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# Four Centuries of Pacifism.

THE Mennonites are a body of evangelical Germans and Dutch, numbering nearly 400,000, who five years ago celebrated the 400th anniversary of one of their great leaders on the Rhine. To-day they are found in Canada, the United States, Mexico, Paraguay; Russia, Germany, Holland, France and Switzerland.

Until 1888 there was very little information about them available in English, but one or two of their American groups then began to explain themselves. A fine study of their origins was published in 1897 by professor A. H. Newman, the Baptist historian of America. With 1915 one of their leaders in Holland contributed a capital account to Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*. Three years ago they began a *Quarterly Review* at Goshen, Indiana; and their Historical Society is now issuing most valuable work in both German and English. Our own Society is exchanging publications; and from the Mennonite sources we offer this introductory sketch.

First, we recognize the governing principle of the whole body, which has been emphatic ever since Menno organized in 1537. It is conformity to the New Testament ideal of life, positively in simplicity and love, negatively in non-resistance to force. A Mennonite can be recognized by plainness of attire and customs, by industry, by mutual help to an unusual degree; and in these days as ever by an uncompromising Pacifism. As the Quaker has been the typical Conscientious Objector in English-speaking lands, so the Mennonite has upheld the same ideal on three continents. A firm grasp of this principle is the clue to the extraordinary migrations of this persecuted people.

One of their earliest leaders was Balthasar Hubmaier, who in 1523 persuaded Zwingli for a short time "that children should not be baptized before they are instructed in the faith." It was a cardinal principle of all these men that "as the congregation of the Lord consists only of believing and regenerate children of the Lord, only those who are sufficiently advanced in years and experience, and, therefore, able to believe, can be admitted into the congregation." To that simple rule they have always adhered everywhere.

From Switzerland, where they were bitterly persecuted,

three streams flowed; one to Alsace and France, one to lower Germany and Holland, one to Tirol and Moravia. The westward branch was the least important; Alsace and Montbeliard were the chief districts; yet it has a special interest for Baptists. Many of the Mennonites in France have dropped the use of German, and speak French. This has cut them off from their co-religionists, and as they are too poor to educate their own ministers, young men are being sent, with much misgiving, to a Baptist Bible School in Paris. "There is the danger that they will slip away from us into the Baptist ranks, if they are really gifted."

The eastern branch is the least known till of late. It owed much to a mining engineer, Pilgram Marbeck, who after working at Strassburg, settled at Augsburg where he died about 1546. With him is to be coupled Jacob Hutter, who laboured throughout Tirol, and promoted an emigration to Moravia, which became a great refuge. In the course of the Thirty Years' War, the Hutterians were persecuted away to Hungary, where they had peace nearly 150 years. In another persecution, many gave way, but the faithful were reinforced by a strong contingent of new converts from western Austria, and all crossed the mountains to Rumania in 1767. Thence they were invited to south Russia, where they found peace for a century.

The main body has an even more migratory career. As early as 1530 the people were found all the way down the Rhine. To Strassburg there came a man, Melchior Hofmann, who for a short time exercised a most disastrous influence. Hofmann held two remarkable doctrines; that Jesus Christ did not take flesh from Mary; that Jesus Christ was due to return in 1533 A.D., and set up a visible kingdom. The former doctrine sank deeply into many hearts, and by a remarkable inversion, gave much ground for saying that Hofmannites tended to Unitarianism. The Second Adventism induced a few thousands to fix upon, first Strassburg, then Münster, as the place where the King would reign; and they flocked to the latter city, where by constitutional election the Hofmannites had obtained a majority on the town council. They were besieged, and massacred out of existence. But the fact that when attacked they defended themselves scandalized all Europe—Lutherans and Calvinists had not yet taken up arms—and for more than a century afterwards the cry of Münster! or Anabaptist! caused paroxysms of hatred.

After that crisis, emerged Menno Simons, a Frisian priest, whose brother had been in a party hunted down and slain near to him. In 1537 he accepted an invitation to lead the people, who had in a great congress utterly renounced the use of force. From that day they have been unreserved Pacifists; and before

his death in 1559, his influence was so great that the whole body has ever since been named Mennonites.

It may well be imagined how uneasy was their lot, when they refused under any circumstances to fight; and how in place after place they were plundered and massacred. No other church has such a record of martyrdoms. They have some 700 hymns, mostly describing their sorrows and deaths: a collection of these was published in 1564, of which a unique copy has just come to light.

Twice they came into contact with Englishmen. At Amsterdam one of their number hired out his great Bakehouse to John Smyth and a party of refugees from the Trent valley. The English and they compared carefully their opinions, as it was suggested they might unite. Half the English refused, partly on the ground that they could not accept Pacifism; these returned to England in 1612, the first Baptist church in the world. The other half stayed, and became gradually Dutchmen; in the next generation they were accepted as a sister church, and in the third generation they amalgamated entirely; thus on the walls of the great Mennonite meeting-house in Amsterdam may be seen the names of ministers and deacons from Lincolnshire.

In 1654 some English Quakers crossed, and visited many communities up the Rhine. When William Penn secured a refuge overseas, he invited all persecuted sects to come to America. A Mennonite emigration began in 1690, which continued until the outbreak of the revolutionary war in 1774 made Germantown and Pennsylvania generally a most undesirable home for conscientious objectors.

When the revolutionary French began to overrun Holland and Germany, the home-lands were equally uncomfortable. But the Tsarina Catharine had conquered south Russia from the Turks, and was anxious to populate the new territory. She offered to colonists a large measure of home-rule, including the use of their own language, their own schools, their own religion; and what the Mennonites prized most of all, freedom from military service. And so from 1790 there flowed into the Ukraine and south Russia, both Mennonites from the Rhine and Hutterites from Rumania; cousins long parted came at length together. The tide flowed for about fifty years, till Russia had the largest section—all speaking German.

But when America in 1812 settled down to peace, and the Holy Alliance in Europe began renewed persecution, a third current of emigration started from the Rhine, this time to Indiana, Ohio, Illinois and Iowa. This continued till 1861, when the Civil War, which soon led to conscription, stopped the current from Europe.

About 1873, when the fear of Prussian militarism was great, the Tsar decided to try to Russianize the German Mennonites in his dominions. They feared that this would involve their liability to conscription, so they sent to explore conditions in Canada and the Dakotas. As a result, a fourth migration began, from Russia this time; and it was only checked when they were reassured in 1880 as to the maintenance of their privileges where they had dwelt for ninety years.

The World War, with its special effects in Russia, caused this removal from Russia to begin again on a large scale. Britons going through the Kiel canal in 1923 to the Stockholm Congress met a vessel laden with Mennonites on their way to Canada. And the newspapers recently have been telling how 20,000 at one time were first given leave to go—leaving all property behind —and then were being forcibly detained. Ten years ago, Russia had a hundred thousand; now they are all trying to leave, experimenting even in Mexico and Paraguay, against a background of Latin-Americans, with a predominantly Catholic religion.

Here is an experience that seems quite typical of this gentle people:—"Great-grandfather migrated with his family from Prussia to South Russia via the wheelbarrow method; great-grandfather lies buried in Russia. Grandfather with married sons and daughters came to Canada in 1873; grandfather lies buried in Manitoba. Now father, an old man, has brought his family to Mexico, where we are starting over again. 'Where next?' you ask. Mexico only as long as we can here live out the principles we deem vital and essential."

Menno issued about 1539 a Fondamentboek, also a treatise on baptism. We can thoroughly agree with his view on the meaning of baptism:—"For however diligently we may search day and night, we find but one baptism in the water which is acceptable to God, and expressed and contained in his word, namely the baptism on the confession of faith, commanded by Jesus Christ, taught and administered by the apostles." The Dutch original was not understood by Morgan Edwards, the Welsh-American Baptist minister, who unfortunately rendered the word "doopsel" as "dipping" instead of "baptism." Baptists in America naturally accepted his version, and have been mistaken from 1770 onwards as to the act, though they might surely have looked for themselves and have seen what their Mennonite neighbours actually did. Unfortunately it is easier to copy a book than to go and see for yourself. Thus the Mennonites have always practised Believers' Baptism, though until within living memory the act was always pouring water on the head. The custom has a little interest for Baptists, since

after careful enquiry the Mennonites in Amsterdam agreed that in this matter there was no difference between them and John Smyth.

And Menno when discussing the commands to love one's enemies, to crucify the flesh and its lusts, had written:—"I certainly think that these and similar commands are more painful and burdensome to perverted flesh, which is everywhere so prone to walk in its own way, than it is to receive a handful of water."

As the Mennonites in America are dropping their ancestral German and Dutch, so they may presently give up their quaint old dress. They will then perhaps bear even more effective witness to what is their fundamental principle—the literal obedience to Jesus Christ in all things, including what in another dialect is called the Outlawry of War.

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CHARTERHOUSE. The buildings once used by the Carthusian monks were utilized in 1613 by Sutton for a Hospital, wherein aged gentlemen and poor children were sheltered. The Rev. A. G. Matthews, of the Congregational Historical Society, has identified three boys educated there, who are of interest to Baptists. Roger Williams was admitted in 1621, sent to Cambridge with an exhibition 1624; but he forsook the university and discontinued his studies, so was suspended in 1629. John Gosnold was admitted 1635, sent to Cambridge at Pembroke College 1646: he afterwards founded the church in Paul's Alley, Barbican, and a careless description of him led to the hasty inference that he had been an officer of the Charterhouse. Hanserd Knollys induced Bulstrode Whitelock to give his son John a presentation; but in 1653 it was found he was blind, so three shillings weekly was allowed till he was cured.

MARY DELAUNE on 9 May 1634 gave a receipt for cash due from her late uncle, Peter Chamberlen, of Blackfriars, surgeon; the receipt may be seen at the Guildhall Library, MS. 1849. Her uncle was the father of the Peter Chamberlen whose career was sketched by Dr. Thirtle in our pages twenty years ago, the Seventh-Day Baptist. How Mary was related to Thomas Delaune the schoolmaster, author, and martyr, is not clear. But evidently these Baptists of Huguenot descent were in touch.

# Baptist Trust Deeds.

DULL uniformity cannot be alleged against Baptist Trust Deeds. Their doctrinal and other clauses are of infinite variety and diversity. Some contain confessions so elaborate that they amount to a body of divinity; others are free from credal expression. Many contain provisions relating to the ministry, the deacons, the membership, all set out and provisoed with the prolixity beloved of the legal mind; others, with disarming simplicity, which, however, is more apparent than real, merely state that the property is to be held for a Baptist church. A few contain declarations of an inconvenient or impossible nature which reflect the idiosyncrasies of those originally responsible for the trust, as, for example, the deed of a South London church which provides that "no meetings shall be held on Derby Day." Why not? Possibly the minister and deacons desired not to be hindered from setting out in a four-in-hand for the great national festival on the Downs! Or, the true explanation may be the more prosaic one that, as the church is situated on one of the main roads leading out of London, and on Derby Day the road would be crowded and dangerous, the church trustees thought it well for the congregation, and particularly the children, to remain in the quietness and security of their own homes. Again, another London church must not hold "secular entertainments." But who is to say when musical notes become secular? Presumably the *Londonderry Air* as a Sunday organ voluntary is sacred, but, as a week-day violin solo, is secular. All such questions of domestic concern and individual taste are out of place in trust deeds.

Among the trust deeds which have recently come before the writer, one in particular arrested his attention. It is unique not only in its contents but also in its omissions. A few years ago the church to which it relates received considerable denominational assistance, the Association with which it is in membership making it a grant approaching one thousand pounds. In addition, the Association's president in the year of the grant collected for it a further substantial sum. Yet the trust deed of the church contains not one syllable to preserve the property for Baptist purposes. The property is held by its trustees subject only to the following simple trust:

> "The said persons agree to the following covenant adopted by a Baptist Church at Milton in the year 1837 that is to say:—

We have pledged ourselves to Christ. Let this mind be in us and in this Christian Society which was also in Him in all humility meekness and love since love is the fulfilling of the law let this love be our law our guide the pervading principle of our actions in adjusting every cause or circumstance which may take place amongst us. Let there ever be love to God the great and gracious author of our salvation love to the eternal Son who gave himself to redeem us from everlasting woe love to the Holy Spirit the enlightener the sanctifier who takes of the things of Christ and communicates them to us Love to each other our Brothers and Sisters in the Lord Love wheresoever we may perceive the mind spirit or image of Christ whatever may be their distinctive badge name or section in the Church on earth Lastly Love and compassion towards all that are without Christ and without hope remembering that we were once dead in trespasses and sins That God made use of means to bring us to the knowledge of the truth and now we are through grace become his agents for the good of those around us.

Thus may we of this Church fulfil the royal law of Love Amen and Amen."

This covenant is impressive. It evinces a fine spirit, far removed from the exclusiveness of much contemporary doctrine. The date, 1837, nearly a century ago, suggests a period not specially marked for warmth in church life; yet this church at Milton had so learned Christ that it could say "Love wheresoever we may perceive the mind spirit or image of Christ whatever may be their distinctive badge, name or section in the Church on earth." In this clause the covenant is reminiscent of the sixty-ninth article of the Amsterdam Confession of two centuries earlier. No church would be harmed if, at its annual business meeting, the members solemnly repeated the whole of the covenant and resolved to live in accordance with its spirit. From a denominational standpoint, however, a trust deed based only on this covenant is seriously defective. It might be argued that no minister or church-member who accepted the highest implications of the covenant would seek to divert buildings from the denomination for which they were erected. But, legally, the trust deed would be of little, if any, service in preventing such alienation.

Pertinent questions are suggested. More than in former days, church extension now devolves upon the County Associations. They secure sites, assist building finance and foster infant causes. The Baptist Union, by the aid of its

Sustentation and Superannuation Funds, makes possible settled ministries. Such circumstances are far different from those in which Baptists of earlier generations embarked on church extension, and, in consequence, changes may be necessary in trust conditions.

It is far from the writer's intention to suggest that, fifty or one hundred years hence, the dead hand of the present shall hinder the free expression of truth as it shall then be revealed. The Evangelical witness for which Baptists stand is finally secured, not by doctrinal clauses in deeds, but by the permanent presence of the Lord Jesus Christ in the church. The questions he has in mind are of a different order. At present, under the guidance of a minister or deacons who develop strange notions or unusual ideas, it is possible for a church to withdraw from the Association whose activities resulted in its formation, to refuse all responsibility for denominational organisations at home and abroad, and, by its general attitude to all other churches, seriously to weaken its own witness and influence for a generation or more. Whether it is honourable thus to use and enjoy property for which others made sacrifices is an inconvenient question easily evaded by elastic consciences. Of course, such instances are rare and their rarity indicates that usually they arise from a mistaken conception of principle which may, after all, be no more than peculiarity of temperament. But diseases, though rare, injure the body, and it may be well to enquire whether a trust deed, in addition to establishing a Baptist church, should aim at securing perpetual membership of the Association and the Union, and, as far as possible, active support of those bodies. In other words, is it possible, without unduly infringing the independency of the local Baptist church, to secure the connexional and synodical loyalty that is characteristic of the local Methodist and Presbyterian Church? In discussing this issue, it will be helpful to examine the practice of our churches in the past and the conditions which prevail in other denominations.

Baptist trust deeds of the century or more prior to 1800 present a field of research worthy of further exploration. Within the limits of this article it is not possible to do more than indicate the richness of the soil. Deeds of chapels of the three denominations (Baptist, Congregational, Presbyterian) erected during the closing years of the seventeenth century and the early years of the eighteenth were generally free from doctrinal schedules. In words more or less to the following effect, such deeds simply provided that the premises should be

"quietly used and enjoyed for the worship of Almighty

God by Protestants dissenting from the Church of England."

The deeds not infrequently also made provision for the future administration of the trust property in the event of the cessation of religious toleration, and an interesting sidelight on the conditions under which our forefathers gathered for worship is revealed by the declaration contained in some deeds

> " that the stable may at all times of religious worship as aforesaid be used for the reception of the horses of such persons as shall resort to the premises for the purpose of worship."

It is fairly well known that out of this doctrinal freedom arose what is known as the *open trust theory*. Unitarians, in particular, have urged that the founders refrained from the imposition of tests and creeds because they wished the congregation to be free to adopt any doctrinal position which commended itself to its judgement. But more recently the unsoundness of this argument has been admitted. It is now recognised that the deeds were framed with a view to the specific religious situation which arose out of the passing of the Toleration Act. A number of General Baptist churches of the eighteenth century, which, in the course of years, drifted to Unitarianism, were held by virtue of these open trust deeds. Trowbridge and Ditchling are examples dating from 1704 and 1740 respectively, and Nottage and Northiam from 1789 and 1796.

Some trust deeds varied the strictly open trust to the extent that a sentence identifying the Protestant Dissenters by a denominational name, such as " and known as Baptists," was added after " dissenting from the Church of England." The trust deed of the old General Baptist church at Horsham (now known as the Free Christian Church) is an illustration of such an early departure. Its deed, dated 21 February, 1721, recites that

> " the messuage is now made use of ffor a meeting Place of Religious Worship ffor a Congregation of Protestants called Anabaptists dissenting from the Church of England according to the Provision and Direccon of " [The Toleration Act, 1689] and the Trustees declare that the premises were demised upon the Trusts " that the same might be a Publick and Open Meeting Place ffor Religious Worship ffor the Congregation residing in or near the Parishes of Horsham Billingshurst Slinfold Shiply and Sullington and which now doe and hereafter shall hold and maintain the Faith of General Redemption and the Faith and Practice of

> Believers Baptism and for such only subject nevertheless to such Orders Rules and Directions as by the [Trustees] . . . with the consent of the said Congregation shall from time to time be made . . . And to and ffor no other . . . Purposes except by the General Consent of the said Congregation."[1]

Trust deeds of these early years relating to Particular Baptist churches likewise were free from long doctrinal clauses. The deed of St. Mary's, Norwich, dated 24 November, 1746, declares that the premises

> "were purchased for, and intended as, a place of Public Worship for the Congregation of Particular Baptists, within the said city of Norwich, for the time being, and that they (the trustees) and their heirs were, and at all times thereafter should stand, seised of the said messuage and premises in Trust to, and for the use and benefit of, the Congregation of Particular Baptists within the said City of Norwich, for the time being; and that the same premises should be always held and enjoyed for and as their place of Public Worship."

and the deed of Carter Lane drawn up in 1773 declares that it was held for

> "the Congregation or Society of Protestants dissenting from the Church of England who scruple the Baptising of Infants commonly called Baptists who statedly assemble on the Lords Day for the exercise of Divine Worship at their meetinghouse in Carter Lane according to the true intent and meaning of the Toleration Act."

In the latter half of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth, trust deeds gave much anxiety to leading Baptists. Open trust deeds did not safeguard properties doctrinally, and churches held under such deeds were unduly susceptible to Arianism. Moreover, there was much general laxity in trust matters. Possibly through ignorance, but equally likely through neglect, deeds were not enrolled in due time or were not executed in the presence of two witnesses. Some vested the appointment of their successors in the existing trustees, and, when vacancies occurred, they were not filled, with the result that properties drifted to the private estate of the surviving trustee. Not infrequently also, deeds gave undue power to the trustees, as, for example, when the appointment of the minister was vested in the trustees instead of in the church, a provision easily productive of conflict. The Baptist Board and the London Baptist Case Committee devoted much time to the

[1] Unitarian *Transactions*, Vol. I.

rectification of defective deeds; and the Dissenting Deputies drew up a model form for the use of Dissenters. This model form witnessed that

> "for promoting the Christian Religion, as professed by Protestant Dissenters of the denomination of ..... at ..... and for enabling the professors of the same religion, of the denomination aforesaid, more conveniently to exercise the forms of their religious worship, and other ordinances of their persuasion at ..... aforesaid."

the premises were held upon trust that

> "the Trustee or Trustees, for the time being, shall, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, permit the said Meeting House and premises to be used, occupied, and enjoyed, as a place of public religious worship for the service of God, by the society of Protestant Dissenters, of the denomination called ..... and, also by such other persons as shall hereafter be united to the said society, and attend the worship of God in the said meeting-house."

Particular Baptists, when drawing up new deeds, while following the form prepared by the Dissenting Deputies, usually added doctrinal clauses which varied according to the particular brand of Calvinism followed by the Church. A form of words much in use declared (the example is taken from a deed of 1829) that the premises were

> "to be used occupied and enjoyed as a Place of public Religious Worship for the Service of God by a Society of Protestant Dissenters called Particular Baptists baptizing Adults by immersion and such only as are of years of understanding upon their own confession of repentance towards God and Faith in our Lord Jesus Christ and also by such other persons who shall be hereafter united to the Church or Society to attend the Worship of God there who shall believe or profess to believe the religious doctrines commonly called Calvinistic (that is to say) three equal persons in the Godhead Eternal and personal Election original Sin particular redemption free justification by the imputed righteousness of Christ efficacious Grace in regeneration the law a perfect rule for the conduct of all Believers the personal perseverance of the Saints the resurrection of the Dead the future Judgment the eternal happiness of the Righteous and the endless misery of the Impenitent and to permit such person or persons as shall be nominated by the Members of the said Church or Society and Communicants therein and believing or professing to believe the Doctrines hereinbefore mentioned at any Meeting for that purpose

duly assembled to receive all such voluntary subscriptions and other sums of money as shall be paid or subscribed by any person or persons whomsoever towards the support of the public Worship of God in the said Meetinghouse and for defraying the expences attending the same or as shall be contributed for the support of the Minister or Pastor for the time being officiating therein AND shall permit to officiate in the said Meetinghouse such person or persons believing and preaching the doctrines aforesaid as the major part of the Members of the said Church or Society of Communicants therein at a meeting duly assembled for that purpose shall from time to time elect to officiate as their Minister or Pastor in the said Chapel or Meetinghouse according to the usage of protestant Dissenters."

It will be observed that in one place the phrase "the said Church or Society *and* Communicants" is used, while later it is "the said Church or Society *of* Communicants." Probably the second is correct, but verbal inspiration is not claimed.

In the deed dated 1791 of a church which has been somewhat more "hyper," the trustees declared that they

"and the survivors of them if not reduced to less than three in number shall and will from time to time and at all times hereafter so long as the Laws and Statutes of this Realm will admit, permit and suffer the said . . . Meeting house or place of Worship . . . to be used occupied and enjoyed by the Congregation or Religious Assembly of Particular Baptists and Professing the Articles of Faith or the principles of Religion hereon indorsed for the Worship and Service of God, and by others as shall attend the Worship of God in that place. And also that when anyone or more of the Trustees shall by Death or otherwise be removed That the surviving Trustees with all convenient speed shall and will with the Consent and good liking of the Members of the said Church and the Pastor or Minister . . . elect chuse and appoint another Trustee or Trustees . . . provided that such new Trustee or Trustees . . . do assent unto and hold with the Articles of Faith . . . And also it is hereby further concluded agreed and declared . . . and it is the true intent and meaning . . . That if any or either of them the said Trustees or any future Trustees . . . shall at any time or times hereafter dissent from and deny any of the said Articles . . . and of such his or their dissention or denial be properly and justly convicted to the satisfaction of the Members of the said Church or the

Major part of them and the Pastor or Minister for the time being he or they shall forfeit the Trust . . . and be from thenceforward utterly excluded from being a Trustee . . . And that if the majority of the Members of the said Church shall depart from and deny any of the aforesaid Articles . . . and choose a Pastor or Minister that does not believe profess and preach the same Doctrine therein contained those Members (although they shall happen to be the Majority of the said Trustees and Members of the said Church) it is hereby intended declared and agreed shall have no power or authority whatsoever of choosing and appointing such pastor or Minister . . . to teach or preach in the said . . Meeting House, but that then and in such case the said . . . Meeting House . . . shall be deemed adjudged and taken to be the immediate property of those Trustees and Members . . . who shall embrace and hold the said Articles of ffaith and shall be vested in them and their successors accordingly although they should be reduced to the number of Three persons only And that those Trustees and . . . Members . . . as shall continue in the profession of the Articles aforesaid shall have the sole and only right and property of electing appointing and settling . . . such Pastor or Minister as they shall think sound in the Faith and holy in his walk and conversation . . ."

The Articles of Faith indorsed on the deed are as follows:

I. THE sacred Doctrine of the Trinity, or that there are three Divine distinct equal persons subsisting in the Glorious Godhead, yet but one living and true GOD.

II. GOD'S everlasting Free and unchangeable Love to his Elect.

III. HIS chusing his people in Christ before the foundation of the World, not for the Sake of any good Qualities or good Works foreseen in them or done by them but of his own rich free and Sovereign Grace.

IV. THAT as the first Man Adam being by the appointment of God the federal Head and Representative of all Mankind, all his Posterity Sinned in him and fell with him, his first Transgression being imputed to all his natural seed, and a corrupt and sinful Nature conveyed to all his Descendants by Ordinary Generation.

V. THE necessity of Regeneration and Sanctification by the Holy Ghost in order to true happiness here and hereafter.

VI. THAT Justification before God is not of Works but of Grace only through the Imputation of the Righteousness

of JESUS CHRIST which Righteousness is revealed in the Gospel and received by Faith of all that are truly taught of God.

VII. THAT every true Believer shall persevere in Grace and Holiness to the End of Life and finally inherit eternal Glory.

It is interesting to observe that this church visualised the possibility that a trustee or trustees, or a majority of the members of the church, might fall from grace and depart from the doctrines enunciated in their Articles of Faith. Yet those doctrines included election, effectual calling and final perseverance! However, it was hoped that three righteous persons might remain, in whom "the meeting-house should be deemed adjudged and taken to be their immediate property."

Such are examples of the credal trust deeds by which our Calvinist forefathers of a century ago sought to preserve their churches from the virus of all that they considered unsound or doubtful. Not many of their descendants would sit an examination into the meaning of the clauses with any degree of comfort or confidence.

*(To be continued.)*

SEYMOUR J. PRICE.

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NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE. The Reference Library has recently inherited several antiquarian documents, including a Register of Births kept by Unitarian Baptists who met at Pandon, 1779-1816. This society originated after John Allen left Tuthill Stairs in 1771 for America. There were several splits and quarrels then, till Richard Fishwick and Joshua Pendered steadied the original church in 1780. Caleb Alder, baptized by David Fernie in 1765, with Henry Leeshman, led a party which at first repudiated all "clergy," then adopted Socinian views, and withdrew. Alder and his son-in-law William Robson took a room on the North Shore. They then built a chapel on Pandon Bank, and obtained as minister Edward Prowitt, a former Bristol student, who afterwards went to Fleet, in Lincolnshire.

# Baptists in a Huguenot Temple, La Patente Church, Spitalfields.

SUNDAY morning in a Puritan family eighty years ago; precise, peaceful and pleasant were its features. The week-day diversions were set aside, and we children had the run of *Peep of Day, Line upon Line, Old Humphrey's Tales, The Child's Companion, Pilgrim's Progress,* and a Bible picture-book my father had made. Those that were old enough were taken to chapel.

The family home in 1850 was Bermondsey, even then densely built into London on its northern side: its ancient Grange where monks had kept their cattle, covered with tanyards; its great Abbey only marked by a few pieces of wall and part of a gateway built into some cottages near our eighteenth-century house; but open meadows and market gardens southward; and ditches beside the Blue Anchor Road that skirted them.

My father's place of worship had been Grove Chapel, Camberwell, where the famous Joseph Irons attracted a large congregation. At that time he and Canon Melville at Camden Episcopal Chapel near by, were two of the greatest preachers of the Metropolis. I remember the Rev. J. Irons in his gown and bands, the mystic dove in the stained glass lunette over the pulpit, his emphatic delivery; Dr. Joseph Parker, forty years after, reminded me of him. He christened three of our family. When my father, like several other Grove members, became a Baptist, these perversions rather disturbed the bishop's peace of mind, and his fulminations led others of his hearers to inquire into the matter, with results opposite to his intentions.

This and other influences led to changes. Our Sunday walk was now mostly northward through Bermondsey Street, Tooley Street, Aldgate, past the open shops of the Jew butchers, by dull streets to Brown's Lane Chapel, Spitalfields. Counter attraction and nearer places, Unicorn Yard (where some of their people had belonged), Maze Pond, New Park Street, The King's Weigh House, and other causes, did not divert my parents' purpose.

Brown's Lane was a dreary thoroughfare in a district thickly populated by Jews and weavers; the latter mostly descendants of Huguenot refugees, after one of whom, Hanbury, the street is now re-named. The chapel, a large classic building with

galleries, was seated for nearly 1,200; pulpit, communion rail, and other accessories for the former worshippers remained; all looking empty and strange with the forty or fifty who assembled there eighty years ago. There was a curious baptistry; a large lead-lined tank standing on the floor. When in use a double set of wooden steps was placed at one end. At other times it had a cover and cloth and served as a reading desk or Communion table. It must have been a recent addition, for in January, 1848, Mr. Tryon borrowed the chapel in Artillery Street to baptize Samuel Griggs, a member of Brown's Lane.

The congregation was mostly from a distance: one family (once of Thomas Bayfield's chapel) came from Chelsea; one ancient lady was caretaker of a City Company's Hall; an artisan and his young family had recently migrated from Birmingham; others were in small businesses; and some were stray sheep from other folds seeking fresh pasture. Two of the families kept in touch with ours for many years, though others became dim memories of the past. The Elders in their front seat seemed to us children saturnine and unapproachable; they magnified their office. I remember one Sunday between services, a solemn little church-meeting was being held; one of them wished to ask a question of a young woman who was in the vestry; she had to put on her bonnet and shawl before appearing.

The beginning of this assembly and its continuance here for some years was one of those episodes that have so often occurred in religious history. Men, impelled by deep convictions, have entered into a conception of spiritual things that seemed to them a call to lead a new propaganda. The leader in my time was Frederick Tryon, born at Bulwick Park, Northants, 1813; of a family of some distinction whose ancestors were Dutch Walloons driven by persecution out of their native land some two centuries before. In due course he entered Trinity College, Cambridge, took a B.A. degree, and was ordained in Durham Cathedral. The influence of a college friend who had left their worldly set, and, soundly converted, become a clergyman at Cromford, led him into a deep spiritual experience; and as a young curate he laboured to set forth the gospel to the village people. The living of Deeping St. James was offered him, and disregarding the warning of friends that there was no society and no hunting there, he accepted it, and became Vicar as soon as he was of canonical age in 1837. The church became crowded on Sundays and spiritual blessing ensued.

Having to read the burial service over some drunkards and evil livers made him uneasy, and after much exercise of mind

and conscience he sent his resignation to the bishop. A Meeting House was built for him and opened in 1839; and there he sustained a marvellous ministry to full and attached congregations for more than sixty-three years.

Although akin to the Calvinistic Baptists, he stood outside, and took a distinctive line of teaching that attracted and impressed many. He depreciated the Antinomian and other tendencies that he felt were at work in some of the strict churches. Living near Deeping some years after, I often heard him and realised his power and ministerial gifts and diligence.

Calls and opportunities for preaching came from near and far, and led to his making monthly visits to London, where he became titular minister of a small congregation that assembled in Brown's Lane Chapel. Although there so seldom, and then mostly on a week night, his personality seemed to be ever present, and his rigid teaching as to daily life, habits, and worldliness was followed by his flock. The Chelsea people were dressed about as plainly as a conventual order; another family had sold their piano; my own dear mother kept a weekly fast. Self-denial was impressed in all, solemnity pervading the congregation.

The services were usually conducted by one of the Elders; a hymn from Denham or Hart given out two lines at a time, and slowly sung; a scripture, a long prayer and a venerable printed sermon read, which nearly filled up two hours. Some brought their dinner and stayed for the afternoon, when there was usually a prayer-meeting. We children found quiet diversions in the sight of others who sat near; I read hymns and the *Experience of the Author*, and noticed various items in the place and people that I have never forgotten, though they led to those wandering thoughts we were warned against.

A baptismal service was a rare event. The candidates, clothed in sombre garb, sat in front, and when the time came ascended and descended the perilous steps. Baptists in those days did not favour any attempt to make the ordinance less of an ordeal. At one chapel, when the pool was slightly warmed with some hot water for a winter baptism, the matter was solemnly discussed and referred to an elderly minister. The good man considered it, and give his opinion that "it was lawful to make the water in the baptistry the same temperature as the river Jordan."

The little cause soon declined. As Mr. Tryon lived so far away, and was so fully occupied, he could not maintain any adequate oversight. He was taken very ill in the autumn of 1851, and wrote in November that he had too great a field to

cover, so that he became hurried and overdone. The members made no attempt to touch the locality: introspection hindered spiritual growth and outlook, and petty jealousies crept in. Deaths, removals and other changes hastened the inevitable end, about 1852. We left London in 1854, and Brown's Lane Chapel seemed a half-forgotten thing of the past.

It was not until many years after, that I learned that the great building had been one of the many churches belonging to the Huguenots in London, and in this case distinguished by the name of "La Patente," a curious name for a church.

Applying to the Huguenot Society of London, I was put into touch with Mr. W. H. Manchèe, one of its members, who has an extensive knowledge of the history of Spitalfields, and who kindly supplied particulars of Brown's Lane Chapel.

While there were two mass emigrations of Huguenots, after the massacre on St. Bartholomew's Day, 24 August, 1572, and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 17 October, 1685, yet their coming to England began even in 1536, and continued till the reign of William of Orange. Some of the early refugees formed a colony just north of the city wall, west of St. Botolph in Bishopsgate, long known as Petit or Petty France. Under a charter of 1550, they worshipped in the old chapel of St. Anthony, Threadneedle Street.

East of Bishopsgate stood from 1197 to 1535 the Hospital of St. Mary's Priory. The Spital Fields are shown by Agas in 1560 as used by archers; Norden shows a lane in 1593 winding along the hedgerows. In 1612 Murton settled here with the first Baptist church. A generation later a regular Artillery Yard was fenced in, with Artillery Lane leading to it off Bishopsgate; and Hanserd Knollys established a boarding-school and a church here when peace was restored. In the square attached to Devonshire House, Kiffin housed another church at Fisher's Folly, while the House itself became a centre for Quakers. The development of all the Spitalfields was authorized in 1660, and seventeen years later Ogilby shows the open Field a mere remnant, hard by the Old Artillery Ground, with the old lane, now named after Browne, well lined by houses on the north. All this district was industrial, weavers abounding. So it is not surprising that with the great influx of 1686, refugee silk weavers from France should have selected this quarter.

For it must be remembered that though a certain number of refugees could and did adopt the Anglican service, they were Calvinists, and most of them rigidly refused any such form. It is the latter with whom we are now concerned. Recalling the

troubles in providing church accommodation during James II.'s reign, Baron de Schickler says :—

"One had to reckon first with the illwill of a Sovereign, who, having himself gone over to Roman Catholicism, was far from feeling for the waifs of the great tribulation the same sympathy shown by his subjects."

He mentions the difficulty with which Pierre Allix, the famous pastor of Charenton, obtained permission in 1686 to hold services in Jewin Street, conditionally only on his conforming to the Anglican rites. In 1687 was opened their first nonconforming chapel in Spitalfields, St. Jean, and this was followed by others in other parts of the town. Diplomatic reasons caused a sudden change with James II.; and on the 13 August, 1688, he ordered Letters Patent to be granted to ten ministers, creating them a corporate body, with power, among others, to worship in their own way. Hence arose at once a chapel in the east, and another in the west. And in 1695 a handsome chapel was built in Parliament Court, off Artillery Lane.

The chapel in Brown's Lane has been used by many different congregations. It was built in 1720 for a Huguenot church, which had previously met in the Market Hall from about 1700. That hall was burned about this time, and the church must have been enterprising to erect a building capable of holding 1,200 people. Yet within three years it found itself unable to support a minister; it therefore adopted the liturgy of the Church of England, to obtain the Royal bounty. Even so it did not flourish, and in 1740 it dissolved, the building being sold—much as has happened to the French Church of England just south of Bloomsbury.

A second Huguenot congregation bought the building, removing from Crispin Street round the corner, where they were at once succeeded by William Bently from Turners' Hall. This second congregation was one of those chartered under the Letters Patent; and "La Patente" coat of arms was affixed to the back wall.

As the century ran on, French was less and less spoken, the newer generations naturally using English. French-speaking congregations grew fewer, and on 13 December, 1786, this second church surrendered property and patent to the senior French church, still meeting in Threadneedle Street. About the same time the Parliament Court Chapel, as rebuilt in 1763, passed to a Baptist from America, Elhanan Winchester.

Next March, the Elders leased Brown's Lane to a German Lutheran congregation, of which the Rev. Christoph F. Truebner

was minister. This lease was for 14¾ years at a rent of £31 10s. In 1800 the Threadneedle Street Elders sold the Brown's Lane chapel to John Gosse: his executors sold it for £280 to Mr. Robinson, who sold it in 1801 for £350 to J. C. Ubele. His daughter, Catherine Nash, leased it to Thomas Ridan Rawlings. And at this point comes in the brief Baptist interlude wherein I shared.[1]

On 13 August, 1858, the property was sold by auction at Garraway's Coffee House, and its description will be of interest: "This freehold property comprises a substantially erected brick built chapel, with stone front, having a spacious forecourt, enclosed by massive and ornamental iron palisading, also a large and convenient Vestry-room and yard adjoining: situate in the South side of Brown's Lane, possession a frontage of 44 feet with a depth of 80 feet or thereabouts. The interior is fitted up with modern pews, side and end galleries, and possesses accommodation for 750 sittings, also a conveniently arranged class room. It is let to Mr. John Wells and others under an agreement for three or seven years, from the 29th September 1853, at a clear rental of £40 per annum, but of the estimated net annual value of £60."

It was purchased by Mr. James Edwards of Brown's Lane for £600. In 1858 he sold two-thirds to William Stubbs and John Wells for £200 each share. In 1862 it was sold for £600 to Mr. John Hughes to the use of the Trustees of the United Methodist Free Church. A Mrs. Jones advanced the £600 at five per cent. Caretaker's rooms and a vestry over were added to the original chapel in 1864, covering the forecourt of that building, bringing it to the street frontage. Changes soon followed and in 1887 the Trustees sold the property for £1,700 to the Rev. Prebendary Billing. He was incumbent of Christ Church, a building of 1728, designed by Nicholas Hawksmore, pupil of Sir Christopher Wren: it contains some relics, records, and tombs of the Huguenots, and in its early years its bell was rung for a quarter of an hour before six in the morning and

[1] Editor's Note as to the Baptist Church in Brown's Lane. Zoar Church was founded in 1807 by John Bailey, who hired a building erected about 1740 for Presbyterians in Great Ayliffe or Great Alie street, Stepney. It is conceivable that he absorbed an earlier Baptist Church meeting in that street. When his health failed, George Washington Wilks followed, 1826-1832. Then came a very unsettled time. One group started work in Stratford, and built Enon on West Ham Lane in 1842; this now belongs to the Metropolitan Strict Association. The Zoar building was put up to auction in 1845, and was bought by Joshua Pedley, one of the members. Apparently he was not liked by all, and another secession took place. This was the nucleus of the Church which hired Brown's Lane; it called itself Jireh.

before eight at night, to announce the beginning and end of the weaver's working day.

The galleries of the old chapel were removed, with its pulpit and other accessories, and the interior was adapted for parish uses. It was reopened on 7 November, 1887, by the Duchess of Teck, and her daughter, our present Queen, actually declared it open. Under new auspices the place has become most useful, with classes, clubs, and other parish activities; so that recently the roof has been raised, and a floor inserted at the former level of the ceiling. No trace remains of its brief occupancy by Baptists, but on the back wall may still be seen the coat of arms of " La Patente."

T. R. HOOPER.

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GREAT GRANSDEN. Josiah Thompson gathered in 1770 some notes as to this church. It sprang out of the work of that great evangelist, Holcroft, and a Pedobaptist or mixed church was organized in 1703. Like many causes of that period, members lived in many villages and there was no one predominant centre. Its minister, Jabez Conder, belonged to Croydon in Cambridgeshire, where he died in 1724. In that phase it seems to have escaped the notice of Dr. John Evans. In 1732 Benjamin Dutton was called to the pastorate: he was the youngest son of Matthew Dutton, minister at Eversholt Baptist church, and after working as a clothier in Northampton, Wellingborough and Whittlesey, had succeeded his father. His coming altered the church to a Baptist basis, and encouraged it to erect a building just over the county line, at Great Gransden in Hunts. From this village his wife Anne poured out an amazing flood of literature; and he went over to America to sell it and raise funds for building—a remarkably hopeful campaign for those days! " By the foundering of the vessel on his return from America in 1748, he entered a watery grave in the fifty-seventh year of his age." David Evans came in 1749 from Hooknorton, but passed on to Biggleswade within two years. With 1755 a successor arrived in Timothy Keymer, a comb-maker from Worstead. Ten years later the succession was ensured, by Anne Dutton endowing the church: " she finished her course with joy, on the 18th of November 1765 aged 73 years . . . having written and published 25 volumes of choice letters to friends, and 38 tracts on divine and spiritual subjects." Keymer survived till 1771, when Thompson's information ended. He had not been struck with Anne Dutton, and indeed the tombstone quoted above was erected only in 1822; in 1887 it was renovated.

# Charles-Marie de Veil.

(*Continued from page* 81.)

## HIS CATHOLIC CAREER.

Charles, duc de Schonberg, godfather of Charles-Marie, had died in 1656. But Louis XIV, godfather of Louis-Compiègne, was waxing like the sun in his splendour, a Roi Soleil. He sent his godson to the same university, and it is interesting to speculate on the relations of the elder, the theolog, and the younger, the linguist; the one under monastic régime, the other perhaps swaggering at one of the colleges. Louis-Compiègne proved his worth in 1667, publishing a Latin version of three tractates by Maimonides, on Fasting, Solemn Expiation, and the Passover; it was dedicated to the Abbé Le Tellier, of the Royal Chapel, extolling his maintenance of Gallican liberties. It is in the preface to this work that we learn the ancestry of the two brothers. In 1669 he followed on with Maimonides on the Calendar, dedicated to Tour d'Auvergne, cardinal-designate, a member of the Turenne family. In 1671 he was appointed Professor of Oriental Languages at Heidelberg, where the ancient university was being resuscitated after the Thirty Years' War; Spinoza had been vainly invited to come. The inaugural lecture of Louis-Compiègne on the Origin of Hebrew was published there, dedicated to the Count Palatine: as it was actually delivered in his presence, and his time was precious, the lecture was cut down; though Louis at the lecture could not set forth all the proofs of Hebrew having been the original language once spoken by all men, before Babel, it is a pity he did not print them. He soon got back to Paris, this time as Interpreter of Oriental Languages in the king's library.[27] And there in 1673 he put out a fifth tractate of Maimonides, on Wedlock; this was dedicated to J. B. Colbert. All this was published by the younger brother before Charles-Marie appeared in print.

Meantime Charles-Marie had not only learned Latin, learned theology, passed through a university, held a professorship, but he had the rather unusual experience of passing from the Augustinian congregation to that of Sainte-Genevieve.[28] It seems the fate of every ancient religious body to stagnate; as it

[27] Floquet, I. 291; citing *Mélanges publiées par la Société des Bibliophiles Français*, 1826.

[28] Floquet, I, 286; citing Bayle, december 1684 and september 1685.

is an evidence of divine life that from every such torpid body there shall spring another with youth and energy. In 1634 Charles Faure organized a reformed offshoot, which was named after Sainte Genevieve, whose chapel at Paris is well known to-day as the Pantheon. Augustine was an African, Genevieve a Parisian; and Gallican patriotism rallied to the new Congregation, which was often in practice called the Gallican. Charles-Marie had indeed entered the Augustinians, and had vowed life-long fidelity to that Order; but statute lxxx permitted a prelate to dispense from the vow. Bossuet was now bishop of Condom, and as he had really borne much of the expense of the long training, he was legally and morally able to secure an honourable exit from the Augustinian Congregation. The Gallican on the other hand had a statute not to take a man from another Order; but it depended largely on the king, and Bossuet was tutor to the dauphin. The transition was arranged quietly, and in October 1674, Father de Veil made his début in print as a Priest and Canon Regular of the Gallican Congregation, Doctor of Theology in the Royal Academy of Angers.

Louis-Compiègne was a mere translator from the Hebrew. Charles-Marie published at Angers a commentary on Matthew and Mark, based on the Greek, the Fathers, Hebrew rites and idioms, and an array of writers both old and new, with original remarks. He told his readers that he took the plain literal meaning of the text, and had not disdained to consult even heterodox writers (probably Calvin and Beza) but he emphasized his direct knowledge of Hebrew idiom, dialect, usages and customs. The work was naturally dedicated to Bossuet.

The success was immediate. A second edition was called for next year, and came out at Paris. This was well reviewed on 6 January, 1676, in the *Journal des Sçavans*. In that same month he completed a second commentary, on the Song of Songs. It might be interesting to compare this with the commentary previously issued by Bossuet on the same book. De Veil's work was dedicated to Paul Beurrier, head of the Gallican Congregation, and abbé of Sainte-Geneviève-du-Mont itself, the church dating from 511 A.D. The dedication appreciates the honour done to the author in advising him to devote his life to scriptural exposition. Other documents show that his superiors had indeed thus determined his life-work, and that the doctors of the faculty of theology in Paris held a very high opinion of his books. He had been transferred from Angers to Paris, where he was now a member of the ancient community of Catharine, Val des Ecoliers, which in 1646 had been united with the new Gallican Congregation, retaining however its former name. In this capacity it would be his duty to take a turn in regular parish

work. Obviously this was like harnessing a race-horse into a brougham.

By June he was transferred again, from Paris to Melun, forty miles up the Seine, to the priory of Saint Ambrose. But this time he was no longer a canon, he was the Prior, the Rector of the community and of the town. Under him was a staff of canons, who would do the parochial work at his allotment, while he was free to devote himself to his studies. A third instalment of his work appeared in 1676, a commentary on Joel, dedicated to his diocesan, Jean de Montpesat de Carbon, archbishop of Sens, primate of the Gauls and of Germany. It reiterates that he was assigned to this kind of work.[29] The *Journal* gave him another favourable review in December, while the king gave him copyright for six years.

His fame was now well established. But some people overwork a willing horse. And there were ecclesiastical and theological quarrels where the combatants were eager to enlist fresh pens. Bossuet believed that de Veil would become one of the greatest defenders of the faith.[30] The Jansenists had been denounced as Calvinists in Catholic clothing; their seminary at Angers was closed in 1676, and the faculty of theology there was being purged.[31] But Calvinists as Huguenots were very real, and were protected by the edict of Nantes. Charles-Marie had added to his commentary on Matthew and Mark an excursus against the Huguenots, and he was urged to go further down this bye-path. Bossuet and his former diocesan Arnauld were both at work on these points of doctrine and ritual; and indeed they had been orally discussed at Melun itself many years before.

Charles-Marie avowed that he had studied heterodox books. So far he was not attracted by them, although with his insistence on the plain literal meaning of Matthew, he need not have objected to Theodore of Mopsuestia and the Anabaptists taking the Song of Songs for what it purports to be, a praise of faithful love plighted between man and maid. But he knew the value of oral discussion before printing, and he welcomed the opportunity of a weekly study-circle. Melun is not far above Paris, and Bossuet was tutor to the Dauphin at Saint-Germain, further down the Seine. The two friends seized the opportunity of steady study, both of the Bible, and of controverted theological points. And from Paris itself they were able to attract other

[29] There is a puzzle in the two Approbations. The former was by Beurrier, in February, and styles him a member of the Gallican congregation: the latter was in March, and calls him still an Augustinian. It is a marvel that the two were printed together, for the second is obviously belated in its facts.

[30] Letter of 1677/8, in *La Séduction éludée* (Berne, 1686). See note 40.

[31] *Revue de l'Anjou*, XVI, 284.

scholars, including Louis-Compiègne, the courtier. A regular Fraternal was soon instituted in Bossuet's quarters.

On the lighter side, this is caricatured by the Abbé de Longuerue, another of the courtiers who never lived at his abbey of Sept Fontaines, but simply drew its revenues.[32] His skit speaks of the two brothers de Veil, both of them decidedly ugly, dining at St. Germain every week, with d'Herbelot, equally ugly, and Nicole Thoynard, not yet invested with his peruke. The fare was frugal, but a wit apologised on the ground that they were Condomophages. A more serious writer tells us that this circle included also Claude Fleury, Eusèbe Renaudot, and others; and that the meal was only an interlude in the critical study of the Bible.[33] Of this Bossuet wrote often, with affectionate references to "mes rabbins." Most of the circle in after years gave abundant evidence how they had profited by their intercourse.

In this group of students, Charles-Marie came again to close quarters with his brother. For a short time Louis-Compiègne had been professor at Heidelberg, where a great Calvinist confession had been drawn up early in the century. And as friends were pressing Charles-Marie to study this doctrine in order to refute it elaborately, he would not lack knowledge where to turn; Ferri of Metz had issued a standard exposition. Just outside the gates of Paris was Charenton, where the Huguenots had their chief Temple, served by four ministers including Henri Claude and Max de l'Aigle. Whether he made their personal acquaintance at this stage is uncertain. But he did not confine himself to clerical circles, for he became friendly with Théodore Maimbourg, whose wife was an ardent Calvinist. The trend of De Veil's thinking was evident when in June 1677 he publicly declared to his metropolitan in the dedication of his *Joel*, "me nunquam ab angulo meo ne latum digitum quidem discessurum." Did the archbishop murmur, Methinks the Prior doth protest too much?

It is always difficult to decide which of many factors is decisive. But one has certainly been overlooked at this stage. Antoine Arnauld had been publicly apostrophised by Charles-Marie as "Clarissimus Ecclesiae Christi sacerdos, doctor Sorbonis, apostolicae sedis sincerus ac religiosissimus cultor, studiosissimus Ecclesiae unitatis et disciplinae, novitatis profanae ac hereticae pravitatis debellator invictissimus, orthodoxae veritatis, et semel traditae fidei vindex acerrimus, ac defensor fortissimus." Arnauld had collaborated with Nicole in a massive work against the Huguenots, "La perpetuité de la foi de l'église

[32] Louis Dufour de Long: *Longueruana* (Berlin 1754) page 54.
[33] Floquet: *Bossuet, Précepteur du Dauphin*, pages 422-424.

catholique touchant l'eucharistie." Yet this did not save the Jansenists from renewed persecution by the Jesuits, so that in 1679 both Nicole and Arnauld had to flee to the Netherlands. It may well be imagined with what disgust de Veil would observe the bigotry which drove away one of his idols.

He would be able to see that Jansenism was largely Calvinism within the Catholic church, and it must have been hard to find Bossuet and Arnauld on different sides. He would equally be able to see that if he sided with Ferri and Claude, an unfrocked priest was badly equipped to earn a living; and that the edict of Nantes offered no protection to any apostate, so that he would certainly have to follow Arnauld into exile.

The Low Countries were quite attractive to a Frenchman, from Metz. Language would present no acute difficulty. At Rotterdam, Utrecht, The Hague, Amsterdam, there were large colonies of Huguenots, including great scholars; and it was conceivable that there would be scope as a lecturer in theology. The Netherlanders were most hospitable to refugees, for it was quite clear that the Edict of Nantes was no longer any real protection; and a peace was also within sight to end the war between France and the Low Countries.

Such considerations would have to be weighed by the convert, who had to choose a new country. It was at least fortunate for him that he had no family to support, and might live as frugally as Spinoza, even though he had no handicraft whereby to earn his living.

## HUGUENOT.

The details of the change were not reported at any length, and only by a formal testimonial two and a half years later do we learn that he came over to Protestantism in August 1677.[34] From another source, by no means contemporary, we hear that the scene was Holland.[35] For some years a namesake had lived there, Friedrich Ragstatt de Weile, who did publish on the issues between the churches. But there is no evidence of any intercourse; and Friedrich came from Germany, whose language he used.

There was a M. de Veilde, who in October 1677 bore a letter from Sir Leoline Jenkins at Nimeguen to secretary Coventry.[36] As our Charles-Marie was presently in touch with this circle, it has been read with some expectation, especially as the bearer was a *religieux*. Yet he was not a "minister," and though this may mean, not a Huguenot pastor, it seems against the identifica-

[34] Prefixed to his *Ecclesiastes*.
[35] Crosby: IV, 253.
[36] W. Wynne: *Life of Sir Leoline Jenkins* (London 1724), II, 229.

tion. Moreover, the purpose of his visit was to communicate a method of preserving ships from the depredations of worms, a topic for which neither the Talmud nor the university of Angers would be likely to prepare. And otherwise Charles-Marie never showed any interest in such topics, not even in a later commentary on Jonah. Nevertheless the dates do fit very neatly.

A late writer, quoting no authority, says that Charles-Marie and Louis-Compiègne had a third brother, who also became Christian, and settled in Holland. The statement is most improbable, and may perhaps be an inference from the existence of these two men.

Hollanders were good friends with England at this time. In November William of Orange crossed to marry his cousin Mary Stuart. And about the same time Charles-Marie was in England, having established relations with Jean Maximilien de l'Angle, who for eighteen years had been minister of the Huguenot church in the Savoy. They called together on Sir Joseph Williamson, a secretary of state. He was not only a city man, an Oxford LL.D., president of the Royal Society, but he had been plenipotentiary at a congress in Cologne four years earlier. He was evidently sympathetic, and asked for a statement in writing. This was put in on 23 December, a handsome document which might impress the secretary.[37] It frankly states that he was short of money, "court d'argent"; it refers to Max de l'Aigle and Henri Claude, also to one of the French secretaries of state, Henri Justel. It also mentions that he has another commentary ready for the press, on *Hosea*. It does not allude to ships or worms.

He might have appealed soon to the marquis de Ruvigny, sent in 1678 by Louis XIV on a special mission to king Charles; for Ruvigny was not merely a Huguenot, he was actually their deputy-general. But it does not seem that de Veil ever knew him, though in after years his brother and his nephew did.

Pierre Bayle discerned a little later that "L'Angleterre est la païs du monde où les profonds raisonnemens métaphysiques et physiques, assaisonnés d'érudition, sont les plus goûtés et à la mode."[38] And the Huguenots were proving this already. Papillon and Dubois were just about to be elected sheriffs of London. In literature there was quite a demand for translations from the French. To say nothing of novels, law, medicine, war, which were beyond the scope of de Veil, there appeared within this year Dugard's *Dialogues of Lucian*, the

[37] State Papers Domestic, Charles II. Volume 398, numbers 180, 181.
[38] *Lettres Choisies* (1710): II, 106.

*Funeral of the Mass* from the French, the *Conversion of a Capuchin of Paris,* a Latin work on the Jansenists, the Liturgy in French, Du Moulin's *Soliloquies,* Du Moulin's *Treatise of Peace,* le Vayer's *Prerogative of a Private Life,* de Luxancy's *Treatise against Irreligion,* Duport's *Poemata, Bellum Papale, Compendium Biblicum*; two of these authors were presbyters of the Church of England.[39] For a scholar of de Veil's peculiar ability, there was clearly ample scope in England.

Hardly had he arrived, than he fell ill, and there was some delay. It gave the opportunity for his old friend Bossuet to send him a most touching appeal from Saint Germain on 2 March 1677/8, assuring him that he might return without fear: "vous y trouverez un appui très-sûr pour toutes choses, un ami, un frère, un père, qui ne vous oublièra jamais, et jamais ne cessera de vous rappeler à l'Eglise par les cris qu'il fera à Dieu." There is no sign of any reply, or of any future intercourse.[40]

## ANGLICAN PRESBYTER.

Within a very few weeks, Charles-Marie found a welcome in Anglican circles, where his published works served as good credentials. He revised his *Magnum Opus,* the Latin commentary on Matthew and Mark, taking out of it the controversial excrescences supporting Catholic rites, and on 29 March it received the imprimatur of William Jane, canon of Oxford. Three days later he was formally received into the Church of England.

The bishop of London was *ex-officio* in charge of all Huguenot refugees. The bishop at this time was Henry Compton, who had been tutor to Mary, now princess of Orange. He was very keen on re-ordaining French Protestant ministers, declining to recognize their Presbyterian orders, for the matter was crucial with the English and Scotch Presbyterians.[41] De Veil presented the sixth case before him, but it was unique. He had been in Catholic orders, which are indelible, and are recognized by the Church of England. Therefore when he took the oath

[39] *Term Catalogues,* reprint of 1903: I, 278-321.

[40] This letter was first published in 1686 at Berne by a Protestant, He did not name de Veil, nor give the year, only "le 2 Mars." From this book, *La Séduction éludée,* it was copied into the edition of Bossuet's letters by Lebel in 1818, where it is in tome XXXVII, pages 333-334; the Paris editor assigned the date 1686 to it! But in 1686 Bossuet was at Versailles from 27 February, as the *Gazette de France* shows. He was at St. Germain en Laye from 1670 to 1679, as tutor to the Dauphin. Floquet in his note, I, 288, forgets that in England the Old Style was still used.

[41] F. de Schickler: *Les Eglises du Refuge en Angleterre*: II, 329.

of supremacy, the oath to conform and use the Book of Common Prayer, and signed the XXXIX articles, that sufficed; he was not re-ordained.[42] He now entered on the most eventful year of his life.

It was naturally in clerical circles that he made his first friends. And London was like Paris in one respect, that it swarmed with ambitious clergy, especially pluralists who were absent from most of their posts, seeking for more by favour of the king. Among these were Stillingfleet, dean of St. Paul's, with Lloyd a prebendary, and Tillotson a canon; Patrick a prebendary of Westminster and rector of St. Paul's in Covent Garden; Sharp a prebendary of Norwich and rector of St. Giles in the Fields. Into their circle de Veil was soon admitted.

Now Sharp had been domestic chaplain to Sir Heneage Finch, now lord chancellor, reading daily prayers, saying grace before meat, and being called in again for grace after the sweets, with perhaps tutoring younger members of the family, and the care of the library; beyond board, lodging and official robes there would be some small stipend. Also beside the leisure, dear to a scholar, the opportunities were considerable. There was often the chance of a well-portioned marriage, in haste.

For an immigrant to obtain a sinecure was of course not to be expected. Nor was de Veil's command of English good enough for him to aspire to a chaplaincy. Yet his eminence as a scholar did secure for him a position as tutor in some noble household. In what family this post was held, has not been discovered. Charles-Marie may have succeeded Sharp with Baron Finch, the lord chancellor; but he never seems to have profited by any legal society. It is possible that he served the family of Viscount Ranelagh, whose wife was sister to Robert Boyle, who lived with them in Pall Mall; Ranelagh had not yet bought the park adjoining Chelsea Hospital, towards Fulham.

It may be mentioned, to avert confusion, that Louis-Compiègne also found 1678 eventful. In January he dedicated to the abbé Jacques Nicole Colbert, an annotated translation of *Maimonides on Divine Worship*, published in Paris. But within a few months he too became Protestant, and took refuge in England, where he presented a copy to Jean Rou.[43] By 1680 at least he was established in the household of Tillotson, then dean of Canterbury; in the correspondence of that great preacher are many allusions to him, which are not to be referred to the elder brother.[44]

[42] Newcourt: *Repertorium of the orders . . . conferred by the bishops of London* (1710): under date 16 April 1678.

[43] *Memoires Inedits de Jean Rou*: (Paris 1857); I, 128.

[44] British Museum Additional manuscript 4236.

Charles-Marie was astute enough to see his way by intervening in a famous theological and literary quarrel, connected with Richard Simon. This French Oratorian had in 1670 entered public life by defending the Jews of Metz against the charge of a ritual murder. He was a fine Hebrew scholar, and had printed a *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament,* which proved the starting-point of modern Higher Criticism. While he was awaiting the consent of Louis XIV to accept a dedication, his enemies learned the line he was taking, and with the help of Bossuet and the chancellor induced the council of state to interfere, so that nearly all the impression was destroyed in 1679. But two copies had been sent to England, and while scholars recognized the great merits of the work, they were taken aback by the Third Book " Wherein the method for the well translating of the scripture is treated of, and at the same time is shown how obscure the scripture is." This book claimed that usage, tradition, must determine the meaning of the Bible. This was as a red rag to Protestants. Now there was a good deal of scriptural translation actually going on.[45] In 1667 the Port Royal scholars had made a French version of the New Testament from the Vulgate, with reference to the Greek; and within two years six editions were called for. The old French Geneva version was equipped in 1669 with abundant scholarly notes. The Jansenists put out at Brussels a *Histoire et Concorde des Quatres Evangelistes.* In all such work, great interest was taken by Robert Boyle, who had furthered versions for the Massachusetts Indians and the Malays. And Boyle had won a continental reputation, for he was not only a missionary statesman, but a natural philosopher; his works had been published at Geneva in 1677. Now if Williamson was president of the Royal Society, Boyle was one of its leading members. And de Veil chimed in on 14 May 1678 with a *Lettre à Mons. Boisle pour prouver contre l'autheur d'un livre intit. " Critique du Vieux Testament" que la seule Ecriture est la règle de la foi.* This letter was dated from Fulham, and an English version invoked God's blessing on Katherine, viscountess Ranelaugh. Charles-Marie took the ground that the New Testament shows our Lord frequently opposing tradition, whence the inference was drawn that for the exposition of scripture the chief qualifications were piety, learning, and especially freedom from prejudice. He gave a copy to Thomas Barlow, bishop of Lincoln, which copy is now in the Bodleian library.

While it was still in the press, a Protestant with the initials J***S.D.R. got an advance copy; Jean Regnault de Ségrais was at

[45] Darlow & Moule: *Historical Catalogue of Printed Bibles*: II, 400ff.

this time publishing anonymously in London, and lending his name to the comtesse de la Fayette.[46] The copy was sent to Simon, who was then at Belleville, just outside Paris. He was much annoyed already at the opposition he was meeting, and when he received this flank attack lost no time in hitting back, in a manuscript letter to his correspondent, on the 16th of August, signed R. de Lisle, Presbyter of the Gallican church, for he always used pseudonyms in his pamphlets. His most telling point was that if tradition is not allowed alongside scripture to determine the faith, where is the warrant for infant baptism, for which scripture supplies no order? This was quite a traditional question for Catholics to put to Protestants, and they were accustomed to find it unanswerable: there is an amusing anecdote of Charles II. inviting a debate between a Protestant and a priest; the latter played this trump card, and was much disconcerted to find it taken at once, the Protestant quite disclaiming infant baptism; on learning that his opponent was a Baptist minister, Jeremy Ives, the priest declared he had been tricked, and retired from the debate. Monsieur J.S.D.R. doubtless handed about the letter of Richard Simon, and it must have come to the knowledge of de Veil, much to his disquietude. Anabaptists in France were a matter of hearsay, but Baptists in London were plentiful.

The attention thus called to Tradition, by de Veil himself in connection with *Mark vii.*, ought to have been reflected in his revised commentary, were it only in an appendix. Yet when this appeared at the King's Arms, from Roycroft's press, there was no notice at all, and the comments on that chapter are very meagre, considering the Talmudical knowledge at his disposal. The volume was dedicated to bishop Compton *Amantissimus pauperum,* and on 11 October he gave a copy to the bishop of Lincoln; de Veil was very fortunate in obtaining wealthy patrons, in contrast to Simon; Compton's chaplain William Sill had on 12 July given his *imprimatur* to a second revised edition, this time of the *Song of Songs,* and in December this was advertised by Carr. De Veil had enough on hand to keep three printers and three publishers at work. This time he dedicated to Williamson. And he was making new friends fast, for he sent a copy *ex dono auctoris* to William Bates, a leading Presbyterian who had been chaplain to Charles II, and had by his order been made a D.D. The friendship held, and all Bates' copies are now in Dr. Williams' library.

His commentaries on *Hosea* and *Joel* were augmented, and

[46] *Term Catalogues*: I, 565.

on 21 April 1679 William Sill gave his *imprimatur* for a commentary on the *Twelve Minor Prophets*. This was advertised in November by Swalle, and came out with a dedication to the Lord Chancellor, Heneage Finch, lord Daventry. It was soon broadcast, and came to the notice of his university at Angers. The situation was quite impossible from their standpoint. His famous commentaries were being altered in a controversial style, though not in the vulgar methods of Titus Oates the "doctor of Salamanca." Tradition had been expressly repudiated. And the culprit was still figuring as S.T.D. This at least could be remedied, and on 9 January 1680 the degree was formally cancelled. As the university and the Jesuits and the king were quarrelling vigorously on another point, it must have been pleasant to find some measure in which they could all unite.[47]

Ill news travels apace, and Charles-Marie took prompt steps in response. Within three weeks he secured a testimonial from the bishops of London, Rochester and Ely, with Tillotson, Stillingfleet, and Patrick, that he was in good standing with the Church of England, as a Presbyter. Henceforth he did not advertise himself even as S.T.D. emeritus, but presently he figured as D.D.; possibly this was a Lambeth degree, though there is no record of one being conferred.

During 1680, de Veil was drawn into a curious episode, which was told afterwards from two angles.[48] Eve Cohan was a Portuguese Jewess, whose father had been a magnate in the Dutch plantations in Brazil, and died worth £20,000. She was brought up by her mother at Delft, where her music-master took her occasionally to hear the organs at church, and where she read a New Testament. On this being discovered, the girl, now nineteen years old, was looked after very carefully and confined to the house. In May 1679 she escaped, by the help of Michael Verboon, a servant of her brother Jacob, living in the house. She went to him at Brussels, he took her to Nieuport, and by July they reached England, taking lodgings in Bedfordbury (Bloomsbury) with a French tailor named Lavigne. A brother and a cousin tracked them thither, and took lodgings in the same house, whereupon they got married at Knightsbridge according to Church of England rites. After her relatives failed to arrest Verboon for debt, they tried to persuade her to return to Delft. At this stage Mistress Lavigne called in de Veil, both to advise as to her safety, and to prepare her for baptism; and attempts

[47] Floquet, I, 289, citing Calmet, *Bibliothèque lorraine*, 1751, article on de Veil.

[48] Burnet: *Conversion and Persecution of Eve Cohan*, 1680. E. N. Adler: *History of Jews in London*, 1930; pages 106, 107.

were made to find some influential protector. She was arrested for debt to her mother of £2,000 and complicated intrigues were set afoot to kidnap her. De Veil had been out of town, but when he returned next day, he at once informed the lord mayor, and the vicar of St. Martin's, in which parish she had been living. Not only did these secure fair play, but as the vicar was William Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph, he further secured the goodwill of Sir Leoline Jenkins. After being bandied from court to court, she was released by the sheriff on payment of 22/- and 40/- costs. At the trial, de Veil contributed the very dubious evidence that if a Jew swore on an English Bible, esteemed by him a profane book, and on the back side of it, then it was to him no oath. Lloyd meantime had sent to Holland for evidence, as he had been imposed upon by pretended converts. As he was satisfied, there was a service at St. Martin's on 10 October, when the woman was baptized, her sponsors being Sir Leoline Jenkins, the countess of Thanet and the countess of Clarendon. A full account was soon published, from the pen of Burnet, the famous Chaplain of the Rolls,—who did obtain a Lambeth D.D. on 29 September.

(*To be concluded.*)

# The Early Relations of Horton Academy and Rawdon College with Lancashire.

*A paper read at the Annual Meeting of the Baptist Historical Society, held at Liverpool, on May 8th,* 1930.

FOR the present generation of Baptists, Rawdon College is so closely associated with Yorkshire, that an effort of the imagination is required by all, who are not antiquarians, to realize that in its early days its associations with Lancashire were equally firm and strong. Our Society was founded in 1804 at a time when the churches of Lancashire and Yorkshire were united in one Association. It was not until 1838 that the two counties divided into separate Associations, owing to the growth in the membership of the churches. It was not until 1866 that Lancashire had a College of its own. When, therefore, the leaders took the bold step of establishing an Academy for the north, it was at first an open question where it should be located; but it was axiomatic that it should serve Lancashire as well as Yorkshire. The earlier reports state the object of the Society as being " the education of pious young men, as Ministers of the Baptist Denomination, in Yorkshire, Lancashire and the adjacent counties." It was not until 1831 that all reference to Yorkshire, Lancashire and the adjacent counties was quietly dropped.

The effort to supply the Northern counties with qualified ministers began as early as 1773. Bristol, the only Baptist Academy existing at that time, was too far away. Dr. John Fawcett, therefore, established a *private* academy and received a few young men into his own family to train them for ministerial service. Fawcett was then minister of the church at Wainsgate. His son says that it was from Liverpool that Fawcett received " the first and principal encouragement for forming a private seminary." Apart from all other considerations, Fawcett is worthy of immortal memory as the teacher of John Sutcliff of Olney, Foster the essayist, and William Ward of Serampore. Fawcett, however, was not content with his private academy, and often discussed with such northern leaders as Langdon of Leeds, and Littlewood of Rochdale, the desirability of establishing an Academy. The institution was actually begun in Yorkshire in

Fawcett's house, but of the three who were responsible for the beginning, two were Lancastrians—Littlewood, minister of what is now the West Street church, Rochdale, and Mr. James Bury, a calico printer, of Sabden. The three were discussing the subject of an Academy. At last Bury said, "We want action rather than words." "Well," said Littlewood, "I will give £20 to begin." "And I will do the same," said Fawcett. Both expected Bury to respond at once, but his silence was so long continued that at length Littlewood asked him what he proposed to do. He said he would give £500. So, to a Lancashire minister belongs the honour of being the first donor, and to a Lancashire layman the honour of being the first of a long line of laymen who have been princely givers. Fawcett, the Yorkshireman, bred and born, was just a fraction of a second too late. I must leave you to decide whether the characteristics of the two counties are revealed by this incident and to imagine what the author of *The Good Companions* might have made of it.

Soon after this historic private meeting, the Association which, as I have said, included the two counties, held its Annual Meeting at Hebden Bridge in 1804. Yorkshire took the honours this time and Langdon of Leeds preached a sermon, "On the Importance of the Christian Ministry." At the close a series of resolutions was passed, among them one to the effect "that we form ourselves into a society, under the denomination of the Northern Education Society, for the purpose of encouraging pious young men, recommended by the Churches to which they belong, as persons of promising abilities for the ministry." But before the day closed two honours went to Lancashire, for Bury was appointed treasurer and Littlewood secretary. Lancashire scored again when next the field was set. In the following August the first meeting of the subscribers and friends of the infant society was held in Rochdale with Robert Hall as the preacher. Evidently no one in Lancashire or Yorkshire was regarded as an adequate preacher for such an occasion, though at the risk of arousing Yorkshire's pride I may mention that Fawcett had been appointed to preach if Robert Hall failed. The same day the Committee was appointed and Lancashire won again, but by the smallest possible margin. Seventeen men were put on the Committee; of these nine were Lancastrians and eight hailed from Yorkshire. £1,185 17*s.* was promised that day, and Bury's £500 gave Lancashire the lead. The meeting requested the treasurer "to place all monies exceeding the sum of £50 in Messrs. Jones and Co.'s bank at Manchester."

Two questions were left open on Wednesday, August 1st,

1804; the location of the Academy, and the choice of tutor. The second question was the first to be settled. After several ministers had declined the Society's invitation, William Steadman of Plymouth Dock accepted the presidency, and settled in Bradford as pastor of the Westgate church and president of the Academy in October, 1805. Before Steadman accepted he came north in June, 1805, and spent nine weeks in the two counties, visiting the principal churches. Steadman had been informed how matters stood with regard to the vexed question of the location of the Academy. There were some who wanted it at Bradford, where the Westgate church was without a pastor, owing to the resignation of William Crabtree who had ministered to it for fifty years. But Manchester was also putting in its claims. As Steadman says, "I had not then learned that the hostility between the houses of York and Lancaster had not entirely ceased." Steadman spent four Sundays in Bradford, preaching three times each Sunday, and frequently on week evenings. As a result he received an invitation from the Westgate church, but the Lancashire friends asked him not to decide until he had visited Manchester. The rest had better be told in Steadman's own words. "From Halifax I went to Rochdale and Manchester. At the latter place, the size of which exceeded expectations, but where the Baptists had, during the interval, obtained a pastor, I met several gentlemen who united in their wishes and efforts to prevail upon me to consent to the fixing of the Academy there. They pleaded the size and population of the town, the very degraded state of the Baptist interest in it, and in the surrounding neighbourhood. They engaged themselves to guarantee a salary of £150 per annum, in addition to whatever the church could raise, or the seat rents produce—to procure or build a place of worship, and to form a church. . . . After thanking them for their very liberal offer, I assured them . . . that I could not see it my duty.[1] My object was the Academy; and it must be seated where the conducting of it would be practicable. That at Manchester there was a place of worship to build; a congregation to collect, a church to form; all of which would, I knew from experience, be impossible with the care of an Academy. But that at Bradford all these requisites were provided; together with premises at a reasonable

[1] The 1649 Church had moved to a new site on what is now called Dyche Street, and had called William Gadsby. Several members objected to him, and continued in the old Coldhouse chapel. When they failed to obtain Steadman, they built on New York Street, and presently called William Stephens from the 1633 London church, then at Prescot Street. These two churches are now known as Rochdale Road, and Moss Side. —EDITOR.

price, well adapted to the purposes of the Academy; not to insist upon the strong prejudices that prevailed in Yorkshire against its being fixed in Manchester. On these accounts I could not but decide for Bradford; in this, though reluctantly, they acquiesced." Thus it came about that the Academy was located at Horton, then a salubrious suburb of Bradford, and Manchester's quite legitimate aspirations were thwarted. Practical work began in 1806 when Steadman commenced with one pupil.

Though Lancashire in general and Manchester in particular were baulked in their desire to have the Academy located in their midst, Steadman continued to have the happiest relations with Lancashire Baptists.

One important and interesting link with Lancashire was Steadman's secretaryship of the joint Yorkshire and Lancashire Association from 1816 to the year of his death in 1837. As a matter of fact he was the first secretary, as up to his appointment no regular minute-book had been kept by the Association. As Association preacher he was in frequent demand, for our fathers sometimes had four preachers at their Association Meetings. Steadman was also twice Moderator. His successor at the Academy, Acworth, was Moderator of the Joint Association once, and Moderator of the Lancashire Association after the separation into two county Associations, no fewer than seven times. That the Principal of a College in Yorkshire should be Moderator of the Lancashire Association so many times is in itself clear proof of the close association of the college with the county of Lancaster. When Acworth passed away and Green reigned in his stead, the latter frequently attended the Lancashire Association Meetings. Of this close connection between Rawdon and Lancashire there is an interesting survival which continues to this day: the members of the Rawdon College staff are *ex-officio* members of the Lancashire and Cheshire Association. If they do not attend its meetings as regularly as their predecessors, it is because the life of a college tutor is more exacting than it was a century or even half a century ago, and class-work to-day is conducted with the regularity which characterizes University work.

To return to Steadman for a moment. It should never be forgotten that he was a great evangelist and often undertook preaching tours in Lancashire, as the following extract from his diary for 1808 will show. "The first week in July went into Lancashire, and have now spent six Lord's-days in that county. The first at Preston, where I preached morning and evening, in the Baptist meeting-house, which had been some time shut up;

and in the evening, out of doors, at Church Town, a village eleven miles off, on the Lancaster road. The second at Sabden, otherwise called Pendle Hill; the third at Colne; the fourth at Accrington; the fifth and sixth at Manchester. During the intervals, preached at Blackburn, Accrington, Huncoat, Whalley and Padiham. At the two last places, out of doors, to considerable numbers; as also at Huncoat. Went also to Higham the evening of the Lord's-day I was at Sabden, and to Harwood the Lord's-day I was at Accrington, and preached in the street to nearly a thousand people. Went in the course of one week to Lancaster, and from thence over the sands to Tottlebank and Ulverston, and preached at all those places. My strength and spirits were in general low, occasioned by the heat; so that I could but just bear the fatigue of travelling and go through my services; and enjoyed less liberty in them than in the common course of my labours at home." After that extract we need not wonder that the one thing Steadman demanded of all his students was that they should be laborious. In 1835 when he was over seventy he was preaching in Heywood, Liverpool, Manchester and Hill Cliff. Steadman also sent his students to work under the Itinerant Society in which he took a deep interest. It was started in Byrom Street, Liverpool, and again Littlewood had a share in promoting a good cause.

In December, 1815, Bury of Sabden died. This Lancastrian was virtually the Father of the College, and the Committee at his decease gratefully record his generosity and his £500 with which the Society was launched. Now it was the time for a Yorkshireman to come forward. In 1817 Thomas Key of Water Fulford, near York, gave £1,271 to purchase the rented premises hitherto occupied by the Academy. At his wish the term "Baptist" was inserted into the title of the Society, and from that date our official title has been "The Northern Baptist Education Society."

The year 1818 saw the passing of Littlewood, the Secretary of the Society and Pastor of the West Street church, Rochdale. He had been a tower of strength and did splendid work in Rochdale. I must, however, add that he was born in Yorkshire. He was an extremely generous-hearted man and given to hospitality. He put down the first £20, you will remember. He had a large family and did what so many Baptist ministers of that day did, he kept a school. "This enabled him," says an old writer, "to maintain his family without being dependent upon the Church, and to sustain those enterprises of Christian love, the introduction of which distinguished the latter period of his life." Time would fail to tell of other

Lancastrians who rendered the Academy yeoman service. It must suffice to mention their names: Foster, who succeeded to Bury's calico-printing business at Sabden, Kelsall and Kemp of Rochdale and many others.

As illustrating our early connection with Lancashire, mention may be made of the following minor points. The Committee meetings were sometimes held in Manchester and Rochdale as well as Bradford. At a meeting "holden at the White Lion, Halifax, on September 25th, 1811," it was decided "that it will be most for the general interest of the Society, that the annual meeting be always holden at Bradford; but the Committee meeting at Christmas be always holden at Rochdale or Manchester."

To Liverpool belongs the honour of making the first provision for securing that necessary functionary for every Academy—a classical tutor. In 1817, Samuel Hope of Liverpool engaged himself to subscribe £50 annually "with a view to enabling the society to procure a classical tutor as an assistant to its president." Such an assistant was certainly needed, for the president was often away from home on one of his begging tours on behalf of the Academy. The first classical tutor was Jonathan Edwards Ryland, the son of the President of the Bristol Academy. The second was Dr. Benjamin Godwin, but during the interregnum a Lancastrian officiated for some time. He was Joseph Harbottle of Accrington.

J. B. Wilson, of Liverpool, splendidly seconded the generosity of the Liverpool Hopes. One blot, however, must remain on Liverpool's fair name. C. M. Birrell had promised to preach the sermon at the Annual Meeting in August, 1848. He failed to turn up and at the last moment a substitute had to be found. The following note appears in the Report. "The Rev. C. M. Birrell, of Liverpool, was fully expected to preach the Annual Sermon. As much to his own vexation, as to the regret of the friends assembled, he failed, as he has since apprized the President, to fulfil the appointment, through a miscalculation of the time."

Something should now be said about a curious episode in the history of the College in the course of which we all but came to Manchester instead of going to Rawdon. At the Annual Meeting in August, 1854, a resolution was passed to the effect that Horton was not as salubrious as once it had been, and the Academy's premises were neither healthy nor convenient. The Trustees were, therefore, authorized to sell them. That raised, once more, the old burning question as to the location of the Academy, and sharpened the rival claims of the two

counties. It need hardly be said that the matter was delegated to a sub-committee; Birrell, who managed to turn up in time to preach in 1855, was put upon it. Evidently opinion was pretty strongly divided, for in 1857 they report that "it was all but unanimously resolved, that with a view especially to profiting by the literary and scientific facilities supposed likely to accrue from a recently originated educational establishment in the city of Manchester, known as 'Owens College,' one branch of the institution be located in that city, and that the other—to be restricted wholly to English theological studies—be conducted on the present premises, arranged and adapted accordingly." In accordance with this resolution a set of premises in Victoria Park, Manchester, was purchased at a cost of over £3,500. Difficulties, however, arose. The Manchester premises were re-sold at considerable loss, and donations towards their purchase were returned "to the friends disposed to reclaim them." Thus was the cup dashed from Lancashire's lips, for it was decided to "recommence measures for providing the Institution with a new abode in the vicinity of the existing one." In the end seven acres of land were secured at Rawdon, and the present splendid buildings erected at a cost of over £12,000, and opened on September 7th, 1859. Liverpool again came in, for Hugh Stowell Brown preached the sermon in Westgate chapel, Bradford, on the preceding evening.

The long-standing rivalry between the two counties was now soon to come to an end. In 1866 an Academy was established at Bury with an old Rawdonian, Dowson, at its head and not long after it was moved to Manchester, where it flourishes to this day. But with such a history behind the two existing Colleges, none will be surprised to learn that some Lancashire churches still look to Rawdon as their daughter, while some Yorkshire churches, who practise close communion, look to Manchester with maternal pride.

A. C. UNDERWOOD.

# Newport Pagnell Baptists.

IT is difficult to say exactly when the Baptist Cause originated in Newport Pagnell. It may have been soon after 1645 when Edward Harrison, a Baptist, afterwards Vicar of Kensworth, was treasurer of the troops here. Paul Hobson too, who preached at Newport Pagnell during the Civil War, may have had something to do with it, while there is no doubt that John Gibbs,[1] the Vicar thrust out from Newport, was one of the founders. To quote from the Thompson Manuscript in Dr. Williams' Library, "In Mr. Gibbs' time there was a number of Baptists in this Town, and there is reason to think that this interest is of very much longer standing than the Independent." From the same manuscript it appears that Mr. Gibbs, the founder of the Independent Cause, who died in 1699, "loved these people and wished to have them brought into a regular church state and took great pains for this purpose but could not succeed. There was a Mr. Bennett among them whom Mr. Gibbs wanted to settle among them as their Pastor. He was a good Preacher and of exemplary behaviour, but the people could not agree among themselves about him; perhaps their sufferings had soured their tempers like many others of the excellent of the earth."

From the Northampton College Street Records, it appears that in 1707 the then Church was dissolved and advice sought as to "beginning the church state anew." On the 22nd June, 1709, the same Records record the instalment of Robert Hanwell into the pastoral office.

The first place of meeting is unknown, but in January, 1716 when the number of hearers was said to be 250, Robert Hanwell, then described as a Yeoman, and others, purchased for £24 10s. "All that messuage cottage or tenement with the appurtenances in Newport Pagnell aforesaid near adjoining to the malting belonging to the dwellinghouse late of Samuel Christie Esq. called Bearditch Coppy and containing two bays of building now or late in the occupation of Thomas Browne to be held in trust for a Meeting House for the use of the several persons in and about Newport Pagnell aforesaid commonly called or

[1] For accounts of John Gibbs, see articles by Rev. Maurice F. Hewitt in *The Baptist Quarterly*, July 1927, and by F. W. Bull in the *Transactions of the Congregational Historical Society* of September 1927.

distinguished by the name of the Baptist Congregation to pray read and hear Divine Service in according to the way and manner of the said Sect called Baptists."

The premises were converted into a Meeting soon after, as in the Northampton College Street Records there is a note that in July, 1717, there was collected " for ye Church at Newport Pagnell towards their new Meeting Place £6 1s. 8d." It was in March, too, of this year that Jeremiah Bass of Northampton was censured by his church for preaching here without their leave. Mr. Hanwell eventually went to London for a time (being a member of Mr. Noble's church) and then to Kettering, being ordained pastor of the Baptist church there on 10 March, 1729/30.

Mr. Joseph Palmer, who from 1746 to 1774 was pastor of Bildeston, Suffolk, ministered to the church for some time.

David Evans, who perhaps came from Great Gransden, and went to Biggleswade, was pastor in 1748.

Mr. William Coles, who was the stated minister in June 1761, and whose ministry here was for possibly the ten years 1758 to 1768, was in 1792 living at Ampthill, Bedfordshire, where he died in 1809. His only daughter Ann was the second wife of the well-known Andrew Fuller, the date of her marriage being 30th December, 1794. In Morris' Memorials of Fuller, she is described as the " only daughter of the Rev. William Coles, pastor of the Baptist Church at Maulden in Bedfordshire," being ordained there 26th October, 1768.

He was succeeded by Mr. John Hewson, who was pastor in 1774. From 1790 to 1794 John Muddiman of Long Buckby, and Thomas Chater of Olney, ministered here on alternate Sundays. On 13th August, 1797, Mr. Thomas Corby was ordained as pastor of the Baptist church at Newport Pagnell, though dwelling at Olney, there then being some thirteen members.

Soon after this, the Cause fell into most deplorable circumstances, " its purity of doctrine declined and it had fallen into a worse than Laodicean State." As a consequence, it was thought expedient to dissolve the Church Union. The minister left, the place was closed and the Cause itself apparently became extinct, " but God reserved to Himself a very small remnant even in this Sardis." After some time the Meeting House was lent to the Wesleyan Methodists, who occupied it for two years, when it was reclaimed, and the Rev. George Foskett, who was described as of Leighton Buzzard, became the minister. He laboured for about thirteen years with little apparent success. During the latter part of his ministry, however, there seemed to be somewhat of a revival and a church, consisting of seven

members, was formed on what were termed moderate Calvinistic principles.

The Covenant of Church Fellowship entered into at this time, namely the 24th July, 1824, was as follows:—

"We who have this day made a public profession of our love to Christ by baptism consider it our duty to form ourselves into a Christian Church and we accordingly agree to the following particulars as expression of our Christian Union.

1. "We consider the Bible as our rule of faith and practice so far as we understand it.
2. "We profess to call no man master on earth but consider ourselves as brethren acknowledging our Master in Heaven even Christ.
3. "We consider it our duty to promote this interest by our prayers conduct invitations and diligence in the use of the means appointed.
4. "We make it our duty to pray for one another sympathize with and help one another as far as our ability shall extend.
5. "We in a Christianlike manner will watch over one another and admonish one another in the Lord when occasion requires.
6. "We unitedly intreat the Father of the Universe to preside over us the Lord Jesus Christ to wash us in His Blood and the Holy Spirit to lead us into all truth.
7. "We give each other the right hand of fellowship as the token of our Christian Communion."

In 1826 Mr. Foskett left, going to Blisworth, and the Rev. John William Early, then of Colman's Green, succeeded him. For a time "there was no stirring of the dry bones," and great discouragement was felt. On the 25th December 1829 however, "a day of Fast, Humiliation and Prayer for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit was held. It proved a day never to be forgotten. The attendance was numerous, a deep solemnity pervaded the place, and the prayers of the Brethren were fervent." From that time, the congregation increased, and the Cause revived, in 1831 there being thirty members. Mr. Early died on the 31st May, 1833; Mr. George Hall of Two Waters, Herts, succeeded him in January, 1835, being formally given the right hand of fellowship on the 10th March in that year. Mr. Hall did not hold views which accorded with those of his deacons, and it is stated that he was eventually prevented from going into the pulpit by two deacons. On the 19th July, 1840, Mr. Robert Abbot of Heywood, near Manchester, was acknowledged as

pastor. He resigned and closed his ministry on the 19th October, 1845.

On the 2 May, 1847, Mr. William Pimm of Wooburn Green was received as pastor, but gave up the pastorate owing to ill-health and old age, on the 24th August, 1865.

He was succeeded by Mr. William Ward of Irthlingborough, whose Recognition Services were held on the 22nd January, 1867, his salary being £70 per annum. Serious disagreements arose, however, in 1869, and in May, 1870, Mr. Ward severed his connection with the church.

Mr. Henry Ephraim Tideman became pastor on the 29th March, 1872, at a salary of £52 per annum, but left about 1875.

Mr. Joseph Wilkins, of Stanstead, Essex, followed on the 28th December, 1877. He gave up the pastorate on the 12th March, 1892, and was the last stated pastor.

The Church Minutes from which several quotations have been given record one or two curious facts. For instance, it appears that on the 30th July, 1829, it was resolved that the quarterly collections to defray the necessary expenses of candles &c., be entrusted to Brother Trulove, and that the short ends of candles be considered as his perquisite. There are too, records of various expulsions for disorderly walking, one member being set aside for six months because his name was in the paper as Bass Singer when Glees and Songs were sung.

The Cause was never very prosperous, it being stated even in 1774, that the people would never agree to have a settled pastorate, so that the interest had always been feeble and low.

As will be seen from the foregoing records, the changes of pastorate were frequent, and the ups and downs of the church distressing. Of late years the Cause so declined that eventually the church ceased to be used as a place of public worship, and at the request of the surviving trustees the premises and properties were taken over by the Baptist Union Corporation, who on the 10th December, 1929, put up and sold the chapel by public auction. Several interments took place from time to time in the chapel, and prior to its sale, the Corporation arranged for the removal of the monuments and the reinterment of the remains in the new cemetery at Newport Pagnell, where a stone commemorating the event has been erected.

FREDK. WM. BULL, F.S.A.

# J. C. Ryland as Schoolmaster.

THE best education of the eighteenth century was given by Dissenting ministers. In nearly every country town they were the teachers, often the proprietors of schools. The Church of England had done much with charity schools, but the main work of teaching fell to men like Poynting of Worcester, Fawcett of Brearley Hall, and others whose lives are usually studied from the pastoral side. We may be thankful when materials are available for seeing how they taught the young.

In 1769 John Collett Ryland drew up a list of the boys he had taken as boarders, and he continued it for four years. It shows that apart from day-boys he had had in twenty-five years 345 lads under his care. The list belongs to the trustees of College Lane, who allowed it to be printed in the Northamptonshire Notes and Queries.

Ryland inherited fine traditions of learning. One Riland had been a Fellow of Magdalen, ejected by James II. The branch from which our man descended joined the Baptist church at Hooknorton, which in 1655 sent to Moreton-in-the-Marsh to found the Midland Association. In 1694 John Ryland was transferred thence to Alcester, whence he was sent as delegate in 1712 to the Association at Leominster; eight years later he had passed away. Among his eight children was Joseph, who settled at Lower Ditchford in the parish of Stretton-on-the-Foss; this Foss-way would lead south to Moreton-in-the-Marsh, Stow-on-the-Wold, and Bourton-on-the-Water, places swarming with Baptists. Presumably Joseph was a member of the church formed by members in these places; he certainly married Freelove Collett, who lived at Slaughter, close to Bourton, where John Collett had been pastor jointly with Joshua Head in the days of Charles II. She was descended from Colet, the famous master of St. Paul's school. In October 1723 they had a son, whom they named John Collett Ryland.

After a sprightly boyhood, he was baptized on 2 October 1741 by Benjamin Beddome, pastor at Bourton, who at that time was adding forty members to his church: it had members in a score of parishes, having already established a fine reputation for evangelizing. Beddome was the son of John Beddome, who from 1697 to 1724 conducted a good boarding-school at Henley-in-Arden, where the bell for rising hung long after his removal to Bristol. Benjamin had studied at that city under

Bernard Foskett, and believed strongly in education, sending one son to Edinburgh and Leyden, training another for medicine. He therefore gently guided young Ryland to Foskett's care, the first of six men whom he thus led into the ministry. What Ryland afterwards thought of Foskett we know, and as we know what he thought about most of his own pupils, we think none the worse of Foskett; it would be interesting to know what that tutor thought of this turbulent young scholar.

He supplied at Pershore and was desired as pastor; but it was his fellow-student, John Ash, on whom the church compromised, so obtaining in their midst another renowned boarding-school. He supplied also at Warwick, and after four years' probation, they ordained him in 1750. But he had started his life work before then, prompted by the need of supporting a wife, Elizabeth Frith, a member of that church, whom he married in December 1748.

It was in that year that he took seven boarders. The first was Joshua Head, descendant of the pastor at Bourton; the second was a Yarnold from Bromsgrove. Next year he secured fifteen more, and we perhaps trace boys from Luton, Stow, Coventry, Leicester and Birmingham; one at least afterwards entered the ministry in Essex. In 1750, the year of his ordination, seven more entered, and he had tapped Leominster, Alcester, Tetbury. There was a fine clannish feeling among Baptists, and the Association meetings gave fine opportunities for pushing a school. When in 1751 we see a lad from Northampton, the shadow of a coming event is cast before, while Colletts next year betoken the family connection. Evesham, Nantwich, Westmancote, contributed to his increasing family. The school was conducted in the Rectory, which was far too large for the need of the incumbent, but Ryland's hiring it gravely disturbed some churchmen.

His energy was tremendous, but he could not do everything single-handed, and by 1751 he enlisted the help of Guy Medley. When he was estimating the strength of Baptists in all England, he even put down Medley as his assistant minister; but probably he was really assistant in the school, for the church has no record or tradition of his ministry. It is not surprising that in the school holidays, both midsummer and midwinter, Ryland himself took holiday with James Hervey, rector of Weston Flavel. Nor is it surprising that the church at Warwick did not feel a very warm attachment to their pastor, and that when the thirty members at College Lane, Northampton, appreciated him in 1748 and asked him to remove, it was a very cool letter which dismissed him.

School premises were found in the Horsemarket, at the south corner of Mary Street: there seems to have been a good garden, with a summer-house. It is not clear how many boys Ryland brought with him from Warwick, but in 1760 he had fourteen fresh entries. Also one girl came, conceivably the sister of a boy who started the year before. As co-education was not popular, the demand for a good school where girls might be sent was met by Mrs. Trinder opening a parallel institution. Two years later he made another bold experiment, taking in Othello the negro. The school flourished, as many as thirty entering in 1767, and not only was Ryland's son John employed as assistant, but other ushers also were needed. The discipline was probably Spartan, for Ryland himself rose at four, and spent three hours in study before prayers.

John Ash broke new ground in 1766 with a Grammar, which ran to several editions. Ryland had hitherto written only short pamphlets, but this tempted him to issue "An easy introduction to mechanics, geometry, plane trigonometry, measuring heights and distances, optics, astronomy, &c." Next year he edited Lange's "Easy and pleasant Latin conversations."

Now in 1764 the Baptists in Pennsylvania had secured a charter for a Rhode Island College, and Morgan Edwards, whose course at Bristol had overlapped Ryland's, came back to collect funds. Like a good many new universities, this first Baptist college showed its gratitude by honorary degrees; and in 1769 Ryland was adorned with a A.M. It seems quite possible that the list of scholars was compiled in connection with this honour, that the Public Orator might have some facts whereon to found his speech.

As we look down the list, which unfortunately gives no addresses, we can recognize names from the district of Ryland's people and the Bourton church. Here and there we see boys who may have grown into ministers; Samuel Green, Joseph Hughes, Richard Pain; ministers even from London seem to have trusted him with their sons, Button and MacGowan; while Pewtress, Coles, Lepard, Sandys, Middleditch, Brodie, are suggestive. Guy Medley's son Samuel, after a naval career, found his way also into the Baptist ministry.

Three essays on the Advancement of Learning, and similar topics, appeared at frequent intervals. Then in 1775 came "The Preceptor, or general repository of useful information." This was evidently a popular form of school-book; Mrs. Mangnall's compendium was in use a century later.

In 1773 the record of new entries was dropped, though the book was by no means full. Young Ryland, now twenty years

old, was a fine scholar, being able to read Hebrew before he was six years old. He easily passed from being pupil to being assistant, and struck out a new line by his sermons to the boys. In 1775 Robert Hall of Armsby was advised by Beeby Wallis of Kettering to take his eleven-year-old boy Robert, who has recorded a gruesome conversation between his elders as he cowered by the fire. From Hall's biographer we hear how Ryland was a fair Greek teacher, but capital at mathematics, which he dealt with practically, forming a "living orrery" in the playground.

Once Ryland had tasted the delights of authorship, he could not resist the temptations of the press. Deserting the remunerative field of school-books, he essayed a Body of Divinity, and several volumes oddly named Contemplations, which rambled widely. Despite a list of subscribers that filled twenty-four pages, he seems to have overstrained his resources, and in 1781, when his son was ordained co-pastor, he concentrated his energies on the school, and even so, felt embarrassed. So in 1786 he resigned wholly from Northampton, and removed the school to Enfield near London, where it took a new lease of life.

Being now sixty years old, he confined himself henceforth to the business side, and to the religious instruction. Among his assistants were John Clarke, Joseph Wells, and William Newman; all of them in after days kept up the traditions he implanted. But his own superintendence here was not long, for he passed away in July 1792. Perhaps his son had written to him how fifty days before, a schoolmaster he had baptized in the Nen had quickened the conscience of Fuller; but he could not foresee how, with another schoolmaster from his own Broadmead, the tradition of teaching should be transplanted to India by Carey and Marshman.

It is to be wished that we could have particulars whereby to estimate this kind of work that Dissenters were steadily doing. Their schools were private, family affairs. Sometimes we can with pains get glimpses at William Giles in Chatham, Eccles, Wallasey, Chester; or at Pilkington in Rayleigh. If their stories were set forth and known more widely, people might realise how great is the debt that England owes to the Old Dissent, in the education both of the villager and of the middle class.

W. T. WHITLEY.