Association of the Particular Baptist Churches."

In calling this meeting, the Particular Baptists re-entered a path they had not trodden for over one hundred and twenty years. They held a national Convention in London in September, 1689, but from that date local Associations represented their only organized expression. What "union" precedents influenced their decision? Obviously the fine Assembly life of the General Baptists and the New Connexion ought to have been the outstanding precedent and possibly it had some influence, but, officially and ostensibly, the Particulars were unaware of the existence of the Generals. Remembering the inadequate means of communication in the eighteenth century, it is fairly certain that the rank and file had little or no knowledge of them, but this can hardly be true of the leaders. It is impossible to believe that Joseph Ivimey's library lacked a set of the General Baptist minutes. We know that correspondence passed between him and Adam Taylor, as the latter in the preface to his *History of the English General Baptists*, acknowledges his obligations "to

. . . and the Rev. J. Ivimey for the loan of whatever they had collected in print or manuscript that would assist his design."

Movements in the Calvinistic world were doubtless noted with more sympathy. The Countess of Huntingdon's churches, after her death in 1791, became crystallized in a Connexion which influenced, and was influenced by, the Wesleyans. The Welsh Calvinistic Methodists, at their Association meeting at Bala in June, 1811, took the crucial step of ordaining eight persons, and, at a similar gathering at Llandilo two months later, they ordained thirteen more. This decisive action led to the consolidation of their ranks in a Union distinct from the Established Church, and, at the London meeting, J. H. Hinton referred to it as an example worthy to follow.

Furthermore, the age was prolific in religious societies. Baptist organisations recently constituted included the Missionary Society in 1792, which, according to Ivimey, had "already done more towards uniting our denomination than any plan that was ever devised," and the Home Missionary Society in 1797. Outside organizations, with which Baptists were closely associated, were the Religious Tract Society in 1799, the Sunday School Union in 1803, and the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1804. Unquestionably, also, the steps of the slow moving ministers of the Baptist Board were quickened by the action of the London Board of Congregational Ministers, who, in 1806, passed a resolution approving the formation of a Congregational Union. A committee drew up a scheme defining its constitution and objects, and, shortly after, the Union was actually established, and, in 1808, a sermon preached on its behalf. This Union promised to be of considerable importance, but in its working it failed to justify the hopes of its founders. It lacked vital force, possessing "but an anaemic frame," and, in less than twenty years, it was merged in the Congregational Home Missionary Society which was founded in 1819. Later, in 1831, the present Congregational Union of England and Wales was established.

Happily the early minutes of the Baptist Union until 1817 are available. They are contained in a small volume, pott 4to, originally containing 150 pages. The front parchment cover, somewhat soiled with age, is endorsed in bold handwriting "Minutes of the General Union, 1812." The book does not appear to have been seen by recent historians, and it will, therefore, be of service to let the minutes tell their own story in the permanent form of this Quarterly, *verbatim, literatim et punctatim*, with needful annotations. The first leaf is blank and not numbered: the minutes thus commence on page three, which is numbered page one.

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Minutes of the Meetings held in London on Wednesday and Thursday the 24th and 25th of June 1812.

An Union of the particular or Calvinistic Baptist Churches in Town and Country, having for several years past been considered as an object of considerable importance; the subject had been recently revived through the *Baptist Magazine*, and frequent conversations at the Coffee house. It was at length agreed to have two sermons preached on a Wednesday for the benefit of the Mission, and that on the next day a Meeting should be held to take into consideration the proposed measure of a General Union.

The Sermons were accordingly preached by brethren Fuller, and Ryland, at the Dutch Church Austin Friars, on the 24th of June, and 320 Pounds collected

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for the Mission in India.² A full account of these Meetings was published in the *Baptist Magazine* for August 1813. [An error for 1812.]

The next Morning at 8 o'clock a meeting for the purpose of promoting a Union was held at Dr. Rippons Vestry, Carter Lane.³

Dr. Rippon was called to the Chair.

Dr. Ryland opened the Meeting by prayer.

The Chairman gave a general view of the many objects likely to engage the attention of a United Association, and the many advantages resulting from it.⁴

²The B.M.S. was still considered almost a Northants organisation, where it was somewhat autocratically and exclusively run by Fuller and his local friends. The amount of this collection occasioned surprise to Fuller, who wrote the following cryptic note to Ivimey: "I thank you for your diligence in increasing the subscriptions. Go on, only let it be gently, without pressing anyone, without puffing or boasting, which are such common things in London, that Londoners are in danger of doing them without being conscious of it!" One suspects there is something more than thankfulness and a plea for humility in this.

³Carter Lane chapel was demolished in 1830 for making the approaches to London Bridge.

⁴The "objects" and "advantages" included: Prayer; Support of the B.M.S.; Reports from the churches; Support of Academies and students; Catechising; Superannuation; Education of the children of deceased ministers; Village Preaching; Sunday Schools; Pence Societies; Literature; New buildings; which, Dr. Rippon added, "presented but a few articles, out of a vast multitude, which would press themselves on the consideration of such an Assembly, in which *whatever* relates to the real interests of the denomination at home and abroad, would engage the general attention."

The following resolutions were then adopted.

i. Resolved that a more general Union of the Particular (or calvinistic) Baptist churches in the United Kingdom is very desirable.

ii. Resolved that an annual meeting be held in London or elsewhere on the last Wednesday and Thursday in June.

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iii. Resolved that the first meeting be held in London, (by divine permission) the 23rd of June 1813, when two sermons shall be preached and collections made in aid of the Mission.

iv. Resolved that a respectful invitation be given to our Churches, and Associations,⁵ in the Country; to appoint Messengers to meet their brethren in London at that time.

v. Resolved that the objects of the Association be the promotion of the cause of Christ in general; and the interests of the denomination in particular; with a primary view to the encouragement and support of the Baptist Mission.

vi. That the Associated Ministers in London,⁶ be a Committee for the present

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year, to manage the concerns of the Association; and that all communications relative thereto be addressed (free of expence) to their Secretaries, Mr. Button No. 24 Paternoster Row, and Mr. Ivimey No. 56, Red Lion Street Holborn.

vii. Resolved that brethren Sutcliff and Hall be requested to preach the sermons next year; and in case of failure brethren Hinton and Steadman.

viii. Resolved that the thanks of this meeting be respectfully presented to the Elders of the Dutch Church, for their friendly attention in lending us their place of worship.

ix. Resolved that brethren Fuller and Ryland be requested to print their Sermons for the use of the Mission.

⁵ The English Associations then in existence were: Western, Midland, Lancs. and Yorks., Northern, Northants., Norfolk & Suffolk, Kent & Sussex, Essex, Oxford, Salop, Hants. & Wilts., and the newly established Norfolk and Bucks. & Herts. Welsh Associations also were in existence.

⁶ The associated ministers were: Abraham Austin, William Bradley, Robert Burnside, William Button, Francis Augustus Cox, James Dore, John J. Douglas, Joseph Hughes, Thomas Hutchings, Joseph Ivimey, Joseph Jenkins, William Newman, John Ovington, John Penny, Thomas Powell, John Rippon, John Brittain Shenston, William Shenston, Thomas Sowerby, Thomas Thomas, Timothy Thomas, James Upton and Thomas Waters.

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A prayer meeting was afterwards held. Mr. Hinton of Oxford prayed and delivered an animated impressive, and appropriate address on the Nature and Advantages of Christian Union.⁷ Bro. Stanger of Bessels Green Kent, concluded. The following Pastors gave their names to the Secretary as favouring the proposed plan of Union.⁸

Berkshire.			
Abingdon	John Evans	Rayleigh	Jas. Pilkington
		Langham	Zenas Trivett
Buckinghamshire.			
		Potter's Bar,	Saml. Bligh
Olney,	John Sutcliff	Gloucestershire.	
Goldhill,	Daniel Dorsett		
Chenies,	William Lewis	Tewksbury,	Danl. Trotman
Chesham,	Wm. Tomlin	Horsley,	Wm. Winterbotham
Luton [Beds]	Ebenezer Daniel	Bristol	} John Ryland Thos. Roberts
		Broadmead	
Cornwall.			
Penzance	Geo. C. Smith		
Falmouth	Thomas Griffin	Hertfordshire.	
		St. Albans,	John Carter
Devonshire.			
Tiverton	Thomas Smith	Hertford,	Wm. James
Hampshire.			
	Essex.	Forton,	Thos. Tilly
Harlow	John Bain	Lymington,	Wm. Giles.
Saffron	} Josiah Wilkinson		
Waldron			

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Romsey,	[William] Yarnold	Wild Street	Thos. Waters
Swannick,	Jas. Chapman	Bow	Wm. Newman
[near Southampton]		Hackney	F. A. Cox
Huntingdonshire.			
		Southwark,	
		Church St.	James Upton
Hale Weston,	Jas. Farley	Carter Lane,	John Rippon
		Dean Street,	Wm. Button
Kent.			
		Lyon St. Walworth,	John Chin
Chatham,	John Knott	Harlington,	Edward Torlin
Lessness-Heath,	Wm. Coleman	Staines,	Thos. Silvester
Woolwich,	Wm. Culver	Hammersmith	Thos. Uppadine
Crayford,	John Rowe		

⁷ The address is printed in the *Baptist Magazine*, October 1812.

⁸ The list comprises about one-seventh of the Particular Baptist Ministers in England.

Seven Oaks,	Thos. Shirley	Norfolk.
Bessels Green,	John Stanger	Norwich, Mark Wilks
Eyethorn,	John Giles	
Eynsford,	John Rogers	Northamptonshire.
Margate	Geo. Atkinson	Kettering, Andrew Fuller
Ryegate	Reynold Hogg	
	Middlesex.	Oxford
		Oxfordshire. James Hinton
London,		
Devonshire Square	Tim Thomas	Somersetshire.
Eagle Street,	Jos. Ivimey	Frome, Saml. Saunders
Alie Street,	Wm. Shenston	
	Tho. Thomas	Sussex.
Fetter Lane,	Abr. Austin	Lewes, Moses Fisher
		Suffolk.
		Walton, Abr. Kersey Cowell

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Shropshire.
Shrewsbury, John Palmer

Wiltshire.
Salisbury, John Saffery
Westbury Liegh, Geo. Phillips
Melksham, Thos. Ward

Worcestershire.
Worcester, Wm. Belsher

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Meeting of the Committee at the Jamaica Coffee house
Cornhill Jan^{ry} 12, 1813.

Present Rippon, Button, Thos. Thomas, Newman, [William]
Shenstone, Powell, Waters, Cox, Douglas, Ivimey and Austin.

Resolved, that a Sub-committee of five persons, with power
to add to their number, be appointed; to prepare a plan for
conducting the next Annual Meeting.

Resolved, that brethren Rippon, Timy. Thomas; Thomas
Thomas; Button, and Ivimey be that Committee.

Meeting of the Sub-committee at Bro. Buttons Paternoster
Row, Janry. 19, 1813. Dr. Rippon in the Chair.

It was proposed, and agreed, that our brother Newman be
added to the Sub-committee.

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Meeting of the Committee at the Jamaica Coffee house Febry 16 1812. [An error for 1813.]

Present Newman, Thos. Thomas, Wm Shenstone, Douglas, Hutchings and Ivimey.

Bro Cox in the Chair.

The report of the Sub-committee was read by the Secretary and after some alterations was adopted, viz.

1. Agreed that the Secretaries write to brethren Hall and Sutcliff requesting them to preach at the next Annual Meeting.
2. Agreed that the invitation to the Churches and County Associations be given through the medium of the *Baptist Magazine* for April next, and that the Messengers appointed be in Town by Tuesday the 23rd of June to meet the Committee at Dr. Rippon's Vestry at 3 o'clock in the Afternoon precisely, to prepare a Report to be read to the General Assembly.

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3. Agreed that brethren Rippon and Ivimey be appointed to look out a suitable place of worship for the annual meeting, and report the next meeting.

4. Agreed to request Dr. Rippon to draw up an address of invitation to our brethren in the Country agreeable to the second Resolution.

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[*To be continued.*]

SEYMOUR J. PRICE.

Bunyan as a Lover of Music.

THE preparation of a Cantata on "Bunyan, the Dreamer" has made needful a further and fuller study of his works. This study has clearly revealed Bunyan to be both a music-lover and child-lover; two phases of his character that have not received much attention from his biographers. Here, I deal only with the former of the two characteristics.

As to music—it is but natural that its charm should be felt by one who was, in spirit, a poet, and whose being was so dominated by imagination. In early boyhood he was fascinated by the bell-chimes of Elstow Church. As a young man, he tells us he had "taken much delight" in ringing, and this delight led him, for a time, to ally himself with the band of village bell-ringers. His confessed love of dancing also brought him under the sway of other forms of instrumental music; and, doubtless,

when mingling with his boon companions, he became familiar with songs and ballads of the day. That the fondness for music thus awakened in life's prime remained with him throughout later years none can doubt who are familiar with his writings.

I.—BELLS.

The chiming and pealing of bells seemed to be in his ears throughout his life. When Christian and Hopeful had the Celestial City in view, "they thought they heard all the bells therein to ring to welcome them thereto." After they went through the gates, "all the bells in the City rang again for joy." In Part II of the Allegory, Mr. Valiant, speaking of Tell-True's arrival in heaven, says that "all the bells of the City did ring for joy at his reception"; and when Christiana and her company reached the land of Beulah they were regaled by the tuneful notes of the bells.

In the *Holy War* the misguided inhabitants of Mansoul, thinking Diabolus had gained some advantage, "rang the bells and made merry." Later, when the Recorder read Prince Emmanuel's pardon for the rebels, order was given to the young men "that they should ring the bells for joy. So the bells did ring, and the people did sing, and the music go in every house in Mansoul." Yet once more, when the Prince bestowed freedom on the inhabitants, the boon was hailed by bell-ringing and shoutings of gladness. Later the faithless folk turned to Diabolus. The news reached the "rabblement" of Lucifer, Apollyon, and Beelzebub. As soon as the letter announcing it was read, "command was given that, without let or stop, Deadman's bell should ring for joy. Now the clapper of the bell went: 'The town of Mansoul is coming to dwell with us; make room for the town of Mansoul!' This bell, therefore, they did ring because they did hope they should have Mansoul again." At the end of the story, the final victory of Emmanuel is celebrated by bell ringing.

II.—TRUMPETS AND OTHER INSTRUMENTS.

But greater even than Bunyan's love of bell music was his admiration for the sound of the trumpet. This seemed almost to be a passion with him, doubtless having its birth in his earlier experiences of soldiering. Constant references to trumpets and other instruments are found in his two best-known works.

Faithful was carried up through the clouds "with the sound of trumpet." The Heavenly host coming forth to meet Christian and Hopeful were accompanied by "several of the King's trumpeters" who were clothed in "white and shining raiment," and with their melodious and loud noises they made "even the

Heavens to echo with the sound." These trumpeters are pictured as saluting Christian and his fellow with ten thousand welcomes. As the two redeemed pilgrims walked on towards the gate the royal musicians remained with them, ever and anon "greeting them with joyful sound," and by looks and gestures signifying how welcome they were.

No sooner had Christiana and her children entered the house through the Wicket Gate than the Keeper summoned a trumpeter who was above "over the gate" and bade him to "entertain the guests with shouting and sound of trumpet for joy." He responded to the summons and "filled the air with his melodious notes." What a pæan of gladness was heard when Mr. Standfast and his comrades were received into Heaven! "Glorious it was to see how the upper region was filled . . . with trumpeters and pipers, with singers and players upon stringed instruments to welcome the pilgrims."

One would expect to find references to martial music in a book of battles, and in the *Holy War* the "blast of trumpets" is heard again and again. The first reference occurs in the Prologue:—

I saw the Prince's armèd men come down;

I saw the Captains, heard the trumpets sound.

As the story unfolds, time after time trumpets are named at almost every stage. The heralds, when bringing Emmanuel's messages, approach the gate to the sound of the trumpet, and in each charge the trumpet call is heard. Diabolus and his myrmidons also use the instrument, and when they are defeated the unbounded joy of Mansoul's people is expressed in a fashion that stirs the blood of the reader. "The bells rung, the minstrels played, the people danced, the captains shouted, the colours waved in the wind, and the silver trumpets sounded." At the final triumph "all the King's trumpeters" climbed up to the Castle battlements and there made "the best music that heart could invent," and Bunyan tells us how the men of Mansoul were greatly cheered at "this melodious charm of the trumpets."

On occasion, Bunyan refers to other instruments. We read concerning the prisoners pardoned by the Prince that they "went down to the camp with heavy hearts but came back again with pipe and tabour playing before them." When the triumphant Prince was escorted to his Palace it was ordered that "His Blessed Majesty should be entertained by them that had the best skill in music in all the town." Then, quoting from the Psalm, Bunyan adds: "The singers went before, the players on instruments followed after, and among them were damsels

playing on timbrels." For the conquering Prince "what music the town of Mansoul would afford, that they might play before him to the Palace!" On his arrival there, during the feasts there was "music all the while at the tables." The musicians are described as "masters of songs sung at the court of El Shaddai."

It will be remembered that in the second part of the "Pilgrim," when Christiana and her companions were entertained in the House Beautiful, they saw there a pair of excellent virginals. The damsel Prudence played upon these, and turned what she showed to Christiana and the children into "an excellent song."

Again, Bunyan displays more than a superficial knowledge of music and musical instruments when he describes Mr. Fearing. After pointing out that some must pipe and some must weep, he says: "Now Mr. Fearing was one that played upon the Bass. He and his fellows play upon the Sackbut whose notes are more doleful than the notes of other music are; though, indeed, some say that the Bass is the ground of music." He then states that musicians usually make the bass the first string they touch when intending to put all in tune. Taking up the parable he points out that God also plays upon this string first when He sets the soul in tune for Himself. Bunyan excuses his musical metaphors by explaining that he uses them "for the ripening of the wits of young readers." He finds a further excuse in the fact that "in the book of Revelation, the saved are compared to a company of musicians that play upon trumpets and harps and sing their songs before the Throne."

In the last scene, when Christiana had entered through the gates, "her children wept, but Mr. Greatheart and Mr. Valiant played upon the well-tuned cymbal and harp for joy."

III.—SONGS AND SINGING.

When from instrumental we turn to vocal music, we are led to conclude without a doubt that Bunyan loved songs and singing. After Christian had lost his burden at the Cross he "leaps for joy and went on singing." At break of day, when he awakes from slumber in the Chamber called Peace, again he bursts into song. Thenceforth, he is pictured as a singing pilgrim; his songs being given after (1) leaving the Giants Pope and Pagan, (2) the passing Heavenward of Faithful, (3) the parting with Demas and By-ends, (4) the fray with the Lion and the Bear, and, (5) leaving Castle Doubting.

The companions of Christian also make their hopes and desires vocal in song. Faithful celebrates his "shaking off of shame" by singing. Christian and Hopeful cheer one another

with melody and, on leaving the meadows with lilies and the river with its fruitful trees, they sing:—

Behold ye how these crystal streams do glide,
To comfort pilgrims by the high-way side.

Indeed, out of three dozen sets of verses in the two parts of *Pilgrim's Progress* twenty-two clearly are songs introduced by such phrases as "he went on his way singing," "then he sang," or, "she turned it into song." Even where the lines are described as "said," probably singing is implied; for with Bunyan the words seem to be interchangeable. Witness the two instances (1) of Prudence:—"She played and showed them this excellent song—*saying*—": and (2) the Shepherd Boy, who "as he sat by himself sung. So they hearkened, and he *said*—."

As Bunyan nears the close of his first part he pictures the pilgrims entering the country of Beulah where they heard continually the singing of birds. In their talk of future glories they speak of the time when they shall serve the King "with praise and with shouting and thanksgiving." Upon entering within the Celestial City they "sing with a loud voice 'Blessing, honour, glory, and power, etc.'" Thus the allegory ends on the note of song.

On coming to the second stage of the story, dealing, for the most part, with women and children, we are not surprised that music and song figure in it even more than in the earlier pages. In the Prologue the writer expresses the hope that the story may to some children bring again the time when they shall raise their "Hosannas" to their Lord. Secret, the King's messenger, brings a summons to Christiana, bidding her start on the journey, and in so doing gives to her "one of the songs thou must sing while thou art in the house of thy pilgrimage." This she was to learn by heart and teach to her children. We are told that the Interpreter "did usually entertain those that lodged with him with music at their meals." One guest sang to them "and a very fine voice he had."

That Bunyan was familiar with the Psalm Versions of his day, especially those of Sternhold and Hopkins, is shown by the fact that three or four times he quotes the versified Psalms, on one occasion making Christiana to hear sung in the Grove a verse from Kethe's one hundredth Psalm—

For why the Lord our God is good,
His mercy is for ever sure, etc.

Yet one more proof of our author's love for music is yielded by his *Book for Boys and Girls*, consisting of rhymes and verses. The original edition, published in 1686, was, for a long time, lost. About forty years ago when a copy was discovered

it was reproduced in facsimile. Now George Offor in his edition of the work gives no music because he had before him a later version. But the original edition is of special interest because it contains two *Airs* printed with obsolete clefs that—Dr. John Brown points out—were found in Christopher Simpson's "Compendium of Practical Musik" published 1678. These *Airs* are printed in the old diamond-shaped notes. One is entitled "Of the Rosebush" and under it are three verses to be sung to the melody. The other is headed "Of the Child with the Bird at the Bush," and the verses to be sung are described by Mr. Gwilym Griffith in his *Human Story of John Bunyan* as possessing a "Blake-like" charm. The melodies are quaint and pleasing, having an old-world beauty of their own. In the Cantata above-named they appear with simple accompaniments and so are made available for the boys and girls of to-day. The source of the *Airs* has not, up to the present, been discovered. Were they supplied specially for the verses by an unnamed composer of the day? Did Bunyan write his lines to a familiar country Folk Song? or, did he himself compose the music? None can say. But another melody, well-known in the Baptist Churches of Lancashire, where it is used for Harbottle's hymn "Farewell my friends, belov'd," is, according to tradition, the original for Valiant's song "Who would true valour see." Dr. George B. Cheever, in his *Lectures on Pilgrim's Progress*—published 1846—says of this song "there is an old melody to which this poetry is set which has been said likewise to have been composed by Bunyan: how true this may be we know not; but the spirit of the music is in excellent harmony with the stanzas, the melody being such as any cheerful, resolute pilgrim, fond of music, might hum to himself upon his journey."

This is the only case known to me of any one hinting that Bunyan might have composed music. Certainly such a thing is not impossible, for amidst the ruggedness and crudeness of his many rhymes one comes across some that are highly lyrical in quality, and, here and there, even his prose has a rythmical and musical lilt. Still, until further proof is to hand the matter must be left in the haze of tradition.

Enough has been here written to show that beyond all cavil John Bunyan loved and appreciated music and song, and that, in spirit, he was both a poet and a musician.

In closing we may apply to him the words he put into the mouth of Mercy. Christiana and she, as they lie in their chamber at the Porter's Lodge, hear "a noise of music." Then Mercy exclaims: "Wonderful. Music in the house, music in the heart, and music also in Heaven for joy that we are here."

CAREY BONNER.

General Baptists in Surrey and Sussex.

I. Lewes-Ditchling.

THE General Baptists in Surrey and Sussex were dotted in numerous hamlets during the seventeenth century. Some gathered into churches with buildings of their own, as at Billingshurst, Chichester, Horsham. Others continued widely scattered, as at Turner's Hill, Horley, Nutfield; a study of this church appeared in the *Quarterly*, volume II, page 324. It is possible to present a sketch of another church of this type, owing very much to Sir William Bull, M.P., who has placed at our disposal a large volume of his family records, which includes a transcript of the church-book, 1737-1803. It has been freely annotated by various students, and in return for further annotations, we have extracted the general story.

The first news of this church, however, is in the returns of the incumbents in 1669 to the bishop of Chichester. At Twineham, in the house of James Wood, Michael Martyn and others unknown ministered to about forty mean people. There was a meeting at Barcombe, served by Thomas Chroucher. Another at Ditchling, besides the Presbyterians under Mr. Lulham. At Balcombe, seven or eight families, tradesmen and labourers. At Westmeston, two hundred used to meet, many of good estate, served by Richard Turner, Thomas Hallett (ex-clergyman), Edward Lullham and John Earle, in a house called Blackbrooke. Another large meeting at Brighthelmstone in the houses of William Beard and Henry Smythe. Lewes seems omitted from the summary.

It is not said by the vicars that all these were Baptists; and it is probable that some were not, originally. But most of them contributed to the wide-spread Baptist church. Of this we have other tokens in a pamphlet printed in 1670, and reprinted by Crosby in his *History*. A meeting estimated by its enemies at 500—for the larger it was, the more money they could get in fines—was held at the house where usually they met, within a mile of Lewes, on Sunday 29th May. The pathetic account of the information, the conviction, and the distrains, gives us a list of the local people:—Walter Bret, grocer in Lewes, Thomas Barnard and Richard Barnard, draper, Richard White, brazier, John Tabret, carrier, Thomas Ridge of the Cliff, draper, John Prior of the Cliff, cheesemonger, Richard Thomas, butcher, Edward Henly, shoemaker, Samuel Cruttenden, haberdasher,

Thomas Elphick, shoemaker, Richard Bennett, tailor, Edward Whisket, victualler, Nicholas Grisbrook, blacksmith, William Humphrey, barber, Benjamin Wood, mason, John Knappe, barber, Henry Owden, carpenter, Thomas Thowl, butcher, Richard Mantle, William Ridge of Ford. The same day there was a meeting at Brighthelmstone, in the house of William Beard, maltster. Another also at Chiltington, in the house of Nicholas Martin, farmer.

Two years later, the king offered to issue licences to approved persons and places. Among those taken locally, we find William Mills, Congregational, for the house of Ninian Tasker at Balcomb; Edward Newton, ex-clergyman, Presbyterian, for the house of widow Swan, in Lewes; Joseph Osbourne, Independent, for the house of John Fryland in Brighthelmstone; the houses of Edward Lulham and Robert Marchant at Ditchling; of Robert Kenwood at Isfield; of Stephen Ridge and John Browne at Westmeston. None of these were described as Baptist.

No one seems to have explored the Quarter Sessions rolls, to see what persons and places were registered in and after 1689.

When James imitated his brother and issued a Declaration of indulgence, Edward Newton immediately fitted up a place for worship in Lewes. By November 1695, some deeds connected with this disclose Walter Brett the grocer, Thomas and Richard Barnard, and others, as adherents. Thomas Barnard was now helping Newton. Apparently he bought property on the south side of the High street, near the West Gate, and converted it into a meeting-house. There was some re-arrangement about 1707, when Barnard and Newton parted company; and more in 1711, when a congregation under John Ollive joined Barnard. Into the story of this Presbyterian group we need not go fully. In 1715, Dr. Evans of London heard not only of that church, but of a Baptist church also in Lewes, with no pastor reported. In fact, the headquarters—in so far as there was any—was not at Lewes but at Ditchling, ten miles west.

In 1704, when after eight years' split, the General Baptists re-united, Nathaniel Webb attended as Elder, with Pannett and [William] Wood as representatives. The Assembly split again in 1709; next year the church sent again, this time to the party which declined making any evangelical declaration. Webb did not come; Thomas Ansell and William Wood did not seem to appreciate the proceedings, and no representatives came again till 1715. Then Webb tried afresh, and was so little profited that six years elapsed before another attendance. In 1721, the Assembly met at Chichester; Henry Wood and Robert Chatfield went. The Assembly commissioned William Wood to accompany

the Messenger, James Richardson, to Ireland, to settle some difficulties, apparently in the church at Dublin.

Their neighbour, Robert Nordon of Warbleton, had been sent even further afield, to Virginia, and was expected back to report; but though there was much interest in the colonial mission, this particular church never referred to it.

By his will of 30th September 1725, William Wood left £5 to the poor of "the Baptist Meeting in and about Ditchling and Lewes." The attorney was Michael Marten.

In 1731 there was a second re-union of Assemblies, when Daniel Brown and Thomas Buckman attended as Elders. Next year Buckman brought a second Nathaniel Webb and William Denman as representatives; the question of building meeting-houses was then raised. In 1733 he brought John Ansell, and they agreed to a careful declaration assuring the Northants Association that very few churches approved singing hymns, and all objected to sign doctrinal articles, preferring the plain words of Scripture. In 1734 Matthew Hunter was the sole representative, and agreed to an exhortation to build meeting-houses; so next year did Buckman and James Broomfield. But shortly afterwards, Buckman died, and the church had to choose new officers.

Meanwhile, the repeated adjurations to build had impressed Robert Chatfield of Street. From the lord of the manor of Camos-court he obtained a copyhold plot at the Twitten, on East End lane in Ditchling, perhaps in 1700; he built a meeting-house upon it and offered the plot as a burial ground. When making his will on 24th February 1734/5, he enjoined his son to make a good title to this for Thomas Buckman, Thomas Wood, Stephen Agate and Michael Marten at Fragbarrow. This was duly done on 30th April 1740, when the rood of ground was enfranchised, conveyed to twelve trustees with absolute discretion as to what charitable uses they and their successors would devote it to: and on 14th June it was enrolled in Chancery. The example fired the members in Lewes, and next year they bought a plot on the south of Eastport Lane; a building was soon erected, and on 30th April 1743, it was conveyed on the same wide trust to apparently the same trustees, namely, Joseph Mercer of Isfield yeoman, Michael Marten of Ditchling yeoman, Stephen Agate of Ditchling turner, John Caffin of Clayton yeoman, Thomas Hunter of Southover weaver, Matthew Hunter of Lewes grocer, Stephen Inden of Southover maltster, John Harman of Lewes pipemaker, John Ansell of Westfrie fellmonger, Benjamin Webb of Patcham yeoman, Michael Marten of Plumpton yeoman, and James Browne of Chailey mercer. The church thus

now possessed two meeting-houses. It also certified the house of Mr. Stephenson in the parish of Marsfield as another place of worship.

On 23rd May 1737, three Elders were ordained, Buckman being evidently dead: John Dancy, Michael Marten, and Stephen Agate. John Caffin and Daniel Bourn were also appointed Deacons, in addition to Thomas Hunter. It is rather singular that the church seldom sent any Elder to the Assembly; this may be connected with the fact that the Assembly would not allow any church to cast more than two votes; the church usually sent two representatives, with 12s. to pay their expenses, 21s. for the Messengers' Fund, and 10s. for the General Baptist Fund. In 1749 the church asked for a short catechism for children, and the Assembly commissioned three men to draw one up and print it.

There was a general stock-taking in May 1753, when two Messengers came for a visitation. Three more deacons were ordained, by prayer and the laying on of hands of the Messengers; these were Matthias Copper of Tunbridge Wells, nearly at the end of a long career, with Thomas Harrison of Bessels Green, newly promoted. Next day, at Fragborough farm, 145 members assembled, held a love-feast, and observed the rite of feet-washing.

A new Memorandum Book was begun; unfortunately the book previously in use is mislaid; it is said that this began with 1689, which is quite possible. The new book had entered into it the list of members, 167 in all at the time. Not all the residences are given, but the following are named:—Ditchling, Cuckfield, Lewes, Bolney, Balcombe, Brighthelmstone, Falmer, Newick, Cowfold, Henfield, Uckfield, Chailey, Chilmington, Chittingley, Clayton, Crawley, Isfield, Keymer, Rotherfield, Westmeston. It should be remembered that there were other G.B. churches near, Waldron to the east, Turner's Hill and Horsham to the north, Chichester to the west; the group we are studying was mostly within ten miles of Ditchling. Within a fortnight four men from Lewes joined, including a grazier named Aron Lempière. The accessions were constant, some being baptized every year; when the register closed in 1802, after exactly fifty years, 278 had been added. So that the church was distinctly alert in this period. A baptistery was built in 1758.

The minutes rarely show more than one meeting in the year, usually in May, preparatory to the Assembly. It is evident that a close watch was kept over the morals of the members, for there are constant notes of admonition, enquiry, acquittal or suspension, exclusion. As one or two cases were of prominent

members, advice was sought from the Assembly, which replied that public sin must be met with public excommunication.

The church took an annual collection for its ministers, and was liberal to other causes; at Braintree, Earl Shilton; even when a London church had to rebuild in 1754, a house-to-house collection was taken, realizing £9 13s. The representatives that year were bidden ask how much cash there was in the Messengers' Fund; this might either be a hint that accounts ought to be presented, or an offer to contribute, as was done regularly for years. Four guineas were sent in 1757, and the account shows that the third centre now served Homebush, Sidnye, and East-ridge, i.e. Cuckfield and Cowfold. Soon we hear of Chailey also as a regular centre.

Michael Marten senior hardly appears again; it is possible that his work lay in the Lewes district; but there was another in 1743, at Plumpton, also a yeoman; and a third was baptised in 1758, and at once proposed as deacon with three others. Affairs were so flourishing that it was proposed to elect two more Elders that year; but as in a previous case, no action is recorded.

Trouble however was brewing. In 1759 some people wished to join without being baptised, and presently people styled under the Denomination of Methodist were requested to refrain from coming to our communion. Then John Simmonds was disliked as a preacher, and Henry Booker declared it was no true Christian church. The church invoked two Messengers, Samuel Fry of Horsleydown and William Evershed of Horsham; thirty-four people met on 20th October, 1762, and it was agreed that the Elders should plan Simmonds where he was acceptable, that Booker be expelled, and that members who had been adhering to a Methodist ministry were requested to attend the Baptist meetings. On June 1st, 1763, Booker founded a new church, at Wivelsfield, to which many members were peaceably dismissed in the next few years: a surprising thing is that it became extremely Strict and Particular. There arose also in 1778 another of this type at Handcross, which invoked the help of Booker and of Michael Bligh of Sevenoaks; out of this arose Dorman's Land. The links with Battle and Brighthelmstone Particular Baptist churches cannot be detailed here.

Stephen Agate died about 1762, therefore Michael Marten and John Godard were chosen Elders to be colleagues with John Dancy; but there is again no record that they were ever ordained. Meantime John Simmonds gave more trouble, and had to be silenced. He simplified matters by leaving, and joining Booker at the end of 1764. Despite these losses, the

register shows constant accessions by baptism. In the difficult situation, the church invited the Kent and Sussex G.B. Association to meet here in June 1765, hoping to get new Elders; but nothing happened.

Further discontent with old methods is evident in 1767, when the rite of feet-washing was observed by only ninety members, others not being persuaded of the duty. John Dancy performed his last duty this year, and urgent application was made to Michael Marten and John Godard to accept office; the latter was encouraged by a request for the G.B. Fund to send him books, while Philip Dobel (living in the church house) who took the request, was trusted with 10s. to pay over. This became an annual gift. By 1771 it was clear that no Elders were forthcoming, and even Ministers were scarce. Isaac Mott was "desired to officiate occasionally as Elder," but apparently he would not; nor did three others accept a proffered election; at last in 1773 Thomas Agate agreed to officiate in the ministry at Ditchling, though he was not even asked to be Elder.

The situation is the more remarkable as Philip Dobel responded to frequent appeals from South Carolina and went out to Charles Town with the commendation of the Assembly; this church never offered him any post, though it allowed him to live in the church house. All baptisms, laying on of hands, communions, church meetings, were carried on by a Messenger coming. Yet membership was easily maintained, and in 1776 we hear of a meeting-house at Cuckfield. Further efforts for Elders proved useless, even though backed by the Assembly; and for five years no meeting was recorded. Ten people however were baptised in 1778, including Thomas Sadler; three in 1779; ten in 1780; ten in 1782, in which year they did at last have two deacons ordained by prayer and laying on of hands—John Bourne and Thomas Pannett, who with Aaron Lemprière, Thomas Walder and Simeon Buckman made a good staff to attend to all the property and expenses. This indeed needed attention, and new trustees were appointed in 1778 for the Lewes Meeting House; yet more deacons were called for in 1783, and two Elders. The only real acceptance seems to have been John Burgess, as Minister. The Martens lost two or three members, and James Drowley of Lewes came to preach funeral sermons in 1786, 1789; but he left for America in 1793. Another severe loss was the resignation of a deacon from membership, Simeon Buckman, in 1788.

Another new factor appeared in these years. A new Connexion of General Baptists had been formed in 1770, but on ambiguous terms had joined with the Assembly in 1783. Dan

Taylor came on a preaching and begging tour through Chichester, Lewes, Waldron, and on into Kent. But no note of this appears in the Ditchling book.

Charles Lloyd was admitted by baptism and laying on of hands on 31st January 1791. He had been introduced by Toulmin of Taunton, and kept a school. He represented a new type, a cultured minister of Presbyterian training, now practically Unitarian: he published in 1813 anonymously *Particulars of the life of a Dissenting Minister*. He was sent as representative to Assembly, but in 1793 removed to Exeter, so his influence on the church was not long.

The building at Ditchling had to be repaired next year; there never seems to have been difficulty in raising funds, whether for local or general purposes; and a letter to the Assembly in 1794 said the church was ready to pay for ministerial help. Next year it seems that some one had settled, but at Lewes. This was a new departure in two respects, a salaried ministry, and semi-dissolution of the church. In 1797 the first statistical report showed one Elder, four assistant Ministers, two Deacons, and 149 members. At Ditchling henceforth an annual collection was taken for the new Fund to educate young ministers. And in 1799, Thomas Sadler junior, baptised in 1798, was sent to be educated by John Evans of Islington; he settled however at Horsham, so the new policy did not help this particular church. In later days a third Thomas Sadler won wider fame in Unitarian circles: see the D.N.B.

Another crisis arose in 1801, both local and general. Some one applied for membership without baptism; no decision was reported. Then William Vidler, who had wrecked a Particular Baptist church at Battle-Northiam-Brighthelmstone, and had become pastor of a Universalist church in London, asked admission of that church to the Assembly, although it had unbaptised members. The Assembly referred the question to each church, and Ditchling approved. When the vote was taken, a rule was laid down as to voting, with the result that though representatives of about 3,700 members voted against, and 1,200 for, yet as thirteen churches voted for, and five against, it was admitted. The New Connexion at once ended its uneasy fellowship. The Assembly was soon greatly transformed; it shrank to one third of its size, and vainly sought to balance by admitting Unitarians.

The effect on Ditchling was quite as marked. For from Vidler's church there now came Abraham Bennett, and there was at last an Elder. Apparently this gave trouble, for Lewes definitely separated on 22nd May 1803. Its subsequent history

was remarkable; at first Richard Snelgrove was Elder, then Bennett was called in for a year, then John William Morris the biographer and publisher of Fuller, who went on in 1817 to a hyper-Calvinist church. About 1826 the church merged with the old Westgate cause from which it had parted in 1709, both being now quite Unitarian.

Bennett pulled together the western section, which took the title "Ditchling, Cuckfield and Barcomb." Baptisms were frequent, and in 1805 he reported three assistants and 104 members. Ten years later he inaugurated a day-school for boys, and another for girls, next year: these Nonconformist "voluntary schools" have been too often forgotten. Bennett ended in 1818, and five years passed before there was another stable pastorate. Then Gideon Duplock came 1823-30, and the changed order was shown when he accepted a call away to another church: the growth of a professional order of ministers is evident. George Withall was here 1832-37, and in his day the registers were given up to Somerset House; births from 1798, deaths and burials from 1821. After two experiments another pastor was found in Thomas Gilbert, 1841-52.

By this time there was plentiful provision made for worship in the district. To say nothing of the old Independents and the Methodists, or of the Establishment, several Particular Baptist churches had arisen, of which Wivelsfield had been the pioneer. Rotherfield 1774, Lewes 1781, Uckfield Rockhall 1785, Brighton 1786 and 1824 and 1856, Dane Hill 1827, Cuckfield Zion 1845, Balcombe 1858, these had to be reckoned with. Occasional help from cultured men like Hale White, and students from Manchester New College, did not reinvigorate the church. The Cuckfield meeting-house was closed, and for a long time some £153 was held in connection with it. Thomas Carter 1864-67, Edgar Daplyn 1889-92, seem to have been the only pastors.

The trust had always been extremely flexible: it might almost appear that the trustees could turn the property into a Cottage Hospital or Almshouses. What really did happen was, complete estrangement from the Assembly, one of whose Messengers in 1869 hinted at mere rationalism: and as there had long been unbaptised communicants, with a total of only twelve when the last return was made, a frank assumption of the title, Free Christian Church.

W. T. WHITLEY.

II.—Baptists at Outwood.

IN the secluded parish of Burstow, Surrey, adjoining the Sussex border, is a wooded hill with a beautiful common appropriately named Outwood. There is no village: a few cottages and two windmills by the common, several farm-houses and residences near, and some old moated mansions at the foot of the hill, suffice for its sparse population. Even now, three miles from a railway station and approached by narrow lanes and bye-roads, its growth is slow.

The rise of the "Turners Hill and Horley General Baptist Cause" in the latter half of the seventeenth century, with its meetings gradually extending from West Hoathly, in the south, to Oxted on the north, and from East Grinstead to Charlwood in the west, soon touched this district and attracted some of its people to spiritual things, amongst them John Tasker, a young blacksmith who, in 1710, when about twenty-four years old, began to preach at Outwood. He grew in wisdom and gifts. In 1718 he published a pamphlet, "An examination of Mr. Stoke's argument for Infant Sprinkling." In 1733 he became Elder, as their ministers were styled, of the General Baptist Meeting at Horsham; published several more controversial treatises, and acted as "scribe" or secretary in matters of Church business till his strenuous life ended in 1768.

There was no regular meeting at Outwood, but in the zealous years of the early eighteenth century, the General Baptists preached at houses opened by friends at Horne, Smallfields, Wetherhill, Nutfield, Ridge Green, "Ivy House" Bletchingley, Oxted, &c.; places near enough to attend for people who regarded all their scattered meetings as parts of one local Church.

In 1760, on the death of Griffell English, their then leading minister, the General Baptist meetings, long held at his house, ceased at Turners Hill, and Horley became the titular headquarters.

Meetings were also held alternately at Brother Richard Holliday's, "Cogmans," a farm-house still standing at the foot of Scots Hill near Outwood, easy of access to the remnant of the little flock there, but in 1771 some "Scandalous Reports" led to its being transferred to "Shepherds," (Nutfield) at the bottom of Outwood Common. This soon after became the venue of the quarterly meetings, and at the end of the century

appears to have been the only place where Sunday services were maintained. Farmer Hale lent his best room. A pond adjoining was partly paved and steps built for baptisms. House and pond still exist, but steps were removed some years ago.

Dim traditions of the baptisms and meetings were remembered by the old people of Outwood, and the history of the declining cause is recorded in its Minute book, some items of which are:—

May 20, 1800. "It was agreed to meet for Public Worship at Shepherds half an hour before eleven in the forenoon and that then any Minister present do begin the service."

May 28th, 1820. "Brother Wm. Beal was Chosen to serve the Office of Elder. Brothers Rich, Ridly, John Hale and David Sergent was chosen to serve the Office of Deacons. They were accordingly Ordained to those Offices. By Sampson Kingsford Messenger in the presence of us nine as underwritten. . . ."

At a quarterly meeting March, 1822, "Agreed to establish Church Discipline and government according to the New Testament. Agreed that Brothers Richard Ridley and Joseph Apted do visit those members who do neglect public worship and the Communion, as by list given to know their reason." And June, 1822, "Agreed that we wish the members that had not attended will bring their grievance or reasons with Christian love in the Church."

Oct. 8, 1826, at Shepphards.

"It is agreed that if any person shall bring or apply to the church to dedicate a Child to the Lord, that it be adopted according to Christ receiving children, but to use no name."

An old printed leaflet announces the proceedings of the yearly meeting of the London and Southern General Baptist Association. Held at Horsham, Sussex, September 12th, 1832.

The churches represented were:—

Portsmouth, Chichester, Billingshurst, Crawley, Cuckfield, Ditchling, Godalmin, Horsham, London—(Trinity Place and Worship Street), Nutfield (Surrey). W. Beal. (These soon after declared themselves Unitarian.)

"That the thanks of the Association be given to Mr. Briggs of Bessels Green for recommending Mr. Baker of Riverhead to assist at Nutfield and for endeavouring to revive the cause there."

To offer ministerial help to a weak cause, seventeen miles distant by road, is an instance of fraternal sympathy. To have no nearer help shows how weak the cause had become.

The last entry is June 9th, 1833.

"Propper Notice had been given for Church meeting to be held this day in the forenoon, but as there were only five

members present, namely:— Brothers, William Beal, Pastor, John Hale, Deacon, George Steer, and Sisters Mary Hale and Sarah Streater. The pastor thought proper to call another meeting in the afternoon.

W. BEAL, Pastor,
Zachariah Baker, Visitor."

In 1842, Mary Hale died, aged 68, and in August, 1846, John Hale, aged 77, and were buried at Nutfield Churchyard.

W. Beal, the Elder, latterly styled Pastor, is mentioned as living at Turners Hill, in May, 1857.

So this church, after an existence of well-nigh two centuries, passed away; none of its plants had taken root, but while the old cause was fading, its early influences had not been in vain. Men and women had been impressed by spiritual truth and soul-needs, and as local means of grace became dim, they sought help elsewhere.

Early in the nineteenth century a little company of these attended and joined the Baptist Church at Dormans Land, five miles away, and also carried on meetings at Outwood.

In this vigorous Church was a young man, a schoolmaster, whose ministerial gifts and sympathy led him to go over and preach at their meetings at Outwood, and very soon, encouraged by success and perhaps warned by the "house-church" experience of the Old General Baptists, they set about building a chapel.

No time was lost. At a meeting held at Dormans Land on 12th May, 1834 to consider the propriety of erecting a place for public worship on Outwood Common, it was unanimously agreed that such an object was desirable, and "the undersigned agree to undertake the work by advancing Twenty pounds each at the Interest of 4 per cent. If the said sum shall not prove sufficient they engage to raise the remainder. Mr. James Stanford to be Treasurer, Mr. John Westcott, Secretary, and with Messrs. Everest and Woodhams form a Committee."

So a chapel was built and opened for Divine worship, August 29th, 1834. The cost of the building and land was £225.

A meeting was held in the new chapel September 13th, 1835, and a letter, (here abridged), agreed on.

"To the Church of Christ of the Particular Baptist denomination at Dormans Land.

Dear Christian Brethren,

We the undersigned residing so far from you and in Gods Providence having a place of worship erected near to us where the Ministry of the word is regularly and faithfully dispensed with a view of joining ourselves into a Church . . .

with perfect harmony and christian feeling we request you to give us an honourable testimony to our withdrawing. . . .

Yours in gospel bonds signed by James Illman, Henry Payne, Wm. Stripp, Driver Rushbridge, Thomas and Eliz. Lucken, Richard and D. Carpenter, Sarah Illman, T. Arnold, E. and M. Russell, F. Francis, John Westcott."

On November 6th, a gracious, but carefully worded, reply was sent by the Dormans Land Church signed by Geo. Chapman (Pastor), Jas. Stanford and Obed Woodhams, Deacons.

At a meeting, Sabbath evening November 22nd, at 5.30, the letter was read, also "the declaration of the faith and practice of the baptised Church of Christ meeting at Outwood, in the parish of Burstow, Surrey, made on Lord's day the 22nd November, 1835—the day of their constitution as Church of Christ."

After a preliminary sentence the declaration is made under ten heads, briefly thus :

1. We believe there is but one only living and true God.
2. The Scriptures are the revealed Will of God.
3. God made man upright but Adam fell.
4. God did elect and predestinate a certain number of persons in Christ to eternal salvation.
5. Christ was set up from everlasting on the heads of Gods elect people.
6. Christ took the nature of his people and was obedient unto death.
7. All whom God hath accepted shall be called and sanctified.
8. Christ will ever have a Church on earth and it is the duty of Gods people to unite and walk in his commandments.
9. It is appointed unto men once to die.
10. We believe there will be a Resurrection both of the just and unjust and that God will judge the world in righteousness.

Then follows . . . The Solemn Agreement entered into by all who join this Church.

1. We believe it is our duty to walk in holiness and brotherly love, pleasing to God, comfortable to ourselves, and lively to the rest of the Lords people.
2. To make conscience of praying for each other. To bear and forbear.
3. To strive together for the faith once delivered to the Saints.
4. To support and strengthen the hands of our Minister and Deacons.
5. That the Lord will help us to press forward in such separation from the world as we are called to.

Finally Hebrews xiii. 20-21.

Then follows a list of fourteen "admitted at formation," and a number admitted in the years following.

The church was formed and "the pastor addressed the members from John xiii. 34. The hopeful spectators from Gen. xxiv. 31, and the congregation at large from Exodus xxxii. 26."

On January 3rd, 1836, a Church Meeting was held. Alas! the serpent had got into this new little Eden: "it was reported and proved that Brother X----- was on December 26th seen very much intoxicated; causing scandal and reproach. In May the applications of two women candidates were deferred; one on the ground of differences between her and her husband, and the other "strong objection on account of frequent intoxication."

In those days when beer was thought to be a necessity, drunkenness was a sadly common cause of trouble in many a church. Here Brother X----- after admonition, exclusion, and reform, fell again and again, "the unlovely spirit he manifests" also causing concern and trouble for some years, until he was eventually dismissed. Other cases occurred—one a Deacon, another "at the Bell Inn, on a Sabbath afternoon, conversing and betting with the worldly company there," causing public reproach by outsiders and sorrow to the little Church— anxious to use discipline rightly, yet patiently and lovingly, as the minutes show, to lead the transgressors to repentance and a better mind, and to restored communion.

January 3rd, 1836. "It was agreed to commemorate the death of Christ according to his instruction and command for the first time in this Chapel on Lords day, January 31, 1836, and as no ordained Baptist Minister in the neighbourhood could be obtained they unanimously requested brother Westcott to preside, who, although not ordained as Pastor yet considering their peculiar situation they hoped would be deemed a sufficient reason for their departing from the order usually observed by the Churches of their Denomination."

The good man was duly ordained nearly ten years after, as we learn from the Minute book and this bill:

"The Anniversary of Outwood Chapel will be held by Divine permission on Wednesday, 11th June, 1845, on which occasion Mr. J. Westcott, the minister, will be publicly ordained to the Pastorate of the Church in that place by the Revd. J. Smith of New Park Street and the Revd. J. Cox of Woolwich.
July 31st, 1836.

"The baptistery being completed; on Lord's Day afternoon in the presence of a crowded and attentive assembly, the accepted candidates were baptized, viz.:—E. and L. Leigh, Mrs. King.

Mr. and Mrs. Norman and these the same day together with Mrs. Tanner who had been baptized several years ago by a 'General Baptist,' were received into the Church by giving to each the right hand of fellowship they having previously signified their approval of the Church's declaration of faith and doctrine."

Next September "Mr. Sargeant who had been many years a member of the General Baptist Society expressed a wish to be admitted to the Particular Baptist Church at Outwood." He gave an account of his change respecting doctrinal truths, and his entire dependence on the finished work of the Saviour.

The Minute Book records life and progress, also frequent candidates for baptism, and the careful consideration of each case as they came personally before the Church.

October 8th, 1837. "NOTE. Mr. Nicholls of Godstone had the use of the Chapel; preached in the morning and then baptized five of his flock." In the May following, he baptized eight more. Chapel crowded.

Mr. Nicholls was minister of Pains Hill Chapel, south of Limpsfield Common, one of several built by a Society for taking the Gospel to the dark parts of Surrey and Sussex. He exercised a remarkable ministry there for some years: the chapel being filled; many driving from a distance. His health failed and he died, and his grave is in Dormans Land Chapel ground.

1837. Agreed to pave a path from the gate to the chapel porch. Also to plant spruce firs on the Chapel ground.

October 6th. "Members present at a church meeting who neglect to express their thoughts at the meeting shall not dissent afterwards in private. Members absent from the Lords Table two months in succession shall account for their absence."

May 3rd, 1840. A conversation was held on the subject of instrumental music in divine worship, also as to regulations for Burial Ground and additional stabling.

September 17th. Two members of the Independent Chapel at Reigate applied for baptism.

In 1846 the question of putting the premises in Trust was decided.

February 21st. "Sister S——of Copthorne, having expressed a desire that her infant should be by the minister publicly presented to the Lord by prayer, it was submitted to the consideration of the Church and after considerable consultation it was put to the vote, twelve against seventeen in favour, several neutral."

Samuel Westcott, the minister's son, became a member. He afterwards took over his father's academy near Lingfield, and

in 1860 moved it to the "Eagle House," Mitchan. He joined the Brethren and after a long godly life, died in Yorkshire.

May 30, 1847. "Miss Hale of Shepherds was proposed and on June 6 unanimously accepted and baptized." (A happy reminiscence of her parents' hospitality to the old General Baptist Cause in its last years).

Many entries refer to efforts to reduce the Chapel debt and Mr. Joseph Stanford and others' kind help. The last entry in this Minute book is October 1847, when seven candidates were baptized and received "making 24 during the year."

The entries throughout are carefully and regularly kept in the beautiful handwriting of Rev. John Westcott. A truly gracious spirit pervaded the conduct of the Church meetings, and reveals the desire of those believers to "maintain the honour of His name," and help others on the way to heaven. Its members and adherents included not only those of humble class but some of local importance, also residents of the ancient moated mansions of Burstow Lodge and Smallfields Place.

In December 1847 is an entry as to contemplated enlargement of the chapel.

From the formation of the Church in 1834, one hundred and thirteen members have been admitted, and at this time it numbers one hundred, of which twenty-nine have been received during the present year, and such is the general attendance that the congregation has not seat room and the place is most uncomfortably crowded. At a meeting held 24th November, it was proposed to double the size by removing and rebuilding the north wall, and to meet the expense by (1) An appeal to the Church for promised contribution. (2) To the congregation. (3) To Christian friends in neighbouring places.

Then follows a list of about 100 promises, two of £5, seven of £2 or £3, nigh twenty of £1, the remainder 10s. downward to "Dame Bashfords" 1s. and one humble sixpence. A few outside friends also contributed, and several gifts, such as "six loads of stone," cartage &c., helped the good cause. The account of "Expense in Enlarging Chapel" is a striking contrast to present-day building prices.

The cost of Outwood Chapel was:—

The part erected in 1835	£225
Vestry and Cottage added 1836	£125
Chapel enlarged in 1848	£145

The original entrance at the east end was built up and a new one made on the south side, the pulpit removed to north end. When later the congregation declined, the north end was screened off, and now forms a schoolroom.

In the midst of so much success and an earnest effort for its continuance just completed, a sad event was at hand, which the contemporary chronicler thus narrates.

"As in nature the finest day does not always last, but is often the precursor of storms, so was it in the history of this little church. It pleased the wise Disposer of all events to remove from them their evangelical and much-loved Pastor, who preached but once in his enlarged sanctuary; and thus the little flock were left, not only to mourn their loss, but to struggle without a pastor's counsel and a pastor's aid, in the midst of difficulty, and with a debt just incurred. Since his decease the church have done their utmost; being but a poor people, have only been able to reduce their debt about £58: that is, after paying unavoidable expenses in the conveyance of supplies from London, &c., &c."

John Westcott's death, October 7th 1848, at the age of forty-two years, was a serious loss. "Supplies from London, &c.," were not easy to get at such a remote place and the stipend of a Pastor impossible. In 1849, Joseph Hatton came under an engagement to supply for three months. He was a young man, son of the minister of Temple Street Chapel, Wolverhampton, attached to the "Gospel Standard" School of Strict Baptists. The three months ended with variance and no further invitation, and he, with about fifty of the church, and some of the congregation, commenced services in a barn that was lent, and attracted a considerable following of outsiders. In 1851 a chapel was built at Smallfields where, until his death in 1884, he carried on a successful ministry.

With lessened numbers and means, the little cause passed through twelve years of patient continuance with the help of lay preachers and some friends from Dormans Land and Redhill.

The Minute Book of this period is lost. In 1863 Mr. Thomas Green, of a Kentish yeoman family, who had held lay pastorates at Turners Hill, &c., came to reside at Outwood in business, and at a Church Meeting October 4th 1863 was invited to supply the pulpit for three months. He was transferred from Forest Row church and at the Annual Meeting at Outwood, January 13th 1864, became the pastor and filled that office faithfully and diligently till his death on November 18th, 1910.

The Minute Book records eighty Sunday scholars in 1864. After September 1864, there are no entries except one in 1900, when at the Annual Church Meeting thirteen were present.

A register of members, imperfectly kept, gives the names from 1835 till 1919.

There were periods of encouragement and success during

Mr. Green's ministry. At one time the week-ending prayer meetings held at farm-houses attracted large numbers and were thought worthy of mention in a leading religious paper.

Amidst the difficulties of present-day rural causes, with the help of lay preachers and the gracious perseverance of some earnest adherents, the light is kept burning and the holy fire still maintained.

The grave yard surrounding the chapel, skirted by the beautiful common, has been in use for near ninety years and its tomb stones and wooden grave rails—the latter much decayed, record the names of the departed, young and old; some with pathetic verse or incident. The graves of its ministers and their kindred are on the east side. The headstone of one of the former reads: "In memory of the Revd. John Westcott, Minister of this Chapel for thirteen years, who after a course of eminent usefulness departed this life Octr. 7, 1848 in the forty-second year of his age.

Also Hannah (his wife) Jan. 27, 1892 aged 86 years."
Inside the Chapel is a tablet to Revd. T. Green.

T. R. HOOPER.

A Modern Estimate of Calvinism

IT is impossible to read Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion* without acquiring a deep admiration for the author. There is a majestic quality about this massive work which wins approval even where it does not carry conviction. In its primary form the work was comparatively small in bulk—514 octavo pages containing six chapters dealing briefly with the themes of the Apostles' Creed—but Calvin continued to expand, elaborate and reconstruct his work until within a few years of his death. The argument reveals a rich mind, almost as familiar with Patristic as with Biblical writers, moving with certainty among the ultimate problems of religion. It is the work of a logician, an intellectualist, although there are not wanting illustrations which suggest that now and then Calvin's heart "escaped from the control of his head." The systematic theologian occasionally gave place to the preacher, concerned less with consistency than with the earnest appeal of Divine truth. Calvin reared a noble edifice of thought: the dominating unity of his theology was projected, so to speak, into his presentation of it, and the result is a marvel of system and order.

Probably no modern survey of theological truth has exercised so powerful an influence. Whether men have accepted or rejected the Calvinistic position they have done it with enthusiasm. Historians have not been stinting in their praise of Calvin's influence. Morley declared "to omit Calvin from the forces of Western evolution is to read history with one eye shut." Mark Pattison went even further, "Calvinism saved Europe." Enthusiastic eulogies of the system have in recent times been given by Hastie (*Theology of the Reformed Church*) and especially Kuyper (*Calvinism*)—this latter a fascinating book which relates Calvinism to religion, politics, science and art, and ventures a prophecy on "Calvinism and the future." There is ground for Froude's question: "How came it to pass, if Calvinism is the hard and unreasoning creed which modern enlightenment declares it to be, it has possessed such singular attraction in times past for some of the greatest men that ever lived?" Whatever be our verdict upon Calvinism in relation to the theological approach of to-day, we cannot withhold our tribute of praise for its effect in strong and virile Christianity when strength and virility were so greatly needed in Europe.

The most ardent Calvinist would not claim for Calvin great originality of view. It would be possible to trace his ideas of the Trinity and the Person of Christ in the great Œcumenical Councils of the Church, to find his conception of the Evangelical doctrines in the common heritage of Protestantism, while Calvin himself was careful to acknowledge his indebtedness to Augustine on the idea of predestination (although he went beyond the African bishop in his presentation of the doctrine). His greatness, as Orr points out, lay in the unity of view which he imparted to these doctrines, "moulding them into a logically articulated system under the guidance of the determining idea of God's sovereignty." The strength of Calvin's presentation is shown in the fact that historically it has undergone considerable modification without sacrificing its essential principle. It is easier to seize upon isolated aspects of the system and criticise them than to understand the real genius of Calvin's position, and a certain sympathy with his experience (as with Augustine's) is necessary before we can rightly understand his doctrines. There is so much that rings true to Christian experience of to-day, and yet, as we shall see, the position in which Calvin ultimately found himself is not satisfactory to those whose Christian belief is founded on the sublime principle that God is Love. Beginning with Calvin's fundamental conception of God as Will, we shall illustrate his application of this principle in typical doctrines, and enquire whether such an approach is adequate for to-day.

A preliminary point may be mentioned as interesting to Baptist readers, viz, Calvin's idea of the Sacraments and especially Baptism. The Sacraments are "outward signs by which the Lord seals in our consciences the promises of His good will towards us, to support the weakness of our faith, or a testimony of His grace towards us, with a reciprocal attestation of our piety towards Him." The office of the Sacrament is the same as the Word of God: both offer Christ and His heavenly grace to us, but they confer no benefit without the medium of faith. Without the accompaniment of the Holy Spirit they can produce no effect on the recipient, and, characteristically, Calvin declares that they produce an effect only in the elect. Baptism is a sign of initiation by which we are admitted into the society of the Church, in order that, being incorporated into Christ, we may be numbered among the children of God. Faith derives three benefits from Baptism:—the assurance of cancelled sin, the experience of the efficacy of Christ's death and resurrection power, and the assurance of such unity with Christ that we are partakers of all His benefits. The unworthiness of the minister does not affect the validity of the baptism; we are baptised in the name of God, and not in any human name . . . a point Calvin had to uphold against the Anabaptists as Augustine had previously upheld it against the Donatists. As we should expect from a man of his great scholarship, Calvin recognised the force of the philological and historical arguments for immersion, but regarded pouring and sprinkling as equally valid, and left it a matter of liberty according to habit and custom. His loyalty to what he regarded as Church practice impelled him to accept infancy as the proper period for the administration of baptism. Paedobaptism, he held, conferred a double benefit: it ratified to pious parents the promise of Christ's mercy to their children, and engrafted them into the body of the Church, acting afterwards as a powerful stimulus to them to be true to their vows. It is clear that Calvin was in difficulties on this point. On his own view of the Sacraments, they demanded faith as their essential medium: he went boldly to the logical conclusion that elect infants must in some way possess faith: exactly how, like Luther, he had to confess that he did not know. All of which indicates how Calvin was both near to and far from that position which is central in Baptist teaching. Both Calvin and Baptists agree that faith is necessary in the ordinance of Baptists: Baptists say, "obviously, infants have not this necessary faith, therefore postpone Baptism until it can properly be believers' baptism, and have real validity"; Calvin said, "infants must have this faith, but I do not understand how." His refuge is revealed in the sentence "if we cannot comprehend this, yet let us recollect

how glorious are all the works of God and how secret is His counsel."

The central idea of Calvinism is its conception of the absolute sovereignty of God. As Hastie says, the theology of the Reformed Church is characterised by the resoluteness with which it carries back religious faith to its ultimate basis in God, and by the directness with which it connects the idea of God with every relation and activity of human life. The world is the out-carrying in time of one Divine plan, conceived in the eternal reason of the Godhead, and realised by creative power, wisdom and love. All things live, move and have their being in God. The chief end of God is the manifestation in time of His eternal plan, the manifestation of His glory in all spheres of creation. This is a very majestic view which includes all life, science, art and political progress, as well as religion, in the workings of God's will. It is essentially theistic and spiritual, as all is traced back to God at once transcendent and immanent: and it leads to an optimism, for all that happens is to be conceived as an expression of God's glory. So much may readily be conceded in regard to Calvinism. It is when Calvin proceeded to apply his central principle that difficulties arose, and of these we select three as fundamental.

1. To what extent can we say Calvin allowed for the freedom of the human will? This point has been a matter of acute controversy, and its importance is suggested by the attention which Calvin gave to it in the Institutes. His view has often been misunderstood. It is a mistake to suppose that Calvin completely obliterated the notion of human freedom. In one of the early controversies of the Reformed Theology Pighius attacked Calvinism on the ground that it was inconsistent with the liberty of man. What did Calvin really teach? The soul he regarded as possessing two faculties, one the intellect, which enabled it to distinguish between objects for approval or disapproval; the other the will, which enabled it to choose what the intellect declared to be good, and to reject what was declared to be evil. In the primitive state before the Fall man possessed freedom of will: there was soundness of mind and freedom to choose the good. But Adam fell, and his depravation was communicated by propagation. In this fallen state the intellect is so clouded by darkness that it cannot shine forth to any good effect, while the will is so enslaved by depraved lusts as to be incapable of one righteous desire. Sin therefore has not destroyed the will, but only its soundness. When man in his state of corruption sins, the sin is not forced by something external to himself, but is rather the result of the movement of his own passion. The only hope lies in the Grace of God which can turn the will from evil

to good. Calvin's indebtedness to Augustine is very marked here, and we shall probably find the roots of his doctrine in his own experience (as revealed in his preface to the Commentary on the Psalms). He was of the opinion that it would be helpful to remove the term "free will" from the discussion altogether, and in the many difficulties on this subject there is no doubt that much confusion arises from the varied meanings we attach to the word "freedom." Calvin held that the exercise of any will invariably follows its disposition. The natural man sins of necessity, because his nature is what it is. He sins voluntarily, because his action is the exercise of his will. But there is nothing here of arbitrary and unmotivated willing. In the language of modern psychology we should probably speak of this as self-determination, and Calvin held that the self can never rightly determine, never will the good, without the aid of divine grace. He was concerned more with *right* will than with *free* will. Right will is the result of divine restoration: thus restored, it chooses the good. As Augustine had put it, the human will attains freedom by grace. It is clear that Calvin's main purpose was not the obliteration of freedom, but rather the filling of the notion with true content.

2. A difficulty emerges in his conception of the Atonement. In Christ alone, he held, we must seek redemption. Christ purchased our redemption, abolished sin and removed the enmity between God and man. This He effected by the whole course of His obedience, extending to the whole course of His life, and not to the Death only. Anselm had argued that the Death of Christ must be regarded as a meritorious satisfaction accepted by God as a substitute for punishment, but Calvin went far beyond this in regarding Christ's work as the vicarious endurance of the punishment itself. We may note here that Calvin anticipated an important modern note when he regarded the Death as part of the whole obedience, but in later Calvinistic theology this point was not always retained. There was a tendency to separate the death from the life, and also emphasise the substitutionary and penal aspects of the Atonement. Calvin used various phrases to express his view. Christ was a substitute, was offered to God as a propitiatory victim, bore the curse, by His death purchased life, and so on. He paid our ransom, experiencing all the expressions of an angry and avenging God. His descent to Hell involved a literal bearing of the tortures of condemned and ruined men.

More recent theology has moved far from this position, feeling that Calvin's view fits in better with the conception of an avenging oriental potentate than with the Heavenly Father of Whom Jesus spoke. It is not difficult to understand why critics

should regard this idea of penal and vicarious atonement as too external, too legalistic, and not sufficiently emphasising the fundamental truth that *God was in Christ* in the work of redemption. But there is a further difficulty, viz., that it is open to doubt whether Calvin allowed for universal atonement. It is true that (perhaps with one exception) we do not find in Calvin any explicit statement as to the limitation of the effect of Christ's Atonement, but there is no doubt that the general trend of his teaching does support such limitation. Augustine taught that the effect of the Atonement is not universal, and Calvin continually quotes him with approval. Moreover, Beza, who was Calvin's coadjutor and successor, held the view of particular redemption, and this view came to prevail in the stricter Calvinistic circles. It would appear to follow from his doctrine of election, and is very hard to reconcile with the universalism of the appeal of Christ which has always been one of the strongest points in effective evangelism. This point really leads us to a further important difficulty:—

3. Calvin's theory of predestination. His view in many points reminds us of Augustine's, but there are important differences. For Augustine redemption was effected through baptism; for Calvin it was effected through the agency of the Word and the Spirit of God. Augustine held the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, but believed that the regenerate might fall away and be lost: Calvin believed that the spiritual work of regeneration was wrought in the souls of the elect only, who had the seed of perseverance planted in them. The most important divergence from Augustine, however, is Calvin's double aspect of election. God's justice would have been displayed if He had condemned the entire human race—they deserved it—but in His mercy and of His good pleasure God resolved to restore a number to a state of righteousness: the rest, apparently, are left to perish. This issues in a final dualism, and, according to Hastie, all the theologies of the sixteenth century made the process of the world and the consummation of human history end in a final dualism and an eternal endless Hell. Perhaps we can see a reluctance to face this issue in the fact that three early national creeds (the Heidelberg Catechism, John Knox's Confession of 1560, and the revised XXXIX Articles of the Church of England) were silent on the doctrine of eternal reprobation, and there is no doubt that in Calvinism generally the stress has been placed on election to salvation.

This difficulty at the end is matched by one at the beginning. Calvin seems to separate too rigidly between the eternal decree of God and its expression in time. Critics have not been slow to seize upon this point. The idea of God, august and mighty,

moving all things in accord with an immutable decree, hardly possesses the warmth and attractiveness of the idea which Jesus so genially expounded. Ritschl is prominent among those who have argued that Calvin's idea of the sovereignty of God should be replaced by the doctrine of Divine Fatherhood. And while the supporters of Calvin can make the dialectic point that God's love is only the crown and consummation of His sovereignty, and is not in any way abrogated by it, yet who can deny that there is a hardness about Calvinism as a system which does not accord with the warmth and charm of the Gospel? Fairbairn described Calvinism as Stoicism baptised into Christianity, but renewed and exalted by its baptism. We can be grateful for its strength and fortitude, its fine ethical temper, its profound scorn of vice, its ideal of obedience and submission to the Divine will: and yet with all this, we miss something. There is an external, almost mechanical, conception of deep truths—such as the legalistic conception of the Atonement, while the final dualism of Calvin's system can never be satisfactory even to a God who is Will, much less to a God who is Love. The influence of Calvin has performed, and will still perform, a great service to the Church in deepening her thinking, keeping her away from those shallow systems to which an easy-going age is so prone: in keeping her face to face with the stern moral issues of life: in building up her conception of life around the notion of God, transcendent and immanent; yet is it not significant that when we make our appeals for Christian decision, we do so in such a manner as to base everything on a real power of response to a Love which is deeper than the measures of man's mind? It may be doubted whether there can be any effective evangelism based on the idea of predestination as Calvin conceived it. It is true that Calvinists have been always in the vanguard of evangelical preaching, but it is noteworthy that the doctrine of predestination to damnation, if held at all, has been kept in the background. We need not fear contradiction when we say that not by the preaching of such ideas has the Church won her way. To-day the trend of thought appears to be away from the speculative and the transcendent, and towards the moral and spiritual experience, and the high values to which that experience points. The facts of sin are real enough, and, thanks to the revelation in Christ, the fact of Divine Love is equally real. It is the purpose of all Christian teaching and preaching to bring these two facts together: around them the whole of the Gospel revolves: but we may doubt whether, in these days, an emphasis on the sovereign and predestinating will of God (with all that involves) coherent and intellectually majestic though it may be, will really be found to be of help. We turn rather to the New Testament idea that

the Gospel is the power of God unto salvation to everyone that believeth: the power because the Love, illimitable and boundless—something within the attainment of all who seek it through Christ.

F. TOWNLEY LORD.

An Experiment in Christian Education.

DURING the past eighteen months an Association Commission has been busily at work in Yorkshire on Christian Education. The plan of campaign has been as follows: After the subject had been introduced to the seven District Councils, entry was sought to the Deacons' Meeting of each particular church. The aim was not to hold large general meetings but to interest the responsible leaders of the church and to win their support. The Commission is in hearty agreement with the dictum that "No church can rise above the level of its diaconate." Already it can be reported that over seventy churches have been visited, and in every case, the visitor was received with conspicuous goodwill, and his words heard with evident interest.

The point of view the Commission has tried to communicate is that Christian Education is a matter for the whole church and not simply for any one of its societies. "The Church a School" might very well have been the slogan, provided only that the school closely approaches the New Testament picture of our Lord with His disciples. A scheme was drawn up entitled *A Five-Point Programme of Christian Education* (Kingsgate Press 1d.), in which an attempt was made to state the function of the church in educational terms, and to set forth the vital aims of every Christian society. The five-fold scheme was presented to the deacons (and the minister) at their meeting and it was suggested that they recommend to their church the holding of an *Enquiry* into the whole of their life and work in every society. (In no case would a post mortem have been a better suggestion.) The old tag about an unexamined life comes to mind of course, and it is unfortunately true that all churches would do well to review their activities in the light of those aims which alone entitle a society to be called a church. It is astonishing how the passage of time blurs aims which once were clear-cut, and it is disquieting to know how

many churches are chiefly concerned with their own fabric, finance and future. The Five-Point Programme sets five questions for each church to answer for herself, and it goes on also to outline ways in which the questions might be answered.

Nothing can be attempted here beyond a brief outline of this five-fold programme.

(1) What is the source and nature of our own individual constituency"? or "Who are our people and how do we get them?"

Investigation has already revealed to many churches that most of their scholars (about seventy-five per cent.) are not the children of their own people but have in some way or other become attached to the place. From this it is evident that the future membership will not come from the present one, and that unless adequate contact is made with the church's immediate locality, the church is doomed to a dwindling membership. Unfortunately there are churches with new Housing Estates at their very doors who have utterly failed to take advantage of the fact. They are waiting for people to drift in and no house-to-house visitation has been arranged for. It is high time that a policy of attraction was worked out, and localities were shown that churches are alive to their Christian duty. Such a policy would include an attempt to show that the church members have indeed "been with Jesus" and caught His spirit. There would be Good Samaritan work, open-air meetings, visitation, and a definite attempt to provide young people with forms of social life healthier and more constructive than they might find elsewhere.

The first question then has reference mainly to the building of the constituency.

(2) The second question is "What is our church doing for Evangelism?" The endeavour here is to open the eyes of the church to the opportunity which God is already giving her within her own borders. There is no church anywhere without young people who might be won for the Kingdom.

When one church was asked if it would call itself evangelistic, the reply came emphatically, "Certainly we should, our minister is a devoted evangelist." When it was replied, "Yes, but is anybody else?" it was evident that a new idea had been propounded. Evangelism is too often delegated to a few. If evangelism be limited to public witness by word, then no doubt many would seek to disclaim fitness. But if the word be broadly defined to mean passion for conversions, then withdrawal would not be easy, nor defensible. Evangelism should be co-operative, shared by members, teachers, parents, and ministers. Witness by word is necessary, and in these days there are far more opportunities than many realise. Religion is given room in the press

and conversation often turns in the same direction. There may be times to be silent, but there are certainly times to speak. Then there is witness by life. Tolstoy was not converted by splendid sermons or private appeals but by the lives of Christian peasants. Young people turn from moving descriptions of the power of Christ given in the pulpit to the actual evidence of this same power in the life and character of the minister and church member, and what they see there is often decisive. There follows also evangelism by prayer, a duty which no church member may legitimately avoid. If only in that hurried prayer at the beginning of a service, the names of those in whose lives a work of grace is desired were privately and lovingly repeated, services would be more powerfully used by the Holy Spirit.

The Commission has aimed therefore at the production of evangelists, and has sought to lay an inescapable duty on every church member.

(3) The third question is "What teaching is our church attempting to give?" Immediately, the response has come, we are trying to give instruction in the Bible, Missions, Theology, Church History, Ethics, and various other subjects also. When however, it has been asked, "Are you satisfied with your progress?" no great assurance has been evident.

Let it suffice to take one illustration of our failure. Is it not true to say that all that most of our people know about the book of Jonah is that it contains the story of a marvellous fish? There is little or no appreciation of the real reason for the book's existence. This little book is the most graphic and vivid description of God's merciful purpose for the heathen ever penned. The Commission, in pressing for more and better Bible teaching, does not desire the mere impartation of miscellaneous Biblical information, such as the measurements of the Temple, but seeks to secure the setting forth of the central religious message of each and every book in the Old and New Testaments. If the whole duty of the teaching function of the church is to be at all adequately discharged, much will depend on the minister and the Sunday School teacher. To this end, the Commission has sought to encourage a teaching ministry and also to establish training classes for teachers. It firmly believes on recent evidence that congregations will welcome sermons in which the mind as well as the heart is stimulated, and also it is convinced, again from experience, that teachers who are awake to the value and difficulties of their task will readily attend training classes. Emphasis has also been laid on the need for particular attention to the instruction of candidates for baptism and church membership, and to the further training of those who have already joined the church. The Commission regards conversion, not as the harvest,

but as the rooting of the seed and the springing up of the first fresh green shoots. Study circles have been pressed for also as an ideal means for the education of the middle-aged. These are some of the ways in which the Commission has supplied answers to its own question. Others have suggested themselves to different churches, but the church itself can only become a school as ministers and teachers play their parts and as the educational policy is framed to cover the whole constituency.

(4) "What service is our church asking of its members?" This fourth question naturally arises in educational thinking, for education should influence life and produce activity. It has been necessary here to stress the scope and sphere of Christian service and to point out that the church should not be regarded as an exhaustive field. For many years now a favourite topic of Young Men's Classes has been "Can a man be a Christian in business?" and the suggestion has been "No." Imagine it! God and His Kingdom may only have the odds and ends of time and energy. Does not this mean a divided life, with two codes, two sets of moral principles, two loyalties? Yet we have called ourselves monotheists! It is high time that "every thought were brought into subjection to Christ," that we cried with the Psalmist "unite my heart," and that all departments of life were regarded as opportunities for the service of our Master. If this were the case, the church would be a power-house to which workers might regularly return for reinforcement, and a base from which a supply of creative personalities would proceed into the world to battle for the Kingdom. While, however, Christian service should be as wide as life itself, within the church helpers are needed. Here the Commission has almost invariably been met with the cry "The labourers are few and volunteers infrequent." Investigation shows, however, that the joke against the Army authorities might equally well be directed against the church. We also are adepts in putting round pegs in square holes and vice versa. The result is that the church has a wealth of unused capacity. Instead of facing everybody with a choice of one of a few stereotyped jobs, instead of counting people altogether impossible because they have failed in one particular task, let us give initiative more play and let us give everyone repeated chances. Because a youth has not been a success as a Sunday School teacher, it does not mean that he would not do excellently as a canvasser of advertisements for the church magazine. The Commission is seriously of the opinion that modern young people, if only they are rightly handled, will give a good account of themselves as servants of Christ and His Church.

(5) Question five also is of the greatest importance, "What fellowship is our church creating and enjoying?"

The church ought surely immediately to reveal itself as a united society, yet its host of over-lapping and isolated societies proves the contrary. The least that could be done is that every society should define its own aim in relation both to the church and to all other societies. The greatest weakness here, however, is the lack of fellowship between church and school. The Commission has sought to remedy this by advocating a close relationship between the minister and the school, suggesting with emphasis that the minister should count himself called equally to the school as to the church. Also it has recommended that the scholars be not placed in remote galleries on Sunday mornings but be given space in the front of the area (a region avoided as the plague by adult worshippers). Again the relation between school and church may be deepened if church members only are allowed to teach in the upper parts of the school and if annually, at a Communion Service, teachers are dedicated to their high vocation.

An adequate answer can only be given to this question concerning fellowship as the prayer-life of the church is also considered. Here the Commission has sought to enquire into the widespread complaint that prayer meetings are scantily attended and often insufficiently inspiring. Suffice it to say here that the trouble often begins in the Sunday School, though the home also must share the responsibility. Apart from the question of the suitability or reality of many of the prayers offered in school, it is apparent that many teachers find it much more easy to speak on morality than on religion and also to treat the Bible as a collection of moral stories rather than as the greatest religious book the world has ever seen. The teacher's true task is not to omit or minimize moral teaching, but to show that the roots of morality are in religion and that power for the accomplishment of moral ideals comes from worship. Conversion should be the aim, and it is conversion that produces character. These and other matters have been raised by the Commission respecting fellowship, for education should include training and practice in the art of corporate service, thought and worship.

To return now to the method of the Commission. It has been suggested to every church that an enquiry be held into the whole of its life and work. The precise recommendation was that five conferences be held in each church, one on each of the five points mentioned above. Conferences may easily be criticised, but not so conferences on our own work, by our own people, and in our own place. In order that these meetings might yield their full value, it was also suggested that each church should set up a small committee of its own to make preliminary investigations and so provide the conferences with detailed infor-

mation of the true state of affairs. Further it was recommended that church members should be presented with a copy of the pamphlet "A Five-Point Programme of Christian Education," in order that they also might come to the conferences having done a little preliminary thinking.

It is impossible as yet to tabulate results, but on all hands churches are speaking of the value of the enquiry and conferences. One large church has even gone so far as to say that the enquiry is the biggest single event in its life for over forty years.

Since, however, the whole campaign may rightly be described as a mission to ministers, deacons, teachers and all church members, time alone will show how far it has been rightly planned and properly undertaken.

J. B. MIDDLEBROOK.

Mr. Seymour J. Price's "Popular History of the Baptist Building Fund."

The Centenary Volume: 1824-1924.

READERS of *The Baptist Quarterly* remember with gratitude the series of articles which were not long since contributed to its pages by Mr. Seymour J. Price, commemorating the centenary of the Baptist Building Fund. They revealed to a larger public than before that the Denomination possesses a writer of real historic ability—one who can explore regions but little known, quite romantic in their interest, and deeply significant in their value and influence. And now these articles may be had in permanent and attractive form, which deserves to be in the hands of a far larger circle of readers than the membership of the Baptist Historical Society. It is "popular,"—and it is fine!

Like many other religious societies of various denominations, fruit of the Evangelical Revival, the Baptist Building Fund had its birthplace in "The King's Head Poultry"; the date was the 10th November, 1824; and the name at the first was "The London Baptist Building Fund." Very clearly does Mr. Price trace the various stages through which the Society passed in the course of its evolution. In particular he dwells on the important change that was introduced in 1846 when the system of *Grants*

gave place to the far more beneficial system of *Loans*, repayable in *half-yearly instalments, free of interest*. That has saved the Churches concerned not less than £145,000! This, of course, is not the place to dwell upon details of a remarkable history that has already appeared in this Magazine; but one may rejoice to note that the excellence of Mr. Price's articles in this Magazine created a demand for their publication in book-form. The response to that demand is admirable, and the Kingsgate Press is to be congratulated on a volume worthy of the subject and of the Denomination. The type, the setting, and the clarity of the arrangement of its contents and statistics, all aid in enhancing the sustained interest of the History. It appears in two very slightly differing covers:—one, in green cloth, at the very reasonable price of three shillings and sixpence; the other a limited Presentation Edition, morocco grained, gilt top, seven shillings and sixpence. A delightful feature is the inclusion of eight portraits of men who have given devoted service to the Fund during the past eighty years. They are—William Bowser, who is credited with introducing the change from the *grant* to the *loan* system; Dr. Newman, whose contribution of £1,000 gave the initial impulse to the change; Alfred T. Bowser, Secretary, 1861-1885, and Treasurer, 1885-1890; Samuel Watson, Hon. Solicitor, 1868-1920; Joseph B. Mead, Treasurer, 1890-1897; William Payne, Treasurer, 1897-1908; W. W. Parkinson, Treasurer, 1908—; H. H. Collier, Secretary, 1908—; the portrait of James Benham, Treasurer, 1864-1885, could not be obtained. But these eight are but a few of the many, ministers and laymen, who with equal faithfulness have devoted sanctified common-sense and fine business talent on the Committee and in the Secretariat and Treasurership (both Honorary) of the B.B.F.

Very rightly Mr. Price says, "the Fund is really misnamed a *Building* Fund as it has ceased to take any active part in the stimulation of church extension. . . . As now worked and organized, it is a most successful and ably managed *Loan* Fund, but it is purely a Loan Fund." May he live to see the establishment of the larger organisation that he desires, under the direction of the Council of the Baptist Union; and may he live to be the historian of its early enterprise! This present book of his is beyond praise.

SIDNEY W. BOWSER.

FOR the ANNUAL GATHERING of the BAPTIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY, on May 3rd, members and friends are asked to assemble at St. George's Fountain, Bristol (frequent

trams from the Centre and from Old Market Street: allow *twenty* minutes). The party will be under the guidance of Rev. S. J. Ford, of Hanham, who will conduct them to various places of interest to Baptists, giving brief historical sketches of each, e.g., Terrill's "Terraces" and Conham House, at both of which Baptists held meetings in time of persecution, and Conham Ferry, where two Baptist ministers lost their lives in 1683, in trying to avoid capture by swimming. The tour will conclude at Hanham Old Meeting House (originally built in 1714 by Andrew Gifford) with tea at 4.30 (tickets 9d. each) and an hour's meeting at 5.15, after which those present can return by tram to Old Market Street.

MR. FORD'S keen interest in Baptist History and comprehensive knowledge of it is abundantly proved by the *World View of Baptist History*, which he has prepared in view of the Bunyan Tercentenary, and of which he has favoured us with a copy. It consists of a handsome chart, accompanied by brief explanatory chapters, in which are made apparent to the eye the course of Baptist principles in Church history from the primitive age onwards, and the various ramifications of the Baptists in the modern world. It testifies to considerable ingenuity and industry on the part of the author, and we think that ministers or other leaders of Young People's classes might find it of real service. The diagram with its incidental pictures is calculated to awaken interest in the subject beforehand, and the pleasant effort involved in tracing out the various currents of Baptist history would be likely to assist in fixing the facts of that history in the learners' minds. We hope that Mr. Ford may be rewarded for his labour by seeing it become widely useful.

THOUGH 'printed for private circulation,' we should like to draw our readers' attention to *Coming of Age: the Story of twenty-one years of the London Baptist Property Board*, by its Hon. Secretary (Kingsgate Press, 1928). The progress of the Board, and the amount of valuable work achieved by it for churches of our Denomination in that period, are really astonishing, and they have found an excellent historian in Mr. Price. His style is ideal for the purpose: at once simple and clear, crisp and easy, direct and vigorous. And he has the not too common quality of being able to evince the inherent interest of his subject, and of relying on this interest to make its own way with his readers. His is surely a rare combination of literary gift with business ability.