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# The Lateran Treaty.

TO a lawyer, the Treaty lately entered into between the Italian Government and the Vatican is full of interest. It must of course be looked at in its historical setting to understand its importance and meaning.

Up to the year 1870 there existed in Italy what were known as the Papal States over which the Pope exercised the papal claim of temporal supremacy. These States comprised nearly 16,000 square miles. The great work of Garibaldi and other Italian patriots, found its consummation in 1870 when Napoleon III., who had supported the Papacy, withdrew his garrison from Rome and the troops of the King of Italy marched in. The Papal States were taken away from the hierarchy of the Church and became incorporated in the newly united Kingdom of Italy. The only territory left to the Pope was the Vatican premises. A large sum by way of indemnity was set aside by the government of Italy in respect of the lands taken over, payable only upon recognition of the political sovereignty of the State. It was consistent with the claim of the Head of the Romish Church that as the Vice-gerent of Christ no one might have any jurisdiction over him, that the indemnity was not accepted. It was on the same principle that the Pope has been pleased ever since 1870 to be the "Prisoner of the Vatican," never going outside its confines, since to do so would be to place him for the time within the jurisdiction of the Civil Government.

That state of things has existed until the Lateran Treaty of the present year was entered into, and effect given to it by four bills passed by the Parliament. Under the Treaty not only does the Pope retain his temporal sovereignty over the Vatican premises but certain territories hitherto held by Italy have been ceded to him. The total teritory now forming an independent State covers an area of 108.7 acres. The ceded territory is in the immediate vicinity of the Vatican. A considerable sum of money, part of the "Indemnity," has been paid by the State to the Papal authorities.

In the City of Rome, therefore, are to be found two Sovereignties existing side by side, namely, the Italian State and the Vatican City. In the one the Civil laws of Rome prevail; in the other the Canon law, which is the Ecclesiastical law of Papal Rome. If a man commits an offence in Civil Rome and walks into the ceded territory, there the King's writs run out. Therefore extradition provisions have had to be made. Provision

is also made that "for the execution in the Kingdom of the sentences pronounced by the tribunals of the Vatican City the rules of international law will be applied." It would seem that to carry this into effect the Canon law will have to be supplemented by a penal code. There will be separate sets of postage stamps and a fresh issue of coinage. The new State will have its municipal buildings. In short, it will be practically a foreign city within the city. It may be of interest to note that the Treaty secures the Church of St. Peter remaining open to the general public for worship, and the priceless treasures of art and science within the Vatican State remaining open to visitors subject to regulations to be made by that State.

What effect will all this have upon Italy in general; upon non-Catholic communities; and upon education? The answers to these questions time alone can adequately supply. Already grave objection has been raised by the Papacy to statements made by Signor Mussolini as to the words used by him in reference to the Catholic Church and to forms of non-Catholic worship. The Pope is "offended" by the frequent expressions that the State has made no renunciation or concession to the Church, and by the references to continued control and supervision over the Church as if they were dealing with "suspicious characters to say the least." So far as Protestant thought in this country is concerned it cannot but have its suspicions as it looks back upon past history. On the face of the Treaty, it would seem, however, that the Pope has no increased powers outside the Vatican City, except that in Rome he has been given about nine centres which have the rights of Embassies.

The liberties of non-Catholic communities are not restricted in any way by the Treaty. Signor Mussolini has very clearly laid down the principle of absolute religious liberty. As regards marriage, Ecclesiastical marriages are now made valid whether they are Protestant or Catholic. This is in fact an additional right conferred upon Churches.

The most serious point, in my estimation, is that of education. The Catholic Church is recognised as the State Church. Religious teaching in the schools is made compulsory, but the wishes of the majority of the parents of the scholars attending a school must be consulted. This is no real protection, as the majority will, it is assumed, always be Catholic. Certainly the extension of religious instruction in the State schools appears to be one of the concessions most esteemed by the Vatican. In view of what has just been stated as to the majority of parents being consulted it is obviously possible, though perhaps unlikely, that even in schools supported by Protestant Churches, the priest may have to be admitted.

Some exception was taken by a Catholic paper to Signor Mussolini's use of the word "admitted" rather than "tolerated" in regard to forms of non-Catholic worship. On this point the Pope's recent utterance is significant. He says he would not attribute too much importance to each of the three words "tolerated," "admitted," or "permitted," which are used to describe non-Catholic cults, because "it is and remains clearly and loyally understood that the Catholic Religion is, according to the statutes and the treaties, the religion of the State, with the logical and juridical consequence of such a situation in constitutional law, particularly as regards propaganda." There is small doubt that the Romish Church will seek to use the extension of religious instruction in the schools to the fullest of her power. Another significant recent utterance by the Pope says, "The attempt to ensure absolute liberty of conscience, is not admissible. Such liberty would mean that the creature is not subject to the Creator."

In conclusion, none should fail to observe how unchanged through all the years the Church of Rome is. She claims temporal and secular sovereignty; and that the Pope cannot be a subject of any secular sovereign. The implications of this are tremendous. It behoves us in our dear Protestant land to never cease to watch with diligent care the manifold activities of the Romish Church. She never changes, and never sleeps.

ALFRED ELLIS.

# Bristol Baptist College—the 250th Anniversary.

NONCONFORMITY rests upon personal conviction, not upon inherited tradition. Therefore an educated ministry is a necessity.

When the Universities were closed to Nonconformists by the ejection of ministers in 1662, the difficulty of supplying instructed ministers was soon felt; and the need became greater year by year as the older generation passed away. To supply this want, the way readiest to hand was to place young men with able ministers who could direct their studies and prepare them for pastoral work. Many of those ejected employed themselves in teaching, so that their help was readily available. This plan was followed both by Congregationalists and Baptists, but it soon became clear that a more complete and permanent system was needed.

As early as 1675, the London Baptist Ministers called a meeting to devise a plan for "providing an orderly standing ministry, which might give themselves to reading and study, and so become able ministers of the New Testament." The result of this meeting we do not know. Apparently nothing effective was done. The churches were poor and harassed by oppressive laws. Their meetings were liable to be broken up by the civil authorities. Their leaders were often imprisoned, and some ministers even died in prison, as Mr. Hardcastle of Broadmead, Bristol. Baptist, Independent and Presbyterian Churches were struggling for their very existence. Concerted action for any purpose was difficult; but, as has often happened, the enterprise of an individual outran the caution of a representative assembly. Only four years after the London Meeting, Edward Terrill made a will, leaving his property to the minister of Broadmead on condition that he should devote three half-days a week to the instruction of young men, not exceeding twelve in number, in the original languages of Scripture.

Terrill was an Elder of Broadmead church, and the writer of the first portion of the *Broadmead Records*. He believed that better times would come, although he did not live to see them, and he left his property, subject to a life interest for his wife, to secure an educated ministry. Is there not something inspiring in the faith of Edward Terrill, a man who had been fined and imprisoned for his religious convictions but who nevertheless

provided for the training of a ministry for those who should come after him? He believed that the truths that he held dear were the best legacy he could leave to posterity, and surely a better investment for the Kingdom of God was never made.

Edward Terrill died in 1685 or 1686; but we do not know when, by the decease of his widow, his bequest became available for the purpose which he directed.

The accession of William III. made the way clear for Nonconformity, but, although the teaching of students was considered at the Baptist Assembly in London in 1689, no immediate action was taken. Soon after, we find the church at Plymouth (now George Street) sending a contribution towards the education of Richard Sampson, a young man whom they had placed at Bristol under the tuition of Mr. William Thomas, one of the ejected ministers. Mr. Sampson became pastor of the Baptist church at Exeter in 1692. He is the first of whom we know that studied at Bristol.

The earliest traceable application of Terrill's fund was when, in 1710 or 1711, Caleb Jope became co-pastor with the Rev. Peter Kitterell at Broadmead and also tutor.

Matters, however, did not proceed satisfactorily, so in 1720 we find Bernard Foskett appointed as Mr. Jope's successor. Foskett was born at Woburn (Bedfordshire) and trained for the medical profession. At the age of seventeen he was baptised at Little Wild Street, London; subsequently, under the influence of his life-long friend, John Beddome, he became minister of the Baptist church at Henley-in-Arden, whence he was called to Broadmead as tutor, and also as assistant to Peter Kitterell. Foskett was a Puritan. His portrait shows a man who had to fight for his convictions in stern times—one to whom life was duty rather than happiness.

Hugh Evans, his colleague and successor, describes him as an exemplary Christian, and an ardent student, generous to those in need and often using his medical knowledge for the relief of sufferers. Upon his students he strongly impressed the importance of conscientious work and the seriousness of the ministerial charge.

Foskett presided over the College for thirty-eight years. During that time its work became firmly established. The students were supported from various sources. In 1717 the London Particular Baptist Fund and the Bristol Baptist Fund were instituted for the education of ministers and other purposes. Both of these and sometimes private benefactors sent men to the College.

No list survives of the students taught by Foskett. We are told by Hugh Evans that "most of them approved themselves

truly serious and with great reputation filled many of our churches"; but for us their record is lost. We rightly value out-standing leaders, but the greater part of the church's work is done by men whose names and achievements are unknown.

A few of them we know. Among Foskett's students was Benjamin Beddome, son of Foskett's life-long friend, John Beddome, minister of the Pithay Church, Bristol. Benjamin Beddome wrote many hymns; one by him is familiar to us:—

> Father of mercies, bow Thine ear,
> Attentive to our earnest prayer;
> We plead for those who plead for Thee;
> Successful pleaders may they be.

For fifty-five years Beddome was pastor of the church at Bourton-on-the-Water. Under his ministry John Collett Ryland, afterwards minister at Warwick and Northampton, was converted. Thus we can trace a stream of influence from Foskett, through Beddome, to John Collett Ryland, and thence to Dr. John Ryland and to Samuel Bagster, who was a pupil in the school kept by John Collett Ryland and the founder of a printing firm, noteworthy for its issue of Bibles. So, like the streamlets from the Cotswolds, which Beddome and Ryland knew so well, making the Thames and flowing to the sea, influences from the college class room went forth to bless the world in countless ways. To endeavour to trace some of these would be an inspiring and instructive task, but the limits of this paper forbid more than a few references.

Bristol's earliest daughter-college was planted in America by Morgan Edwards, a student under Foskett, who after some English pastorates was invited to the Baptist church at Philadelphia. As a historian he gathered particulars of American Baptist history and founded Rhode Island College, which afterwards became Brown University and celebrated its hundred and fiftieth anniversary recently.

The link between the College and her daughter institution is seen in the gift of duplicate volumes from Bristol College Library to Rhode Island College in 1785.

Foskett died in 1758, and was succeeded by Hugh Evans, one of his students and for many years his assistant. Dr. Rippon, himself a student under Hugh Evans, speaks of him as an earnest scholar, less austere than Foskett, and one whom all his students regarded as a friend and father. His son, Dr. Caleb Evans, was his colleague and succeeded him as President in 1779. Under these the College was reorganised in 1770 and placed on a firmer financial basis. In the appeal for support it was thought needful to defend the education of ministers against the charge of interference with the work of the Holy

Spirit; it is to the work of our Colleges that we owe our escape from this mistaken view.

From the reorganisation of the institution in 1770 its annual published reports begin.

Shortly after this, the College was removed from Barr Street, Bristol—its earliest known home—to North Street, where it occupied two houses which are now business premises. In the garden behind these a room known as the Gifford Museum was erected in 1780.

Dr. Andrew Gifford, whose father and grandfather had been ministers of the Pithay Church, Bristol, was the minister of Eagle Street Church, London, and an assistant librarian of the British Museum. He gathered a large collection of manuscripts, pictures, coins and other treasures, which, together with his library, he gave to the College. In this gift was included an important collection of Bibles, among which are the only complete copy of the first edition of Wm. Tyndale's New Testament of 1525 and first editions of the principal translations of the Bible into English, also some volumes printed by William Caxton and Wynken de Woorde, and valuable Latin and Greek editions of Scripture by Erasmus, Stephens and others. The collection also has a holograph letter of Oliver Cromwell and a contemporary miniature of the Protector by Cooper. About the same time Dr. Thomas Llewellyn, a scholarly minister, who had been a student under Foskett, bequeathed his valuable library and the bookcases containing it to the College. The books and treasures included in these gifts are carefully preserved in the College.

The early part of the eighteenth century was not a time of spiritual prosperity. Toleration had been gained, but there was little religious enthusiasm. Deistical, antinomian and other controversies absorbed much of the energy of the churches. Indifference to religion abounded. The membership of Baptist churches appears to have declined. Nevertheless, during this dull time men were being prepared under Hugh and Caleb Evans, who worthily shared in the new enterprises which opened when the Evangelical Revival of Whitefield and Wesley came.

Among these was Dr. Rippon, for sixty-three years the minister of Carter Lane, London. To improve the service of praise, he compiled "Rippon's Selection" of hymns, which was widely used in Baptist and Congregational churches; and as a denominational historian he compiled the *Baptist Register*, our earliest publication dealing with contemporary events in English and American Baptist churches. Rippon was one of the founders of the Baptist Union, and its ardent supporter in the difficult days of its infancy.

Another notable group of Bristol men were those who took part in the founding of the Baptist Missionary Society. Among the thirteen who met in 1792 and formed the society in Mrs. Beeby Wallis's house at Kettering were four former students, Dr. John Ryland, John Sutcliffe, Samuel Pearce and Thomas Blundell, also one, then a student in College, who borrowed the half-guinea which he contributed to that first collection of £13 2s. 6d.; he afterwards became Dr. William Staughton of Columbian College, Washington. Of John Sutcliffe and his academy at Olney, there is an interesting account in the *Baptist Quarterly* for April. On the death of Andrew Fuller, Dr. Ryland and another Bristol student, James Hinton, of Oxford, became co-secretaries of the Baptist Missionary Society. Since the commencement of the society more than a hundred Bristol students have become missionaries.

The religious awakening of the latter half of the eighteenth century led to establishments of other Baptist Colleges in England. Many ministers kept schools, and some of their pupils were specially prepared for the ministry, as was the case in Sutcliff's academy; but more colleges were needed.

In 1804 the Northern Education Society was formed, and a year later Horton College (afterwards Rawdon) was established, and a Bristol student, Dr. William Steadman, became its first President; in 1837 he was succeeded by Dr. Acworth, also a Bristol man. In 1807, to meet the needs of Wales, and owing to the difficulty of teaching Welsh-speaking students at Bristol, Micah Thomas, a Bristol man, founded the college at Abergavenny, which was subsequently removed to Pontypool and later to Cardiff. Robert Hall wrote the appeal for funds to establish Stepney College. Another student, Solomon Young, was one of the early Presidents of Stepney College (now Regent's Park). In all, forty-two Bristol students have become Principals or tutors of colleges at home or abroad.

Dr. Caleb Evans was succeeded by Dr. John Ryland, who for thirty-two years sustained the double office of pastor of Broadmead and Principal of the college. His strenuous industry and untiring energy were shown both in the college and in his labours on behalf of the Baptist Missionary Society. During his Presidency the college was removed to Stokes Croft, to allow of more students being accommodated. The new building was begun in 1806, but difficulties connected with the French war delayed its completion until 1812. Its site was then in the suburbs, and pleasant fields stretched beyond it to the little village of Horfield; now it is a busy part of the city.

Among the distinguished men of this period is Joseph Hughes, a Bristol student who later became a tutor of the

college and assistant at Broadmead. These two offices were usually combined. He afterwards ministered to the church at Battersea, and became one of the founders and the first secretary of the Religious Tract Society. When the Rev. Thomas Charles of Bala laid before the Tract Society the great need of Bibles in Wales, Hughes suggested the formation of a society for that purpose. Thus the British and Foreign Bible Society came into being, and Hughes was its first secretary.

Among eminent Bristol preachers the first place belongs to Robert Hall. Under the patronage of Dr. Ward's Trust he studied at Bristol under Dr. Caleb Evans, and at Aberdeen University. His influence by voice and pen extended far beyond denominational limits. Even in his student days he showed conspicuous ability, and at their close he was appointed assistant at Broadmead and tutor of the College. About five years later he removed to Cambridge, where for fifteen years he exercised a remarkable ministry in that university city. After a pastorate at Harvey Lane, Leicester, he returned to Bristol. It is interesting to notice that the chief disputants respecting open and closed communion, Robert Hall and Joseph Kinghorn respectively, were fellow students in college.

A noteworthy contemporary of Robert Hall was John Foster. Hall excelled as a preacher; Foster, as an essayist. Hall drew great crowds as a popular orator; Foster ministered to small churches, but wielded an enormous influence with his pen. Most of Foster's ministerial life was passed at Downend, a small village about six miles from Bristol, but his essays and his contributions to the *Eclectic Review* put him among the foremost literary men of his day.

During Ryland's presidency Joshua Marshman came to Bristol as teacher in a school supported by Broadmead, and after attending classes at the College went out to Serampore, forming one of the notable trio—Carey, Marshman and Ward.

Dr. Ryland was succeeded as Principal by Mr. Thomas Steffe Crisp. He is described as a retiring man who never willingly took a public position, but one who never shrank from what he felt to be his duty.

Two notable men were fellow students under him—Dr. F. W. Gotch, afterwards tutor and Principal of the college, and Dr. Benjamin Davies, afterwards tutor at Regent's Park College. Both of these had the honour of being members of the Old Testament Revision Committee, which was a worthy tribute to their distinction in Semitic studies.

In 1836, the year before Dr. Gotch became Principal, the College was accepted as an Affiliated College of London University. At that time only students of institutions thus recognised

were allowed to sit for London University Examinations. This restriction has long ago been abolished.

Of the students who studied under Dr. Gotch some are still with us, and bear witness to his sound scholarship and the regard in which he was held by all of them.

To follow the influence of the College in the lives of its alumni is a pleasing pursuit, but the time at our disposal compels us to abandon it.

Dr. Gotch was succeeded by Dr. Culross, whom all his students loved as a friend and revered as a saint.

The late Dr. Henderson ably presided over the College for twenty-nine years. Many ministers and missionaries who were students under him, bear witness to the inspiration and evangelical fervour of his teaching, and to the earnestness with which he urged personal effort for winning the men outside the churches, which he himself so successfully practised during his ministry at Coventry.

During the Principalship of Dr. Henderson several important changes took place. The Congregational "Western College" was removed from Plymouth to Bristol in 1901, and the two institutions arranged to share their classes. By this the staff of tutors was doubled without increased cost; and also larger classes promoted healthy rivalry among the students. This fellowship has worked harmoniously to the mutual benefit of the colleges, and still continues.

In 1910, the Bristol University College, where the students had for many years attended classes in Arts, was constituted Bristol University. Of this, the Baptist and Western Colleges became Associated Colleges, so that their theological classes are recognised for the preparation of students for a Bachelor of Arts Degree, with a special theological curriculum, similar to that of the London University Bachelor of Divinity.

A further change was the removal of the College to Tyndall's Park, close to the University. The foundation stone of the new building, designed by Messrs. Oatley and Lawrence, was laid in 1913 by Mr. and Mrs. Edward Robinson. The war and the part taken by the students in the work of the Young Men's Christian Association and army service in France, led to the postponement of the opening until 1919, when it was opened by Mr. Herbert Marnham, who was that year the President of the Baptist Union. In connection with this task, so happily completed, mention must be made of the work of the late Dr. Richard Glover, Honorary Secretary of the College for forty-six years; of Mr. Edward Robinson, J.P., who has been its Treasurer since 1885, and of Dr. W. J. Henderson, the Principal of the institution.

Dr. Henderson retired in 1922 and Dr. C. D. Whittaker succeeded to the Presidency. Illness necessitated his retirement and Dr. Arthur Dakin became Principal in 1924, and he is now vigorously carrying on the work in which so many distinguished leaders have preceded him.

Under the blessing of God, the College has had a great past, and it rests upon future generations to make its work in the coming days, by God's help, worthy of its history.

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# Henry Miller of Warbleton, 1729.

THE Millers of Kent and Sussex were a family greatly enriched under James I., and bearing arms. One branch settled at Winkinghurst, two miles north of Hellingly, twelve miles north of Beachy Head. Henry was bred an attorney in London, and afterwards with Mr. Raines of Coneyburroughs in Barcombe, a great conveyancer and court-keeper; but not liking the practice of the common law, he only practised conveyancing. He married Mary, widow of Thomas Dean, and eldest daughter of Robert Tapsfield of Framfield. Their eldest child, Mary, married Robert Mercer, who settled at Ifield, and they had six children including Joseph and Thomas.

There was a county lady named Fuller whose son John afterwards was elected M.P. for Sussex in 1713. She became interested in baptism, and arranged a debate on the question in the Waldron parish church. This could hardly have taken place till the Toleration Act, on general principles; we do know that king William did authorize such proceedings; and we do know that Miller went; he was born in 1666.

The disputants were John Tattersall, A.M., the rector, and Matthew Caffin, an Oxford man, now Elder of the General Baptist church at Horsham, an accomplished debater. One result was that both Madam Fuller and young Miller were convinced, and were soon baptized on profession of their faith. Miller stopped practising law, says Crosby, and began studying divinity.

There were evidently other converts, and they gathered into a church, known from two of its meeting-places, at first as

Warbleton, then as Waldron. Its own records are not accessible. In 1704 it sent to the General Baptist Assembly not only its Elder, Robert Norden, but Henry Miller and another representative. Seven years later Thomas Mercer went, and as Norden was sent missionary to Virginia, the delegates in 1716 were Elder Robert Mercer and Henry Miller.

Miller was appointed Moderator of the Assembly in 1709, and two years later was nominated for Messenger. He did accept that post, and though he never was pastor of any one church (as Crosby states) yet he was General Superintendent of all the churches in Kent and Sussex. As a conveyancer he had learned how to write, and in 1719 he was appointed Scribe to the Assembly.

Four years later he was very ill, and he drew up dying counsel for his family. But he recovered, and made one more attendance at Assembly. Not till 15 January, 1728/9 did he pass away. A funeral sermon was preached to a numerous and crowded auditory of his sorrowful relations, friends, etc., by Mr. Richard Drinkwater, Elder of Chichester. The burial was in the churchyard at Hellingly, and a monument was erected in the parish church, with an epitaph of his own composition.

Among his papers was discovered the Counsel of 1723. It was transcribed in 1748 by his grandson, Thomas Mercer, a member of the Warbleton church, into a neat volume of seventy-one closely-written octavo pages, with notes and other editing Henry himself had written three sections: Respecting our Family, Respecting Religion, Respecting a prudent management of Worldly Affairs. In 1855, the first section was studied by Mark Antony Lower, and the results were published in the *Sussex Archaeological Collections,* volume IX, at page 33. The transcript was then owned by Robert Mercer of Sedlescomb. In the interval, the Millers had not heeded their ancestor's advice, whether as to religion or as to a prudent management of their affairs. They drop out of Baptist records, and out of county history. But the Mercers kept up the tradition of good service.

# William Law, Controversialist and Mystic.

In the third place, Law again comes before us as a controversialist, but this time in the realm of philosophy and theology. Amongst the subjects of controversy in the eighteenth century, Deism takes a large place, and is eminently characteristic of the period. Law himself played no very great part in the struggle, and only one writing, apart from those produced during his mystical period, is concerned with it. It may not seem necessary, therefore, to give much time to this subject, but this would be a mistake, as much light may thereby be thrown on Law's age and his thought. Though he was a determined opponent of the Deists, he shared with them certain common views. Deists believed in God, and they were "eminently respectable." They had a real concern for morality. This shuts out immediately writers like Shaftesbury, to whom the idea of God was no necessity, and like Mandeville whose Fable of the Bees counted private vices public benefits. (We note that Law has a short but indignant book (1724) rebutting the errors of this latter work).

The emphasis in Deism falls upon the sufficiency of natural reason to establish religion and enforce morality. Its unwitting parent was Lord Herbert of Cherbury, whose *De Veritate*, 1624, found reason competent for religious truth. Other forerunners include Hobbes, who considerably weakened confidence in tradition, and the Cambridge Platonists, who acclaimed "Reason as the divine governor of man's life." For them there could be no ultimate contradiction between philosophy, science, and the Christian Faith (Inge, 287, *Christian Mysticism*), and they believed that the purified reason was receptive of Divine illumination. The process was further helped by Locke the philosopher, to whom religion was moral philosophy. In his *Reasonableness of Christianity* (1695), Locke proceeds to discriminate amongst the contents of the creed. He attempts to simplify Christianity, and he uses miracles and prophecy as powerful evidence of its truth. He strives to present God as utterly impartial, yet seeks to give the privileged place to revealed religion. He was not a Deist, but "he laid down the lines on which the controversy was destined to move."

Amongst those properly regarded as Deists the most important are Toland, Collins, and Tindal. In 1696 Toland produced his *Christianity, Not Mysterious,* showing that there

is nothing in the Gospel contrary to Reason or above it, and that no Christian doctrine can properly be called a mystery.

He rightly discerned that in the New Testament the word "mystery" means "open secret," but he goes on to assert that what is beyond our comprehension is thereby false. Man can know God and His attributes. Reason is competent in every sphere. Original Christianity contained nothing with which the mind could not cope, and later Christianity with its miracles had resulted from the pleasant attentions of unscrupulous priests and the introduction of heathen Jewish and Platonic ideas. These sneers at priestcraft were very popular in the eighteenth century, and most Deists revelled in them, especially the author whom we now pass on to consider.

This is Anthony Collins, whose *Discourse on Free Thinking* appeared in 1713. He strives to secure unlimited freedom for reason, and gives an historical sketch to show the futility of the application of force to govern opinion. The basis of his argument is of course the adequacy of reason, and he seeks to set morality free from all mysterious sanctions.

He was followed by Matthew Tindall, who issued in 1730 *Christianity as Old as Creation, or the Gospel a Republication of the Religion of Nature.* In this sober and restrained work Deism reached its zenith. For him, the religion of nature is sufficient, and revealed religion a superfluous addition. At the heart of all religions, including revealed, there is a common core. He lays down simple rules whereby all men may discover it.

This brief survey of Deistic writers (which owes a good deal to the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* art. *Deism*) will have sufficiently shown that in these works arrogant claims were advanced on behalf of reason. These were the claims which Law came to deny. He calls his book *The Case of Reason,* 1731. It has been well said that he shows reason to have no case at all. Hear what he says. "It was as truly reason that made Medea kill her children, that made Cato kill himself, that made Pagans offer their sacrifices to idols, that made Epicurus deny a Providence, Mahomet pretend a revelation . . . that made Muggleton a lunatic and Rochester a libertine. It was as truly human vision that did these things, as it is human reason that demonstrates mathematical propositions." Man's reasonable attitude in the presence of the inscrutable majesty of God is humility. Man is called on to accept and obey Divine revelation rather than to account for it and investigate it. Law makes no attempt to present the emphatic conclusions of Christian experience, but trusts entirely to argument. In fact, on both sides, the witness of the soul is neglected. Little is made of the personal contact of the individual with God. Also Deism and

Orthodoxy alike are almost equally remote from a true estimate of Jesus Himself. It was not until he had studied Boehme that Law made an adequate reply to the Deists. Here he is content to rely for proofs on miracles and prophecies.

Law was not alone in his defence of Christianity, and Orthodoxy was well represented by Butler's famous *Analogy of Religion.* Butler avoided Law's mistake and recognised the validity of the appeal to reason while insisting on the mind's necessary limitations. But by far the most damaging attack came from a philosopher, Hume, who dealt soundly with both Deists and Orthodox. He labelled all religion as inexplicable and was especially severe on miracles. He disposed of the Deists' cherished Golden Age and scattered their pleasant visions of early religion.

It remains to point out that both Deists and their opponents shared a defective view of God. He was indeed regarded as a person but as external to the world. His relation to it resembled that of a watchmaker to a watch. Interferences and interpositions were possible but says the Deist not probable. For both sides there was a gulf between God and His creation. God was almost wholly transcendent.

Here is a sufficient reason for that lack of religious enthusiasm in the eighteenth century so bewailed by Law—namely the remoteness of God. Worship under such conditions could only be perfunctory and latitudinarianism became the order of the day. Bishops Hoadly and Tillotson pressed for calm and quietness, and the Deists led their supporters to further indifference. To all this the author of the *Serious Call* would give no consent, but for him also, God was almost wholly a transcendent Being. He could say "There is but one God and Father of us all whose glory fills all places, whose power supports all beings, whose providence ruleth all events." But elsewhere he shows that this is not his accustomed view. For example, he says, "Imagine yourself placed in the air as a spectator of all that passes in the world," and then goes on, "now if you were to see as God sees,"—a clear statement of God's external relation to the world.

If, therefore, extreme views of God's transcendence are to be called Deistic, and extreme views of His Immanence are to be called Pantheistic, Law in his early period did not lead in the direction of Theism. In fact, it was a philosopher named Berkeley (1753) who showed the way to a true view. For him "the material world was the language of God," and between God and man there was continuous communication.

The Deistic controversy therefore, as a whole, was sterile. The problems were largely left unsolved despite much clever

dialectic. The controversy itself perished of inanition and the Evangelical Revival almost obliterated it. In this great movement orthodoxy discovered, through Wesley, its hidden powers, and overwhelmed that mass of infidelity and sin which Deism, with its talk of sincerity, so conspicuously failed to conquer.

The only really valuable result of the controversy was the impetus it gave to Biblical criticism and the study of early church history. Toland's Amyntor (1699) had insinuated that canonical and uncanonical workings alike were the "off-spring of superstition and credulity," while his analysis of church history had far from satisfied orthodox opinion. Law, however, shows no signs of being inspired to such scholarly pursuits, and one cannot help but regret that his vigorous intellect and ready skill did not find in such study a congenial and fruitful field.

Lastly there remains Law the mystic. As such, he is a strange portent in the eighteenth century and has as his only English companion, Wm. Blake, visionary, poet and artist. Law had always been interested in mysticism from his early days and he had studied representative writers. At the age of forty-six he came across the writings of Jacob Boehme, the illiterate German shoemaker (1575-1624). Their perusal put him into a "perfect sweat," he says, and their effect was permanent. Warburton could say "Boehme's works would disgrace Bedlam at full noon," and Wesley could characterize them as "sublime nonsense, inimitable bombast, fustian not to be paralleled," but Law accepted the obloquy which attached to mystical enthusiasm as serenely and courageously as he had followed his conscience as a Non Juror. His writings henceforth become mystical treatises, practical and philosophical, and they include the following:—

1737. *The Lord's Supper,* a reply to Hoadly in which Law says "that everything adorable in the redemption of mankind, everything that can delight, confort and sustain the heart of a Christian is found in this Holy Sacrament."

1740. *An appeal to all that doubt,* a new apologetic addressed to Deists, Arians, and Socinians or nominal Christians.

1749. *The Spirit of Prayer,* which has been described as the work of an English mystic who expresses with a strength and beauty which Plotinus himself has rarely surpassed the longing of the soul for union with the Divine.

1752. *The Way to Divine Knowledge,* an exposition of Boehme's main principles, and

*The Spirit of Divine Love,* his most beautiful book. "The copestone and crown of all his compositions."

Like all mystics Law passionately asserts the unity that underlies all diversity, "the one changeless life in all the lives."

There is a uniform life in all the creations of God. "All are raised, enriched and blessed by the same life of God divided into different kingdoms of creations." "There is, therefore, one nature as unalterable as that God from whom it arises and whose manifestation it is." "Nature is God's great book of revelation," and "true religion is the religion of nature." The same laws operate in every sphere—God, nature, angels, man, vegetables and flints. There is but one thing that is life and one thing that is death. Desire is to be found in all. The astringency of the fruit, the fire hidden in the flint, are the same in nature as that desire in God which resulted in creation, and as that desire in man which draws him to God. Light and spirit, sun and wind, also are one and the same operation; producing in the seed fruition, and in the reborn soul, life with God. Despite this interpretation, or because of it, Law finds it possible to continue his emphasis on self-mortification. Man in this world is a creature fallen from Paradise. His forefather, Adam, lost his original body which was open to the influence of light and spirit, and he became subject simply to the influences of sun and wind and heir of all ills and pains. As a poor slave in a prison of bestial flesh and blood man is in his wrong place in this world, and his only hope is to rise and return to Paradise. Self-denial is a peeling of the husk, a death which enables the inner principle to find life and growth. To this end, therefore, those practices recommended in the *Serious Call* retain their hold on Law's mind.

His view of God in his mystical theology is Trinitarian. We notice that he attempts a complete theological statement, but full discussion is impossible here. "The Father is the first unbeginning thought, will or desire." He wills and generates from eternity to eternity the Son, from which eternal generating the Holy Spirit eternally proceeds, and this is that Infinite Perfection or Fulness of Beatitude of the life of the Triune God."

An interesting development of his Trinitarian view is his doctrine of the new birth. The Triune God, concerned in the creation of man, is still concerned about him after the Fall. The Father draws and attracts. His desire is kindled and anguished and reaches out toward man. The Son of God becomes the Regenerator or raiser of a new birth in us that He may be that to the soul in its state which He is to the Father in Deity. The Holy Ghost is the Sanctifier or Finisher of the Divine life restored in us, because in the Deity the Holy Ghost proceeds from Father and Son, as the amiable and blessed Finisher of the Triune Life of God. He deals with this more particularly in his *Treatise on Christian Regeneration,"* (1750).

Here is surely a deeper and more adequate view of the relation of God to the human soul. The spectator of human affairs found in the *Serious Call* and the sultan or prince, arbitrary and capricious, beloved of the Deists have given place to richer conceptions of God as both Transcendent and Immanent. Also the indwelling of the Holy Ghost is no longer merely a quotation from the New Testament. It has become a living idea.

He presses home also the idea of the new birth as man's supreme necessity. We are all dead as the result of Adam's fall. May be we have little realization of the fact, but this is due to the kindly influence of this world's light and air, which produce a faint mirage of the heavenly life.

In truth we are dead, but only in a certain sense. The soul, the breath of God is alive but only as fire is alive in a flint or as life is imprisoned in a seed. It needs to be set free, for it has died (in this sense) to the Divine Life. This can only be done by the Redeemer, who alone can bring back man's soul to the Kingdom of Heaven by a birth of the life of the Triune God. "Salvation," he says, "can be nothing other but this regenerated life of the soul." It cannot be achieved by outward grace, but only by inward birth. He rightly rejoices in the notion that this is religious enthusiasm, and he here makes a discovery which many in the eighteenth century failed to appreciate.

It would have been a great gain if the *Serious Call* could have been re-written in the light of this great principle. The emphasis would have been transferred from rules to inner life, and from laws to the Holy Spirit. The true relation of morality would have been set forth, e.g., "Faith lays hold on Christ, puts on the Divine nature, and in a living and real manner grows powerful over all our sins."

Law also gives great place to his view of God as love, always and eternally. "God's goodness and compassion," he says, "is always in the same infinite state, always flowing forth in and through all nature, in the same infinite manner; nothing wants it but that which cannot receive it." He goes on, "whilst the angels stood, they stood encompassed with the infinite source of all goodness and compassion. They fell, not because He ceased to be an infinite open fountain of all good to them, but because they had a will which must direct itself."

Evil, moral and physical, is not of God, but results from the misdirected will or desire of angels and men. We notice here, "a realization of the momentous quality of the will," a discovery which has been described as the "secret of every mystic." Desire or will is "the only workman in nature," and everything is its work. God, therefore, is altogether loving and it is not His

will that angels should fall or men should perish. Hell is not to be charged as a responsibility on God. Even He is shut up to the facts. He cannot acclaim men other than they are. Righteousness cannot be imputed. The final judgment is only the last separating of everything to its eternal place. It is the leaving of everything to be that in eternity which it has made itself to be in time, for there is no annihilation.

It may be interesting to add here that Law, like other mystics acclaims experience as the way to understanding. This is admirably shown in his remarks on the Trinity. "No person," he says, "has any fitness, pretence, nor any ground from Scripture to think or say anything about the Trinity till such time as he stands in the state of the penitent returning prodigal. The way to truth is not by way of reason and philosophy but by the exercise of this mystical faculty.

In the *Case of Reason* Law ridiculed the pretensions of reason and he does so again as a mystic, but not because he is relying on miracles or prophecy but because he is trusting to the witness of the soul. Reason is called a poor and groundless fiction, but only because he now has vision.

In conclusion, we must give Law's great declaration to the Deists of the supreme and final worth of Christianity. "There is one God, one nature, one religion, one salvation, only one way of kindling the heavenly life in the soul. Jesus is the one and only Saviour of all that can anywhere or at any time be saved."

The mystical writings of Law therefore contain much excellent material and many ideas which are near the heart of Christianity. There is much that is strange, but throughout the temper and spirit are gloriously Christian. Those by whom the *Serious Call* may remain unheard, may find in these later writings, if they give to their study patience and insight, much that will make a profound appeal. In these days of emphasis upon religious experience and the inner life, days which Law himself has helped to bring to their dawning, his writings ought not to be forgotten, nor his importance be regarded as simply historical. The man who could write this following passage surely has a vital message for to-day.

"There is but one salvation for all mankind and the way to it is one; and that is, the desire of the soul turned to God. This desire brings the soul to God and God into the soul: it unites with God, it co-operates with God, and is one life with God. O my God, just and true, how great is Thy love and mercy to mankind, that heaven is thus everywhere open and Christ thus the common Saviour to all who thus turn their hearts to Thee."

J. B. MIDDLEBROOK.

# Newport, Isle of Wight.

CAPTAIN BUTT-THOMPSON is doing fine historical service. His essays on William Vidler and the Battle church were in early numbers of our *Transactions*. He has written two books about the early church at Sierra Leone, founded by negroes from the Carolinas and Nova Scotia—a most romantic story. Now that he is in the Isle of Wight, he has compiled the story of early Baptist effort there. While he is gathering fresh material in South Africa, he places at our disposal his results, with leave to edit them.

Thomas Collier, the evangelist of the West Country from 1644 onwards, won converts on the Hampshire and Dorset coasts. From Hurst Castle a family of these, the Angels, crossed and settled in the Isle of Wight, when the plague threatened from Southampton in 1665.

At Newport, Robert Tutchin had been ejected three years earlier from the parish church. He had many friends, and some of these subscribed so that he continued to preach, though the Five Mile Act obliged him to transfer to a house on the outer verge of the Caris Brook hamlet. Among his supporters were Cookes, Clarkes and Hopkins.

Another rivulet of Dissent was Quaker. In 1670 widow Martha Jefferey came to lodge in Newport, and five years later she bought a cottage on Pyle street where she set apart a room for the reverent worship of Jehovah God. When she left the island in 1681, she sold the cottage to Alice Hopkins, and laid hands on Mary Hall as her successor, being moved by God to consider other fields white to harvest. Mary was daughter of Alice, and had married a mason who belonged to the Carisbrooke group. The cottage had cost only £17, and by 1694 was not worth repairing. After many journeys she gathered enough money to pull it down and erect on its site the first meeting-house in the island, opened 1695. Many names on the stones and in the records are of those who belonged to Baptist families, for the relations between early Friends and General Baptists were close, if quarrelsome.

But the Baptists were the first to put themselves on record. John Sims, of Southampton, had created a sensation in 1646 by occupying the parish pulpit. With Peter Rowe he did much evangelising, getting into trouble 1663. In 1669 they were reported as holding regular conventicles at Ryde and Cowes. As a result, when the Declaration of Indulgence came out in

1672, licences were taken by Michael Aldridge and Edward Knight and James Wise, all of West Cowes, to preach in their own homes, and in the house of Mark Wright at Carisbrooke. They all declared themselves "Baptist." Wise had links with Salisbury, and he brought over evangelists thence, including James Horlock. They toured the island and won many converts, culminating with a baptism in the mill-stream at Alverstone one Sunday in August.

The Declaration was cancelled, the licences were revoked, and progress was checked. The Angel family was content to cast in its lot with the Friends for public worship, though Joseph junior and his bride, Mary Thomas, were baptised in the Solent at Ryde by Thomas Collier. Two events precipitated a permanent organization, a public debate, and the return of a Baptist woman.

Baptists at Portsmouth had been known for a long time, and in 1693 when toleration was assured, they built a meeting-house on St. Thomas street. This public advertisement stirred the Presbyterians, and after some skirmishing a public debate was arranged. It was formally sanctioned by the king, who enjoined the authorities to see that peace was preserved. The result was that the governor, the deputy governor, the mayor and other magistrates attended, while a short-hand report was taken by the town-clerk of Southampton and Richard King, a prominent Baptist of the same place. It would seem a pity that this good old style is so little used to-day, for whenever an able debater stands forth, there are always many people persuaded. William Russell, the king's physician, was one of the Baptist champions. One immediate result was that John Angel and his wife Frances and his brother, Joseph senior, were baptised at Portsea.

About the same time there returned an Anne, already a member of a London church. At first she was maid to old Mrs. Cooke, but she soon married John Angel. He was a hatter, living in an Elizabethan house near the Dragon inn on Pyle street. The Cookes were so important that Newport had been described as "near Mr. Cooke's brew-house"; while this Mrs. Jane Cooke had throughout a long widowhood managed also the family businesses of malting and currying. She had won great respect in the town, not only for her ability but for her graciousness. And she, with all her wide family connection, was noted for sturdy nonconformity.

Anne Angel repeated the exploit of Martha Jefferey and Mary Hall. Within four years there was a separation from the group in the Pyle street meeting. The founders of the new society, so said a tradition recorded in 1836, agreed to differ on much that they considered minor points of doctrine, but most,

though not all, were favourable to and practised Believers' Baptism. The Angels, Clarkes and Cookes, who formed three great clans, were all Baptists, and so was Philip Orchard of Brading, as the parish clerk there recorded when refusing Christian burial to his child in 1704.

The date of organisation is named as 1702 on a communion cup given in 1802 to commemorate the centenary. But no minutes are available till 1730. It would seem that like many churches of that period, the Newport members considered themselves members of one widely-spread church; and not only were all members in the Isle in that fellowship, but all belonged to the church whose only meeting-house was in Portsmouth, with members also at Southampton. They did, however, have local officers, John Angel as Elder, Joseph Angel senior and William Cooke, deacons.

About 1712 John Angel was succeeded by Richard Clarke, a baker, who two years later reported an island membership of fifty-five to a General Baptist Conference which the church entertained at Newport. That number was therefore recorded by John Evans next year.

In 1721 the General Baptist Assembly (of the non-subscribing churches) met at Chichester, and John Cooke attended from the island. Five years later, Clarke preached a funeral sermon for Mrs. Sarah Chick, and his MS. is the earliest document preserved by the church. But permanence was assured by following the example of good old Mary Hall, and building.

The garden of the late John Angel on Pyle street afforded a site, and in 1728 the church acquired a definite home of its own. Yet so deeply was graven the memory of the precarious times, that the trust-deed specially provided for the case of toleration being revoked. There was no baptistery, "the open meandering brook flowing into the Medina river" being adequate. John Clarke, the brewer, was soon appointed as secretary and treasurer, and the minutes begin with 1730, as also a roll of members. They included farmers, gardener, wheelwright, button-maker, mealman; they came in from Alverstone, Brading, the Cowes, Wellow and Wootting. They made monthly subscriptions totalling about £130 a year. With such liberality, they felt able at last to make some acknowledgement of the preachers' services, and in 1749 they paid £30 for two years' help by "Isaac Moth, minister." Isaac Mott ten years later was Elder of Chichester, and we cannot be sure whether he came from there to help in some interregnum; for it was most unusual to pay a "minister" or assistant preacher anything beyond expenses.

There certainly was a new departure directly afterwards.

A revival of religion had taken place, and had been marked by a Methodist society arising in Newport, and by Dr. Benson, bishop of Gloucester, confirming seven hundred people in the town. Now at Crediton there was a vigorous Baptist called John Sturch, of an evangelical family long flourishing round Aylesbury, and represented in Southwark. This man in 1737 promoted a meeting-house at Honiton, and was seven years later at Portsmouth. The church now decided that more vigorous measures were needed in the island, and a meeting commissioned Sturch to go and take charge at Newport. For practical purposes it may be said that the great nebulous church now condensed into separate stars, and that the Isle was independent of Portsmouth from 1750 onwards.

John brought his wife Mary, and his daughter Elizabeth, a girl of twelve. The ancestral house of the Angels, in whose garden the meeting-house stood, was repaired and given them for a residence. There was henceforth a regular salary, beginning at £30, and once touching £42 10s. The church drove a hard bargain, only lending the money for his removal expenses, and taking back a guinea a year; though once it had a credit balance of over £100, so successful was his work. It must be remembered that all the traditions of the General Baptists were for gratuitous service, and that previous Elders had been well-to-do tradesmen or brewers.

One of the Angel family was now spared to help Chichester, and Sturch became concerned at the spread of pernicious principles in religion, so that he wrote to Assembly in 1754 apprehending fatal consequences; but it is not clear that any decisive step was taken. We can trace his activity again in practical response to an appeal from South Carolina, for a friend of his was sent out as evangelist from a meeting which he attended in 1757. But he did not attend regularly in London, having his hands full with affairs in the Isle.

Thus he edited the *Isle of Wight General Magazine of Arts and Sciences* from about 1754 to 1760. He visited many places lecturing and preaching. He was a diligent pastor, seeing not only to re-tiling the meeting-house in 1759, but to monthly gifts for aged men and women, and occasional benefactions to old soldiers, etc.

Into the wider life he stepped again in 1769, being at the Assembly which heard of a rupture at Bessels Green; he acquiesced in the advice that the evangelical minister should withdraw. It must have been a shock next year to find that the advice was followed very amply, and that a large number of evangelical churches withdrew from the Assembly. In the emergency, another man was told off to persuade them back,

with the assurance that Sturch would be the preacher in 1771. On that occasion the Assembly was stirred to acknowledge decay and declension of religion, and to ask all the churches to observe a day of fasting and prayer. He allowed something to detain him in 1772, so that in his absence there was a new departure, the admission of a merely personal member; and this man was more learned than evangelical. Sturch did indeed forward a catechism, but when it was reported on, this new man got the Assembly to refuse issuing it, and all that could be secured was a request that Sturch would publish it. So easy for a man with £30 a year! Nor was he put on the committee to enquire into the causes of the decay of Christian piety, and its remedies; its proceedings were very dilatory. So when he did appear again, in 1775, though he was put in the chair, he found very few evangelicals, but Joshua Toulmin preaching the sermon, so much to the taste of the Assembly that it ordered it to be printed—an unpleasant contrast to its treatment of his catechism. Eight years elapsed before he attended again.

Those years were given to hard work in the Isle. A new chapel, in a grove of vines at the end of the High street, was registered on 1 November, 1775. Within, it was comfortably pewed, without it had a façade after the Greekan style, and the local newspaper considered it an adornment to the town. The old meeting-house on Pyle street was sold to a Cooke for £35, and the whole cost was paid within thirteen years. Evening services seem to have been started, for candles cost four shillings and sixpence a year from 1778 onwards. There is a mention of heavy snows next year, which swallowed up the roads and stopped the services.

With 1783 he re-visited the Assembly, and found much to sadden him. The London churches were huddled together in one little meeting-house. The only business tried was to arrange a plan of apprenticeship among Baptists. He seems to have grafted on this a general communication urging a closer union. For next year the New Connexion replied to such an overture with a long and explicit letter, both refusing to adopt old-fashioned customs, and refusing emphatically to unite with any who denied the proper atonement of Christ for the sins of men, or justification by faith. Unhappily Sturch did not attend regularly, and the Assembly shuffled in its answer and in its subsequent proceedings. One more attempt he made, in 1787, when the New Connexion was represented by Robert French of Coggeshall and Dan Taylor of London, the latter preaching. But they were too late; a new family had taken the lead, a church was admitted which had no General Baptist affinities, but was Socinian; and the only printing ordered was by a

Socinian. Sturch seems to have given up hope, and though the sister church of Portsmouth did send some friendly advice, he never attended again. He was even courageous enough to abstain from subscribing to funds which were so misused.

The rest of his life he gave to local affairs, and he was so evangelistic that he joined with Bogue, the Calvinist of Gosport, in a tour, preaching round the island at Ryde, Cowes, Newchurch, Wellow, Shanklin and Brading. In April 1793, the *Earl of Oxford* anchored at the Motherbank in the Solent, waiting for a convoy to the East Indies. There landed from it an earnest Particular Baptist from Leicester, one of whose members had come to the Newport church. On 5 May Sturch got William Carey to preach for him both at Newport and in the country, and next day there was a fine spiritual re-union at Mrs. Clarke's house. Carey stayed nearly six weeks in the Isle, and the heart of the aged Elder must have been greatly cheered. A few months later he died, full of years and honour.

Gabriel Watts was the next Elder. Like many men in later days he sought an island ministry because the doctors told him that here he would have a chance to live. He soon won the hearts of the people with his quiet speech, eloquent in the pulpit. But though they raised the stipend to £75 after the fourth year, and though in the last months he was almost wholly freed from duty, his flame flickered out in 1800. In his time Thomas Cooke, of Newport, became much interested in the plan for binding apprentices with the Connection, and received the thanks of the Assembly. Cooke also eagerly supported a committee to train young men for the ministry, appointed in 1794, and obtained other subscribers in Newport. Through this, he made the acquaintance of Job David, under whose influence the Frome church had been verging toward Socinianism. And David came several times to supply in 1800. When, therefore, Watts passed away, David was ready with a novel suggestion which would appeal to Cooke.

There was a lad of eighteen, named Robert Aspland, of splendid abilities. He had been baptised three years before at Devonshire Square, had passed through Bristol College, had won a Ward scholarship and gone to Aberdeen. From the Marischal College he had unhappily been expelled, for unsound views. These views, however, would highly commend him to Job David, and the church was probably unaware that they would fulfil the worst fears of John Sturch. The new departure was taken, of appointing a brilliant young scholar. He settled in 1800.

The ministry began with a blaze of prosperity. The M.P. and his wife joined the congregation, which overflowed at every service. A school was started, meeting twice a week, and funds

poured in for every new project. The great Dr. Joshua Toulmin, of the Taunton church, came to preach at the ordination, and the church found a ten-guinea fee. William Hughes, the late Presbyterian minister of Leather-lane in Holborn, came to the Isle, and cast in his lot here, with his wife.

And thus the danger that John Sturch had viewed afar off, and had intermittently combated at the Assembly, attacked his own church in full force. Toulmin was little better than an Arian. Hughes had preached his church empty with the same views, and now in 1801 Newport was the place where the Southern Unitarian Association was formed, with the adhesion even of the vicar of Carisbrooke. Two other ambiguous Baptists had won literary fame, William Vidler for his *Universalist's Miscellany*, and his new *Universal Theological Magazine*, Thomas Twining, of Trowbridge, for his pamphlets on baptism. The church bought these freely, and there was a whirl of discussion.

All sorts of points were involved, and Thomas Cooke, who in 1802 succeeded John Clarke as secretary-treasurer, made many minutes on them. It was he who wrote down the family tradition that the church was of mixed membership at the first, not wholly Baptist. If that were acted on, it would clearly be swamped. Two years later there was a counter note that it belonged to the General Baptists. But in the intervening year, the Assembly had transformed itself: it had admitted a church by a majority vote, whereas previously unanimity had been required. This church was under Vidler, a Universalist and a Unitarian; therefore all the evangelicals remaining quitted at once. And it was at this moment Newport re-asserted itself General Baptist.

Again, David, Toulmin, Vidler, Twining, were all pastors of churches which had been Particular Baptist. Aspland had been brought up in the hyper-Calvinist church of Soham, and had been in a Calvinist atmosphere all his life. Evidently the term "General Baptist" had greatly changed its content. It had come to mean in practice, Unitarians of Baptist origin, unless it was qualified as "General Baptists of the New Connexion."

These few years that saw the Assembly transformed, and Unitarians boldly avowing themselves nationally, saw the Baptist situation in the Isle equally transformed. The church roll shows members resigning every month, or names being struck off for non-attendance. The storm-centre shifted in 1805, when Aspland went to the "Old Gravel Pit" meeting in Hackney, once Presbyterian, now Unitarian. But the swell of the storm remained, with the old Baptist church tossing as a helpless hulk. The next minister, Tingecombe, was a nonentity, and in 1815 a formal remonstrance and a great reduction of stipend brought his career

to an end. Aspland then recommended James Lyon "one of our most popular preachers, and a Baptist into the bargain"—a phrase that shows both Aspland and Tingecombe considered themselves Unitarian. Lyon had nearly wrecked the old Baptist church at Hull, then seems to have been at Matthew Henry's church in Chester. He came at once, and next year the remnant in the old place unanimously decided to call the church "General Baptist Unitarian." In 1819 they seem to have abandoned all Baptist fellowship, joining the Unitarian Association of London. With the future of this section, which despite its small numbers preserved the historic continuity, we need not concern ourselves. It closed its baptistery in 1875. Meantime four other sections had taken definite shape, all of them evangelical.

As early as 1747 there were Particular Baptists in the Isle, meeting at one another's houses. Ryland of Warwick heard about 1750 that their pastor was John Mercer of Newport. To this fellowship many of the Generals adhered, and at length the old church recognised the situation, granting them a formal dismissal in 1812, when they styled this church "Node's Hill."

As soon as Aspland began making trouble, some of the Cookes started work at Wellow, and by 1804 they engaged William Read from the mainland. This remains to-day as the senior evangelical church, strengthened in 1834 by uniting with a group at Yarmouth. At what stage it declared itself Particular Baptist, is unknown.

A third group in Newport was headed by a Clarke. They soon incorporated as the "General Baptist Church of Newport, meeting at the Freemasons' Hall," on Town lane, with the countenance of the Rev. M. Brown of Warminster. This was the chance of the New Connexion, which in the disturbance due to the Assembly's proceedings served as a rallying point for all evangelical General Baptists, and had just admitted the church at Downton in Wilts. Nearer at hand, in 1801 John Kingsford, assistant at the old Portsmouth General Baptist church, led out a large party and formed a new church on Clarence street. Thrice in eight years they had to enlarge their building, and they joined the New Connexion in 1805. We might have expected that the same course would have been taken by this island group. But a very different turn was taken.

As far back as 1770, a "minister" or assistant at the Portsea Particular Baptist church named Lester, had lived in Newport. He brought over his pastor, Joseph Horsey, for occasional preaching, though while Sturch flourished there was no attempt to establish a second church. But they had won converts. William Dore, of Newport, had been called to the ministry by the Lymington Particular Baptist church, and after

going to Bristol had settled at Cirencester. His brother, James, had also settled at Maze Pond in London. Now in 1807 a third member of the family, Thomas, was dismissed from the old General Baptist church, and next year he set up the standard of the Particular Baptist, to which there was a quick rally from all sides.

Great interest was taken in this move by all the neighbouring churches on the coast. Daniel Miall came from Portsea, John Penny and John Shoveller from Portsmouth, Richard Owers from Southampton, William Giles from Lymington, William Mursell from the second church at Lymington, speedily to unite with the first, and Samuel Bulgin of Poole. Such a gathering betokened a most important new departure. On Wednesday, 18 October, 1809, there were services morning and evening in the Town Lane meeting-house, and in the afternoon at the Methodist chapel.

The new church was soon welcomed into the Western Baptist Association, due to Thomas Collier 160 years before. Property was bought on the Carisbrooke road, and the Castlehold chapel built. In 1812 John Shoveller accepted the pastorate, after frequently supplying. Another series of meetings was held, to which came not only Giles, Miall and Owers again, but Russell of Broughton, Saffery of Salisbury, Roberts of Bristol, and Isaiah Birt of Plymouth. Some baptisms had already taken place in the old General Baptist meeting, but with the opening of the new place on 1 September, they began in Castlehold, and it was noteworthy that one of the earliest was an Independent minister, James Payne, destined to do good work at Ipswich and Ashford.

In 1813 Shoveller took part in the formation of the Baptist Union, and the church entertained the Hants and Wilts District Association. The church was thus in the full stream of denominational life, and its story need not be carried further, nor need we trace the expansion to other parts of the Isle.

# A Sussex Lay Preacher seeing Camp Meetings in America.

JOHN BURGESS, of Ditchling, seven miles north of Brighton, kept a diary of which the volume 1785-1790 is preserved in the family at Lewes. A copy has been made of it for the Right Hon. Sir William Bull, who has supplemented it with letters by Burgess from New York State, 1794-1819. The diary throws a flood of light on the economic conditions of the villagers, and the letters show the bursting into bloom of sympathies repressed at home. But the following study deals with the religious life of the man. For the ecclesiastical background, the article on Lewes-Ditchling may be consulted, volume IV., page 66. For the economic, three paragraphs must suffice.

In 1785, Burgess was thirty-four years old. He had come three years earlier from the General Baptist church at Waldron to Ditchling. At that time there was no Elder, so he was able to rent the house adjoining the Meeting, built in 1730, but afterwards he moved to Hallett's Farm. He was a leather-worker. He often went to flay animals, lambs, sheep, does, horses, and on his shoulders he carried home the skins or hides; though the tanning was not his work, he had a yard where with the help of an older man he would curry and wring out the pelts. The leather was made up chiefly into breeches, for which he had a large sale at prices from 2s. 9d. to 21s. Leather waistcoats, beaver cuffs, were occasionally asked for and supplied. Then he extended to gloves, and was annoyed to find that a licence was necessary to make them, and another to sell them: for this he took a girl as apprentice, paying her sixpence a week, the parish finding half a crown. He took lessons in book-binding, and added that craft. Then he widened to collar and harness making, which required the addition of a shop costing sixpence a week.

Secondary occupations were keeping geese, and selling the wool off his sheepskins. Those who are familiar with the export duties, for he had to get a "let-pass" for his packs at Brighton, and who remember the smuggling described in *Doctor Syn*, will note appreciatively the sympathy expressed with the conviction for murder of a Revenue Officer who had simply been doing his duty. For the poor were pestered with the need of obtaining licences before they could do any work.

Burgess was a man of all trades. He dealt in dogs, pigs, and wood, besides nuts and gingerbread at fair-time; he made ladders, ropes, and whips; he did much rough building from burial vaults and hog-pounds up to his own new shop; he was capable of moving a baptistery from Heathfield to a field at Waldron; he dug graves, made paths, sank a well; he went haying and harvesting. And with this wide experience, he was called in to value and appraise. On these varied errands, he took long journeys, nearly always afoot, though once or twice he borrowed a horse. A map of his walks shows Arundel and Billingshurst to the west, Heathfield to the east, Crawley and East Grinstead to the north, and often to the village of Brighthelmston, not yet exalted by the Regent to become a fashionable Brighton. Here he got prawns at sevenpence the thousand, mackerel at 2½d. each, and a quart of "rigrels" for 2d.; once he had a wash in the sea.

And this busy man was a Lay Preacher. The first year of his diary shows him at work every Sunday. Seventeen days he was at Barcombe, six miles east; fifteen days he was at the "Purchest" meeting, a title that puzzles his editors; ten he was at Heathfield, eighteen miles to the east; six he was at home, preaching next door to his house; four he was at Waldron, sixteen miles eastward. It is a magnificent record for any man. The only acknowledgement he received was his food; and this he never mentions in detail, though on business trips we do hear of occasional banquets on boiled beef, leg of lamb and plum pudding, and on one exceptional Sunday when he heard James Drowley at Lewes, morning and afternoon, with Mr. Barnard at night, he did need sustaining with boiled beef and gooseberry pudding. These rare details suggest rather plainer fare offered to the visiting preacher.

He recorded every text, and it is somewhat curious that while on half the days there is the meagre entry, Work in ye shop, &c., or Work in the yard and shop, &c., yet the Sunday entry gives not only place and Bible reference, but copies the whole of each passage. Only on one occasion does he seem to have preached the sermon a second time. This implies constant study and reading of the Bible, though it is not mentioned directly anywhere. It seems wonderful that a busy lay preacher could prepare two sermons every week; perhaps in his long walks or at his mechanical tasks, the mind was at work all the time on these deeper things.

It is regrettable that no sermon survives in "wrighting." This exercise was always laborious to him, and he was quite independent in his spelling. So very likely he never "whroat" at all, and spoke out of the abundance of the heart. But we

may note his choice of texts. The passage he used twice was on Christ crucified, the power of God and the wisdom of God. And generally he dealt with great messages, not the bye-products. See that ye refuse not; Unto you is born this day; I have fought a good fight; He will have all men to be saved; He that shall endure to the end; Godliness has promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come; He beheld the city and wept over it; Fervent in spirit, serving the Lord; such are six weeks' consecutive themes.

Of personal dealing we read nothing; difficult pastoral work was done by the Messengers who visited frequently. There were discipline meetings, at one of which another lay preacher was censured, though he was well-to-do, and though he had already been appointed delegate to the Annual Assembly, which he did attend three days later. Occasional baptisms are recorded, and the annual communion service in January. There were frequent "conferences" at the meeting-house, which seem to include the quarterly meetings of the Kent and Sussex General Baptist Association; at these conferences the intricate plan for supplying was probably arranged.

On a few occasions Burgess was sent to the Assembly, bearing ten shillings for the Book Fund and a guinea for the Assembly Fund. For this service he was allowed a guinea towards his own expenses, and the thrifty man probably made it cover what he would otherwise have earned in the two days of Assembly and the time spent in journeying. For he would borrow a horse and start at three in Tuesday morning, baiting at Godstone and leaving the horse, arriving in London about four in the afternoon, sleeping at the Talbot with many other friends, dining after sermon next day at the coffee-house in Hoxton Square, finishing Assembly business by candle-light, walking out next day to Croydon, getting a lift in a tilted cart to shelter from a storm, sleeping at the Bell in Godstone, walking home thirteen hours on Friday.

The diary shows a wide circle of friends, so that on all his journeys he could count on one place at least for a meal and a pipe; Baptist names occur constantly. There is no trace of any evangelistic meeting; any worship except on Sunday and at funerals is most rare. Occasionally he went to a parish church, once he heard a "Methody from Briton"; when he spent a Sunday there and the Presbyterian meeting was closed, he went to Calvinists in the forenoon (probably the Countess' chapel, but possibly the Particular Baptist meeting) then to church, and after a pot of beer at the Red Cross with a pipe or two, walked home by nine of the clock. Another spare Sunday he went to Lewes and besides the luxury of an evening service at church,

he went to his own meeting twice to hear Mr. Drowley preach. It struck him greatly that there was singing in the public service, for never before had he known the General Baptists sing at worship; it had in fact been expressly discouraged, not to say forbidden, by the Assembly of 1689. The novelty did not enchant him at first, for he entered nine months later that he delivered up the key of the Ditchling meeting-house for some people to come to learn to sing psalms and hymns one Sunday. On Wednesday afternoon, 5 November, 1788, he went to preach at the Purchest in memory of Gunpowder Plot; and there was one hymn sung after sermon, the first ever sung there. It is by diaries such as this, that we get these details of the actual worship. Feetwashing is never mentioned. A Sunday School was begun at Ditchling in 1788, to which he subscribed four shillings.

Besides Assembly, there were occasional holidays. Once he went to Friar's Oak to a bull-baiting, and speculated with his dog. He sold it for a guinea in case it was hurt, but as it received no hurt, took it back at the same price; it was adjudged the best. Besides the sport, he got a good dinner, a round of beef boiled, a good piece roasted, a leg of mutton, a ham of pork, plum pudding, plenty of wine and punch all the afternoon. This of course was very exceptional, his usual drink was beer or tea. Once he mentions with shame that he was overcome, having thoughtlessly gone to the Bull without having had any dinner. Long afterwards it comes out in a letter that he was constantly troubled with a wife who was addicted to drinking; this may indeed be one of the reasons why neighbours grew cooler, and why he decided to emigrate.

A lay preacher in such constant work needed to refresh his mind. Of books there is no mention except that once he got two for ninepence; but in 1787 a Friendly Society was formed at Lindfield to meet monthly for the improvement of their minds. At the first conversation, the inquiry was on "The most easy and natural evidences of the existence and attributes of the Supreme Being." This is the only hint in the diary that the preacher was not of the Evangelical school, and that he belonged to the party which was little better than Deist; though anyone who knows the past and present history of the Ditchling church may have wondered at his choice of texts. The earnestness of the group, and their need to conserve time for ordinary work, may be seen in the decision to meet every Monday after the full moon, at four in the morning, and breakfast at eight. Many a minister's fraternal would baulk at those hours on a Monday!

There is a gap between the end of the diary in 1790, when he had been ill for weeks, and the first letter from America

in 1794. We may infer that he decided to emigrate after hearing from Drowley. He borrowed £5 and took his boys, Henry and Thomas, leaving John and their mother, whom he never saw again. Several people of this Connexion did go about this time; for the outbreak of the French Revolution made the authorities more strict. While there is barely a syllable on politics in the diary, the letters show plainly the immense relief on getting into a free atmosphere. With the politics and business and finance in the new land, the straits and the joys of pioneering, we have nothing to do here, though materials are most illuminating. But the religious development claims attention.

It may be well to recall that the General Baptists in America had either adopted Calvinistic views, or had, near Rhode Island, shrunk into a little group of Six-Principle people, standing where the Ditchling people had stood in 1660. And the Unitarians, with whom he might have found some kinship, were of Independent descent, with their stronghold even further off, in Massachusetts. The result seems to be that he found no congenial home, and no one who wanted to hear him preach. The contrast with Pepys is remarkable. That official's letters show a man of much ability and integrity; it was the decipherment of his diary which showed him more human, and wrecked his character. But the diary of Burgess, for his private eyes, leaves a very good impression; which the letters modify most seriously. This shall be illustrated by extracts, in which the spelling and punctuation are modernised. He wrote from Sparta, or Mount Pleasant, in Westminster County, forty miles up the Hudson, where he worked for an old Sussex friend.

"In this country we have no Licence to pay, nor Duty of any kind; we can buy a hide, we can dress it as we please, without consulting the divil or any of his imps about it. [To his son, 1794.]

"I could entertain [old friends] with tobacco at about fivepence per pound, and good rum for about fifteenpence per bottle, good juice cider for a penny per quart, &c; and in addition to all this we could converse upon what subject we pleased, political moral or religious, without any person to suspect us, or have any power or right to control us. Oh! I would not exchange this natural right, the great service of human happiness, no, not for all the riches in Ditchling. . . . New York is a large place, several times as large as Brighton. . . . I shall look for many of you early in the spring, but don't let me persuade you, judge for yourselves; if you prefer slavery to liberty, stop where you can have it by wholesale."

[To Thomas Hallett of Ditchling, a friend to liberty, truth, justice and the rights of man, 1794.]

"It seems as though it was designed it should be that I should meet with many of the things called natural evils; but I am so well reconciled to them as to consider them not as real evils but only as links in the great chain of causes and events. For most certainly it is an undeniable self-evident proposition that there cannot be an effect without a cause as such. It is doubtful to me whether there is so much real evil, either natural or moral, as many imagine; for we must think—that is to say, I think—that God Almighty, the great and benevolent parent of all nature must be the primary cause of all effects that take place. And to justify His moral character, we must I think conclude that all will end in the general good and happiness of His creatures.—But am afraid you will think I am wasting paper and time that might be better employed. Suppose you have heard I am very deaf? . . . I seldom go to Meeting on that account; though before I was so deaf I could seldom hear anything like Rational preaching. So that I spend my leisure time in reading, can improve my understanding, gain more pleasure by this means than any other way in this country where there is so much Orthodoxy. In England I had much pleasure in having such men as Mr. Evershed, Mr. Rowland, Mr. Dendy, Mr. Edwards my father-in-law; but more particularly Mr. Lloyd, a man of the very first abilities, had in my opinion the most Rational and most consistent scheme of any man I ever heard, as well as practical. I am [glad] that Mr. Thos. Sadler is a good preacher, that he has got a good education and preaches at Horsham; should be very happy to see and hear him in this New World, for if he is Rational he is just what we stand in need of. In the city of New York there are a great number of preachers of all denominations, many I have heard of different denominations; men of great education, men of the first-rate abilities, particularly Doctor [Samuel] Miller a Presbyterian preacher but as high in sentiment as old Doctor Gill. There is a Mr. Michel, an Irish gentleman, very good preacher; and a Mr. Palmer of the same church, an English gentleman; I always go to hear them when I am in York, and am much pleased—though I was much troubled to hear the last time there [he] is what is called, the Universalist—but not the worse for that in my opinion. They are men of the strictest moral character, the only two gentlemen that I know of that refuses to take any pay for preaching; most others have large salaries. I am very well acquainted with Mr. Palmer, he is a very benevolent good dispositioned man, pleasing in conversation. Since I came to Sparta we had an Englishman that came from Hull in Yorkshire that would sometimes preach to us at Sparta, but he declined on account of bodily infirmity and is since dead. [? James Lyon]. I think he was the nearest

in my estimation to Mr. Lloyd of any man I ever heard for matter [but he] was a very poor speaker; he spoke sentences very correct, and a most admirable chain of reasoning, free from Orthodoxy.

"We have a meeting for the most part about once in two weeks at Sparta, supplied by itinerant preachers called Methodists, the followers of Mr. Westly. There are a great many of them in this country, have a few good preachers, but in general have no other qualification [than] to make a long face and a great noise. They have commenced a very singular method of making converts. They hold meetings about once or twice a year, in a very large wood well adapted to the purpose to accommodate so numerous a concourse of people, and they call them Camp Meetings. They generally hold their meetings for four or five days and nights, very little intermission night or day. Their camp is formed in the following manner. They make choice of wood, as near as may be to the public road, and as clear as may be from underwood or brush. What there is of this kind is cut up and cleared off the ground so as to leave a large row of single trees, which make it very pleasant and agreeable in very hot weather. The ground mostly a little sloping. Fix their stand for the preacher at the lower side, make a large circle with ropes from tree to tree to keep the principal part of the congregation from the waggons coaches and horses. Planks laid to sit on, a little raised by timber laid on the ground. The stand for the preacher is about fourteen feet long, three high, and about the same width; a board to sit on, and one raised in front, a large cloth overhead to keep off the sun and rain. Two or three constables hired to attend to keep the peace, mostly one or two justices of the peace in the daytime, so that there is no noise or disturbance of any kind suffered by those that may be so disposed. I have been at three of those great meetings, and was eyewitness to many things what occurred, that I could not have given credit to many things I saw except it had been well-attested, and suppose you be under the same difficulty. They pitch their tents, many of them are very large, all round the camp. Behind the tents are placed the tilted waggons with their horses turned out to pasture or feeding in the wood, hay, etc. The encampment consisted of fifty regular tents, some very large, fifty-six tilted waggons, upwards of one hundred other carriages, vast numbers of small tents; between twenty and thirty Preachers besides other Exhorters as they call them, and a congregation from two to five or six thousand people on the different days. I was there part of two days; it began on Monday and if I remember right ended on Friday afternoon; I was there at the end. Praying, singing, etc., was continued

night and day with short intermissions. They carried their provisions and beds, etc., made tea and coffee in the camp, suppose a hundred small fires at one time to heat water; and waggon-loads of cider brought for sale, and bread and other provisions the same as you have seen at the races. [These] things was kept at a distance so there was no disturbance [in the] camp. Public preaching at the stand was notified by the [blast] of a trumpet. There was a good speakers, men seemingly [de]dicated, but all the others I paid but little attention to. The manner of their speaking had a most surprising effect on the [pers]ons of weak minds, that numbers fell to the ground as [dead] in different parts of the camp [surroun]ded by numbers on their knees praying over them, all speaking [togeth]er. The 'slain of the Lord,' as they called them, began to recover, crying out as if they were in the agony of death, calling on Jesus Christ to send down his sanctifying power, so that there was such a confused scene as I never before witnessed. While they was 'under conviction,' as they called it, their bodies were agitated by the same passions, and they all seemed to express in the same natural gesticulations all the time in a state of ecstasy, having lost the whole art of reason, crying, lifting up their heads and hands, calling out for mercy. After they began to recover they would sing songs of praise to Jesus for his sanctifying grace. These scenes happened every day, and in several groups at the same time round the camp. Sometimes eight or ten will drop down flat on their faces as dead all at a time, while others would be crying and praying as you would think them insane. This happened more generally upon young women. These scenes of ecstasy—Enthusiasm as I call it—so inspired the people that there was such shouts of joy among them as I never before saw, all being fully persuaded it was the operations of the Spirit of God."

[To William Kensett of East Grinstead; 1807.]

"I am nearly of the same opinion [in 1815] respecting political matter as I was when in England; but in respect to my religious opinions I have seen much reason to alter my mind. I am of the same opinion respecting the Unity of God as I ever was, for I think the doctrine of the Trinity one of the greatest corruptions in the Christian Church. The doctrine of the pre-existence of Jesus Christ I have entirely given up; for I think he, Jesus of Nazareth, was the son of Joseph and Mary, a man in every respect like other men, but chosen of God as His messenger to declare to men the will of God. He was so highly favoured of God that God gave unto him the Spirit without measure, and Jesus Christ was always obedient to the will of his heavenly Father, and that for his great merit and moral

worth God was pleased to crown him with glory and honour, and give him a name above every name, etc., etc. I formerly believed in the doctrine of endless misery, but I find that has no foundation in scripture nor reason or justice; so I have given that up. The doctrine of original sin, of atonement, of personal election, and reprobation, are to me doctrines absurd in the extreme I am very glad to hear that the doctrine of the Unity of God prevails so much. I wish it could be planted here, for we hear nothing but rank Calvinism, except the Methodist. I very seldom go to meeting now I am so deaf; and when I could hear, I did not believe one half what I heard; so I enjoy myself much better in reading, and I have the use of a very large library belonging to a gentleman who came from London long since I came. He has got the greatest part of Doctor Priestley's works, Doctor Lindsey, Doctor Disney, and Doctor Hartley's, and many more of the same eminent characters. . . . I often think of you and your mother, and should be glad if it was possible we could all get to live together in love and unity the short time we have to stay in this world; it cannot be expected that I should live long either to rejoice or complain was I so disposed. [To his son John].

[Last letter, received 23 May, 1819, by William Kensett of Slaugham.]

"You tell me that your brother Henry has joined the Wesleyan connection, and that the old Baptist meeting-house is become a Methodist chapel, and Mr. Sanders preached till he had but few to hear; and you seem to think it was owing to 'getting low in principle on the merits of Christ' as you express yourself, and that it seemed to be a growing evil among the [Old General] Baptist preaching in England even before I came away. . . . I am truly sorry that you should feel so concerned about my reading such books as doth not meet your approbation. . . . I am really grieved to think you are so illiteral as to pronounce Doctor Priestly and all others 'of the same cast' as you call them, as false teachers denying the Lord that bought them; this is very harsh indeed, and I hope it was an incidental movement of your pen. . . . Will not a Locke, a Newton, a [David] Hartley, a [Joshua] Toulmin, a [John] Jebb, a [Newcomb] Cappe, a [Theophilus] Lindsey, Hopton Haynes, etc., etc., are these better teachers than Priestly, think ye? When I have done with these, perhaps may take to Watts, Hervey, Doddridge and Dan Taylor, etc., etc. But now I venture to look into the New Testament called an Improved Version [edited by Thomas Belsham, 1808] and so I often do in the older versions; I have eight different versions of the New Testament by me, all have their uses. The greatest pleasure I have in the world is in

consulting my leather coat companion, for I do not go to meeting as I did before, I was so hard to hear, and besides I do not know a Rational Christian preacher within a hundred miles. [They] in general mistake and preach up the corruption of Christianity instead of the plain doctrine of [the] gospel of Christ. You say a great number of meeting-houses are shut up and the people all dwindle away on account of the preacher being what you call 'low in sentiment'; if this was the cause how came Cuckfield shut up? for John Dancy I suppose could have supplied if called, for I suppose him high enough to cause the people to flock together like doves to the window. You say Mr. Sadler preaches at Horsham . . . tell him that I have heard that the celebrated Dan Taylor is become an advocate for the doctrine of Universal Restoration; if this be true, I hope he is become a Unitarian also; I much want to know if be a fact. . . . I am strongly inclined to hear what progress Christianity makes, what changes take place in the Christian churches. I hear Mr. Bennet is gone to Poole, but who takes his place I know not. Mr. and Mrs. Agate's respects to you; are all well. From your old friend and well wisher, John Burgess."

So we lose sight of the poor old man. Still working for his living at anything he can get to do, keeping a horse and cart and jobbing about. Only one room or two to live in, cooking his own victuals, making his own bed as he had done for years, writing hetrogenious epistles with a bad pen that cannot be mended as he had lost his knife, and begging to be excused as he never was taught to whright. But no longer called to preach, and without any thought of preaching the little he still held, unasked.

# Pioneer Anzac Baptists.

THE earliest settlers in Australia and Van Diemen's Land were carefully selected under Government auspices, and a jury was impanelled to decide on the merits of every one. He was then transported at the public expense, and settled, either on Port Jackson or at Hobart Town. Now Baptists have always been doubtful about accepting public aid, and have been in no manner of doubt as to rejecting public control. It is therefore no surprise that no trace of Baptist life can be discovered in the South Seas till a century ago. There was a large emigration of other denominations, both Roman Catholics and Anglicans were largely represented among the original settlers, and chaplains were often provided for them; so it is no wonder that these two communions are numerous, and that they possess valuable properties.

The first Baptist minister who seems to have officiated in Australia was John McKaag, who had been trained at Horton college, Bradford. By April, 1831, he was preaching in Sydney, baptising in the harbour, and forming a church. Next year the church accepted a site granted by the governor, on Bourke street, and a subscription list was opened, the secretary being a journalist and bookseller who had recently quitted the Wesleyan ministry. McKaag, however, found the financial burden heavy; he resigned in 1834 and seems to have died two years later.

The church applied for help to the B.M.S., who selected John Saunders. This man was an attorney before he became a minister, and he added to his experience by coming as chaplain to the women on a convict ship. He landed at the end of 1834, rallied the forces, and in September 1836 opened the building on Bathurst street, the first south of the equator. Round this old-fashioned edifice cluster many memories, and splendid ministries have been exercised there. After eleven years, in which Saunders proved an ardent advocate of total abstinence, he returned to the mother country. He is to be credited also with promptly founding a Baptist Association, whose first president in 1835 was John Stephen. But there was no second church formed during his stay.

John Ham, a minister from Birmingham, who had started for Sydney, but had stopped on the way to rally the forces at Melbourne, arrived in 1847. Three years later he was reinforced by a lad of twenty, William Hopkins Carey, son of Jonathan, son of William, of Serampore. As cottage meetings were being held on another shore of the harbour, at Parramatta, the opportunity was taken to form a second church with a second minister. Both men died soon, but James Voller came on the choice of the B.M.S., and exercised a ministry at Sydney till 1870; while

the Parramatta church, with more vicissitudes, established itself also.

These churches, and others which soon arose, after brief experimenting with open-membership, settled down to the Strict position, which still is general in New South Wales. But they were not Particular enough for some immigrants, and before 1858 a Strict and Particular church was formed, which after some migrations is now settled in Belvoir street.

The second colony, in Van Diemen's Land, had its first Baptist minister arrive in 1834. This was Henry Dowling, of the Strict and Particular type. He had done good work in London, in Worcester for the Countess of Huntingdon's church, had founded a church at Droitwich in 1811, had been first pastor at Colchester, Stanmore street. His son had settled in the island, and wrote urging his father to come to a terribly needy field. On his arrival, he devoted himself largely to an itinerant ministry, especially among the penal gangs who were opening up the country; this was so well appreciated by the authorities that they gave him every facility and some help. But while he thus went to seek sinners and save them, he also built up two Baptist churches. Hobart Town in 1835 acquired a home in Harrington street six years later, and depended largely on J. Ware for the ministry. Dowling became pastor at Launceston, where he continued his work for thirty-five years, mostly in the building in York street.

Another early worker was S. Hewlett, who came from Wollongong on the mainland in 1846. This church was reformed in 1859.

A more liberal type of Baptist work was fostered by the Gibson family, who imported many men of Spurgeon's training, and induced their churches to organize a Baptist Union of Tasmania which holds together the ministers and churches in close alliance.

South Australia was the third province to see organised Baptist life. The pioneers here were of the "Scotch Baptist" type, David Maclaren of Perth being very able.

It is needless to recount the splits and migrations which resulted in the church of 1838 ending in 1849. A second church, of the Strict and Particular order, was founded in 1842; its story is equally disappointing, and ended in 1870. The oldest surviving church was founded at Gumeracha in 1843, while the church now in Tynte street, North Adelaide, looks back to 1848. Others arose, but the whole situation was transformed by the arrival of a militant young minister from Regent's Park, Silas Mead, in 1861. With him the pioneer stage ended, and that of organization began.

Victoria was settled from Van Diemen's Land (now Tasmania), and New South Wales, and Baptists emerged at once, in 1838. In this case there was no waiting for ministers; a site was borrowed, where lately was the *Argus* office, a store-keeper lent a large tent, and with other help started services and soon had the joy of baptizing in the harbour. Then came a "Scotch Baptist" minister, John Joseph Mouritz, a Dundalk man, who had served in the Indian army. Another man lent his furniture warehouse; then Mouritz opened a dairy farm to the north, built a baptistery on it, and before long organized a church on his own lines. It is quite possible, but hardly profitable, to trace its subsequent history.

Most Baptists, however, rallied around John Ham from Birmingham, in 1843, who organized a church, which accepted a valuable central site from the governor. The stone of a building was laid in 1845 by Saunders from Sydney, and this building, as somewhat enlarged, is still so dear to the laymen that every proposal to rebuild and provide larger premises has been rejected. Only in 1928 has the ground behind been remarkably utilized, providing good denominational accommodation.

Ham passed on to Sydney, leaving sons who were pillars of the church. A third church was organized in 1850, soon splendidly housed in Albert Street. Then with the coming of Isaac New and James Taylor from the motherland, a fine era opened. A Colonial Missionary Society was formed, men were imported on a large scale, and churches were planted with forethought. An Australasian Baptist Magazine began in 1858, and soon Associations and Unions and Missionary Societies were forming in every part.

In Queensland, Baptists did not feel strong enough for separate action at first, but linked with others in 1849, not standing on their own feet till the arrival of B. G. Wilson from the B.M.S. in 1858. Two letters lent by Mr. Coles of Worcester will give a picture of those early days:—

Ipswich, Queensland. *March* 31*st*, 1862.

My Dearest Halstaff and Eliza,

I suppose you are beginning to think that I never was going to write any more to you, as I have remained silent so long; but the only thing I can ask you is to pardon me for being so neglectful. The December and January English mails have arrived in Ipswich, but I did not receive any letters or newspapers by them. I do not know if you have received any from home; perhaps if you have any news from Exeter you will tell me in your next letter, and if you have any late Exeter newspapers that you do not want, I should like to see them,

and be much obliged to you for them. I am quite ashamed of myself when I look at your last kind and welcome letter, to think it should have remained so long unanswered. I received your letter January 7th date, November 5th, and December 18th, 1861. I am glad to hear that you were all in good health, and trust you are all the same at present. I must express my most sincere thanks for the portrait of your dear children, Rose and Halstaff; dear Rose appears from the portrait to be a very fine girl, and little Halstaff a very pretty curly-headed boy.

It was a great disappointment to me that you were not able to give me any news about my brother George; I should very much like to find him out and write to him. The last letters I received from England were, one from father dated September 30th, 1861, and one from mother dated October 4th, 1861. Father tells me in his letter that he attends the Cathedral services with mother and Charles; he says, "The whole of the interior of the Cathedral has been covered with matting and filled with chairs; a pulpit, a reading-desk, and seats for the choir have also been erected; the place is generally filled as far as possible, and large as this great and ancient edifice is, it cannot hold all that are anxious to obtain admission to it. . . . Samuel is a regular attendant at the chapel of the congregation of the Independents at Castle street."

I have nearly forgotten to say anything about myself. Well, it is with feelings of gratitude to the Most High, that my visit to the Bush has very much improved my state of health. I have returned to Ipswich, and am working in the shop again at Mr. Munro Smith. I was rejoiced, my dear brother, to hear by your last letter that the cause of the Lord Jesus appears to flourish with you at Brighton. I think it will not be uninteresting to you to say a few words about our services at Ipswich. On Sunday, January 26th, the Rev. B. G. Wilson, of Brisbane, preached at our place of worship. In the evening five candidates on a profession of their faith in Jesus were baptized in the name of the Holy Trinity and added to the church. On the following Sabbath they sat with us at the Lord's table. One of the new members is my employer, Mr. Munro Smith; he was before a Presbyterian.

I hope you will not keep me so long waiting for a letter as I have kept you. Kind love to all the family. Believe me to remain, your affectionate brother, Richard Harrison Bannan.

Ipswich, Queensland. *September 7th,* 1863.

My Dear Halstaff and Eliza,

I have just thought that it would not be uninteresting to you, to send a few lines about our little church in this town,

to let you know what we are doing. The first thing I must tell you, we have got another pastor; and since he has arrived he has baptized three persons and there are three more candidates for baptism. On Lord's day, August 30th, Mr. B. G. Wilson preached morning and evening in the chapel at Ipswich; and on the following Tuesday a tea-meeting was held in the hall of the School of Arts in honour of the anniversary of the church in this place and the recognition of Mr. Robert Moreton as pastor; over 300 sat down to tea. After tea a public meeting was held, opened by Mr. Wilson with prayer, Mr. Moreton in the chair. The secretary of the church read the following report:—

"The present Baptist cause held its opening services on the 26th and 28th of August 1860, and not having had any anniversary meeting since then, it will be understood that the report which we are about to give extends over a period of three years. It will be remembered by many present that at that time we lost our respected and devoted pastor, the Rev. Thomas Deacon, by death. In the following month, Mr. Roberts became pastor of the church, which numbered then only nine members, including the minister. Since then we have had an addition to the church of thirty-one members from various sources, nineteen by baptism and twelve from other churches, making a total on the church book of forty members since our commencement. We have, however, had some diminution of members; six have been dismissed to other churches, two have died, eight have removed to places too far off to commune with us, and two have been excluded, making a total of eighteen; which leaves twenty-two in communion with us. We have also three candidates for baptism. During the time that Mr. Roberts was pastor, we were enabled to give him that amount of support which rendered him independent of secular employment. After he left us we were without a pastor for a term of eleven months, which brought us up to the time of the arrival of Mr. Robert Moreton, from Maldon, Victoria, which is now about two months ago; and as we have succeeded in obtaining another minister, we are anxious to do all that lies in our power to support him and his family both comfortably and respectably."

Mr. Moreton gave a statement of his Christian experience and his aim and principles in the work of the ministry. Mr. B. G. Wilson, Baptist of Brisbane, delivered an animated address, stating the position and principle of the body, and cordially welcoming his brother Moreton to the church in Ipswich, for which he had a most particular regard, he having formed it and viewed with interest all its proceedings since. He then gave the right hand of fellowship to Brother Moreton. Mr.

Beaizley (Wesleyan minister of Ipswich), Mr. Kirby (Independent minister of Ipswich), Mr. Sheppard (Baptist of Brisbane), Mr. Femister (Baptist of Ipswich), etc., addressed the meeting; some hymns were sung between the speeches, and the meeting closed by prayer. . . .

A study of these early days, and of the abundant details which have been gathered by G. R. Nichols into the Mitchell Library at Sydney, and were thrown into literary form by William Higlett to celebrate the formation of the Australasian Baptist Union in 1926, offers much food for thought.

There was no Society in England which felt any obligation to follow up settlers with ministers, or to offer any help, or to organize an emigration. The B.M.S. responded when it was asked, but never took any initiative; nor did the Home Missionary Society; nor was any serious responsibility felt. Everything therefore hinged on the efforts of the settlers. No one can feel that pure Independency met the situation at all adequately.

Again, the denomination in England was from 1830 to 1855 gravely affected by the Communion question; the old Particular Baptists were dividing into two groups, one of which was Strict, and broke off fellowship with the others; and there were also fissiparous "Scotch Baptists." Unhappily these divisions were all transplanted to the South, so that in the early days there were unseemly spectacles of wrangling and division.

In every case the situation was saved by trained college men, bringing with them traditions of culture and of joint action.

It is pleasant to turn to New Zealand, and see a different course. An Englishman is too prone to forget that these islands are in practice as far off from Australia as Canada is from Ireland, and that even to-day only one aeroplane has brought them within twenty-four hours' distance. New Zealand again was settled by picked emigrants, but the principles of picking were different, and the colonists were of high type. Decimus Dolomore was the first minister, in 1851; others organized other churches. With 1877 Charles Dallaston from Spurgeon's opened the era of organization; Thomas Spurgeon at Auckland and Alfred North of Rawdon at Dunedin saw the Union formed in 1882.

The son of the latter now is head of the denominational college in Auckland. Indeed, the importance of training men for the ministry is felt both sides of the Tasman Sea; with men offering willingly, and fitting themselves for their life-work, it needs only consecrated leadership such as Mead and Chapman gave, to see the work prosper abundantly.

# Giles, Father and Sons.

WHEN the old Lancashire and Yorkshire Association, founded in 1695, met for the last time before dividing in 1837 at Hebden Bridge, three ministers were members, a father and two sons. William Giles, the father, was pastor at Preston, William Giles, the son, was at Eccles, John Eustace Giles was at Leeds. One had been trained by experience only, one was essentially a schoolmaster, one was a Bristol man. To sketch their careers may illustrate the diversity of ministerial life a century ago, and it may dispel a confusion between father and son, into which nearly every writer has been betrayed, so that *Baptists of North-west England* and a portrait in Preston vestry need correction. A careful monograph by Mr. Arthur Humphreys in 1926 has done much to elucidate matters from the domestic side.

The family hailed from Devon. George of Totnes had a son, John, who settled at Tavistock. There our William senior was born in 1771. Twenty years later, Zachary Macaulay was appointed Governor of Freetown, for the Sierra Leone company. The strongest element here was a body of 1,100 negroes, who in the war of American Independence had sided with the British, and had since been domiciled in Nova Scotia; among them was a Baptist church, whose pastor was David George. Great interest was felt in England, and the infant B.M.S. sent out two white missionaries, whose work, however, soon ended. Coke, the great Methodist pioneer, organised another party, and in this William Giles enlisted, to help on the medical side. This party also met with severe disappointment and broke up; but Giles had come into contact with Baptists, both black and white, and he adopted their principles. When he returned, he was baptized at Plymouth Dock by Isaiah Birt. At the other church, Winterbotham had been imprisoned for political preaching, and work was under the care of Philip Gibbs; he obtained the help of Giles.

In naval circles there was a Eustace Pike, whose daughter Elizabeth married Giles. He was ordained at Portsea, and settled as pastor at Dartmouth, the small church where Newcomen (of the steam-engine) had been pastor half a century earlier. Here were born three sons, William in 1798, John Eustace in 1805, and Samuel about 1809. In this year he moved to Lymington, where he exercised his ministry for eight years. His boys were sent to school with James Hinton at Oxford.

In 1817 he undertook a third pastorate, moving to Chatham, and the Kent period offers plenty of opportunity for confusion. For in the first place there was at Eythorne a pastor, John Giles, from 1792 to 1827, so that within the same Association there were two pastors of the same surname, apparently unrelated. Then William Giles went to the Particular Baptist church which had existed in Chatham since 1741, which in 1776 had called John Knott, a baker from Eythorne, who had resigned in 1816—into the confusion between the Knotts we need not enter. This church had a building on Clover Lane, for which appeal was made to London for aid in 1774; while Knott had enlarged the chapel in 1793 and 1815. Even so, it was not large enough, and a building committee was soon formed for a completely new chapel; and to this committee William Giles junior was secretary. Zion was opened in 1821, on the old site.

It may be added that the oldest cause was General Baptist, known from 1660 when it owned a house, and that in 1823 it was worshipping on Heavyside lane in premises leased till 1899, with Edwin Chapman as its Elder; it had a burial-ground on Hammond Hill. From it an Evangelical church had separated in 1800 rather than move, and had joined the New Connexion, but was just fading away in 1821. These two are mentioned lest they should be confounded with the Giles churches. And to avoid confusion in another way, it may be noted that the Great Meeting founded about 1662 by Thomas Carter, was also housed on Clover Lane, at Ebenezer.

The Particular Baptist church was troubled with Antinomians, as were many others about that time, and Giles opposed them. One result was that a second Particular Baptist church was founded, at the Brook, and this joined the Kent and Sussex Association. The original church settled down under W. G. Lewis, while Giles took charge of this new church, on strict communion lines, but not hyper-Calvinist. He was a good evangelist, and preached for the Irish Society. This took him once to Preston in Lancashire, which had had no pastor for three years and was tempted to close its doors. He was invited, and reopened Leeming Street on 17 February, 1833, being followed at Chatham Brook by Reuben May. In nine years he left a deep mark on Lancashire, prominent among those Strict and Particular Baptists who held by the Association and supported missions. Then there was a split in the Home Mission church at Ashton-under-Lyne, so Giles resigned Preston and went there in 1843, having the joy of re-uniting the church, being aided by the Preston church. He resigned in December 1845, and died next month.

William Giles junior was sent by his father to school at

Oxford, where James Hinton, the Baptist minister, supported himself by teaching on St. Aldate's. Young Giles rose to be usher there. When his father moved to Chatham in 1817, the son joined him, and opened a school on his own account. One of his earliest pupils was Charles Dickens, 1817-1821. Mr. Humphreys asserts that the son was called to the ministry in 1817, and though he offers no evidence, it is perfectly possible that the church called him to "the ministry," as distinct from the pastorate, that is, that he was formally recognised as a lay-preacher. Yet, as the father was that year admitted to the Bristol Fund, there does seem room to doubt, until the church record confirms the statement. The son was essentially a school-master, and his establishment was advertised as "Classical, Mathematical and Commercial." After twelve years he moved to Lancashire; his biographer does not tell whether this was connected with his marrying Harriet Waring. On 26 January, 1831, he opened a boarding-school at Barton Hall, Patricroft. Next year the Itinerant Society linked with the Lancashire and Yorkshire Association opened work at Barton lane, Eccles, and Giles junior became pastor. This was before his father came to the county. About 1837 or 1838 he moved his school to 38, Ardwick Green, Manchester. But in 1842 there was a thorough change. He moved his school into Cheshire, at Seacombe House, resigned the pastorate of Eccles, and accepted the pastorate of the original Baptist church of Liverpool, then worshipping at Byrom street; from this church C. M. Birrell had in 1838 taken away many members and had built Pembroke; those who remained were Strict and Particular, and had dropped out of the Association in 1841. As for Eccles, it soon quitted the Association, and it is represented to-day by the Strict and Particular church at Byron street, Patricroft. Be it remembered also that Giles, the father, in the same year 1842 left Preston to reside in Manchester, just as his son left that town. In 1843 Dickens had won an international reputation, and Samuel Giles, brother of William junior, entertained the former master and the former pupil at Ardwick; from that time onwards the school advertised the connection and gave Dickens as a referee. As the railway was being tunnelled beneath Byrom street, the premises were sold in 1846, and the Liverpool church was housed next year on Shaw street, where it still worships, having had in 1875 J. K. Popham as its pastor. Giles seems to have ended his connection with it about 1846, for a school advertisement of 1848 refers to him as W. Giles, Esquire, of Seacombe House. And perhaps this maritime residence, coupled with his frequent removals, prompted him; certainly he did become F.R.G.S., a distinction not worn by many Baptist ministers, but with a clear

advertising value for a schoolmaster. At the end of July, 1848, he made his last change, to Netherleigh House, Chester. In this city there was a seventeenth-century Baptist church, worshipping since 1800 on Hamilton Place; of this church he became pastor. But the school was the main thing. His fiftieth year was celebrated by a committee of which Dickens was a member; meetings were held in the Mayor's parlour at Manchester, and a silver tea-and-coffee service was presented on 16 May 1849, with a letter read from the famous novelist. The school passed on the death of William junior in 1856 to his son William Theophilus, M.A., who carried it on till 1882; he became a clergyman, died in 1895, and was buried at Upton. The family is still represented in Chester.

John Eustace Giles, son of William senior, had a rather different career. He was schooled, first by his brother William at Chatham, then by James Hinton at Oxford. His father baptised him at Chatham in 1824, and he went to Bristol College to prepare for the ministry. After supplying at Haverfordwest, he began work in 1830 with a new church up Oxford Court in the city of London, curiously mis-named Salters' Hall. After six years he went to the great church on South Parade in Leeds, succeeding James Acworth, who went to the northern College. The South Parade chapel soon had to be enlarged, and three new chapels or schools were presently opened in other parts of Leeds. In the town he took a most prominent part; ecclesiastically he stood for religious equality and no church rates; religiously he was evangelical and missionary; politically he upheld free trade, and opposed socialism and slavery. Twice he was sent to plead for persecuted Baptists, to Hamburg and to Copenhagen, succeeding on each occasion with the state authorities. His great abilities were recognised by an invitation to become secretary of the B.M.S., which he declined, and by election to be chairman of the Baptist Union in 1846. That year also saw him pastor at Broadmead, whence he promptly returned to Yorkshire, taking charge of the Portmahon church at Sheffield, where he wielded great influence for fourteen years. After a brief experience at Rathmines, he went to London, and at Clapham Common spent his last thirteen years, passing away in 1875.