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# Bunyan the Baptist.

THE anonymous "true friend and long acquaintance" of Bunyan who completed the narrative of the immortal dreamer's life from the point at which he himself stopped, by "piecing this to the thread too soon broke off" says that when Bunyan was converted "he was baptized into the congregation" at Bedford, "and admitted a member thereof." Charles Doe, himself a Baptist and a personal friend, who edited Bunyan's works immediately after his death, declares that he joined "the dissenting congregation of Christians at Bedford, and was on confession of faith baptized." George Offor tells us where the baptism took place. It was in a backwater of the river Ouse, near Bedford Bridge, at a spot then called (because the ordinance was frequently administered there) "The Ducking Place"—and the road that leads to it is still named by the Corporation of Bedford "Duck Mill Lane." There is no known record of the baptism anywhere—a good reason for that will be given later on—but the unbroken tradition is that the administrator was John Gifford, the reputed evangelist of the *Pilgrim's Progress.*

The unanimity with which writers, disinterested and various, on Bunyan call him a Baptist is remarkable. Thomas Scott, Dr. Stebbing, Macaulay, the Encyclopaedia Britannica, Froude, J. Richard Green, Dean Stanley, Robert Philip and Dr. Stoughton—to name only a few—all, in varying phrase, testify to the fact that he was immersed on profession of his faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. This was never seriously called in question, until the year 1885, when *John Bunyan: His Life, Times and Work,* by Dr. John Brown was published. It was not that Dr. Brown denied that Bunyan was a Baptist. Indeed, writing to Dr. Armitage under date, May 1st, 1886, he declares, "Looking at what he says of himself (*vide* my *Life of Bunyan,* page 238, line 6), I should say he was immersed, though there is no record of the fact." (Armitage's *History of the Baptists,* p. 483.) In his *John Bunyan,* however, Dr. Brown makes three extracts from the registers of the parishes of Elstow, and of St. Cuthbert's, Bedford, which are as follow:

"*Elstow*: Mary, the daughter of John Bunion, baptized, July 20th, 1650."

"Elizabeth, the daughter of John Bunyon, was born, 14th day of April, 1654."

*St. Cuthbert's, Bedford, 1672*: Baptized Joseph Bunyan, ye son of John Bunyan, Nov. 16th."

"There can be little doubt therefore," comments Dr. Brown, "that the year after John Bunyan joined the Bedford brotherhood, his second daughter, like the first, was baptized at Elstow Church. The third case, that of his son Joseph, is the most remarkable of all, for this child, according to the register, was baptized at St. Cuthbert's Church after Bunyan's twelve years' imprisonment for conscience sake, and during the time he was conducting the controversy on open communion with D'Anvers and Paul. The fact is curious, and can only be accounted for on the supposition that, upon the question of baptism, he had no very strong feeling any way." (Brown, p. 238.)

I have pointed out elsewhere (see *Baptist Times,* August 4th, 1927, Dec. 29th, 1927, Feb. 3rd, 1928) that the difference between the two Elstow entries—of the *baptism* of the one child in 1650, and the *birth* of the other in 1654—can be accounted for by two well-defined changes. One was a change in Bunyan's mind on the subject of christening, and the other a change in the law of the land on the question of registration. Bunyan joined Gifford's church in 1653; and in 1654 by one of the Cromwellian Acts of Parliament, he was entitled to register the birth of his child only —and he took full advantage of his right. With regard to the third entry, it is proved beyond all reasonable doubt in Armitage's *History of the Baptists* (pp. 493-506) that the Joseph Bunyan referred to was not the son, but the *grandson* of the immortal dreamer—the son of John Bunyan, Junr., who, ironically enough, appears to have been at that time, a member of the Church of England. He did not join his father's church until five years after his father's death. The doubt therefore, that Dr. Brown, by the foregoing extracts and comment, cast on the universal belief that Bunyan was anything but a Baptist may be regarded as blown to the winds.

Light on our subject may be obtained by examining the character of the Church of which Bunyan was first a member and afterwards the pastor. The earliest congregation of Nonconformists known to have gathered in Bedford was that ministered to by Benjamin Coke, "the son of Bishop Coke of the reign of Elizabeth, who came out of Devonshire, an innovater." (Edwards, *Gangrena,* p. 95.) Now Coke was undoubtedly a Baptist; for, not only was he one of the signatories of the London Confession of Faith, 1646 (first published in 1644), but he wrote an appendix to it, which reveals the fact that he was also a "close communion" Baptist (Art. XX. Appendix. Hanserd Knollys Library, vol. Confessions of Faith, pp. 57-59). His congregation, supposedly,

would form part of the church constituted by John Gifford in 1650. The records of that church begin only with the year 1656, and in the introduction state that there had long been persons in Bedford and neighbourhood, who had "by purse and presence" sought to edify one another according to the New Testament; and who were "enabled of God to adventure farre in showing their detestation of ye bishops and their superstitions." Further, this introduction declares that after they had conferred with members of other societies (most likely as I have suggested, that gathered by Coke among them) they formed themselves into a church and chose John Gifford "for their minister in Jesus Christ to be their pastor and bishop." "Now the principle," continues the introduction "upon which they thus entered into fellowship one with another, and upon which they did afterwards receive those that were added to their body and fellowship was ffaith in Christ and Holiness in life, without respect to this or that circumstantiall things." The fundamental requisition of "ffaith in Christ and Holiness in life" precluded the possibility of adding any "to their body and fellowship" by infant baptism; while their non-respect to opinion "in circumstantiall things" seems to imply that adult baptism was not made a condition of membership. It is rather significant too, that although there are a great many entries in the parish registers of Bedford relating to Gifford and his family—three daughters and a son were born to him—and although on the ejection of Theodore Crowley from the rectory of St. John's, Bedford for refusing to use the Directory, the Corporation appointed Gifford to succeed him (which appointment he held from 1653 till his death in 1655, his church, of course, meeting with him in St. John's) there is absolutely no vestige of record that any of his children were christened.

The famous letter which Gifford sent to the church from his death bed—and which, up to twenty years ago at least, was read annually to the church members—is a charge which, as Armitage says, "none but a Baptist church needed, and such as none but a Baptist pastor would have thought of giving to his Church" (6. 517). In the course of it he says, "concerning separation from the Church about baptism, laying on of hands, anointing with oil, psalms or any externals I charge every one of you respectively, as you will give an account of it to our Lord Jesus Christ, who shall judge both quick and dead at his coming that none of you be found guilty of this great evil." Now, with the exception of the last named, all the questions concerning which their dying minister was anxious, and on which his personal influence up to that time had kept them together, were distinctively Baptist questions. The singing of psalms in public worship

was not absolutely so, although Baptist Churches everywhere were agitated and greatly divided on it. The church at Bedford was. Indeed it was not till seven years afterwards—in 1697—that it granted "Lybertie to sing the praises of God in the morning of the Lord's day as well as in the Afternoon." The other three questions however—baptism, anointing with oil, and the laying on of hands—were questions that, at that time, engaged Baptist minds only (vide Armitage, pp. 517-521). If then, the majority of those in the membership of Gifford's church were not Baptists, why was the dying pastor so anxious concerning these issues?

The church which Bunyan joined in 1653, therefore, was strongly Antipedobaptist. Dr. Stoughton calls it "a unique society. . . . The Church he" (Gifford) "founded was neither exclusively Baptist nor Pedobaptist: members of both kinds were admitted on the same terms . . . Bunyan was a Baptist." That correctly describes it provided that, by the term "Pedobaptist," Dr. Stoughton means no more than that some of the members had been received into fellowship without immersion; but if he implies by the term that infant baptism was practised in the church at that time, then the description is incorrect; for it was not until 1691—forty years after the Church was formed, and three years after Bunyan's death—that the practice of infant christening was introduced there. (Jukes's *History of Bunyan Church*, p. 27.)

The Church record abundantly shows that, on the question of Baptism, there was urgent need for Gifford's dying charge. Continually it, and its relation to communion, kept cropping up; and it is significant to note that twice subsequently the church at "Bunyan Meeting" has been divided, to the point of suffering secessions, on the distinctive denominational principle. In these circumstances it can easily be understood why John Gifford, though he himself baptized Bunyan, did not keep a record of the event in the Church book. It was a matter of absolute necessity, for the maintenance of peace, that such a thing should not be done. Even to have kept two separate lists of members—immersed and not immersed—would have drawn a line directly through the church, which was the very thing they desired to avoid. The fact, therefore, on which Dr. Brown insists, that "there is no record of the fact" of Bunyan's immersion is clearly explained.

I have said that the unanimity with which historians call him a Baptist is remarkable. Yet it is not so remarkable; for there is something in the make-up of Bunyan's genius that allies his life so closely with Baptist principles that it has not escaped the

eye even of casual observers. Robert Philip with all his unfriendliness to Baptists sees this at a glance. He says:

"No one surely can regret that he was baptized by immersion. That was just the mode calculated to impress him—practised as it usually then was in rivers. He felt the sublimity of the whole scene at the Ouse, as well as its solemnity. Gifford's eye may have realised nothing on the occasion but the meaning of the ordinance, but Bunyan saw Jordan in the lilied Ouse, and John the Baptist in the holy minister, and almost the Dove in the passing birds; while the sun-struck waters flashed around and over him, as if the Shekinah had descended upon them. For let it not be thought that he was indifferent about his baptism because he was indignant against Strict Baptists, and laid more stress upon the doctrine it taught than upon its symbolic significancy. He loved immersion, although he hated the close communion of the Baptist Churches. . . . I think he did right in preferring immersion to sprinkling . . . because the former suited his temperament best, inasmuch as it gave him most to do, and thus most to think of and feel" (*Life and Times of Bunyan*, pp. 210, 211.)

Several passages in Bunyan's writings confirm this estimate of his view on Baptism. A few, perhaps, will suffice. Commenting on the words—and this is the way he quotes them—"Ye shall indeed endure the baptism (immersion in suffering) which I endure," he remarks, "That Scripture 'Do this in remembrance of me' was made a very precious word unto me when I thought of that blessed ordinance, the Lord's Supper, for by it the Lord did come down upon my conscience with the discovery of his death for my sins; and as I then felt, *plunged* me in the virtue of the same." On that Philip makes this comment: "There seems to me in this passage an intended use of terms which should express the views of both classes in his Church on the mode of baptism." (Works iii. 297). Bunyan found his full type of baptism, however, in the deluge. He says, "The Flood was a type of three things. First, of the enemies of the Church. Second, a type of the water-baptism under the New Testament. Third, of the last overthrow of the world." (*Ibid.*) Again, in his "Exposition of the First Ten Chapters of Genesis" he remarks "That was the time then that God had appointed to try his servant Noah by the waters of the flood; in which time he was so effectually crucified to the things of this world, that he was as if he was never more to enjoy the same. Wherefore Peter maketh mention of this estate of his; he tells us it was ever like unto *our baptism;* wherein *we* profess ourselves dead to the world and alive to God by Jesus Christ. 1 Peter iii. 21. (*Ibid.* 297). Again in his "Reason for my Practice" he says, "I

believe that Christ hath ordained but two (ordinances) in His Church, namely, water baptism and the Supper of the Lord . . . they being to us representations of the death and resurrection of Christ"—both of them, it will be observed, in his view, equally so. In his "Divine Problems" also, he puts the two ordinances on an equality of importance.

> Two sacraments I do believe there be,
> Baptism and the Supper of the Lord,
> Both mysteries divine, which do to me
> By God's appointment benefit afford.

"God never ordained significative ordinances," he declares, "such as baptism and the Lord's Supper . . . for the sake of water or of bread and wine; nor yet because He takes any delight that *we are dipped* in water or eat that bread; but they are ordained to minister to us, by the aptness of the elements through our sincere partaking of them, further knowledge of the death, burial and resurrection of Christ, and of our death and resurrection by Him to newness of life. Wherefore he that eateth and believeth not, and he that is baptized and is not dead to sin and walketh not in newness of life, neither keepeth these observances nor pleaseth God" (Works iii. 297).

These quotations, I think, are sufficient to indicate the view Bunyan held on the *mode* of baptism: in his "Reasons for My Practice" he gives abundant evidence, too, of his belief in faith and regeneration as necessary precedents to it. The saint, he says, "is not made so by baptism; for he must be a visible saint before, else he ought not to be baptized." "That our denomination of believers" he asserts further "and of our receiving the doctrine of the Lord Jesus is not to be reckoned for our baptism is evident, because, *according to our notion of it,* they only that have before received the doctrine of the Gospel, and so show it us *by their profession of faith, they only ought to be baptized.*" "It is one thing," he sums up, "for him that administereth to baptize in the name of Jesus, another thing for him that is the subject, by that to be baptized into Jesus. Baptizing into Christ is rather the act of the faith of him that is baptized, than his going into water and coming out again." (Works i. 427, 446, 456-8).

Enough has been written, then, to show that Dr. Brown's suggestion that "on the question of baptism he had no very strong feeling any way," cannot be entertained. Bunyan undoubtedly held the denominational view on both the mode and subjects of baptism. His disagreement with some of his contemporary fellow believers was on the question whether baptism was requisite for admission to the Lord's Table. A great controversy on

this was raging among Baptists at the time that Bunyan became pastor of the church at Bedford, and it was inevitable that he should be proved on the one side or the other. The leaders for "close communion"—and they probably represented the views of the majority of English Baptists at that time—were William Kiffin, Henry Denne, Thomas Paul and Henry D'Anvers; while those prominent in advocating that the Lord's Table should be "open" to all Christians were Henry Jessey and John Bunyan—and in this advocacy they would represent the prevailing belief and practice on the question among the English Baptists of to-day. It was, says Armitage (p. 532) "a party quarrel amongst the English Baptists, and none but Baptists took part therein." One effect of that quarrel unfortunately was that Bunyan kept aloof from Baptist life. As Dr. Whitley remarks, we may be proud of him now, but he was not proud of the Baptists of his day, nor did his fellow-believers have any intercourse with him. Both he and they kept aloof and gained nothing from each other. (*A History of British Baptists*, p. 141).

J. HOBSON THOMAS.

# Some Impressions of Germany.

A SIX months' stay in a foreign country is long enough to make one hesitant about setting down one's opinions. Travel impressions have a way of revealing even more of the observer than of that which he went out to see. Yet there is to-day so little real contact between the different European peoples, that he who has seen even a little has a responsibility resting upon him to say something about it, and it is a responsibility he would not wish to escape, for it gives an opportunity of returning thanks for kindnesses lavishly shown, and perhaps of clearing away a few of the misconceptions which hinder greater friendliness.

Germany is so vast a land that it is necessary to indicate what parts of it have been visited. There is almost as great diversity of life and outlook as there is variety in the scenery. All kinds of men and opinions jostle one another, as in any other great country, and the average German is as difficult to find as the typical Britisher. The best one can do is to see a little into the German world through the eyes of the Germans one has met. A student is brought chiefly in contact with the student-world. A Baptist gravitates naturally to other Baptists. However valiant the efforts to touch other circles of interest it is of the student world and the Baptist world, and that of the few other groups that intersect them at various points, that one gains clearest insight. This article is based on experiences during a walking tour on the borders of Bavaria and Würtemberg, which included Rothenburg and the glorious valley of the Neckar above Heidelberg, five weeks in Berlin, a University semester in Marburg on the Lahn, a few days in Thuringia, Stuttgart, Tübingen and Hamburg, and flying visits to Eisenach, Kassel, Giessen, Frankfort and Wiesbaden. I travelled usually in company with Germans and lived in their homes. Germany is a great and wonderful country; its forests and rivers, its castles and cathedrals, having been once seen can never be forgotten. A grandness of intellectual achievement is combined with a deep mysticism, and no one who has come really to know Germans can withhold either admiration or affection.

## I

Postwar Germany is a new Germany, made new by the tragedy of the war years and the subsequent inflation period. In

England we speak of the years 1914 to 1918, and date the new era from the Versailles Treaty. A German, however, makes the dividing line 1923-24, when after its disastrous drop the currency was stabilised, for not till then were the worst horrors over, nor a new chapter really begun. I spent a few days in Berlin and Dresden in the summer of 1923, when marks were 1,200,000 to the £1 (later, of course, they fell far lower), and I shall never forget the tensity and uncertainty which seemed to brood over everything, as well as the great and obvious physical sufferings. It was then an open question whether the Republican government established in 1918 would maintain itself, whether indeed any system of law and order would stand the strain. Only against the tragic background of what ordinary men and women endured between 1914 and 1924 can the new Germany be understood.

Very obvious outward and inward changes have taken place. Last September I walked down the famous Unter den Linden in Berlin with a bright nine year old girl, and a squad of half-a-dozen soldiers passed us. There is something rather pathetic about the handfuls of soldiers one occasionally sees. To my little companion they were quite new, and she could not understand their purpose, although on the Government buildings just beside us were the marks of bullets fired during the Revolutionary disturbances. The old military aristocracy, and with it a whole attitude to life, has left the stage and retired, often very generously treated, into obscurity. Occasionally there are demonstrations, when they deck themselves out again in their glory, but their passage wakes no general respect or enthusiasm, as under the old régime. Nothing is less likely than the re-establishment of the Imperial house, of this the recent elections give one more proof. Many of the attacks made in Allied countries on the ex-Kaiser are deeply resented, but it is in the spirit of those who feel that, when a man has failed and is down, whatever his faults may have been, he should be left alone. The faithfulness of "Father Hindenburg" to the Republic, since his election as President, and his stolid commonsense, have increased everyone's confidence, and the desire for the efficient development of the new system of government. There are still many problems of internal organization to be faced. We often forget that the Empire dated only from 1871, and that Germany is as yet incompletely unified, some of the old kingdoms still having special privileges, while north and south are not yet quite free from jealousy and distrust. There is a strong movement, which has much to be said for it on ethnographic and economic grounds, though it is at present opposed by some of the Great Powers, for the union of Austria and Germany.

There is everywhere manifest a desire to leave the past behind, and to rebuild the greatness of Germany along new lines. The industry, persistence and thoroughness, long recognized as German characteristics, have already secured a large measure of success, in spite of many obstacles. A German professor, in a recent work on English theology, suggests that the German escapes more easily from the tyranny of the past than does the Britisher. We have more vivid memories, and cannot forget the orthodox Allied version of what took place prior to August, 1914. We find it difficult to get rid of emotional bias in our judgments. I met more prejudice against Germans in my first six days in England after my return, than prejudice against the English in my six months in Germany. Yet the German willingness to forget does not come from fear of the ultimate verdict of history on the events leading up to the War. Dr. John Hutton not long ago described how, when visiting another country, one is confronted with " facts of such a kind, that had one been aware of them, we should have held our own view with less hardness, and might even have held another view." This admirably expresses one's feelings on learning the German version of events in Europe during the last twenty years. No one can hear the account, nor realise the sincerity and conviction with which it is held, and the sacrifices made as a result of it, without feeling ashamed of what Allied propaganda made us believe about our former enemies.

The more one learns, however, about feeling on the Continent the more anxious one becomes about the future. The younger generation do not in general feel (and perhaps this is also increasingly true in England and America), that the lesson to be drawn from events in Europe is that force is a hopeless and intrinsically wrong method of settling disputes. Rather, it is suggested, all that has happened proves that

> Force rules the world still—
> Has ruled it, shall rule it.
> Meekness is weakness,
> Strength is triumphant.

The Allies won the war because of their superiority in manpower and munitions, and through the blockade. They disarmed Germany. They refuse to disarm themselves because they are unconvinced that it is " secure " to be without large armies and navies. That is, they do trust ultimately in force. A Germany whose prosperity in other spheres is increasing will become growingly restive. At present there is a large majority for a vigorous League of Nations policy which aims at " getting something done." Unless the Allies disarm speedily, however,

and by some magnificent gesture seek to undo the tragic effects of the Versailles Treaty and subsequent diplomacy, there seems little hope of preventing that "next war" about which there is increasing speculation. At present, Europe is too weary and poor to resort to arms, but in the Ruhr and the Tyrol, in Poland and in Hungary the seeds of war are being sown. How suddenly feeling might flare up even now was shown in the tensity in certain circles in Germany last November, during the strained situation between Lithuania and Poland. Men said that in the event of war France would seek to send assistance to her ally through Germany, and would be resisted . . . if necessary with knives! There is a pacifist movement in Germany, and it is slowly growing, but one comes away feeling that we must work harder for peace while it is day.

I had often the strange feeling of being very much nearer to Russia. It is, of course, geographically true, but one is conscious of it in a deeper sense. The average Britisher regards the Bolshevik as a kind of outcast, a lower species of humanity, to be kept as far away as possible. Living in an island it is fairly easy to avoid "defilement," particularly when the country has an energetic Home Secretary. On the Continent, however, the segregation of peoples and ideas is impossible, nor is it desired. The Russians to-day are conducting an extraordinarily interesting experiment in a new kind of social organisation. It has been a very costly experiment, and no one at the moment has any wish to imitate them. But it is something to be studied. Responsible Bolshevik leaders, when one meets them, do not prove to be the kind of "savages" one would imagine from reading most of our English press. A much-read book in Germany has been a comparative study of Lenin and Gandhi, probably the two most important figures of the twentieth century. The latter's gospel of meekness does not seem to have met with success. What about that of Lenin? Germany is interested in the question, because modern Germany is experimenting. Old things have been shaken, and in most realms the new and abiding things cannot yet be seen. In spite of the hard work of reconstruction that is going on, there is a sense of disillusionment abroad, and an unwillingness to pin one's faith to anything, however gilt-edged the securities offered. This is a day of experiments, in social organisation and government, in architecture (a visit to the new colonies outside Frankfort and Stuttgart gives one a new respect for the prophecies of H. G. Wells), in diet, in morals, and in religion!

## II

Many changes can be seen in the social habits of the people. There is increasing love of the open air, for example, and far more outdoor games are played than before the war. Universal military training being forbidden, German youths are encouraged for patriotic reasons to keep fit by as much exercise as possible. Every University student is required to spend a certain number of hours in the gymnasium or on the playing-field. Actuated by quite different motives, many of the Youth Movements, whose popularity is now perhaps not quite so great as it was a few years ago, have made physical culture one of their chief concerns. There is a great deal of swimming, and the many rivers and lakes around the big cities are now provided with bathing facilities, every section of the community making use of them. The banks of the Neckar at Heidelberg on a sunny day remind one of a crowded sea-side beach. During the summer thousands of people spend camping week-ends beside the lakes near Berlin. Even Kassel is building a promenade and bathing-places.

Older customs, however, survive. Sword-fighting continues in the Universities, though it is not so general as formerly, since there are an increasing number of students, particularly in places like Berlin and Heidelberg, who are not in the student-societies that organise it. Scarred faces are frequently seen, and on a Monday morning the lecture rooms, even of the theological faculty, have many bandaged and plastered heads. In Marburg the fights take place every Saturday from 5.30 a.m. onwards, in a room behind an inn, watched by keen partisans and a few strangers. Each end of the room is roughly curtained off, and behind the dirty sheets are the doctors and their assistants. The combatants, with throat, eyes, chest and right arm protected, as well as any old scars they may have, are so encased that they move with difficulty. The conditions of the fight seem to allow of little skill. Each hacks wildly in the hope that his opponent will flinch or withdraw wounded before he himself is so compelled. All around is a filthy smell, a mixture of beer and tobacco, disinfectant and blood.

The influence of the student-societies in the Universities is not a particularly good one, though on public occasions their banners and bright costumes, with gay-plumed hats, top-boots, spurs and drawn swords, give a romantic touch to the proceedings. Exclusiveness and conservatism are combined with a not very high moral tone. A good deal of drinking goes on. Yet the average German student remains a marvel of thoroughness and industry, and is never tired of an argument. The standard of living

is lower than in England. High thinking is often combined with few and irregular meals, and sometimes meat only once every two or three days. Often an extraordinary number of classes are attended each week. Count Keyserling has recently repeated the dictum that if Germans were presented with two doors, over one of which was written "To the Kingdom of God," and over the other, "To lectures on the Kingdom of God," they would choose the latter. Certainly their capacity for listening to long technical harangues is amazing. At the Reichgründungsfeier in Marburg on January 18th, a celebration similar to our Empire Day, the prelude to the fervent singing of "Deutschland über alles" was a long address by Professor Bultmann on the relations of early Christianity to the State. An essential preliminary to a lecture course in any subject is a lengthy introduction defining one's philosophical position.

The German educational system, however, whatever may be its defects, has resulted in a level of culture higher than that in England. The average person is an able conversationalist, intelligent, keen, wide in his interests. To sit round a table, eating fruit and biscuits, and arguing, is regarded as a very pleasant and profitable way of spending an evening. One could wish sometimes for a little less seriousness, and more lightness of touch, but one cannot withhold admiration. In one of the intervals during a small student conference, I was one of a group which listened to a paper by a classical student on the authorship of the Apocalypse of Peter. The paper was in Latin, and the author was introduced and thanked in that language! It was at first surprising to find how many of the professors' wives in Marburg attended their husbands' lectures. It is evidence, however, of a closer co-operation between husband and wife in intellectual matters than is often the case in this country. The close relations of the professors to their students, fostered by the Seminar-method of instruction, and by frequent walks and general class excursions, are also most attractive.

With a class which had been making a comparative study of the various churches and denominations, I paid a week-end visit to Frankfort and Wiesbaden. Services of all kinds were attended. We were quartered in a Methodist Seminary, and went first to three synagogues, two liberal and one orthodox. One of the liberal synagogues was in a poor part of Frankfort, yet the congregation followed with apparent keenness an address on R. T. Herford's book on the Pharisees! The Baptists, the Mormons, and the Salvation Army were among the groups visited, as well as many Lutheran and Catholic churches. The military parade service in Wiesbaden unfortunately revealed Anglicanism

at its worst. A few of us played truant on one of the evenings in order to go to "Tannhaüser" at the Opera House. The German's love and appreciation of music persists. I do not know which I shall remember longest, the wrapt attention with which the Pilgrims' Chorus was heard, or the way in which Marburg students would stand hours in a closely packed hall in order to listen to some famous pianist, or those evenings at some home when the family would all get out their instruments and play together.

## III

A conversation I had with an American from Yale when I had been in Germany three months remains in my mind. We had both been impressed with three things regarding the religious situation. First, liberal theology is under a cloud; secondly, Protestantism is challenged by a growing Catholicism; thirdly, the whole religious attitude to life is increasingly called in question, and probably the gains of the Catholics are not great compared with the losses of the churches as a whole.

The religious life of Germany has changed much since before the war. The old distinction between Lutheran and Reformed has grown very dim; almost complete independence of state-control has been secured by the church (anything like the rejection of the proposed Prayer Book by Parliament would be impossible, I was repeatedly assured); attendance at services has in many places considerably increased; there are abundant signs of new life; and though there remains a gulf between the churches and the proletariat promising efforts to bridge it are being made. The progress of the Catholics during the last few years has been helped by the attitude of the Vatican during the War, by a very ably directed Catholic press, and by a much more effectively organised social work than that done by the Protestants. Yet the latter are alive to the need of more vigorous efforts. Next year is the four-hundredth anniversary of the meeting between Luther and Zwingli in the Schloss at Marburg. After 1529 the two streams of Reformation thought diverged more and more. There are to be celebrations aiming at emphasising the new unity between the different branches of the Protestant church.

The Lausanne Conference seems to have awakened greater interest in Germany than in England. In addition to the well-known ecclesiastical leaders, there were present outstanding thinkers like Deissmann, Martin Dibelius, Heiler, Hermelink, Titius, Wobbermin and Gogarten. They have returned full of

enthusiasm for thorough exploration and study of the diverse church traditions. Much interest is being shown in the Greek Orthodox Church. Independent groups are promoting closer fellowship between Catholics and Protestants, and there are also wider and freer non-ecclesiastical religious groups at work, some of them similar to the movements in which Baron von Hügel was interested. Rudolf Otto has been for some time endeavouring to lay the foundations of a league of religions, and it seems likely that the Pope had in mind this movement, rather than efforts at unity within the Christian Church, when he wrote in his Christmas Encyclical about "Panchristianism."

In England the challenge to religious experience offered by psychology excites much controversy. On the Continent the dominant theological problems are of a different character. Unless one goes to Vienna or Zurich one can find little interest in the psychology of religion. The theologians of Germany are chiefly busied with the writings of Karl Barth and his friends. Their influence is very much greater than that of Otto, though the latter is at present better known in this country. "Das Heilige" has run into many editions, and its phraseology is a commonplace of discussion. Otto has also interested himself in the improvement of public worship, by the use of new liturgies and times for silent prayer, and is one of the editors of a magazine giving suggestions to ministers for the conduct of services. In Marburg the University Church was recently redecorated, and an effort made better to express the numinous; above the simple communion table behind which the minister stands, rises a large silver-painted Cross, at the back of which tower the organ pipes, producing an impressive as well as attractive effect. All these things testify to what Otto has done. And there are other outstanding men in the German theological world, besides the internationally renowned specialists in the various fields of study. A thinker of great prestige is Karl Heim of Tübingen (which still has the largest theological faculty of any German University). His visit to the Jerusalem Missionary Conference will doubtless make him better known outside his own country. Much of his time has been spent in vigorous and able controversy with the Catholics, and he has proved himself the very successful apologist of a somewhat conservative Protestant theology. His work does not, however, excite the same interest as that of Barth.

To understand Barthianism, someone has said, one must know intimately the last hundred years of German philosophy and theology. In the preface to the second edition of his famous commentary on *Romans*, a book whose first issue in 1919 marked the beginning of the new movement, Barth admits that its effect

on immature minds may be unfortunate. Some of the narrower sects of Germany welcomed his message at first, thinking that "criticism" had seen its own folly and that a new ally of their particular kind of Fundamentalism had arisen. They are less certain to-day; many of them are even hostile. And with good reason, for whatever it is Barth is trying to say, it is certainly not a repetition of any pre-scientific kind of orthodoxy.

Barth and his friend Thurneysen—they work in such close accord that they issue joint volumes of sermons without any indication of their separate contributions—were pastors in Switzerland before the war, socialist in sympathy, and the organisers of much institutional work. The war seemed to shatter all their hopes. They saw war-credits being voted by their friends both in Berlin and Paris. Their whole conception of the Kingdom of God was challenged by what they saw happening in Europe. Thurneysen has told how they turned for comfort to a fresh study of the New Testament, and how out of that study came Barth's "Römerbrief," which is not so much a new commentary as the message of a new prophet. An immanent philosophy, the whole modern experiental approach to the problems of religion which goes back to Schleiermacher, a belief in human progress, the picture of Jesus and His teaching given us by liberal theology, all these are rejected, and there is proclaimed with overwhelming power the transcendence of God, and the gulf which separates Him in His terrible Holiness, Majesty and Might from man. "God is not man. Revelation and Salvation are not History. Eternity is not Time," so Barth's message has been summed up. He believes he has rediscovered the meaning of Paulinism, and of Christianity. What it means to be a Christian cannot be understood by the mysticism of Heiler, nor by Biblical criticism, however true and necessary on its own plane that may be, nor by the historical studies of Troeltsch. It can be understood only when man has attained "true creatureliness of feeling" (to borrow a phrase from von Hügel). Barth's is a theology of paradox and of crisis. "God is in heaven, and thou upon earth: therefore let thy words be few" (Eccl. v. 2).

This is not the place to attempt a critical estimate of Barthianism. The pastor has become a professor, first in Göttingen, and now in Münster. He is only forty-two years old. A school of thought has grown up around his writings, with contacts in many directions, and a special periodical, *Zwischen den Zeiten*. Among the contributors to the latter are Brunner, Gogarten and Bultmann. The last-named combines a most radical New Testament criticism with a Calvinistic theology similar to that of Barth. Support is found by the group in the

new Phenomenological school of philosophers connected with Hüsserl; inspiration is drawn from the writings of those intellectual, or perhaps better said, prophetic pessimists of a previous generation, Kierkegaard the Dane, and Dostoievsky the Russian. Much of the strength of the movement, however, comes from the fact that it was born in the pulpit, and is proclaimed as a gospel.

Barthianism is the product of post-war Germany. Out of men's despair has often come an apocalyptic faith. The somewhat contemptuous attitude adopted towards the theological work of the last century has been vigorously combated by veterans like Harnack and Jülicher and Budde. Some shrewd observers believe that in Germany the new movement has already passed the peak of its influence, which means perhaps that it may soon be expected to set foot in England and America.

## IV

A word may be said in conclusion about the Baptists of Germany. They were extraordinarily kind and hospitable to me. A Baptist preacher near Berlin gave me some of my first lessons in German. The student-conference already alluded to was held in the Baptist holiday home in Thuringia, and to it came some twenty-five girls and fellows from universities all over Germany. It was genuinely thrilling to be there, for the students were almost all "rebels" against the older generation and its theological traditions, many of them loyal to the Baptist faith as they understand it, under very great difficulties, all of them rejoicing in a week when they could meet others of kindred temper, and discuss frankly without reserve or fear. In Marburg I was generously welcomed by the small Baptist group who meet each Sunday afternoon in a tiny hired room, led by one who used to be a preacher, but was dismissed because his views were too "modern," and who suffered great hardships before he secured his present appointment. After Christmas I attended a Young People's Conference in Stuttgart, and there met a daughter of Julius Köbner, who with Oncken and Lehmann formed the triumvirate which started the modern Baptist movement in Germany. In Tübingen I was with Baptist students, in Kassel I saw the printing and publishing houses, and one of the largest of the chapels. My last days in Germany were spent in the college in Hamburg where there are nearly sixty students training for work in Germany, in Holland and in S.E. Europe.

There are now some 60,000 Baptists in Germany. Increase in the last few years has been relatively slight. Sects like the New Apostolic Church are growing rapidly, but not the Baptists,

and it is recognised that these are critical years. The basis, tradition and outlook are far narrower than in England, so narrow indeed that comparatively few of us would be able to remain in the present Baptist organisation were we living in Germany. Frank speaking on this question is necessary, for every year many able and keen younger men and women are being lost to the Baptist cause in Germany, who might be retained were it made clear that our faith can be intelligently grounded, and our organisation made democratic, and that a cardinal Baptist principle has been intellectual and spiritual freedom. In our desire to unite the Baptists of the world into one fellowship, we have perhaps been in danger of tacitly approving much that is directly contrary to the best Baptist tradition. There is a fight for intellectual freedom going on within many of our continental churches, which may in the long run be even more important than the fight for political recognition in lands like Rumania. At any rate the younger and more progressive elements in Germany need our encouragement, and have much they can give us in return. Everywhere, indeed, among old and young, I found a strong desire for more interchange of ideas, and for closer personal ties. What Dr. Newton Marshall and Dr. Rushbrooke did as young men is still gratefully remembered, but now needs doing again on a larger scale.

Considerable interest is being shown in the Anabaptists, and much fresh material is coming to light. German Baptists are not so chary of owning relationship to Hans Denck, Balthasar Hubmaier, and Thomas Münzer, as the English and American Baptists have usually been. The Anabaptist movement may have much to teach not only us, but Protestantism generally, and it is possible that closer study of it may lead to a broadening of the modern Baptist movement on the Continent.

These years are critical because in them is being decided the whole future of Free Church life in Germany. Baptists, Methodists, and Congregationalists are all comparatively small bodies numerically, and are generally narrow in outlook. They are still looked upon, somewhat contemptuously, as sects, and in contact with them one cannot escape the feeling that they are " foreign " movements, not quite at home in the German religious tradition. Their appeal is limited to a much smaller social group than in England, their relations with the more apocalyptic and ecstatic sects are close and confused. Yet there is great need of Free Church witness along modern evangelical lines, and there is reason to believe that if it were conducted in gentlemanly fashion is would not arouse resentment in Lutheran and Reformed circles. There is, in educated quarters, widespread ignorance of our real

tenets, and within the larger religious bodies there are sections which seem to be groping to a position very similar to our own. As at present organised and directed, and with their present temper, there seems little likelihood of the Baptists rising to their opportunity. The more progressive forces seem in genuine danger of temporary defeat; that it is only temporary is certain, but it may make the present Baptist organisation impotent. We might do more than we are doing, as individuals, to foster contacts with those struggling for a wider conception of the gospel, and increasing knowledge, understanding, and co-operation along these lines would be abundantly worth while as a contribution to the solution of the bigger political and international issues in which Germany and England are concerned.

*May*, 1928.

ERNEST A. PAYNE.

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Mr. Payne has translated a valuable paper on the " Tasks of the Baptist Denomination in Germany," by Dr. Herbert Petrick, which will appear in the next issue of the *Baptist Quarterly*.

# Early Baptist Movements in Suffolk.

IN common with other parts of East Anglia we should expect to find in Suffolk some evidence of Dutch congregations of Anabaptists. Norwich and Yarmouth had them in the latter part of the sixteenth century, as also did Colchester, certainly from the first quarter of the seventeenth. The Ipswich records, however, so far as can be ascertained at present, give no clue to the existence of any such community. There is ample indication of the presence of Dutch immigrants, whose wealth and influence were a cause of uneasiness to the fathers of the town. They are never to become burgesses; "they doe much hinder the ffree burgesses by their Malting." In 1537 the burgesses, met for some purpose at Walton, deplore the fact that "aliens Dutchmen are more favourably housed than English." In 1556, at Queen Mary's Council held at Beccles, May 18th, four women were accused of refusing to have their children dipped in the fonts of St. Peter's Church, Ipswich (Ivimey v. i. 99, quoting from Foxe). In 1582 the Justices of the Peace for the county of Suffolk, in protesting to the Lords of the Council against the conduct of Bishop Freeke, and in behalf of certain Godly ministers say: "we allow not of Papists; of the family of Love; of Anabaptists or Brownists. No, we punish all these." (Browne's History of Cong. in Norfolk and Suffolk, p. 27). In the same year Robert Browne (then at Middleburgh) had published his *Life and Manners of all Christians.* In 1581 he had spent some time with the large Dutch congregation in Norwich. Is it to this congregation that the justices refer, or was there another in Ipswich? In any case it would be difficult to prove any influence of Anabaptists over the subsequent English Baptist movements in the county.

The first quarter of the seventeenth century shows no definitely Baptist movement in Suffolk. A group of clergy, of whom Knewstubbs of Cockfield was possibly the leader, were in communication with John Smyth, but on matters of church government (see discussion in biography prefixed to Smyth's Works, p. lix). In the latter part of the second quarter the attempt to introduce a Presbyterian form of church government brings to light the existence of several Baptist individuals, apparently engaged in itinerant preaching. Lawrence Clarkson, for daring to immerse persons professing faith in Christ, was sent to prison by the

Committee of Suffolk. After six months he petitioned for his liberty, on account of having retracted his sentiments, and promised not "to dip or teach the same." Ivimey v. 2. 562 gives the recantation in full. It is dated July 15th, 1645. In the next year Andrew Wyke was apprehended by the same Committee for preaching and dipping. He refused to give any account, either of his authority for preaching, or of the doctrines he held, "alledging that a freeman of England was not bound to answer any interrogations, either to accuse himself or others; but if they had aught against him, they should lay their charge, and produce their proofs" (Ivimey i. 190). He was thereupon committed to prison. A pamphlet was written, either by him or his friends, entitled, "The innocent in prison complaining; or a true relation of the proceedings of the Committee of Ipswich and the Committee of Bury St. Edmunds in the County of Suffolk, against one Andrew Wyke, a witness of Jesus in the same county, who was committed to prison, June 3rd, 1646." The mention of Bury St. Edmunds is interesting, as a Congregational Church practising believers' baptism was founded there in the same year. Had Andrew Wyke any part in its formation? According to Ivimey i. 189, the Suffolk Committee also obtained possession of a letter written by Hanserd Knollys to John Dutton of Norwich which reflected on the intolerance of the Presbyterians. This letter they sent on to the authorities in London. That Baptists at this time were "troublers of Israel," may be gathered also by a phrase in a petition of the ministers of the County of Suffolk and Essex concerning Church government. "Presented to the Right Honourable the House of Peers on Fryday, May 29th, 1646." They complain, among other things, of "the sacrament of Baptism by many neglected and by many re-iterated." No less than 163 Suffolk ministers signed this petition.

In 1648 the tide seems to have turned, for we find Parliament ordering "that Mr. Kiffin and Mr. Knollys be permitted to preach in any part of Suffolk, at the petition of the Ipswich men" (quoted in Ivimey's *Life of William Kiffin,* p. 35). The thanks of the Ipswich men is recorded in a letter to Lieut.-General Cromwell, signed by four and twenty citizens of Ipswich, and dated "the 22th of January, 1648." This is preserved in Lambeth Palace Library.

As a result of these sporadic movements in Suffolk one church seems to have emerged. This continued for over fifty years. It met half a mile out of Framlingham, at a place called Linkhorn's Barn. The only information we have about it at present is connected with a man called Thomas Mills. This man, who was born about 1623, grew up and served an appren-

ticeship to a tailor at Grundisburgh, near Woodbridge. Thence he came to Framlingham and took service with a wheelwright, who afterwards left him his property. Having thrown in his lot with the little company at Linkhorn's Barn, he was called to preach for them, and ultimately became their leader. With the change in his fortunes (he also married a wealthy widow) Mills purchased the barn. Here, until his death in 1703, he held together the little group of people. He suffered much persecution for his dissent, and often had to go into hiding. Of the church itself we know very little. In 1689 and 1692 Thomas Mills is mentioned as minister of the cause at Framlingham, in the list compiled by the General Assembly of Baptist Churches in those years. Since this is a list of churches "that sent either their Ministers or Messengers, or otherwise communicated their state in our General Assembly at London," we know the church must have possessed definite character as "a baptized church owning the doctrine of personal election and final perseverance." At the end of his life Mills built and endowed almshouses for six (afterwards eight) poor persons without respect to their religious creed. Green (*History of Framlingham*) pays a warm tribute to the Christian charity of this persecuted man. The cause apparently died out soon after his death, by which time the Independents had a settled ministry in Framlingham.

The third quarter of the seventeenth century in Suffolk is remarkable for certain activities in the interests of a seventh-day Sunday. Details of the movement are at present obscure so far as this county is concerned. Colchester seems to have been one direction from which the influence spread, the particular agent in Suffolk being Captain Christopher Pooley, apparently grandson of the rector of Great Massingham (so Dr. Whitley), a Fifth Monarchist and a Baptist. In 1656 Pooley (or Poolye) baptized at the staith in the river at Beccles a woman member of the Congregational Church there (Browne, op. cit. p. 572). This woman, and another who had been baptized earlier at Norwich, are reported in 1658 to have joined themselves to "another society," probably Pooley's church in Norwich. No other record of Pooley's activities in Suffolk is known, except that in 1667 "the Recorder and Bailiffs of Ipswich have imprisoned Christopher Pooley who formerly escaped hence: he refuses the oaths" (S.P.D. ccvii. 1, 33, 34). Two things are certain: these seventh-day ideas received attention, and in one quarter took root. In 1659 Edmund Warren published at Ipswich "The Jews sabbath antiquated and the Lord's Day instituted by divine authority," a book of 263 pages; while at Woodbridge a Seventh-day Baptist cause emerged, and lasted on into the next century. There is,

however, at present but scanty material available for piecing together the story of this church.

The License Book of 1672 indicates that not one Baptist teacher was licensed for Suffolk, and only three houses, all of them in Bungay, were licensed for Baptist preaching. The preachers apparently came out of Norfolk, probably from St. Mary's, Norwich. The householders whose premises were licensed were Thomas Walcott and John Allen for Congregational and Anabaptist, and Henry Lacey for Baptist teaching. The name Lacey becomes prominent among Suffolk Baptists more than a century later.

Of more importance for Baptist concerns in Suffolk were the preaching journeys taken in 1689/90 by London Baptists through Essex and Suffolk ("where were no Baptized Churches") and Norfolk, at the behest of the General Assembly in London. The Bi-centenary *History of the Baptist Church at Eld Lane, Colchester* (1889) preserves extracts from the personal record of Brother Tidmarsh's journey, taken in 1689, from which we quote: "Then back to St. Edmondsbury (at the messengers of that association) where they had a conference with Milway; then to Little Bastin two sermons, and baptized two persons publickly in the day time; from thence to Sudbury, two sermons," etc. In this extract all the items are significant. Milway was pastor of the Congregational Church at Bury-St.-Edmunds, which practised Believers' Baptism. This Church was formed in 1646, and in 1653, Thomas Tayler of Norwich undertook the pastorate. As affairs when he came were in some disorder he prepared, in 1655, several resolutions and statements, among them this: "The ordinances in which they are agreed are, i. prayer; ii, preaching the word or prophesying; iii, keeping the first day of the week holy unto the Lord; iv. BAPTISM FOR BELIEVERS; v. Breaking of bread. The ordinances wherein at present some do dissent are—i, baptism for the seed of believers; ii, singing of psalms." Evidently there was a fair proportion of Baptists in the congregation, and Tidmarsh either desired to discuss the possibility of forming a separate church, or more probably brought them fraternal greetings from London brethren. We know that Keach (*Gospel Ministers' Maintenance Vindicated,* 1689) did not advocate the withdrawing of Baptists into separate churches without very good prospect of strong growth. The baptisms at "Little Bastin" should probably read Kettlebaston, a village with an adjacent river, not very far from Bildeston, where in 1737 the first surviving Baptist Church was formed. It included people from Kettlebaston. In the intervening years Baptist witness had been kept alive by preachers from Eld Lane,

Colchester, while in the neighbourhood lived several members of the Congregational Church at Bury. It would therefore appear that Tidmarsh's visit was the first to produce permanent results. As regards the reference to Sudbury, Ivimey v. i. 516, after giving an account of the London Assemblies of 1689-91, sets forth a list of associations into which the Churches were grouped. Under the heading, "The Association of Churches in Norfolk, Suffolk, etc.," he shows Norwich, Pulham, Sudbury, Wisbeach, Debach, Colchester. We have no records at all of a Baptist Church in existence at Sudbury in 1691 although we know that dissenters had been active in the town for many years previously. It would appear that the Baptist element was merged with the Congregational cause which grew up about this time.

At the London Assembly in 1690 "Brother Benjamin Keach and one more" are desired "to visit our friends at Colchester, Suffolk, Norfolk, etc." This they evidently did, as from their visit a Baptist Church was formed at Lavenham. Of this Church Browne (op. cit.) has gathered some information. It met in a barn at the lower end of Water St. The pastor was a Mr. Tredwell, a Londoner, and most likely the travelling companion of Keach. The Rev. William Burkitt, incumbent of Milden, preached a sermon against this congregation in 1691, and behaved in a "violent and indecorous manner." From the preface to the sermon it becomes clear that the cause was founded by strangers. "Since the late general Liberty, the Anabaptists (thinking themselves thereby let loose upon us) have disperst themselves into several counties, endeavouring to draw away our people from us." According to Burkitt the baptisms took place "in a nasty horse pond," and he described in vivid detail the condition of the candidates on their emergence. This sermon Burkitt followed up with a book entitled "An Argumentative and Practical Discourse of Infant Baptism," to which Keach replied with "The Rector Rectified and Corrected; or Infant Baptism Unlawful." In 1697 the cause was defunct, and the vacated barn was taken over by the Independents (from Bury) and fitted up as a meeting house.

Thus all these early movements produced no single Church in the seventeenth century, which has survived to the present. Independency was strong (Robinson of Leyden had strongly influenced Norfolk) and accommodating on the question of baptism; and other interests, practical and doctrinal, were dominant.

A. J. KLAIBER.

# The Early Years of the Baptist Union.

II.

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Meeting at the Jamaica Coffee-house, May 18, 1813. Present Messrs. Thomas Thomas, Timothy Thomas, Newman, Button, Cox, Waters, Austin,

It was proposed that a meeting be summoned on this day fortnight, and that the Ministers be requested to invite some of their Deacons[9] to meet with them for the purpose of consulting on the business of the proposed General Meeting on the 23rd of June.

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Meeting at the Jamaica Coffee house Tuesday June 1, 1813. Present Dr. Rippon in the Chair.

Brethren Griffin, Upton, Button, Thos. Thomas, Newman, Cox, Smith, Austin, Wm. Shenstone, J. B. Shenstone, Hutchings, Ivimey, Napier, Mitchell, Norton, Westlake, Beatson, Jackson, Medley, Tiffin, Woodroffe, Broad and King.[10]

It was proposed, and seconded, that two Papers relative to the Union, written by Mr. Wm. Shenstone, and Mr. T. Thomas be read. They were accordingly produced and referred to the further consideration of the Sub-Committee.

It was proposed, and seconded, that the Sub-Committee add to their number the following brethren, viz, Mr. Wm. Shenstone, Mr. Hutchings, and Mr. Cox. Messrs. Jackson,

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continued.

Medley, Norton, and Napier, and that any five with a Secretary be competent to transact business.

That the Sub-committee meet next Friday week at Mr. Medley's Threadneedle Street, and report on this day fortnight at this place.

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Meeting at Mr. Medley's Friday [June] 11. 1813

9 A somewhat tardy recognition of the importance of laymen!

10 Of the laymen, Edward Smith was from Devonshire Square; Thomas Mitchell from Wild Street; James Norton and Robert Westley (not Westlake) from Carter Lane; Anby Beatson from Dean Street; Samuel Jackson and John Woodroffe from Unicorn Yard; Henry Tippin (not Tiffin) from Bow.

Dr. Rippon in the Chair.

The following Resolutions were adopted—

1. That this Society of ministers and churches be designated, "The General Union of Baptist ministers and churches," maintaining the important doctrines of "three equal persons in the Godhead; eternal and personal election; original sin; particular redemption; free justification by the imputed righteousness of Christ; efficacious grace in regeneration; the final perseverance of real believers; the resurrection of the dead; the future judgment; the eternal happiness of the righteous, and the eternal misery of such as die in impenitence, with the congregational order of the churches inviolably." [17]

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2. That ministers and churches, who may hereafter be desirous of uniting with this Society, be admitted, with the consent of the whole body, at the annual meeting.

3. That the formation of this Union be for the purpose of affording to the ministers and churches of the denomination the means of becoming better acquainted with each other, with a view to excite brotherly love, and to furnish a stimulus for a zealous co-operation in promoting the cause of Christ in general,

[17] This doctrinal wording is identical with that which had been in use among Particular Baptist Associations for many years. The annual Circular Letters of the Associations form a study in the development of doctrine and its verbal expression. In 1768, the Northants Letter was to the churches "maintaining the important Doctrines of Three equal Persons in the Godhead; eternal and personal Election; the original Guilt and Depravity of Mankind; particular Redemption; free Justification by the imputed Righteousness of Christ; efficacious Grace in Regeneration; the Perseverance of the Saints in Grace unto Glory; and professing the primitive Order and Discipline of Churches." In 1776, *original Guilt and Depravity of Mankind* was changed to "Original Sin"; *the Perseverance of the Saints, etc.* became "the final Perseverance of the Saints"; and *the primitive Order and Discipline* became "the Independency, or Congregational Order, of the Churches inviolably." In 1784, "original Guilt and Depravity" returned; the Divine Grace had "invincible Efficacy"; and the Perseverance of the Saints became "certain Perseverance." 1789 witnessed the insertion of "the Resurrection of the Dead; the future Judgment; and the Life everlasting" after *the final Perseverance of the Saints.* In 1790, *the final Perseverance* was not for Saints but for "real believers," and *the Life everlasting* became "the eternal Happiness of the Righteous and the everlasting Misery of the impenitent." The standard form was adopted about 1800, and remained in use for many years. The Oxon Association prefaced the doctrines with "Receiving the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament as their only guide, in faith and practice; and thence deriving their belief in the important doctrines of . . . ."

and particularly in our own denomination, and especially to encourage and support our Missions.[18]

4. That an annual meeting of the Society be held in London, or elsewhere, on the Wednesday nearest Midsummer-day, in every year; at which time two sermons shall be preached and collections made in aid of the Baptist Mission.

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5. That the members of the General Union meet on the following morning at six o'clock [!] to hear the report of the Committee, transact the business of the Society, and to chuse a Treasurer, Committee and Secretaries for the ensuing year.

6. That for the present year Mr. Burls be the Treasurer; that the associated ministers in London, who are members of the General Union, with one or two members from each of their churches who join the Union, be the Committee; and that Mr. Wm. Button, Mr. Joseph Ivimey, and Mr. Thomas Thomas[19] be their Secretaries, and that their meetings be open to all the ministers and messengers from the country belonging to the Union.

7. That it be recommended to the churches to establish Auxiliary Societies in aid of the *Mission,* and that our *Academical Institutions;*[20] *the Particular Baptist*

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*Fund; the Widows Fund; and the Baptist Society in London for the encouragement and support of itinerant and village preaching,* are justly entitled to the approbation and support of the denomination, and that the churches be requested to obtain subscriptions and make collections in aid of these several objects.

8. That auditors of the Treasurer's Accounts be annually appointed by the Committee, a correct statement of which together with a report of the committee, and the minutes of business at the annual meeting, shall be printed, as soon as conveniently may be after the annual meeting and circulated among all the churches belonging to the Union.

[18] It is interesting to compare this clause with the nine Objects of the Union set out in the revised Constitution (1926).

[19] In the *Baptist Handbook,* Thomas Thomas is placed first in the list of former secretaries, 1811-19. Button and Ivimey, who were secretaries of the Baptist Board, acted alone in the preliminary organisation of the years 1811-13. The above is the initial appearance of Thomas, and he should, therefore, be placed third, 1813-19. He died, 11th October, 1819.

[20] The English Academies were Bristol, Horton and Stepney.

9. That the *Baptist Magazine,* furnishing a most desireable medium of communication, respecting the state of our churches, at home and providing a most

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seasonable aid to necessitous widows of deceased ministers to which purpose the whole profits are applied,[21] is highly deserving the encouragement of the denomination; and that it be recommended to all our ministers and churches, to promote the circulation of it, to the utmost of their power.

10. That this Society disclaims all manner of superiority and superintendance over the churches; or any authority or power, to impose anything upon their faith and practice; their sole intention is to be helpers together one of another, in promoting the common cause of Christianity, and the interests of the several churches of the denomination to which they belong.

11. That the monthly prayer meeting for the spread of the gospel that has for

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many years been observed in most of the churches, be recommended to be generally regarded on the first Monday evening in every month.

N.B.—The Signatures of the Ministers who formed the Society upon the above mentioned rules may be found P. 37, 38, 39. omitted

12. That the Sermons for the Mission be preached next year by our brethren Hinton and Steadman, in case of failure Bro. Saffery.[22]

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Meeting ["of the Committee" was written and erased] at the Jamaica Coffee house the 19th of April 1814.

Dr. Rippon in the Chair.

It was proposed that an Address to the Denomination stating the objects of the General Union, should be printed in the

[21] In 1813, the proprietors of the *Baptist Magazine* divided £141 among twenty-nine widows.

[22] Following its record of the above meeting, the *Baptist Magazine* reports that "in the evening, a large congregation assembled at Devonshire Square Meeting House to hear the Report of the Committee, and to implore a divine blessing on the Union. Brother Steadman delivered an interesting address on the Union from 2 Cor. v. 14, *The love of Christ constraineth us. . . .*"

*Baptist Magazine* for June,[23] and that brethren Rippon, Newman, Thomas Thomas, and Upton prepare it for that purpose against this day fortnight when the Committee shall be summoned to meet at this place.

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Meeting of the General Union at Dr. Rippon's Vestry, Carter Lane June 23rd 1814.

Dr. Rippon in the Chair.

Present the following Ministers and Messengers.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Revd. | John Saffery—Sarum | Rev. | John Stanger Bessels Green |
| „ | Dr. John Rippon London | „ | John Chin Walworth |
| „ | James Knight Little Staughton | „ | Wm Grocer Jun. Princes Risbro' |
| „ | William Tomlin Chesham | „ | Thomas Griffin London |
| „ | Thomas Powell London | „ | [G] Dobney Wallingford |
| „ | James Pilkington Raleigh | „ | John Dyer Reading |
| „ | Wm. Culver Woolwich | „ | John Palmer Shrewsbury |
| „ | John Garrington Burnham | „ | John Rees New Mill |
| „ | George Eveliegh Waltham Abbey | „ | Abr. Austin London |
| „ | James Smith Ilford | „ | John Row Crayford |
| „ | William Button London | „ | William Newman London |
| „ | [Samuel] Bligh Potter's Bar | „ | [Joseph] Dawson London |
| „ | John Bain Potter Street | „ | James Hinton Oxford |
| „ | George Pritchard London | „ | Wm Grocer Watford |
| „ | William Steadman Bradford | „ | Wm Gray Chipping Norton |
| „ | Joseph Ivimey London | „ | [Thomas] Shirley Seven Oaks |
| „ | [William] Giles Lymington | „ | [James] Griffiths Wooton-under-Edge |
| „ | James Upton London | „ | J[osiah] Wilkinson Saffron Waldron |
| „ | Thomas Thomas London | „ | G. Keeley Ridgmount |
| „ | George Atkinson Margate | „ | [Joseph?] Tyso Watchett |

[23] This was done. It was signed by the three Secretaries and addressed "To the Churches of Jesus Christ, of the Baptist Denomination, in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland: maintaining the important doctrines, of three equal persons," etc, as in resolution one on page twenty-one. It reminds the churches of the objects of the Union and recommends a collection for one or other of them, calls attention to the formation of the Irish Society, refers to the "astonishing change" in the political affairs of England and Europe, and concludes with a call to "gird on the harness for the battle."

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Rev. W. Rogers | Eynsford | Rev. John Peacock | Rushden |
| „ J. Millard | Whitchurch | „ James Fairley | |
| „ T. Johnson | Wakenham | „ Wm. Buckley | Brittle Lane. |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Messrs Smith | Northampton | Messrs Cook | London |
| „ [Chapman] | Barber London | „ Kent | Abingdon |
| | | „ John | Shenstone London |
| „ Newell | do. | „ Miskin | Woolwich |
| „ Powell Junr. | do. | „ [William] | Angus Newcastle |
| „ Chalright | Braintree | | |
| „ [William] | Napier London | „ Douglas | London |
| | | „ Perenia | London |
| „ [James] | Norton do. | „ Saml Gale | do.[24] |
| „ Horseley | | „ Danl Olney | Tring. |
| „ Shipher | | | |
| „ [William] | West London | | |
| „ [Joshua] | Robins Bow | | |

The following congratulary address was read from the London Ministers composing the Committee of the General Union, to their brethren in the Country.

We have contemplated with sincere pleasure, another interview with our brethren who compose this Society of the General Union, and with many others, from the differant parts of the

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Kingdom, who are not yet connected with us, who may favour us with their presence and countenance at this annual meeting.

We cannot but congratulate you, on the formation of a Society, for a General Union of the Baptist Ministers and Churches, on the great doctrinal principles, and for the valueble and important purposes, that were specified in your Resolutions of last year, as promising much advantage to the cause of religion in general, and to the interest of our denomination in particular.

While you professedly disclaim all superiority over each other, and every thought of imposing anything on the faith and practice of the churches, and scrupulously maintain the independance and congregational order of the several churches to which you belong, inviolably; we cannot but consider this union as

[24] Samuel Gale was from Carter Lane. He was a Dissenting Deputy, Solicitor to the Building Fund and the Particular Baptist Fund, and on various committees.

a most desireable medium, by which a more intimate acquaintance and intercourse with each other may be promoted; with a view to

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excite brotherly affection, and stimulate to enlarged exertions for the accumulation of the funds of our Mission, and other important institutions, connected with the denomination.

We are truly happy to learn that a spirit of ardent zeal is already gone forth, and that its effects have been discerned in the establishment of Auxiliary societies in favour of our Mission in several of our churches, and by the encouragement of subscriptions and collections, in aid of our Academical Institutions: and we entertain the pleasing hope, that as these objects, with others, shall become more extensively known, and their importance be duly appreciated they will excite a general feeling, and attain a large and effectual patronage in their favour.

It is with great pleasure also that we are able to incorporate with this address, the recent establishment of a Baptist

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Society in London, for promoting the Gospel in Ireland. The objects of this Society are to employ Itinerants in that part of the United Kingdom, to establish schools and to circulate Bibles and Tracts. It is also proposed to send ministers occasionally from this country, with a view to encourage and strengthen the hands of our brethren, who are settled in Ireland, who appear cordially desirous of co-operating in the work. We earnestly recommend this Infant Society to the attention and support of their brethren and churches in this country.

We feel it to be incumbant on us, to notice the *Baptist Magazine,* as highly deserving the encouragement of the denomination, both on account of its furnishing a most desireable medium of communications, respecting the state of our churches and religion, at home, and abroad, and providing a most seasonable aid to necessitous widows of our deceased

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ministers, to which purpose the whole profits are applied. Its sale, since the last year has considerably increased, but we are persuaded it is in the power of the ministers and churches, to promote its object to a much greater extent, by obtaining for it a much wider circulation.

We conclude by expressing our warmest congratulations on the most astonishing and happy change which has taken place

in the political situation of Europe, and on the general tranquility which has so suddenly succeeded a long protracted and widely desolating war—an event in which they devoutly regard the providence of God, as most remarkably apparent; which while it wears a most friendly aspect on the liberties of mankind, promises to open a wide, and effectual door for the formation of the Gospel in the world—" Blessed be the Lord

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God, the God of Israel who only doth wondrous things, and blessed be his glorious name for ever, and let the whole earth be filled with his glory, Amen and Amen."

The following resolutions were unanimously passed.

1. That our Associations throughout the Kingdom be requested to depute one or more, of their members, as messengers; or send a letter signed by the Moderator, to the General Assembly, to report the state of the churches, and any other matter that may contribute to the general welfare of the denomination.

2. That a Circular letter addressed to the churches be sent, signed by the Secretaries, to some Minister connected with each Association, and to other churches, both in town and country, through the medium of their Pastors.

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or ministers, requesting them to promote the various important objects proposed by the Union.

[From the *Baptist Magazine* of July, 1814, we learn that the following further resolutions were passed. They are unrecorded in the minutes.]

3. That the thanks of this meeting be presented to brethren Steadman and Saffery for their appropriate sermons, at the Mission Meeting.

4. That brethren Hinton of Oxford, and Birt of Birmingham, be requested to preach the next Annual Sermons; in case of failure, brother Roberts of Bristol.

5. That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the Managers of the Jew's Chapel, Spitalfields, for their kindness in granting us the use of that place of worship.

[page 36 is blank]

[Pages 37, 38 and 39 contain the signatures referred to on page 26. All are autographs, except the last four, which were inserted by Ivimey. The list is particularly valuable as it furnishes

the names of the forty-five ministers who were present at the inaugural meeting of the Union. The names of the messengers are unrecorded; laymen then had not their present day influence. In cases where the minister's church has been previously mentioned in these articles, it is not repeated here. The names are in the order in which they appear in the minute book, and, as far as possible, full christian names are given.]

John Rippon; John Saffery; James Upton; William Winterbotham; William Newman; Thomas Thomas; Joseph Ivimey; William Shenston; John Row; John Sutclif, Olney; Thomas Hutchings, London (Unicorn Yard); Abraham Austin; George Atkinson; William Tomlin; Thomas Powell, London (Mitchel Street); John Stanger; Thomas Price, Yeovil; Francis Franklin, Coventry; Philip Davies, Wokingham, Berks; John Knott; John Rogers; Benjamin Coxhead, Truro; John Brittain Shenston, London; Thomas Shirley; Thomas Tilly; John King, Halstead; John Giles; Joseph Such, Steventon, Beds; Joseph Exall, Tenterden, Kent; Josiah Wilkinson; John Garrington, Burnham, Essex; Daniel Dossett; John Shoveller, Newport, Isle of Wight; James Pilkington; Edward Torlin; Thomas Bailey, Brenchley; William Downs, Sheffield; John J. Douglas, London; W. Culver, Woolwich; James Farley; James Smith, Ilford, Essex; Daniel Miall, Portsea; John Penny, Portsea; John Chin; Joseph Jenkins, London (Walworth).

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(*To be concluded.*)

SEYMOUR J. PRICE.

# Spiritism.[1]

THE history of the modern Spiritist Movement, which is considered to have begun in 1848 in America, is ignored in this paper in the interest of phases more significant. The subject has aroused considerable enthusiasm, especially since the Great War. The researches of Edison in this realm in 1920 gave the subject a forward kick. The interest is being maintained, for when Mr. Dennis Bradley announced that he constantly talked with the spirits of the departed, he received over seven thousand applications in a few months to be present at his séances; famous mediums, such as Mrs. Osborne Leonard, are booked up for years to come; and shoals of literature on the subject are being issued in many languages, from the pens of men and women of high repute. Authors are incorporating spiritistic phenomena in their books, one of whom, in a French novel, entitled "Reincarné," bolsters up spiritist doctrine in a so-called true story, by quoting the names of eminent scientists as supporting his point of view. But Flammarion says of many that they were not consulted, and it is a fact that "Reincarné" has driven a great number of people completely mad. The authority for this statement is Heuzés book *Do the Dead Live,* published by John Murray. To that book the first part of this paper is deeply indebted.

## Definition of Spiritism.

Spiritism is the name applied to a great and varied series of abnormal or preternormal phenomena, much too numerous to be mentioned here, purporting to be for the most part caused by spiritual beings, together with the belief arising from them of the intercommunion of the living with the so-called dead.

But among those who hold these beliefs distinctions must be drawn. Many Spiritists—the majority—and especially all ordinary Spiritists, are Spiritists after the fashion of Allan Kardec; they seek no further evidence; they are the Spiritist bigots. But there are also the Neo-Spiritists, or disciples of scientific Spiritism, among whom may be numbered some remarkable men. "Is Oliver Lodge a true scientist?" another great scientist was asked. "Yes, he is a very great scientist,"

[1] A Paper read at the Kiplin Hall Conference, 1927.

was the reply, " except where his son is concerned." That speaks worlds! This paper proposes to deal with the inquiry first by reviewing the present stage reached by Psychical Research, and second, by considering the subject in the light of the Christian Gospel of Salvation and Immortality.

## I.—The Foundations of Spiritist Belief.

According to M. Gabrielle Delanne, President of the French Society for Psychical Research, and of the Spiritist Union of France, the assertions of Spiritism are based upon the following phenomena. *First—levitation,* or the movement of objects without contact. A medium can, at a distance, and without touching it, displace an object. As the complement to the phenomena of levitation, is that of sealing a table to the ground, a feat that is claimed to be no more rare under the influence of a true medium. Sixty years ago, when Sir John Lubbock and Alfred Russell Wallace began a scientific study of it, at a time when levitation was regarded as pure trickery, they reached the conclusion that the movements are REAL AND INTELLIGENT.

Then Sir William Crookes joined in, and by the aid of an invention of his was able to register the psychic force behind the movements. The movements have their own individuality or personality, which may differ considerably from that of the medium, and which, moreover, vary with the same medium. When a table moves, it declares itself to be animated by the spirit of X. When no one knows, or could possibly have known, this X, subsequent inquiry will establish the absolute veracity of the information given by him. Says Delanne, " There can be no other possible explanation than that of the intervention of *X himself,* that is, of his spirit. Many other manifestations are claimed to be " impossible of explanation, without the intervention of the ' Discarnate.' "

### Second—Telepathy.

The Spiritist cites the evidence of automatic writing. The medium, even without going into a trance, writes directly, sometimes with both hands at once, different messages, all the time carrying on a conversation on another subject. The replies are quite clear, capable of proof, and often written in a language unknown to him. *" It necessarily follows,"* says Delanne, " that his hands *must* be under the direction of an intelligence which is not his own." As to *seeing* mediums, whether it be a matter of intuition, lucidity, clairvoyance, or clairaudience, vision at a distance, psychometry (a faculty certain persons have of getting into touch with people or things unknown by means of some

article), or tele-psychology (communication of the same kind, minus the article), *these are the mediums who give the best demonstrative evidence of "experimental Spiritism"!*

When one recalls the failure of recent telepathic tests[1] one is not inclined to expect great things from Spiritism as yet, if *telepathy* is, as Sir William Crookes declared, and Delanne suggests, the foundation of Spiritist belief. Perhaps one may interject here the statement on telepathy from the Proceedings of the S.P.R. (England), April, 1927, "For the completest possible proof of telepathic phenomena it is essential that experimental evidence should be increased. *It must not be forgotten that much still remains to be done in order to establish even telepathy,* beyond the possibility of dispute or cavil, among the facts universally recognised by science."

M. Delanne, however, says of these phenomena, "What they teach us indeed in the clearest manner is, if it be true that the brain is the seat, the essential instrument of thought during life, it is not less evident that what in us thinks, feels, and wills, has its own existence independent of that of the body. "The proofs of this existence?" he asks. "In the first place, this inner being possesses powers which are entirely independent of the functioning of the organs, and can communicate with another being at an enormous distance, say from Paris to New York."

### Third.—Materialisations.

Later Delanne speaks of "the division of the soul into two parts, the one immaterial, which is the soul properly speaking; the other, semi-material or fluidic, which we call the Perisprit, and which serves as support to the former. Thus the soul and the perisprit are inseparable. Now, as all our thoughts, all our personality, are housed in the perisprit it follows that this personality must survive the body, together with the soul." So that what happens at a séance, when a Spirit form appears, according to the Spiritists, is this—"the soul of the dead person borrows from the medium matter and energy, the two elements it no longer possesses, since it no longer has a body, and makes use of its perisprit as a mould in order to reconstruct the body as it had been."

There is no doubt that the Spiritists build much upon their belief in the possibilities of the perisprit, and their claims certainly provide a fascinating study. Crawford, the scientist, has two volumes relating how he was able to establish experimentally the existence of this ectoplasmic substance, which, it is claimed, oozes

[1] As for example: recent telepathic tests conducted by Sir Oliver Lodge over the wireless.

from the orifices of a medium's body in the trance-state. It is claimed to be sometimes visible; that it has been weighed, analysed, and photographed. Crawford claims that one medium lost forty-eight pounds in weight after its emission. His sensational conclusions were these. "The phenomena are caused by flexible chords, comparable to rays, which are emitted from the body of the medium. *These rays are the cause of the manifestations;* levitations, movements of the table on the ground, raps, contact, or any modality of the phenomenon."

To this must be added the valuable testimony of Dr. Gustave Geley, Director of the International Metapsychical Institute, who has conducted experiments with this ectoplasmic substance. After saying that darkness is unnecessary, and that control does not impede its production, he continues, "During the whole course of the phenomenon the formation is obviously in physiological and psychological relations with the medium; every impression reacts on the medium; the ectoplasm actually is the medium himself, partially exteriorized."

The most serious result, if all this be true, is the revolution it causes in the domain of classical biology.

Dr. Geley's finding is that "the consciousness can no longer be attributed to the functioning of the brain; the living being is a dynamo-psychism" . . . "we are on the threshold of an entirely new science which will doubtless tell us nothing definite for many years to come."

## Spiritism or Metapsychism?

That new science is Metapsychism, to which men, in the cold and clear environment of the laboratory, with apparatus for control and registration, would attribute the phenomena we have under consideration. Its chief exponent is Prof. Charles Richet, President of the Meta-psychical Institute of France, who declares that he does not believe a word of Spiritistic phenomena, though, on the contrary, he believes in the majority of psychic phenomena. This is what the Metapsychists say—"Whatever the phenomenon, it must be A PRIORI a manifestation of the forces of the living. We have no need of the intervention of the spirits of the dead. From the moment that we are able to explain certain of these phenomena through the living, we have reason to believe that we shall be able to explain the others, sooner or later, in the same way."

IT IS MOST IMPORTANT TO GRASP THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS ALTERNATIVE EXPLANATION OF SPIRITIST PHENOMENA by those who have made an expert study of it. Delanne's "only possible explanation" of the intervention of spirits vanishes under the

light of it, and recalls the statement of F. H. Bradley, in *Appearance and Reality,* "The Spiritualist appears to think that anything which is not in the usual course of things goes to prove his special conclusion. He seems not to perceive any difference between the POSSIBLE and the ACTUAL. As if to open a wide field of indefinite possibilities were the same thing as the exclusion of all others but one."

*Apart from the alternative interpretation of the phenomena offered by Metapsychism, the case that Spiritism makes for itself is weaker than many people suppose.* Consider these statements from two of Spiritism's greatest exponents—Delanne and Flammarion. Delanne says, "With the majority of the manifestations it is merely a question of suggestion or auto-suggestion. The intervention of the dead is extremely rare, especially in experiments." And Flammarion asks, "The souls of the dead? This is very far from being proved. In the innumerable observations that I have made during more than forty years everything has proved the contrary to me; no satisfactory method of identification has been achieved. I have searched in vain up to the present time for a sure proof of identity in mediumistic communication. Analysis discovers at the end of a test only an obscure uncertainty as to the causes: unknown psychic forces, transient entities, vanishing shapes, nothing tangible to seize, even for the thought. The phenomena are manifestations of the UNIVERSAL DYNAMISM with which our five senses very imperfectly put us in touch." *To this uncertainty in Spiritist circles must be added many unpleasant features,* deplorable to the best Spiritists, and which certainly do not recommend the cult.

THERE IS A CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF FRAUD. The best mediums cheated—Katie King, Eusapia Palladino, and Douglas Home. Eusapia often used long hairs to displace objects, and Gustave Le Bon discovered by a side light that she used her hands to simulate materialised hands. Douglas Home confessed to Dr. Davis that spirits had never come his way. "A medium," he said, "cannot believe in spirits. He is, in fact, the only person who can never believe in them."

Flammarion's declaration is enough, "I can say that during forty years practically all the famous mediums have visited me in the Avenue de l'Observatoire, and that I discovered most of them cheating."

Sir W. F. Barrett cites *the deteriorising effect of Spiritism* upon the mediums themselves, as incomprehensible as that which sometimes occurs among "horsey" people. Investigators are unanimous in expressing the great danger there is in embarking upon investigation, especially for the unstable and the nervous.

Another feature that is specially to be deplored is *the unhealthy desire which abounds everywhere to-day to dabble with psychic phenomena as a form of social diversion,* often with the clear intention of making money, or attaining notoriety. It is regrettable that so many people allow their whole lives to be directed by the doubtful prognostications of this class of medium.

This part of the subject cannot be closed better than by quoting Dr. W. P. Paterson, of Edinburgh, who, in the chapter on "Religion and the Subconscious," in his Gifford Lecture, writes,

"In regard to the spiritualistic phenomena I have not been able to form an opinion which is of any value. The modest investigations which I have made have been suspended in an access of distaste and suspicion. It may be that the earthly domain is subject to irruptions from the realm of departed spirits, but what is certain is that the general life of the race has been placed on an isolated and stable footing, and that any such invasions count for no more from the spiritual point of view than the comet or the earthquake shock count for in the everyday life of mankind. The Power which placed man upon this planet furnished him with the rational endowment that was necessary to cope with the normal difficulties of his situation, and to give him dominion over the creatures; and it is also credible that, as taught in the Christian Gospel, this was supplemented by a disposition of grace which can give him the victory over the forces of sorrow, sin, and death, which must ever prove stronger than man. But it seems clear that intercourse with the spirits of the dead does not enter into the general plan under which the human race has grappled with the situation, and under which the individual has had to live his life on the earth. It may be there will be a widespread revival of the belief that there is a realm of departed spirits which is able to give signs of its existence; but, if so, it may be expected that mankind will come to realise afresh the wisdom of the warning which the great religions have been at one in giving and enforcing against reliance on subterranean traffic with the dead."

## II

Dr. Paterson's view prepares us for the consideration of the subject in the light of New Testament teaching, and in relation to Christian life and service. For, after all, the best way to meet the Spiritists' assertions is by stating positive Christian truth.

Here it is necessary in a few words to clear the ground of the debris left behind from past conflicts. The Christian Religion and Spiritism have been regarded as being in bitter antagonism.

It was said dogmatically that those who have to do with the dead can have no fellowship with the Lord, and are an abomination to Him; that one evidence of having left God, and of God having left an individual, is when recourse is made to the dead; that those who have dealings with the dead are in league with the devil. Such arguments, however earnestly made, cannot carry conviction to the modern mind.

*The Christian Religion is not in essential antagonism to Psychical Research.* One might even go so far as to believe that the phenomena of Metapsychism may yet throw considerable light upon some of the most perplexing incidents recorded in Scripture, as, for instance, the stories of the Transfiguration, and of Pentecost, with its cloven tongues of fire and many languages.

*But further, we hold the positive belief that the invisible spiritual world exists.* We believe, if our hymns are any criteria (though we often sing hymns with mental reservations) that the Christian Church on earth has "mystic sweet communion with those whose rest is won." Over more organs than the one at Cragg Chapel, Rawdon, the lines of Wesley appear, "Let Saints on Earth in concert sing, with those to Glory gone." At the Table of our Lord we are often sensible of our unity with those who have passed on. Surely F. W. H. Myers is right when he addresses Christians thus, "You believe that the spiritual world exists, and that it acts on a material world still, for you believe that prayer is heard and answered."

We reiterate the protest with all our hearts and minds against a materialistic interpretation of the Universe. We believe that the flag which bears the sign, "REALITY," has been carried far beyond that trench in which we lay the mortal remains of our beloved dead, and that the spiritual world into which they have entered must be charted among the possessions of the Realm of Truth. We believe that we are encompassed about with a great cloud of witnesses.

*But where does Spiritism teach us more than we already know, or more than the teaching of Christ and the Apostles would lead us to expect?* The future life, with all its accompanying facts of personal moral responsibility, and of the possibilities of continued progression or retrogression are all to be found in the New Testament.

*It is my personal conviction, though not shared by all my colleagues, that a belief in survival that rises from a strong consciousness of God's Loving Fatherhood is a much sturdier form of faith than any that depends upon doubtful visual and auditory fragments of evidence.* This is in accord with the highest spiritual teaching of the Old Testament, and of Jesus and

the Apostles. It is sufficient to quote Dr. Gore in a sermon in the *Church Times* (1917), "The Jews were repeatedly debarred from dealings with the dead, and for long years from any revelation of a life beyond the grave, in order that belief when it came, might grow out of their assured faith in God, and not from any real or imaginary communications from the dead." The wisdom of this counsel for many people is admitted by Arthur Hill, a leading Bradford spiritualist and writer on the subject. After referring to the above passage, he continues, "But many good people are without this God-consciousness, and faith in the friendliness of the universe is impossible for them without some objective evidence of personal survival." One recognises the gravity of this rejoinder, and recalls some well-known instances of spiritually minded Christian men whom one would believe to be possessed of a strong faith in God, such as would survive all shocks, but who have found comfort in Spiritism when the shadow of bereavement has come upon them. These have been known to say that they wanted *proof* that their loved ones were safe. One deeply sympathises in such cases. But the answer Jesus gave to the disciple who refused to believe without outward evidence establishes once for all the happier condition of those for whom FAITH alone is enough, "Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed."

*One misses in Spiritism any challenge to service for Christ's Kingdom*, and to the bringing about of a true brotherhood of man. On these points the Spiritist cult has nothing to say, and hereby reveals its barrenness and its inadequacy as a religion. The crying needs of the world are forgotten. One has only to think of the nature of spiritist "revelations" alongside Kenneth Maclennan's *Cost of a New World*, to feel a passion of impatience rising within one at the thought that men should be satisfied in such days as ours with a cult that teaches them nothing of the duty of man to man, that is purposeless so far as society is concerned, and that contains no dynamic that urges men to do their part in redeeming the world.

*Finally, it is of infinitely greater importance to realise that our communications are with another and a higher life.* The Christian knows that this higher life is real, because he is in daily, hourly fellowship with it. There is within him a surging protest against the dominion of the "mind of this world," knowing its inability to satisfy the ceaseless longings generated by the "mind of Christ" which is in him. He has received already the "earnest of the Spirit in his heart," which is the guarantee that God will ultimately give this higher life to him in all its perfection and fulness. He is in constant communication with the other

world. The Christian's fellowship is with the Father, and with His Son Jesus Christ. He rejoices in communion with that Gracious Helpful Spirit who moulds and makes and builds up in him the Temple of a holy character. IT IS NOT ENOUGH TO KNOW THAT OUR LOVED ONES HAVE CONQUERED DEATH. We want an assurance that they and we will be delivered from the faults and failings that mark the earthly sojourning. We want to know that SIN shall die: that this STING of spiritual death, if not the cause of physical death, is to be removed for ever. For ANY Gospel of survival to be in any real sense a Gospel, it must assure us that the arch-enemy of souls is dead, and that the Life to come is worth the living. SPIRITISM MAKES ITS GREATEST FAILURE HERE; while the New Testament regards it as the supreme concern of man to enter here and now into the Life Eternal; into that quality of Life which by its very essence in God, must be as everlasting as He.

L. E. SOAL.

# Serampore and its College.

SERAMPORE in the eighteenth century was "a populous, well-ordered, healthful, and beautiful town," on a river as broad as the Thames at Gravesend, a hundred miles from the Bay of Bengal. Every tide saw some two hundred boats sailing up, while capacious wharves accommodated ships from Denmark and other parts.

The province of Bengal, nominally subject to the great Mogul at Delhi, had long been governed by hereditary viceroys, living at Moorshedabad. They had leased land on the Hooghley to various trading companies, which had created new settlements. The Dutch were at Chinsurah, the Danes at Serampore, the English at Fort William, the French at Chandernagore, the Portuguese at Bandel. But Clive's victory at Plassey gravely altered the situation. In a short time he personally became the owner of all the land leased out to the English; he attacked a Dutch fleet and made it clear that Chinsurah was a mere trading station; he captured Chandernagore. By 1766 the English East India Company bought from the great Mogul the right to collect and administer the revenues of Bengal, Behar and Orissa.

Thus the Danes at Serampore found themselves engulfed in what was to all real purposes British territory. Opposite to them arose a military station, Barrackpore, where the British Governor-General spent his week-ends. Yet they continued to carry on a good trade, and to manage their little settlement as independently as the ambassador from the United States manages his house in Grosvenor Gardens.

Now the Danes were pioneers in Protestant mission work. King Frederick IV sent to his other trading station at Tranquebar, two Germans from Halle as early as 1705. Within ten years Ziegenbalg published the New Testament in Tamil, and completed the Bible by 1727. A Swede, Kiernander, broke ground on the Hooghley, but worked in the English and the Portuguese settlements, among the Eurasians.

Zinzendorf, the Moravian leader, who had planned so much mission work, directed attention to Bengal. So in 1777 two men came up the Hooghley, one a doctor, one a son of a bishop who had done good work in Greenland, Holland, Denmark, and Germany. Serampore became their home for fifteen years, in which time they made some lexical preparation for translation. Governor Bie had scarcely any resident Christians, and some of them were Greek, Roman, Armenian. The Moravians did

not conceive their work to lie among the motley crowd of traders and sailors, and the only native who seemed interested was one of their carpenters, Krishna Pal. So in 1792 the mission flag was hauled down in Serampore.

But in that year a band of Englishmen decided to follow, not merely the example of the Danes, the Germans, the Swedes, the Moravians, but the command which had inspired them. And in 1799 four families arrived in an American ship, with letters from the Danish consul in London commending them to Colonel Bie. As it soon appeared that the English resented their object and even their presence, the Danish governor offered them the privileges of citizenship, which would entitle them both to residence there and to passports into the English territory; he further suggested that they might establish good schools and a printing-press, wherewith to finance themselves. To the chagrin of the English authorities, his offers were accepted, and Serampore, after eight years' interval, became again a missionary centre, where, in a year, Krishna Pal was baptized, first of North India.

Joshua Marshman, one of the new arrivals, had been master of the Broadmead school at Bristol, with private pupils, and had studied languages under Dr. Ryland. Before the century closed, he opened a school for natives, and soon followed with others for Eurasians and Europeans; within eighteen years there were nearly fifty schools for natives within twenty miles. What was done by Carey as a translator, by Ward as a printer, by Marshman as a philanthropist and journalist, is well known. We think now of the development of education. Marshman became intimate with Martyn, a Senior Wrangler, and learned something of English university methods. The success of their village schools led to a demand from parents that higher education should be afforded. So in 1818 the trio published their prospectus of a college to teach Eastern Literature and European Science. They deliberately decided to teach in the vernacular, and while they plainly showed that the spirit of Christianity should rule, yet they had a conscience clause. So good were their plans that the English Governor-general became Patron, and the Danish Governor became Governor of the college. By degrees they built out of their own earnings a fine Ionic pile, hardly altered to-day. The King of Denmark soon gave more premises, now used as a hostel. And within three years arrived the inevitable Scotch professor, John Mack. In 1827 the King set his seal on the undertaking by giving a charter with powers as ample as those in the university of Copenhagen.

During the Napoleonic wars, Serampore had been seized by the English, and its trade never recovered, so that the King sold

it and Tranquebar to the English in 1845. But in the treaty it was expressly stipulated that the charter should hold. And thus for a hundred years the power of granting degrees has been held, Serampore the first such college in Asia. University classes continued till 1883, despite repeated doubts in England as to the value of such work from a missionary standpoint. Then for a score of years all work was concentrated on training evangelists, preachers and teachers.

Early this century the Government decided not to institute a Faculty of Theology in any of the state universities. The Missionary conference of 1902 therefore began to explore the possibilities of working under the Serampore charter. Work began again in 1910, and eight years later a Senate was constituted with representatives of several communions:—Anglican, Baptist, Congregationalist, Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian and Syrian. What success has attended this revived enterprise was told then by members of the staff. And now that account is already out of date. A revised edition of "The story of Serampore and its College" has been prepared, partly by other writers; and the Orissa Press shows that it is as ready as the Calcutta Press to carry on the traditions of Ward. The book is well worth reading.

W. T. WHITLEY.

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# Report of the Baptist Historical Society for 1927.

THE Society has now completed twenty years' work, and has fulfilled some early hopes, though greater possibilities are evident. It has built up a reputation as a clearing-house for information: churches preparing centenary or bicentenary memorials send their queries, and occasionally their memorial publications; even from America enquiries arrive, often on biographical points. Within six years we shall expect a London church to put out some Memorial to celebrate its three-hundredth anniversary; perhaps it will invite the Society to hold the Annual Meeting then out at Walthamstow.

Not only information, but the published records, are also interchanged through us. The church at Lockwood offered a large number of bound magazines and Hanserd Knollys volumes. We were thus enabled to return the kindness of the American

Baptist Historical Society, which two years ago gave us a complete set of the reports of the Philadelphia Association: two or three of our own members were also enabled to enlarge their collection of material.

The library has not received any other substantial gifts, but it continues to file the Proceedings of sister societies. The future location of the library will need attention: for next year the church at Droitwich has offered to continue its hospitality, and the books will be under the care of the pastor, the Rev. W. D. Hankinson.

Publications. *The Baptist Quarterly* completed its sixth year last October; so that with the *Transactions* which preceded it, there are now ten volumes containing a variety of antiquarian matter. Two reprints from the last year have attracted some interest: the International Baptist Calendar has been circulated all over the world, making the Society widely known: Mr. Seymour J. Price's study of the Baptist Building Fund has established a new reputation and also told a much needed story; we look for a similar study from his industry, of the Home Mission and the Union. For the current year the Quarterly is being edited by Dr. F. Townley Lord, with some assistance on the antiquarian side.

The volume on the *Baptists of London,* 1612-1928, is at length published, with the aid of a grant from the L.B.A., which is much appreciated. It is on the same general lines as the volumes on Yorkshire and North-West England, which we issued to our subscribers fifteen years ago. Similar work for other parts of England we shall be glad to encourage, as we welcomed last year a corresponding volume for Scotland. The London volume is issued free to all subscribers of a guinea for the two years.

An original piece of work by one of our members deserves mention, though it is not published under the auspices of the Society; the Rev. S. J. Ford of Bristol, who had previously drawn a chart of the local Baptist churches, has now devised a Chart of Universal Baptist History, with an explanatory booklet. We understand that it will be adapted for lantern use. Mr. Ford's great interest in our history is further shown in his organizing and conducting the excursion which preceded our annual meeting this year, for which we are greatly his debtors.

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Of Dr. Whitley's important volume on the *Baptists of London* we hope to publish a review in our next issue from the competent pen of Dr. J. W. Ewing, M.A.

the metaphysical implicates of the personality of the Holy Spirit and His relation to the Godhead" (pp. 2-3). It would be impossible in the space at our disposal to attempt any detailed review of the argument thus outlined. We will, however, try to give the reader some idea of the wealth of interesting and instructive thought contained in the book by mentioning a few examples.

The starting-point is religious experience. "Religious experience is not primarily or chiefly a peculiar field of experience in a larger estate; it is rather an intensive culture of common ground: any phase of our common experience can become religious, and any part of our religious experience has other aspects and features, since it is psychologically mediated" (p. 59). "The difference between 'religious' and 'ordinary' experience is not so much that of content as of interpretation; anything that enters into human consciousness is capable of a religious interpretation, whilst much that is labelled 'religion' fails to be interpreted religiously at all" (p. 50). Ch. I. gives an illuminating analysis of Christian experience under five main heads (cf. the typical expression of the working faith of the modern Christian on pp. 84-5). In asserting the reality of religious experience (ch. II.) the author argues in particular that it is neither less nor more subjective than our experience of the external world (p. 54). The question of the nature of spirit (Ch. III.) gives opportunity for another acute analysis; it is characteristic of spirit to unify, socialise, transform and sacramentalise the material offered to it (p. 84). Its including and unifying activity opens the way for a doctrine of the Trinity. By sacramentalising is meant the activity by which spirit makes use of what belongs to a lower order of being in order to express or reveal itself, as an artist makes use of a material medium in order to give expression to his ideals (p. 87). This process necessarily involves the acceptance of limitations, and this "kenosis" is suggestively applied by the author elsewhere, e.g., to explain the imperfection of the Holy Spirit's self-revelation in the life and activities of the Christian church (pp. 149 ff.).

Part II., which deals with the work of the Holy Spirit, will probably be of chief interest to the general reader, who will find there abundant stimulus and help towards devout meditation on the great matters of his faith. In Ch. V. (the Spirit and the Incarnation) there is an admirable presentment of the personal characteristics of Jesus, and of the place of the Spirit in his life (we would call attention in particular to the good sense and restraint of the reference to the Virgin Birth, p. 128): also of four stages in the new experience of the Spirit, reflected respectively in the Gospels, the Acts, the Epistles of Paul and the Gospel of John. (Here we would like to interpolate the general remark

that the book throughout is distingushed by its careful and accurate exposition of Scripture passages, and also of individual words, e.g., *spirit* in the Old Testament (ruach) and New Testament (pneuma). The outcome of this new experience is a conception of the Spirit of God clarified and elevated by its reflection of the whole personality of Jesus Christ (p. 136), and necessarily "personal in the full sense of Christ's personality" (p. 137). The chapter on the Holy Spirit and the Church (VI.) stresses *fellowship* as "the most characteristic and comprehensive work of the Holy Spirit, according to the New Testament" (p. 141). The life of the Church is truly described as "supernatural," in so far as it depends on fellowship with a superhuman Christ (p. 145). The author has further some steadying remarks on the Spirit's guidance of the Church to-day (154-5). On the Spirit and the Scriptures the whole chapter (VII.) is full of most timely instruction. The inspiration of the Bible is wisely approached primarily through the prophetic consciousness (pp. 162 ff.), and the secondary character of the authority of Scripture, as based ultimately on the testimony of the religious consciousness is clearly brought out (see e.g. p. 182). Not less timely and helpful is the discussion of the Holy Spirit and the Sacraments (VIII). A suggestive line of approach is found in the symbolic acts of the Old Testament prophets, discerningly expounded (p. 192). We note with interest the author's recognition that no essential difference can be made out between the divine fellowship experienced in sacraments and that experienced, e.g., through prayer or obedience (p. 187). In an excellent chapter on the Holy Spirit and the individual life (IX) we would draw attention more especially to the characterisation of Christian life as marked not by conformity to certain specific commands, but by the believer's participation in a larger personality—that viz. of his Lord (p. 214). This, however, involves no submergence of his individual personality (p. 215), but guarantees his personal immortality hereafter (p. 219).

The third part, dealing with the significance of the Holy Spirit for the doctrine of the Godhead will be of interest primarily to the more serious students of theology: we will content ourselves with assuring such that they will find it fruitful in criticism and suggestion, and will close this notice by saying that among the valuable elements of the book are frequent observations giving evidence of its author's spiritual insight. As examples we may cite that on a certain eternal significance of sin (p. 80), or again the recognition that an adequate sense of sin is not prior but posterior to conversion (p. 210), or once more the statement that we often find convincing revelation of God merely in the moral superiority of a fellow man (p. 118). A. J. D. F.

# John Smyth and the Freedom of Faith

ALL Englishmen who know anything of their own history are proud of the Elizabethan age. The last of the Tudors was a great queen, in spite of her obvious littlenesses. She brought her country out from the shadow of Roman Catholic tyranny which had fallen upon it during the reign of her sister, and she saw the utter destruction of its most elaborate attempt to conquer England in the overthrow of the Armada. Her great sea-captains are noble and picturesque figures, and the story of Sir Richard Grenville's brave fight on the little *Revenge* for fifteen hours against fifteen battleships of Spain will live for ever. A larger world was opened up before men's eyes with the colonization of America, and the name borne by the state of Virginia dates this expansion (as begun under the Virgin Queen of England). But the greatest glory of the Elizabethan age is its literature, and especially its drama, in which that age is so brilliantly reflected. The freedom of the nation from foreign peril inspired a liberation of the imagination also; Shakespeare's "cloudless, boundless, human view" and exuberant vitality are but the expression through genius of the spirit of the age, exulting in its new freedom.

But to the Elizabethan age there also belongs the beginning of another movement of thought and life, which seems in strongest contrast with this sense of freedom and spacious expansiveness. To many people, the name "Puritan" still means a narrow and warped view of life, pedantically concerned with the mint and anise and cummin of a misconceived law, and blind to the larger humanities. It is quite true that the Puritans would have suppressed the drama then, as they did later, had it been possible. A Puritan sermon from St. Paul's Cross comments on the closing of the theatres because of the plague: "I like the policy well if it hold still, for a disease is but lodged or patched up that is not cured in the cause, and the cause of plagues is sin, if you look to it well: and the cause of sin are plays: therefore the cause of plagues are plays" (Thomas White, 1578). However much we may sympathise with the Puritan condemnation of the immorality associated with plays or their performance, we