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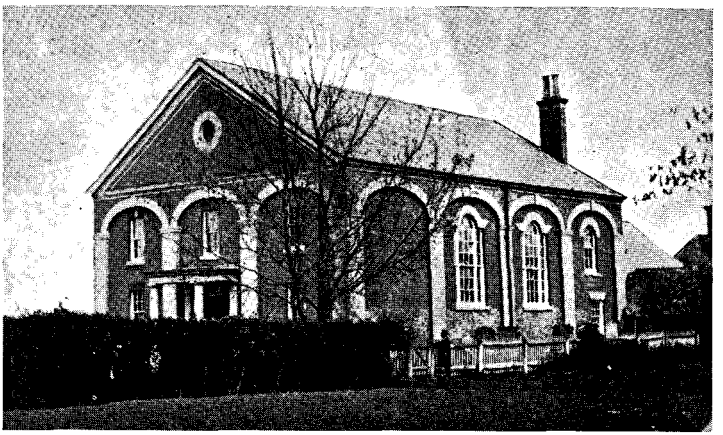

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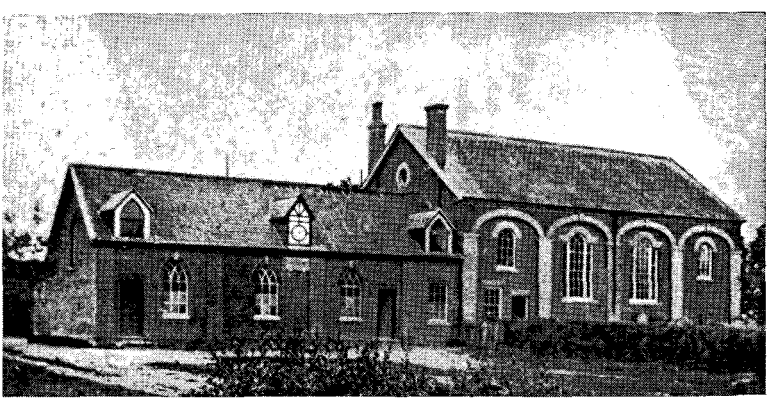

SCHOOL AND CHAPEL,
From the north-east.

Laymen and Reunion.

OUTSTANDING in the religious life of the last two decades has been the movement towards Christian unity. It has not been restricted to any particular Church or country, but has had world-wide significance. It is found in notable strength in Canada, which six years ago saw the union of Congregationalists, Methodists and Presbyterians in the United Church of Canada; and in South India, where negotiations between Anglicans, Methodists and the South India United Church have proceeded for eleven or twelve years; while Australia and the United States provide other important examples. The homeland too has come within the sphere of the movement's influence. Two years ago witnessed the union of the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church; and two years hence the lengthy negotiations between the Wesleyan Methodist Church, the Primitive Methodist Church and the United Methodist Church will reach their consummation. Furthermore, the Conferences between representatives of the Established Church and the Free Churches, held at Lambeth Palace from 1921 to 1925, not only brought "representative members of the Churches concerned into closer fellowship and to better understanding of each other's position," but also revealed a large measure of agreement on vital and fundamental things of the Christian faith. This world-wide diffusion of the desire for unity should move all Christians to thanksgiving.

The movement in this country is likely to receive fresh prominence during coming months, as the Archbishop of Canterbury has sent an invitation to the Federal Council of Evangelical Free Churches to appoint representatives of its constituent bodies to meet representatives of the Church of England to resume conversations in the hope "that some further step may be taken towards at least fuller understanding and fuller spiritual co-operation, or, if it may be by God's will, towards even closer union."

It is hardly surprising that Free Churchmen have not received the invitation with overwhelming enthusiasm. The earlier Conferences left a feeling of disappointment. The lofty idealism of the "Appeal to all Christian people," the vision of "a Church, genuinely Catholic, loyal to all Truth, and gathering into its fellowship all 'who profess and call themselves Christians,' within whose visible unity all the treasures of faith

and order, bequeathed as a heritage by the past to the present, shall be possessed in common, and made serviceable to the whole Body of Christ," naturally won glad response. But as the conversations proceeded from "Episcopacy to Creed, from Creed to Sacraments, from Sacraments to Episcopacy," the apparently impassable *bergschrund* which exists between the Free Church conception of Orders and that generally held by the Established Church, was unmistakably revealed. Again, words of unity need to be followed by acts of unity; and truth and frankness compel the reluctant admission that, despite many charming and undoubtedly genuine expressions, it is difficult to discover any real extension of these in the six years since 1925. Intercommunion has been definitely discouraged by the Church of England, and remains, according to Resolution 42 of the Lambeth Conference, 1930, "the goal of, rather than a means to, the restoration of union." It is doubtful if pulpit exchanges have increased in number; and little, if any, advantage has been taken of national occasions to abrogate even in a small degree the privileges of the Establishment that impressive examples of unity might be given. The six years have, however, witnessed:

(1) the proposed revision of the Prayer Book with its weakening, in the opinion of practically all Free Churchmen and a not unimportant minority of the Anglican Church, of the Protestant character of the Church of England;

(2) the practical adoption of this Revised Prayer Book in many dioceses, despite two refusals to sanction it by the Parliament from which the Church claims all the privileges of Establishment;

(3) the retention of the authorised Prayer Book in other dioceses with little intention to observe it or use it in the manner intended by law; (*2 and 3 not only involve deep moral issues, but also illustrate the impossibility of cramping the genius of religion within the confines of State ecclesiastical law*).

(4) the steady advance in the influence and authority of the Anglo-Catholic section of the Episcopal Church;

(5) the 1930 *Encyclical* with its emphasis apparently strongly turned towards the Old Catholics and the Orthodox Churches of the East, rather than to the Free Churches at home.

Such happenings unfortunately cannot fail to have their repercussions in Reunion Conferences.

So far as can be gathered from Bell's *Documents on Christian Unity* and kindred literature, the *functions of the laity*, and the possible reaction of the laity to the questions which were being discussed, did not receive consideration in the 1921-25 Conferences. It may not, therefore, be out of place

for a layman who has some knowledge of the point of view that is being expressed by many laymen of Baptist Churches, both in London and the country, to suggest that, even assuming the representatives reach such agreement as to the Historic Episcopate and the Recognition of the Free Church ministry, *sub conditione* or otherwise, as would be accepted by the ministers of the Churches concerned, it by no means follows that the Free Church laity would unhesitatingly acquiesce in the implications of the harmony thus engendered. Moreover, assuming further the acceptance of the agreement both by the ministers and by the laity, there would remain for discussion the equally important question of the functions of the laity, for whom, from one point of view, all Churches and all ministers, including Bishops and Archbishops, exist.

What then are the functions of the laity in, for example, the Baptist Church? A broad general answer is that they are the same as those of the ministry. There is no position held by a minister, nor function exercised by a minister, which is not equally capable, under certain conditions, of being held or exercised by a layman. The term "layman" does not exclude anyone on the mere ground of sex. To avoid misunderstanding it may be well to particularise. A layman can be President of the Baptist Union, a position which, while not of the same national importance, nevertheless among Baptists is not less honourable than the See of Canterbury among Episcopalians. To this position the holder is *elected* by the members of the Assembly, not *appointed* by the Prime Minister, and of the fourteen elected since the close of the War, seven have been ministers and seven laymen. Should the Baptist Union, as an official part of the Annual Assembly programme, arrange a Communion Service in any year when the President was a layman, it would not only be in accordance with the Constitution and Standing Orders for the President to preside, but it would also be considered fitting and seemly. A layman can be Secretary of the Baptist Union, Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, as was the late Alfred Henry Baynes, or indeed hold any office in the gift of the Union, the Missionary Society, or other Denominational Society, including that of General Superintendent under the Ministerial Settlement and Sustentation Scheme. In connection with this Scheme, it is interesting to recall that, at their regular meetings, the ten Baptist General Superintendents are presided over by a layman, Mr. Thomas S. Penny, J.P., in the same way, although from a somewhat different angle, that the Bishops were presided over by a layman, one Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, as Vicar-General of Henry VIII., the Supreme Head of the Church of England. A layman can be the appointed

minister in sole charge of a Church, and exercise all the functions of a minister, including "administration of the sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion, ministry to sick souls, building up the faithful and evangelising the needy multitude." Examples are, the late William Peddie Lockhart of Liverpool, Joseph Benson of Belle Isle, and others, who also followed their secular callings, and thus continued in the true Apostolic succession of fishermen, tentmakers and the like. In the nature of things such examples are exceptional, and far more usually a layman who possesses the necessary gifts of heart and mind exercises his preaching ministry in any Church or Churches to which he may be invited. There is no Baptist Church which would exclude him from its pulpit solely on the ground of his being a layman. Probably about 2,000 laymen are thus engaged in Baptist Churches every week. In the event of the layman's visit falling on one of the Sundays when the Lord's Supper was to be celebrated, either he or one of the deacons of the Church would preside at that sacred service. A layman can hold any office in his own Church—trustee, deacon, secretary, treasurer, &c., and it would be a very narrow interpretation which restricted the diaconal office to what are generally understood as *material* duties. As conceived among Baptists, the office of deacon implies also *spiritual* leadership. During an interregnum between two pastorates, a retired or neighbouring minister may be asked to be moderator of the Church, or the position may be filled by the senior deacon, or the church secretary, or another officer duly appointed by the local Church. By courtesy and custom, but not by virtue of any right or Orders, the preacher occupying the pulpit for the day, whether ministerial or lay, would usually be asked to officiate at the Communion service. If occasion demanded, however, the duty would be undertaken by the lay-moderator, and it would not be considered unseemly, but quite in accord with the fitness of things, for him to preside at the service of induction of the new minister, or to offer the prayer for the new ministry, or to close the service by pronouncing the benediction.

The possession by the layman of certain spiritual qualities and general suitability for the position are the pre-requisites to his election or appointment by the Association or Church. He can take none of the positions to himself, but, having been duly elected or appointed, *no human ordination is requisite*. It is almost unnecessary to say that his election or appointment would be carried through with due dignity and in humble dependence on the Holy Spirit's guidance, and by prayer he would be commended to his work. Baptists believe that this doctrine of the laity is taught in the New Testament,

where they find, not a priestly class charged with the dispensing of supernatural grace, but that all Christians are called to minister, according to their "gift," and therefore, that there is "no right which cannot be exercised upon occasion by every true Christian, lay or cleric."

The enquiry may reasonably be made, "What then is the position of the Baptist ministry? If the functions of the minister and the layman may be identical, is the minister no more than a full time layman?" In the writer's opinion such a deduction is far too bald and does not do justice to the Baptist conception of the ministry. Levelling up the laity to the spiritual level given them in the New Testament does not imply a levelling down of the ministry from the place of special honour in which Baptists hold them. The reply to the Lambeth Appeal adopted by the Baptist Union Assembly in 1926, and therefore an official statement, declared "The ministry is for us a gift of the Spirit to the Church, and is an office involving both the inward call of God and the commission of the Church. . . . For us there is no more exalted office than a ministry charged with preaching the Word of God and with the care of souls. Those called to devote their whole lives to such tasks are held in special honour." In three important respects at least, Baptist ministers differ from Baptist laymen:

(*a*) *The minister has heard and responded to the inner call of God to devote his whole life to the preaching of the Word and to the work of the ministry;* and with the Apostle he can say "necessity is laid upon me; yea, woe is unto me, if I preach not the gospel!" That call the layman has not heard, or, if heard, he has not responded to it.

(*b*) *The minister has given years to the preparation of himself, intellectually and spiritually,* that he may be used "for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ." That preparation the layman has usually not undergone.

(*c*) *The minister's inner call has been attested by the call of a particular Church* which is desirous to have his services as a minister. On entering this pastorate he is "ordained" or "set apart" for the ministry at a solemn religious service, and this ordination, impressively conducted and valuable both to minister and Church, is a recognition by the Church that the minister has heard and responded to an inner call to a vocation that no man takes to himself. It does not "make the minister, or add anything in the way of supernatural grace which makes his ministry 'valid' as it would not be without it." After due probation, the call of the particular Church is, in most cases, ratified by the recognition of the

Association with which the Church is in membership and of the Baptist Union. When a Church asks a layman to occupy the pulpit, it attests his call to be a preacher of the gospel, but that is different from corroborating a man's inner call to give himself wholly to the ministry and to have the pastoral care of a flock of God.

The doctrine of the priesthood of all believers is perfectly consistent with such a separated ministry, equipped by special qualities and training to carry out the spiritual functions of the pastoral office. As we have already seen, laymen who are possessed of the necessary qualities of heart and mind are in no way disqualified from exercising those functions as occasion requires and opportunity offers, but it is not only in the interests of order and effectiveness, but also in the highest interests of the Church, that these functions should normally be carried out by those whom special opportunities and special experience have fitted for the performance of such solemn duties.

An examination of the functions of the laity in the Established Church reveals a different atmosphere. Instead of the opportunity of unrestricted Christian service and the deep abiding privilege of spiritual witness, the layman finds restrictions for himself and privileges for the priest. Practically all offices and positions involving leadership are reserved to the episcopally ordained priesthood, and the Church has little to compare with the lay service and witness of the Free Churches. Licensed Lay Readers can give help in mission-rooms, or, subject to certain very definite restrictions, in consecrated buildings. A further possibility of service is revealed by the Lambeth Conference, 1930, which resolved that "in order to meet the present pressing need, the Conference would not question the action of any Bishop who, with the sanction of the national, regional, or provincial Church concerned, should authorise such licensed *Readers* as he shall approve to administer the chalice at the request of the parish priest." This very cautious resolution is the nearest approach of the Church of England to anyone other than the priest administering the communion or pronouncing the blessing. The other main offices in the local Church open to the laity are those of a churchwarden, whose duties were considerably curtailed by the Enabling Act, and membership of the Parochial Church Council, which had fairly widespread powers of finance and property management conferred on it by such Act. The general powers and privileges of this Council appear somewhat attenuated when compared with those of the Deacons' Court of a Baptist Church, as, while *spiritual* matters are definitely

the prerogative of the priest, in many *material* matters the Council is subject to the supervision of the Diocesan Authority.

These widespread variations in the functions of the laity of the Established and Free Churches are not the outcome of chance. They are founded on deep convictions which arise from differing conceptions of the Church, its Ministry and Sacraments. The Anglican emphasises the Historic Episcopate and the Priestly element in the Church; for him, the priest is all-important, he alone is the "Dispenser of the Word of God, and of His Holy sacraments." The Free Churchman, on the other hand, emphasises the prophetic element and the priesthood of all believers. As Dr. Nixon points out in his recently published work, *Priest and Prophet,* "It is impossible to doubt that there have been from the beginning, and that there are to-day, two types of religion represented in the history of the Christian Church. They are strongly antithetical, and one cannot see at present how they can be reconciled. We may call them the Priestly and the Prophetic types. . . . The questions at issue work down in the last resort to one. Is Christianity a religion of law, or of grace? If it is a religion of law, then a priestly type of religious authority can best express it. . . . If, on the other hand, Christianity is a religion of grace, then it would seem that the prophetic type of religion is best suited to express it."[1] The Free Churches feel themselves to be especially the heirs and the guardians of the prophetic witness, and it will readily be understood that laymen trained and nurtured in that belief felt that the acknowledgment of the 1920 Lambeth Conference "that these ministries [i.e., the ministries of those Communions which do not possess the Episcopate] have been manifestly blessed and owned by the Holy Spirit as effective means of grace," was really no more than an acknowledgment of the obvious. However God may reveal Himself, and through whatever ministries He may be pleased to work, the whole experience of the Free Churches testifies to the power He has imparted, and the real authority He has given, to the ministries thus acknowledged. Undoubtedly, such acknowledgment marked a great advance on anything that would have been admitted in the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth or nineteenth centuries, and the acknowledgment was couched in generous language, but no brethren striving after Christian unity could have said less.

The representatives to the Joint Conferences assembled at Lambeth Palace for their first meeting in November, 1921, with the knowledge that reconciliation of the Priestly and Prophetic

[1] Chapter 10 from which this quotation is taken should be referred to, that Dr. Nixon's argument may be read in full.

conceptions of the Church presented almost insuperable difficulties. They were further aware that there was not the slightest chance of Free Churchmen entering into organic union with an *Established* Church, or into a Federation with it so closely knit that some connection with the State would be implied, as Free Churchmen would never submit to the indignity of the civil power having even limited authority over their spiritual affairs. On the other hand, among many Free Churchmen and many Anglicans, there was an earnest desire for such things as:

co-operation in aggressive efforts to spread the evangel of Jesus Christ, and to enthrone Him more completely in national life;

united efforts to spread the principles of peace and social righteousness;

full recognition that, in suitable cases, such acts of unity as occasional interchange of pulpits and occasional inter-communion were as desirable and permissible between Anglican Churches and Free Churches, as previously they had been among the various Free Churches.

The opinion of most laymen probably would be that the Joint Conferences of 1921-25 missed a great opportunity. Instead of facilitating acts of unity, the representatives spent four years in prolonged and interminable discussions on the Historic Episcopate, the Sacraments, and the Authority of the Free Church Ministry. These discussions may be of particular interest and inspiration to the clerical mind, whether of the Anglican Church or of the Free Churches, but the average layman, not being ecclesiastically minded, finds it difficult to understand why, amid all the gestures and conversations concerning Reunion, there should be so little practical attempt to present unity in ways which are obvious. He further finds it difficult to understand why men of different communions should not be able to join together in a common celebration of the Lord's Supper; why it should be so difficult for various sections of the Church of Christ to hold common meetings for prayer; or why any pulpit, if it is a Christian pulpit, should be denied to any man who is manifestly a Christian preacher of approved ability. Points such as these may appear amateurish to the ecclesiastical mind; but the layman, although not possessing the technical training of his minister or vicar, at least knows and feels something of the needs of the congregation, and is able to express the yearnings of the congregation even on the deepest matters of the Christian life.

The layman's point of view concerning the matters which were considered, is not without importance, and extended

reference could be made. It could be suggested, for example, that the emphasis on the adjective *Historic* when referring to the Episcopate is hardly justified by history, as, even if it could be proved that the origin of the Episcopate dates back to the Apostles, it is, as the 1930 *Encyclical* admits, "hard to recognise the successors of the Apostles in the feudal Prelates of the mediæval Church, or in the 'peers spiritual' of eighteenth-century England." Something could also be said as to the assertion, often made dogmatically, that episcopacy is of the *esse* of the Church, and as to the very great difficulty of so adding adequate Congregational and Presbyteral elements to the Episcopal, that the result would be acceptable, whether to Anglicans or Free Churchmen. Furthermore, the layman's standpoint as to the sacrament of Holy Communion is worthy of thought. An indication of its line is contained in the suggestion that there is little similarity between the simple and homely first Supper at which our Lord presided, and the priestly service of the Anglo-Catholic, with its practice of Reservation and doctrine of the Real Presence. For the purposes of this paper, however, it will be sufficient to express somewhat fully what layman, or more particularly, Baptist laymen, think as to the authority of the Free Church Ministry and the scheme by which it was proposed that Free Church ministers might be recognised as priests and deacons of the Anglican Church. It was on the 19th June, 1925, three-and-a-half years after the first Conference, that the Church of England representatives presented their *Second Memorandum on the Status of the Existing Free Church Ministry,* and one welcomes the high tone of the Memorandum and the spirit in which it was written. The authors were faced with the grave difficulty of conveying, as kindly and generously as possible, the unpleasant intimation that, although Free Church ministries had been "manifestly blessed and owned by the Holy Spirit as effective means of grace," and that, although "the Word was admitted to be Christ's Word, and the Sacraments to be Christ's Sacraments," nevertheless, because of difficulties which were genuinely felt and courteously explained, the Church of England representatives could not admit that such ministries had due authority. In their judgment this "lack of authority was the main defect in the Free Church ministries," and to give this authority they offered two suggestions: (1) That a solemn authorisation be conferred by the laying on of hands by a Bishop, or (2) that Ordination *sub conditione* be accepted, that being an act of Episcopal Ordination prefaced and governed by a condition expressed in some such words as "If thou art not already Ordained," and followed by such

part of the form of Ordination and Authorization in the Ordinal of the Church of England as was considered necessary. Strangely, the Archbishops and Bishops who prepared the *Second Memorandum* thought this latter plan "would have the merit of dealing straightforwardly with the actual facts of the situation." To the ecclesiastical mind this may be straightforward, but to the lay mind, and particularly to those laymen whose business contracts belong to that class known as *uberrima fides,* the attempt to conceal differing convictions on vital issues by an ambiguous formula appears somewhat doubtful

After the writer of this article had read and re-read the *Second Memorandum,* he thought of the three ministers under whom it has been his great privilege to sit during the last twenty years; men of devout, earnest spirit, honoured and loved for their own sakes and for their work's sake; men in the succession of those who were given "some to be apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers"; men whose call to the ministry has been recognised by their own Churches and their own denomination; men whose scholarship cannot be questioned, for each is the graduate of at least two Universities, and two of the three possess the highest Divinity Degree conferred by the University of London. With the greatest respect to their Graces and Lordships, the suggestion that the ministries exercised by such men "may be in varying degrees irregular or defective," and that to give them due authority they need a Bishop's Ordination, either full or *sub conditione,* is begging the question, and not far removed from impertinence. Just as reasonably, or unreasonably, might Free Churchmen say to the Bishops and Priests of the Church of England, "We cannot find New Testament warrant for your priestly conceptions of the ministry, and we question your right to claim any authority for your ministry other than that which is conceded by you to the ministries of the Free Churches when you say that they have been 'manifestly blessed and owned by the Holy Spirit as effective means of grace.'" The *Second Memorandum* is couched in courteous and brotherly language, but that does not alter the fact that deep down its attitude to the Free Church Ministry is that it is irregular, defective, lacking authority, and definitely less in value than the Ministry of the Established Church. Surely such an attitude is mildly reminiscent of the Pontificial Bull of 1897, in which the Pope of Rome declared concerning Anglican Ordinations "Wherefore, strictly adhering in this matter to the decrees of the Pontiffs, Our predecessors, and confirming them more fully, and as it were, renewing them by Our authority, of Our own free will and from certain knowledge, We pronounce and declare that Ordinations carried

out according to the Anglican rites, have been, and are, absolutely null and void." Perhaps the perfect commentary on both the *Second Memorandum* and the *Pontifical Bull* is found in a little incident nearly two thousand years old, "Master . . . we forbade him because he followed not us," but Jesus said, "Forbid him not."

In a recent letter to *The Times,* the Dean of Durham asked what advance the Free Churches had made towards the Church of England, and he proceeded to answer his question "So far as I am able to form a judgment, these Churches stand to-day exactly where they stood at the time of the Lambeth Conference in 1920, and even before it." Very largely this is so, as Free Churchmen believe themselves to be "the guardians and exponents of principles that go back to the very beginnings of the history of the Church," and to those principles they must be true. The Episcopal path of Faith and Order along which they are invited to walk does not appear to them to lead to those "higher pastures where celestial breezes blow." They feel that the attempt to scale the majestic mount of Christian Unity has been begun from the wrong direction, and that endless time may needlessly and fruitlessly be spent on this *Furggen Ridge.* It is obvious, when account is taken, not only of the Churches which took part in the Lambeth Joint Conferences, but also of the Roman and Eastern Churches, that Church Union in the sense of one organised visible Church is not within the realm of practical religious politics. Moreover, scholars are far from agreement among themselves that when our Lord prayed "That they all may be one; as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee," He had in mind a visible corporeal unity. It is equally, or possibly more, probable that our Lord had in mind the greater unity of the spirit. In the words of a fine paper on "The Nature of the Church," read at the invitation of the Bishop of Gloucester at Conferences on the Lausanne findings, "Unity is a spirit—love is its centre. Is not *that* the only thing that matters? When once the river flows it makes its own channel. I enter my plea for the greater unity—a unity which will leave every Church free to work out its own perfection among the diversities of gifts and administration in which, I believe, our Lord rejoices." A vast uniform organisation is no necessary channel of the Spirit's working, nor proof of its presence, and it is contrary to our particular ethos. Dean Inge perhaps gives the final word in his *Lay Thoughts of a Dean*: "The upshot of all this is that the institutional unification which some desire, is neither practicable nor desirable. An independent nation must be independent in the spiritual as well as in the secular sphere. . . .

The unity of Christendom which alone we can desire and rationally seek to promote is not the unity of a world-wide centralised government, but unity of spirit based on a common faith and a common desire to see the Kingdom of God, which is 'righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost,' established on earth. There will be diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit; differences of ecclesiastical organisation, but the same Lord."

The Church of England has a great history, and in her ranks have been some of the greatest theologians and saints. Alongside a fine reverence for history and tradition, she has the desire to make her organisation more adequate and perfect for the needs of to-day, and in her worship and devotion is much that would enrich the Free Churches. On the other hand there is something in the spiritual genius of the Free Churches and in their history and traditions from which the Anglican Church might learn and by which she might be enriched. The writer of this article feels that the Christian Unity for which both Anglican and Free Churchmen strive cannot be reached upon the basis of a minimum formula, and that the Cause of Christian Unity is not helped by avoiding issues which sooner or later must be faced. Failure to be perfectly frank would result in a unity devoid of that whole-hearted response that is essential to practical effectiveness. Fortunately, one of the great advantages of the Age is that we have learned to recognise that no one point of view, whether Catholic or Protestant, Anglican or Free, expresses all truth, and that God who fulfils Himself in many ways, is continually teaching those who are humble and willing to learn. So the Christian Unity that is much to be desired must take up into itself all the rich diversity of the varying streams of Christian experience. Surely, therefore, the highest interests of all Churches and of Christian Union would best be served if the main business of the Conferences which will spring out of the Archbishop's invitation was to arrange " fuller spiritual co-operation," for discussions on abstruse and hairsplitting points of Faith and Order are of very little value if all the time the crowds pass by the Church, untouched by the essential message the Church has to deliver.

SEYMOUR J. PRICE.

The Church of Greece.

FOUR years ago, in view of the Lausanne Conference on Faith and Order, we gave a brief account of the Orthodox Church, which has such a great attraction for some members of the Church of England. Since then, the Lambeth Conference has drawn the two bodies closer. The appearance of a little book by the Great Archimandrite, who has quickly become at home in Bayswater, enables us to see that Church as it desires to present itself to Englishmen. While some of the fourteen allied churches are more important for their historic lineage than for the actual present, yet the deportation by the Turks of all Christians from their Asiatic territories has enhanced the population of Greece; and it is well to understand the position there.

The Hellenic Republic may have about seven million people, in 49,000 square miles; the area slightly less than England, the population slightly more than in Wales and Scotland. Practically all the people belong to the Church of Greece, which since 1850 has been acknowledged by the Ecumenical Patriarchate as independent. The relation of this Church to the State has often varied in detail, but the government is statutory, and all legislation is subject to confirmation or rejection in Parliament. There is constant administration by a Holy Synod, which meets thrice a week; the Archbishop of Athens presides, with four Metropolitans from old Greece, four from new Greece, and a representative of the government; election to this is annual. Every year the Synod receives from each Metropolitan a detailed report as to ordinations, new buildings, trials of clergy, parochial life, charities; and for this purpose the Metropolitan must in person visit each parish every year.

The Metropolitans therefore appear to be the key officers; there are 77 of them, besides 9 bishops; this is an interesting development of the ancient Greek city-independence, that bishops are almost extinct (for the only two on the mainland are assistants) and that nearly every town of the faintest importance has an archbishop. Each of these Metropolitans therefore has to supervise about 150,000 people in an area 25 miles square. Those of us who can learn from foreign experience, will wonder how ecclesiastical affairs would prosper in England if it consisted of dioceses the size of Hertfordshire, with half its population, all in one communion, with no dissenters. Evidently a General Superintendent in such an area could know the villages and the ministers very well. The

Metropolitans are paid from a General Ecclesiastical Treasury managed by a joint committee, much as Queen Anne's Bounty and other centralised funds of the Church of England are administered. Each Metropolitan must live in his diocese, leaving it only by special permission of the Synod.

Metropolitans apparently are all unmarried, though Dean Constantinides does not refer to this point. And apparently most are still selected from the monasteries. These have been investigated, and out of 540, 394 have been abolished, on the precedent set by Cardinal Wolsey in England, and carried out so thoroughly by Henry VIII. The figures given are not on the surface self-consistent; perhaps more have been founded since the abolition, for to-day there are over 250. All the estates of the suppressed monasteries were sold, and the proceeds were the nucleus of the General Ecclesiastical Treasury; to this is paid annually the surplus from each surviving monastery, after providing for upkeep of buildings and maintenance of the monks. No light is thrown on the education within the monasteries, but the training possible may be illustrated by the career of the present Archbishop of Athens. He had three years at the sacerdotal schools of Constantinople, two in Jerusalem and Smyrna, two at the university of Athens, four in Russian academies; he then was appointed professor in the theological school at Jerusalem, still a layman. This probably shows the system at its best, and many English bishops may envy such opportunities.

The parish clergy have very different training and careers. They apparently must be married, and if the old rule is still in force, they must retire when widowed, and may not re-marry. Their leading duties, as of old, are the administration of six out of the seven sacraments; marriage, baptism, chrism, the eucharist, penance, unction. But to these are now being added the conduct of Sunday-schools, and preaching. Therefore, sacerdotal schools to equip them are flourishing, and at Athens there is a Theological School within the University, while there are also eleven other Theological Colleges, some being on the islands. It is hoped that within twenty years there will be no new non-college men needed. At present there is strict supervision, both of men and of money; "offences of the diocesan clergy" are dealt with by a standing tribunal in each diocese, while each parish is responsible for all local expenditure.

Mount Athos is the most important centre of monastic life. Though politically it is part of the Hellenic Republic, yet in ecclesiastical matters it is subject only to the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople. There are 17 Greek monasteries

on it, a Russian, a Serbian, and a Bulgarian; all are governed by representatives who meet twice a year; no bishop may officiate without express leave from Constantinople.

Greeks abroad look up to Metropolitans in Vienna, London, Boston, New York, Chicago, San Francisco and Sydney, all subject to the Ecumenical Patriarch. The present holder of that office was educated at Philippopolis, Athens and Munich.

There is an earnest desire that the Church shall adjust itself even more fully to actual conditions in Greece. Professor Alivisatos brought together in Athens this January a congress of theologians, over which he presided. It was attended by the Minister of Education and Religious Worship; this may be read either as a survival of Byzantinism, or as a token that theologians are expected to deal with sociology as well as with dogmatics. Various measures of reform were discussed, and it was agreed that the parish clergy should be better trained and better paid, that their preaching should be more practical, their visitation more frequent, that superannuation pensions should be provided. It was also agreed that many parishes might be amalgamated, and many dioceses; but the reason was that not enough good men are available, and it is not said that the average parish or diocese is unwieldy; apparently Greeks are not heeding a vocation to the ministry, though the better financial suggestions may remedy this. The financial resources from monasteries should be re-arranged, and the first charges should no longer be the maintenance of buildings and support of the monks, but more practical ends; after the needs of the parish clergy are met, charitable purposes figure as the remainder objects. How far these theologians represent general opinion in lay and clerical circles we cannot tell, but the Minister may be encouraged by these voices within the Church to wide measures of reform.

In the teaching of the Orthodox Church, the following points are emphasized as unfamiliar to some Englishmen:— Holy Tradition is older than the Holy Scripture; the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father alone, not from the Son; Divine Grace has its source in the Church and is transmitted to us through the Sacraments; the Church, represented by all her bishops in a general council, is infallible; Apostolic Succession is fundamental to the Church; spiritual life is given in baptism; the eucharist is a propitiatory sacrifice offered by the priest for all present and absent, the quick and the dead; the Mother of God, by His grace, never committed any actual sin, and was cleansed from original sin when Gabriel visited her, therefore her intercession is sought; veneration is given to the persons represented in ikons and relics.

The Marriage of Hosea.

THE modern interest in the psychology of religious experience, combined with critical study of the records of Hebrew prophets, has led to a great deal of attention being given to their inner life and thought. This is well worth while, both for exegesis and for theology in general, though the lack of information about their outer life and circumstances usually leaves our results somewhat uncertain in detail. Their lives were so subordinated to their messages that it is often only through those messages that we can reconstruct their lives. This fact makes the story of Hosea's marriage the more important, for here, if anywhere, we may see the outer event shaping the inner experience, and its resultant expression in the prophet's "Thus saith the Lord." It is the purpose of this article to examine that story for its own sake, and then to consider how far the experience of Hosea throws light on the doctrines of inspiration, the divine nature and the atonement.

The account of the marriage of Hosea is contained in the first and the third chapters of the collection of oracles bearing his name. According to the first chapter, Hosea is commanded to take a harlot for his wife, and children of harlotry; he accordingly marries Gomer bath Diblaim, who subsequently has three children, to whom the prophet gives symbolic names, which become the texts of prophetic messages concerning Israel. According to the third chapter, Hosea is commanded to love an unnamed woman, loved by a paramour, and an adulteress. He obeys by purchasing her, apparently from some kind of undescribed servitude, and by setting her apart for what seems to be a probationary period. These are practically all our facts, and anything else is an interpretation of them, justified or unjustifiable.

(*a*) The first point we have to decide is this—did these events actually happen, or are they an allegory by which the unfaithfulness of Israel to Yahweh might be the more vividly set forth? I have no hesitation at all in regarding them as real events, issuing from the sex-relation of man and woman, though the two chapters mingle interpretation with event in what to us is a somewhat confusing way. It is not necessary to suppose that Hosea married a woman whom he knew at the time to be unchaste. The terms of the narrative may simply mean that when the prophet did interpret his own life prophetically in the light of after-events as being under the

providential guidance of God, he saw that he had in fact, though unconsciously at the time, taken to himself a woman *destined* to be a wife of harlotry and to bear children of harlotry. This seems more likely than that the prophet knowingly married a woman of unchaste spirit or conduct, though such a supposition cannot be excluded as impossible. The symbolical acts of the Hebrew prophets, such as Isaiah's walking about Jerusalem for three years in the dress of a captive-slave, are often strange to us, and are explicable only by the completeness of surrender to the prophetic impulse. But it is more natural to suppose that a discovery of Gomer's infidelity was made subsequently, perhaps after the birth of the first child, and that the story of the first chapter has been written down (not necessarily by the prophet himself) from his subsequent standpoint. We have a parallel to this prophetic interpretation of an actual event which happened independently of it, in the symbolic meaning which Ezekiel gives to his wife's death (Ezek. xxiv. 15ff.), when he abstains from the usual mourning customs to symbolize the effect of the fall of Jerusalem upon the people. We have another example in Jeremiah's purchase of family property at Anathoth, of which the symbolic significance emerges only after the event (xxxii. 7). In further support of the view that Hosea's marriage was an actual event allegorically interpreted, and not an invented allegory, we may notice such details as the name of Gomer, and the weaning of her daughter, or the details about the purchase-price of the unnamed woman in the third chapter, which have no significance for allegory at all.

(*b*) A much more difficult question to decide is as to the relation of the third chapter to the first. Is it sequel, parallel or prelude? The prevalent, and the *prima facie* natural view is that the third chapter is the sequel to the first, the intervening chapter making the allegorical application of the first. According to this view, the unnamed woman of the third chapter is still Gomer of the first. But in the interval, she must be supposed to have left her husband and to have passed into other hands—those of a private owner, or possibly of a temple, at which she may be serving as one of the "religious" prostitutes of the time. We are not told directly of this separation, at least in the present records of Hosea's life and ministry, any more than we are told what actually happened after the period of probation. But we are given to understand that Hosea intends to take Gomer back to his home when she is ready for it. The second view—that the third chapter is parallel to the first—is based chiefly on the arguments that the important fact of Gomer's departure from her husband

ought not to be left to the imagination, that Gomer would have been definitely named or indicated, if this were a sequel, and that the narrative of the third chapter is in the first person, i.e., autobiographic, whilst that of the first is in the third person, i.e., biographic, a fact which is taken to suggest that they come from different hands, describing in different ways the prophet's one and only marriage. The third view, that Chapter III. gives us Hosea's own account of events *preceding* his marriage, has been recently advocated by Professor Lindblom of Abo, developing the "parallel" theory of Steuernagel. According to this, Hosea knowingly married a woman of unchaste character, who was openly living with a paramour, but did this only after a period of probation. He tells us this in the third chapter, written at a time when the marriage had not taken place, and the children of the first chapter accordingly had not yet been born. We are informed of these subsequent events by a later biographer, and may infer that the adultery of Gomer took place after the birth of the first child. It is alleged that we have no further knowledge of Hosea's marriage experience than is given in Chapter I., and therefore no ground in it for ascribing optimistic prophecies to the prophet, as his final word; the hopeful period came earlier in his life, whilst he still thought that Gomer might be successfully redeemed from sin.

Obviously, the more romantic story is that of the first view—that Hosea seeks to reclaim the fallen Gomer at the end and not at the beginning. But we must not allow the attraction of this "romance," or its greater theological suggestiveness, to sway our exegesis. Our first duty is to decide on grounds of literary criticism which is the more probable view, and only then to test this by its larger relations. Of the three views, the third seems to me least probable and most arbitrary, and it involves emendation of the text in the interests of a theory. It throws the emphasis of the prophet on the reclamation of a woman who has not been faithless to *him,* instead of on that of a faithless wife who has born at least one child of which he is the father. It pre-supposes a double unchastity, and confuses the allegorical application. The second view, that the difference of the narratives is due to their being by different hands, and that they give an inside and outside account of the same events, is difficult to maintain because the events are not the same. In the first chapter Hosea is bidden to take an unchaste woman, in the third to love an adulterous woman. In the first the births of three children are described in succession, in a way that implies the passage of at least five years; in the third, a woman is bought for a slave's price,

and put into isolation for "many days." The two narratives seem irreconcileable, if they are to be regarded as parallel accounts of Hosea's marriage. Certainly, no one would be likely to refer them to the same set of incidents, unless as an escape from greater difficulties. But it is hard to see why we should not take Chapters I. and III. in their present order as parts of a prophetical narrative referring to different periods of Hosea's life. They may not both be written by the prophet; indeed, the change of person from the third to the first suggests this, and it is more natural to regard the first chapter as giving a report by a biographer, which more or less faithfully reflects the earlier life of Hosea, whilst in the third chapter we have a fragment of later autobiography from the prophet himself. There are many parallels in the prophetical books, e.g., in Jeremiah, to this interchange of biography and autobiography. The fact that Gomer is not named in the third chapter means nothing, if "a woman beloved of her paramour and an adulteress" is a sufficient characterization of her, as it would be if she had been unfaithful to Hosea in the course of their married life. It is true that we have to infer this fact from the first description of her, as "a wife of harlotry"; but this applies to all other theories which seek a basis for the allegory in real events. We have always to remember the allusive character of such writing; no more is named than the writer or speaker requires at the moment. We should not have heard that Ezekiel was married, had he not been led to make his wife's funeral a symbol of the national tragedy. In the present arrangement of the first three chapters, there is an intelligible order. We have first the marriage, followed by the births of three children, with the suggestion of their mother's infidelity to her husband. We have in the second chapter the allegorical application of these events: "Plead with your mother, plead; for she is not my wife, neither am I her husband," says Yahweh to the people of the land, i.e., its children, who are "children of harlotry" (ii. 2ff.). This condemnation passes into the promise of a new betrothal of Israel to Yahweh, with new and permanent qualities, and a reversal of the old condemnatory names of the children. This latter part of the chapter obviously runs into the ground of the real experience of the prophet in the following chapter; his love persists, in spite of the infidelity, and is interpreted as divine command to win back his faithless wife to better ways. The experiential text of the sermon found in the second chapter therefore lies in the first and third chapters taken in this sequence; but the preacher reserves the closing part of his text till the sermon

is concluded, when it becomes a human illustration of the divine truth. There are difficulties enough in the oracles of Hosea without exaggerating those of the opening chapters. We may therefore remain content with the ordinary view of the events of Hosea's marriage, with which many Old Testament scholars are still satisfied; the chief fault to find with it seems to be that it has lost the charm of novelty. On the other hand, if sound in itself, it does supply a ground for regarding Hosea as not finally a pessimist as to his nation, and for ascribing to him the oracles which are promises and not warnings.

II. The justification for this discussion of Hosea's marriage is that it has important results not only for exegesis, but also for theology. In regard to exegesis a careful study of the book of Hosea would show how deeply the oracles which it contains are coloured by the experiences of his marriage, how frequently the figure of marital infidelity enters into them, how warm is the feeling with which the relation of Yahweh to Israel is described, how passionate is the longing of God portrayed in them to betroth a faithful people to Himself. We may not feel warranted in relating all the oracles to this one series of events as closely and comprehensively as Professor Lindblom has done in his recent book; but there can be little doubt that the chief psychological explanation of the oracles is derived from Hosea's relations to Gomer. It may even be, as Professor Hans Schmidt has recently argued, that the bitterness of the prophet's attack on the immorality of the high places and of the priests connected with them is due to a personal element—that it was from one of these sanctuaries that he had, in the literal sense, to redeem the temple-prostitute Gomer, because she had first been led astray by the licensed sexuality of their festivals, and had left her husband for professional connection with a sanctuary. There is certainly a depth of personal emotion in this book which can be paralleled nowhere else save in the greater prophet so like Hosea—Jeremiah, who knew the sorrows of a lonely life as Hosea did those of an unhappy marriage. But our present concern is not with the detailed exegesis of the book of Hosea, but with its theological significance. He is the first to make a profoundly ethical application of the figure of marriage to the relation between God and man. Of course, the sex element had taken a great place in primitive religion, including the Canaanite. The mystery of sex, like the mystery of blood, was an inevitable feature in early interpretations of the comprehensive mystery of life, and of its relation to the superhuman powers surrounding

man and his existence. But the moral side of the sex relation, the higher principles which lead to its sublimation in human experience, and may make human love the most divine of all man's experiences, because the most fully reflecting the love of God, and preparing man to understand and respond to it —all this great line of thought which culminates in the Gospel of the New Testament was initiated by Hosea. We see it already working in the Jewish interpretation of the Song of Songs as an allegory of the history of Israel, the bride of Yahweh, from the Exodus to the final restoration of all things. An anthology of love lyrics, containing nothing that is religious at all in the ordinary sense, was thus raised to what a Jewish Rabbi called the Holy of Holies of Israel's sacred literature. We know how profoundly the figure has affected Christian thought and its devotional vocabulary, from St. Paul's comparison of marriage with the relation of Christ and the Church onwards. Hosea is the first begetter of all this line of thought, and he holds this place because of the actual experiences of his life, prophetically interpreted. We have here, then, a supreme example of the place of experience in the prophetic consciousness, and of the warp of human life on the loom of Scripture, across which the shuttle of the Spirit of God so constantly moved. We are reminded here, at the beginning of Israel's higher conceptions of God, that revelation lies in and through that unity of religious experience in which the human and the divine personality lose their "otherness." In the prophetic consciousness, which is one of the noblest kinds of religious consciousness, all is human, and all is divine. These things have been made familiar to us by historical criticism of the Bible, but it cannot be said that their full theological consequences for a doctrine of inspiration have yet been recognized. A sound doctrine of inspiration really raises the issues of the Incarnation itself—the fundamental kinship of human and divine personality. So long as revelation is regarded as the communication to man of a truth about God already existing externally to the man himself, *in that form,* so long the process remains mechanical, and reduces man to a mere amanuensis, as Calvin describes it. But when we see that the revelation is made in and through a human experience, in which experience the truth to be revealed is first created, *in that form,* we are ready to face the implication of this, viz., that human experience *is* capable of representing the divine. There will of course be all kinds of limitation due to man's imperfection, mental and moral, and we must suppose a divine "kenosis" in God's acceptance of these limitations for His purpose—a kenosis as real in its way as that

described by the apostle Paul in regard to the Eternal Son of God. But if the love of Hosea for his faithless wife does really represent, in spite of its human limitations, the love of God for Israel, if the word "love" in fact is to be allowed any human connotation at all in regard to God, it must be because the human personality is in some sense akin to the divine. Moreover, the revelation is made through the unity of fellowship between God and man, and is born of their intercourse. The prophets doubtless interpreted the message as coming from without, in accord with their general psychology. They saw visions of external happenings, heard voices as with their physical ears, felt the hand of Yahweh upon them in quasi-physical compulsions. But all these features belong to their own interpretation of the physical events, and we may describe them in different terms without injustice to the events themselves or their divine significance as "revelation." The sorrowful experience of Hosea as a man and not as a prophet might have had no such significance, however warm his affection for Gomer, and however loyal his endeavour to raise her from shame. The new fact is made when Hosea the prophet reinterprets this experience as having such significance, and makes the prophetic "venture of faith" in saying that this is how God sorrows and God loves. He could not make this venture unless he implicitly believed that God's nature was somehow like his own. No doubt he does not explicitly put it like this; in fact, he represents Yahweh as saying, "I am God and not man." The transcendence of God is explicit; the immanence of God is implicit. But the whole revelation through prophecy rests on the assumption that human experience and thought *can* reveal God, which means that there is no fundamental unlikeness between the human and the divine personality.

This leads to the second question, the doctrine of the passibility of God, the ascription of sorrow and suffering to Him. Dr. J. K. Mozley, in *The Impassibility of God* (1926), has virtually confined himself to a historical record, pointing out the marked contrast between ancient and modern Christian thought on this subject. Until the Reformation and indeed after it, there was "a steady and continuous, if not quite unbroken, tradition in Christian theology as to the freedom of the divine nature from all suffering and from any potentiality of suffering" (p. 127). In modern theology, on the other hand, there has been a strong reaction against the doctrine of impassibility, represented by such theologians as Bushnell, Fairbairn, Canon Streeter and Bishop Temple, and by such Christian philosophers as Lotze and Pringle-Pattison.

The last-named claims that the open secret of the Universe is "a God who lives in the perpetual giving of Himself, who shares in the life of His finite creatures, bearing in and with them the whole burden of their finitude, their sinful wanderings and sorrows, and the suffering without which they cannot be made perfect" (*The Idea of God*, p. 411). Professor H. R. Mackintosh says, in his *The Christian Experience of Forgiveness* (p. 216), "Ideas of the Divine impassibility derived from ages which were very far from humane, and which too often regarded suffering unconcernedly as a mark of the weak and the vanquished, can now make little appeal." On the other hand, we have such a study as the late Baron von Hügel's *Suffering and God*, published in the second series of his *Essays*, in which he contends that whilst men sin and suffer, and Christ suffers but does not sin, there is as little room for suffering as for sin in God, who is pure Joy. This essay seems to me quite wrong in its contention that the prophets of Israel did not attribute suffering to God (p. 186), and that what they say is to be dismissed as imagery. Let us apply that contention to one of the most moving passages in the Book of Hosea (xi. 8-9):

"How shall I give thee up, Ephraim?
How shall I hand thee over, Israel?
How shall I give thee up as Admah, set thee as Zeboim?
My heart is turned upon me,
My compassions are kindled together;
I will not carry out my hot anger,
I will not again destroy Ephraim."

If we say that this expresses only a passionless "sympathy," and that God does not sorrow and does not suffer because of the sin of his people, how much force is left in such words? How can a God who is apathetic be also sympathetic? But if Hosea's words are interpreted by that experience of the prophet in which they seem to have arisen—Hosea's own inability to detach himself from Gomer because of his sorrowing and suffering love for her, then the words become charged with a Gospel, and point on directly to the truths of the New Testament. We may indeed ask how there can be "sympathy" at all without suffering? If sympathy be a "feeling with" the sufferer, is not that very feeling itself a form of suffering? If the love of God is more than a metaphor, must not the suffering of God be as real, though with all the qualifications in both love and suffering which come from the reference to God instead of man? It seems a dangerous thing to dismiss such sayings as imagery, unless we go on to admit quite frankly

that all human language about God is but symbolic, though not the less capable of symbolizing ultimate truths. The danger is continued in the realm of Christology, if with von Hügel and many others we say that Christ suffered as man, but not as God. Somehow that distinction, however convenient to the theologian, does not seem to ring true to the story of the Gospels, or to the strong language of the Epistle to the Hebrews about the suffering of the Son of God. It is well for us to ask, especially in an age when the mass of men look askance on what they regard as the abstractions and unrealities of theology, whether Browning is not a truer exponent of the Biblical doctrine of God than many "orthodox" interpreters of it. I am thinking of the familiar passage in which Hercules is joyfully starting out to rescue Alcestis from the underworld :—

> "I think this is the authentic sign and seal
> Of Godship, that it ever waxes glad,
> And more glad, until gladness blossoms, bursts
> Into a rage to suffer for mankind,
> And recommence at sorrow; drops like seed
> After the blossom, ultimate of all.
> Say, does the seed scorn earth and seek the sun?
> Surely it has no other end and aim
> Than to drop, once more die into the ground,
> Taste cold and darkness and oblivion there:
> And thence rise, tree-like grow through pain to joy,
> More joy and most joy,—do man good again."
>
> (*Balaustion's Adventure,* p. 654).

The final joy of God must be beyond question; the Christian conception of God cannot be of a worn and anxious and burdened traveller, fearful lest he may not reach his world-goal. God is a burden-bearer, according to the Hebrew prophets (Isaiah xlvi. 3-4), but it is because He carries willingly the burden of His people. He is, as a later Jewish teacher said, "forever young," and His triumph is no uncertain thing in a universe of risks. But the Christian conception seems to be that of a triumph through the Cross, a victory through apparent defeat, a joy that is all the richer joy because it is won, like that of Jesus, through great suffering, voluntarily accepted and endured for the joy that was set before Him. The conception of a God who cannot suffer makes theology much more manageable, but leaves it high and dry.

This theme naturally opens into the third feature in which the marriage of Hosea may be regarded as having significance for theology—the doctrine of atonement. Here, again, it would

seem that an Old Testament approach to New Testament truth has its value, just because we see our problems and the line of their solution in simpler fashion and in a setting less familiar. If we have rightly understood the story of Hosea's life, he not only appeals to Gomer by the declaration of his unbroken love, but tries to help her practically towards recovery of her lost place. But he does more than this; he suffers with her and for her. Indeed, it may be said quite properly that he suffers far more than she can, just because of his forgiving love. Shall we not say with Professor H. R. Mackintosh, in the book already quoted, that the forgiveness of God "must prove as full, as unqualified and over-powering in generosity, as the forgiveness of good men"? (p. 30). In man, as in God, true forgiveness *costs* something. Its measure may be partly seen in the attempt of the good man to raise the fallen, as a real element in his forgiveness. But behind the visible acts of helpfulness and reconciliation, there is an inner cost, a suffering born from sacrificial love, a suffering greater in the saint than in the sinner, and surely greatest in God. Thus we may speak with Bushnell of "a cross in God before the wood is seen upon Calvary" (*The Vicarious Sacrifice*, p. 35). To identify the atonement ultimately with the sacrificial love of God is not to minimize in the least the significance of the Cross of Christ in history, for that becomes the supreme actualization in time of the truth that holds for all eternity. But this way of facing the doctrine of atonement does remove it from the category of a transaction, a mere event, a sort of device belonging to the "plan of salvation." Atonement then becomes something deep—based in the very nature of God, as natural to Him as the forgiving love of a human saint. If it be true that in God we live and move and have our being, then our sins must somehow be conceived as within the circle of His holiness. Yet how can they be conceived there save as suffering within the Godhead—suffering of men, penal, disciplinary, chastening, and suffering of God, sacrificial, redemptive, and at last transformed into the joy of triumph? We should like to know whether the suffering love of Hosea did avail to win back the sinning Gomer; but, whether it did or not, that suffering love has transformed a sordid story into a prophecy of the Gospel. Similarly, the sacrificial love of God is always faced by the mystery of human personality and freedom, and none can declare the issue of its appeal to the individual; but the love behind it transforms the meaning of the world's history and makes it glorious with the "iridescent" wisdom of God.

H. WHEELER ROBINSON.

James Foster, D.D., 1697-1753.

JAMES FOSTER claims a merited page and a half in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. His contemporary fame in London is well known to those who find an interest in the history of nonconformity during the eighteenth century, and he is still remembered from the reference that Pope made him in the Epilogue to the *Satires*[1]

> Let modest Foster, if he will, excel
> Ten Metropolitans in preaching well,

and by Johnson's qualifying remark thereon,[2] while the curious may also know him through the proverbial observation reported by Hawkins[3] that those "who had not heard Farinelli sing and Foster preach, were not qualified to appear in genteel company." Sir Leslie Stephen, besides writing the article on Foster in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, devoted a section to his importance in his *History of English thought in the eighteenth century*, and latterly Dr. Whitley has indicated his position in the history of the Baptist denomination. Now-a-days he is overshadowed by his namesake John, with whom he is often confused.

His contemporary fame outside England has not apparently been appreciated. A growing literary cosmopolitanism, especially a growing Anglomania, on the continent during the eighteenth century is shown by the number of learned periodicals in French which reviewed the works of savants belonging to the northern European countries. Numbers of these journals were published in Holland, handy small octavos and duodecimos, providing summaries of the best works of the day, with a bias towards theology and science; there is a series of Anglo-French reviews extending almost unbroken from 1717 to the end of the century, and it was one of these latter that inspired the *Bibliothèque germanique*[4] and the *Nouvelle bibliothèque germanique*. Most of them were conducted by French Protestant refugees. It is from these journals that the following information is derived, but it should be noted that

[1] I, 132-3.

[2] For this and other references to Foster by English men of letters, see Johnson's *Lives*, edited by Dr. G. B. Hill, 1905, vol. 2, p. 387.

[3] History of Music, 1776, V, 321.

[4] Cf. I, preface, iii.

although the French language is used, it does not follow that they were chiefly known in France.[5]

There can be no doubt that Foster was of English Baptists the best known abroad, although it was as a philosopher-theologian rather than as a Baptist that he received attention. Altogether I have found 586 pages of matter devoted to him in these French journals, a corpus of criticism which, assembled, would make a not inconsiderable volume. Casual observations in the reviews of Foster's works will also show what idea a foreigner might gain of English Baptists in general.

On his death in 1753, an "Eloge" of Foster, compiled chiefly from funeral sermons, was published in the *Journal britannique*,[6] a journal printed at the Hague and conducted by Dr. M. Maty, afterwards principal librarian of the British Museum. Foster, he says, "a été comme Tillotson estimé hors de cette isle, distingué comme lui par ses talens pour la chaire et malheureusement également attaqué par des frères intolérans." Maty proceeded to sketch the career of Foster, adding stray thoughts of his own; early a Presbyterian, "ce fut une des sectes les plus méprisées en Angleterre qu'il préféra et à la sienne qui le persécutoit et à l'église dominante qui lui tendoit les bras"; taken by a friend as a private chaplain, he drew down upon himself the maledictions of an anonymous tract. "Je voudrois pouvoir cacher qu'un ecclésiastique est fortement soupçonné d'avoir été cet anonyme," added Maty. He then recounts the story of his accidental discovery by Dr. Mead, sheltering from the rain one day, and observes, "qui dans une église anabaptiste eût cherché l'ennemi du fanatisme et le modèle de l'éloquence?" On his reputation Maty quotes Pope: "Laissez l'humble Foster par ses sermons divins surpasser s'il le veut dix métropolitains." C'est à peu près ce que dit de ce prédicateur un poète qui n'accordoit point son suffrage au préjugé: c'est pour dire plus la voix publique non seulement des habitans de cette isle, mais encore des étrangers qui ont lu ces discours, et de ceux même qui n'en ont vu que les traductions. Ces derniers ne peuvent cependant qu'imparfaitement juger des beautés du stile."

His reputation abroad rested largely on his *Sermons*, less so on the *Usefulness, truth and excellency of the Christian revelation* and the *Discourses*. The *Usefulness*, however, takes precedence in time. Maty said that Foster was already known

[5] "L'extreme difficulté que nous avons en France de faire venir des livres de Hollande, est cause que je n'ai vû que tard le neuvième tome de la Bibliothèque Raisonnée. . . ." Voltaire, *Lettres philosophiques*, Rouen, Jore 1734, p. 186, 26th letter. The *Bibliothèque britannique* hardly sold at all in Paris. See my article in *The Library*, June 1931, p. 81; and one in the *Baptist Times*, 11 June 1931.

[6] Tome XII, 281-303, nov.-dec. 1753.

abroad by extracts in the *Bibliothèque raisonnée,* and in truth, this journal devoted a large amount of its space to Foster's works. In 1731-2 it[7] reviewed the *Usefulness, truth and excellency of the Christian revelation,* second edition, 1731, and gave to it three separate "extraits," as the reviews were called; in the first of these only chapter one was dealt with, in the second, chapters two and three, and in the third, chapters four and five and the "postcrit." On arriving at the treatment of the positive institutions of Christianity in the last of these articles, the reviewer makes the following noteworthy preliminary comment on the rite of baptism: "Ici je dois, avant toutes choses, faire connoître le caractère et la profession de notre auteur, dont on n'a vu encore que le nom, comme il n'y a que le nom dans le titre de son livre. Les lecteurs qui n'en savant pas autre chose, c'est à dire à peu près tous les lecteurs François, ne se seroient pas avisez, je pense, de donner cet ouvrage à un *ministre anabaptiste.* Tel est pourtant Mr. Foster, mais on doit savoir aussi, que, nonobstant cette difference de communion, il est si fort estimé des *Presbytériens* de *Londres* qu'ils l'ont souvent fait prêcher dans leurs églises. Ceux qui auront lû ce livre ne s'étonneront pas. Tout y marque un caractère de candeur, de modération, de modestie, de probité, et de piété sincère, jointes avec une pénétration et une force de raisonnement peu communs qui ne peuvent que charmer des esprits et des coeurs bien faits. On conviendra au moins, qu'il est bien éloigné d'avoir la moindre teinture de fanatisme, comme quelques-uns pouroient se l'imaginer sur le simple prejugé du nom disgracié de sa secte."[8] So far, the adjectives applied to the denomination are "méprisée" and "disgraciée." This quotation is followed by a translation of remarks on the value of public baptism, nothing being found about the baptism of children or baptism by aspersion, and of remarks on the Lord's Supper. The work was mentioned briefly in 1733 by the *Bibliothèque britannique,*[9] which also noted the appearance of a third edition.[10]

The *Sermons* were not only reviewed abroad both in the original and in translation, but were thought worthy of importation by a Dutch bookseller in their English form.[11] The but containing reviews written in London, anticipated the *Bibliothèque raisonnée* in its treatment of the *Sermons* and the

[7] Tome VII (2), 291-329, oct.-déc. 1731; VIII (2), 243-302, avr.-juin, 1732; IX (1) 5-65, juill.-sep. 1732.

[8] IX (1), 39.

[9] II, 65-6.

[10] IV, 232.

[11] *Journal britannique,* VII, jan. 1752. "*Catalogue of new English books lately rec: vid* (sic) *from England by H. Scheurleer F. Z.*", including J. Foster's Sermons on several subjects, 4 v. 8vo. London, Marked 11-11-.

Bibliothèque britannique,[12] a journal published also at the Hague controversy arising out of them. Two articles are devoted to volume one. The journalist begins by explaining who Foster was, a "ministre anabaptiste de Londres, ce qui ne doit pas prévenir contre lui les personnes qui se font peut-être des idées trop désavantageuses de sa secte," a man of great reputation attracting all manner of distinguished people by his preaching, and known already abroad by the extracts in the *Bibliothèque raisonnée*. In the first extract the reviewer makes much of the current abuse of freethinking; to reason on his faith is an advantage to the Christian, liberty of thought is a most precious gift, but "jamais le déisme ne fut plus répandu que dans ce siècle éclairé où chacun se pique de juger des choses par lui-meme. D'où peut venir cela? . . . " So different, so interestingly and so singularly treated are these "treatises, rather than sermons," confesses the reviewer, that too much space has been spent on this first extract, and in the second, far less is given; but it was out of a sermon reviewed in this second extract, that the controversy with Stebbing arose.

In this second extract of volume one, the reviewer selects for discussion, the sermons on mysteries, heresy, and schism, and he is in perfect agreement with Foster in his opposition to persecution and all uniformity except of charity. In 1735, Stebbing's *Letter* to Foster appeared, and was promptly reviewed in the *Bibliothèque britannique* together with Foster's *Answer*.[13]

It was not until the following year, 1736, that the *Bibliothèque raisonnée*[14] reviewed volume one of the *Sermons* in the edition of 1733. "Voici des Sermons *Anglois* et à *l'Angloise*. La réputation que notre prédicateur s'est acquise en Angleterre, et qui lui attire une foule d'auditeurs de tout parti, n'a rien perdu par la publication de ces Sermons. Leur beauté solide est indépendante de tous les agrémens de la prononciation. Aussi sont-ils fort estimez; et on peut, à mon avis, les compter entre les meilleurs que l'Angleterre aît produits." The journalist did not wish, he said, to make two extracts of the book, however short some of the analyses of the sermons might be; ten of his pages were devoted, nevertheless, to the sermon on schism. The reason was that he promised, later in the article, to reserve treatment of the sermon on heresy for a further review which should include the controversial pamphlets. This was done in the next volume of the journal;[15]

12 II, 65-103, 1733; III, 365-400, 1734.
13 Tome V, 370-377, and 377-387, 1735.
14 Tome XVI (i) 40-81.
15 Tome XVII (i), 5-47.

Stebbing's *Letter* and Foster's *Answer,* both in a second edition, were treated in a manner favourable to Foster. "I say, advisedly, that I am dealing with the first two pieces in this dispute," remarked the journalist, "for the antagonists will assuredly not stop here"; and his surmise was correct. The dispute is followed step by step, beginning with an extract of Foster's sermon (on Titus iii. 10-11), and starting the controversy proper by a specimen of Dr. Stebbing's style of arguing. The reviewer adds two or three pages of his own. Later, in the same year, this journal [16] gave no more than an announcement of Foster's second *Answer* to Stebbing's second *Letter,* and of Tipping Silvester's second brochure against Foster. The *Bibliothèque britannique* [17] had, late in 1735, also merely announced Stebbing's second *Letter,* Silvester's *Critical dissertation,* and an anonymous tract by Caleb Fleming, *Saint Paul's heretick,* at the same time noting the appearance of the third edition of Foster's *Sermons;* and late in 1736 [18] announced Foster's reply to Stebbing's second *Letter* after a year's wait, to which Stebbing replied with *A true state of the controversy.* Foster, "contre l'attente du public," quickly replied to this last work by *An answer to Dr. Stebbing's true state,* and a review of this was promised. [19]

The unfavourable review given to Foster's opponent, Stebbing, in the *Bibliothèque raisonnée,* tome 17, prompted a friend of the latter, to write a letter, signed A.L., to the *Bibliothèque britannique,*[20] "touchant la dispute de Mr. le Dr. Stebbing avec Mr. Foster sur le sujet de l'hérésie," accusing the *Bibliothèque raisonnée* of negligent omission of all mention of Stebbing's arguments in his second *Letter.* The *Bibliothèque britannique* could hardly be expected to deal with this *Letter* of Stebbing's in its review in tome 5, because it had not yet appeared; but the other journal had no such excuse, for the *Letter* had been in print for six months when their review appeared in the issue for July-September 1736, tome 17. Who A.L. was I have no evidence; he may have been A. Le Moine, who did contribute to the journal. At the end of the letter, Foster was given an invitation to reply in the pages of the *Bibliothèque britannique.*

The second volume of the *Sermons,* announced in the *Bibliothèque britannique* of April-June 1737, [21] was not

[16] XVII. (1), 470, oct.-déc. 1736.
[17] VI. 218, oct.-déc. 1735.
[18] VIII. 230, oct.-déc. 1736.
[19] VIII. 434, janv.-mars, 1737.
[20] VIII. 346-404, 1737. For Le Moine as a contributor to this journal, see British Museum Sloane MSS., 4284ff, 94; 102.
[21] IX, 219.

reviewed by that journal until the issues[22] for April-June and July-September a year later; in the first of these extracts only sermon one was dealt with, but in the second extract the remaining fifteen sermons received treatment, the titles only of the eight to sixteenth being given. At the conclusion of his review, the journalist made the following statement: "Tous ces sermons sont très beaux . . . Il n'y a qu'une voix là-dessus: mais une chose qui fait de la peine à bien des gens, c'est que l'auteur prend partout à tâche de réduire toute la religion chrétienne à la seule moralité. Il n'insiste nulle part sur les dogmes, et je ne sçais si dans tout ce volume il y est dit un seul mot de notre rédemption par Jésus-Christ. Ce sont pourtant les dogmes, et celui-ci en particulier qui distinquent le Christianisme de la religion naturelle: et il semble que Mr. Foster auroit d'autant mieux fait de s'expliquer sur cet article, qu'il a été publiquement accusé de n'en rien croire." Foster is mentioned once more in this *Bibliothèque*[23] in a letter specially contributed, but anonymous, on a suggested new translation of Deuteronomy xxix. 29; he is quoted as denying mysteries. The *Bibliothèque raisonnée* did not review this volume until January-March 1739.[24] In 1739, also the French translation of a selection of the *Sermons* was published.[25]

A German translation of the *Sermons*, with a preface by A. F. W. Sack, was announced in 1750 by the *Nouvelle bibliothèque germanique*:[26] "cet ouvrage sera très bien exécuté à tous égards." In the following year this translation was reviewed in the same journal,[27] and in the course of the review the journalist mentions a previous translation, by which he means, it should be noted, the French one. "S'il y a une réputation bien établie quant à la solidité et à la force de raisonnement, c'est celle que Mr. Foster, prédicateur ordinaire des *Mennonites* à *Londres* s'est acquise depuis longtemps par ses sermons. Dès l'an 1739

[22] XI, 141-163: XI, 213-241.

[23] XXIII, 125-140, 1744; at page 130 the writer refers to the *Bibliothèque britannique*, II, i. 66.

[24] XXII, 5-32.

[25] Sermons sur divers sujets, traduits de l'Anglois sur la 3e édition (by J. N. S. Allamand). Tome 1. 8vo. Leyde, C. J. Luzac, 1739. No more was published of this selection. Cf. Quérard, *La France littéraire*, art. Foster; *Biographie universelle*, 1816, XV, 320. There is no copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The *Nouvelle bibliothèque germanique*, VIII, 260; 1751 refers to it in a quotation made in the next paragraph of this article.

[26] Tome V, ii. 457, oct. 1748-déc. 1749, published by P. Mortier at Amsterdam, 1750.

[27] VIII, ii, 260-292, avr.-juin. 1751. *Hern Jacob Fosters Reden*, &c. 2 vols., 8vo. Frankfort and Leipzig, Weidmann, 1750; vol. 1, with preface by Sack on the utility of sermons, pp. 400 plus dedication, preface and table, vol. 2, pp. 378.

il en a paru un volume traduit en *François,* de l'imprimerie de Jean Luzac à Leyde: et tout le monde a été surpris de ne pas voir le continuation de cet ouvrage qui n'auroit pas été moins bien reçu que les volumes de *Tillotson,* de *Scherlock,* &c. Il étoit arrivé à peu près la même chose en Allemagne. On y avoit depuis dix ans ce premier volume traduit, sans avoir été suivi d'aucun autre. Les *Allemands* se sont réveillés les premiers et apparement les *François* les imiteront. Voici deux volumes à la fois qui seront suivis au moins d'un troisième. Le Traducteur a travaillé sur nouveaux fraix, pour donner de l'uniformité à son ouvrage; et quoique la première traduction fût estimable, celle-ci l'emporte à divers égards. Le premier volume de l'ouvrage que nous annonçons contient précisément les mêmes sermons qui se trouvent dans le tome françois." The reviewer gives a list of subjects and texts, and rather than give a fragmentary account of them all, he gives a full extract of one, the first sermon of volume II., " Sur le bien et le mal moral," on James i. 17.

It will be seen that our author's reputation abroad, or at least in the eyes of those who wrote for a foreign public, was, by the middle of the century considerable. When Dr. Maty began his *Journal britannique*[28] in January 1750, the very first work he chose for review was Foster's *Discourses on the principal branches of natural religion and social virtue,* volume I. Maty was aware that his choice was not a chance one, for he mentions in his extract of volume II., that he could not but speak feelingly of one who in some way had opened his journal's " career." In this first extract, Maty tires before the end, and on chapter seven he says, " Mais je n'ai pas assez d'espace pour m'étendre sur des sujets aussi obscurs, et mes lecteurs s'appercevront aisément que je parcours en tremblent et à la hâte un terrain qui m'est suspect." Volume II. of the *Discourses* was reviewed by Maty in 1752,[29] and the review begins by a charming reference to Foster. " Un écrivain, plus respectable encore par la bonté de son coeur que par la justesse de son esprit, m'ouvrit en quelque sorte la carrière de ce journal. Il m'étoit doux de le commencer par un ouvrage destiné à rappeler aux hommes leur divine origine et leurs premiers devoirs. Je me montrois, si je l'ose dire au public, sous les enseignes d'un ami des hommes, d'un disciple de la vérité et je sentois que ma plume dirigée par la sienne ne pouvoit qu'intéresser à mon début les esprits délicats et les âmes sensibles. Peu d'ouvrages assurent à un journaliste d'aussi grands avantages et de pareils lecteurs." He speaks of the illness which

[28] Published at the Hague by Scheurleer, 12mo. I, 3-32; I, 49-74.
[29] VII, 363-387, avril 1752. Announced VII, 352, mars 1752.

retarded its publication, the satisfaction at seeing it appear, the disturbing thought that it will be the last gift of the author to mankind, and in a note he adds that there is little hope of his recovery from his "épuisement et l'anéantissement de ses facultés." His matter may not be new, he concludes, but the excellence of his work is in its manner and style. Later, in the "Eloge," Maty apologises for the fact that this last work is "plus diffus et moins précis" than his others by "l'affoiblissement de l'auteur, et la nécessité de faire un gros livre (car malgré la générosité du siècle on ne donne une guinée que pour un certain nombre de feuilles) . . ."[30]

In 1747 appeared at Amsterdam, anonymously, the following work in translation by Foster: *Mémoires de la vie du Lord Lovat, Relation de la conduite du comte de Kilmarnoch après sa sentence prononcée.*[31]

Finally it should be observed that his name was bound to be met by any reader of Pope's Satires in translation; these are included in the "Oeuvres complettes" of Pope of 1779, 1780, and 1796.[32] The couplet on Foster runs, "Que le modeste Foster prêche infiniment mieux que dix Evêques, s'il le juge à propos," but no note on Foster is given as is done for other persons mentioned. Can it be that he was already forgotten?

F. BECKWITH.

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[30] Journal britannique, XII, 301.

[31] Duodecimo. Querard, *La France litteraire,* art. Foster. Barbier, *Dictionnaire des ouvr. anon.*

[32] Translated into French by various authors, edited by J. de La Porte. 1779, 8 vols., 8vo. Paris, veuve Duchesne. IV, 342 1780, 8 vols., 8vo. Paris, Durand neveu. 1796, 8 vols. 8vo. Paris, Devaux et Chaigneau. Three almost identical editions. Compare this quotation with Maty's noted on page 315, which, it will be observed, is in verse. There was an earlier German translation of Pope's complete works, which I have not seen. On Pope in German (especially through French) see J. H. Heinzelmann in *Modern Philology,* 10, 317-364, 1913.

See the accomplished orator appear,
Refined his language, and his reasoning clear.
Thou only, Foster, hast the pleasing art
At once to charm the ear, and mend the heart.

SAVAGE.

Sandhurst Bicentenary.

AT the fifty-first milestone from London on the road to Rye, a passenger in a Weald of Kent coach may see a somewhat stately chapel, with porch westward and a long schoolroom to the east adorned with a clock. The spacious burial-ground has many fair white tomb-stones set in the turf, spangled with primroses; iron railings enclose one or two altar-tombs overgrown with moss and ivy, and close to the chapel walls are a few massive stones carved in low relief to the honour of early deacons and pastors.

It was in 1731 that "a tenement to be and continue to be a place of religious worship for the people called Baptists" was erected here in Sandhurst, from which this enlarged block of buildings has grown, with its annexes of stabling. The same public spirit had been shown at Smarden five years earlier. Buildings, however, are erected to accommodate people; Baptists had been worshipping in these and other villages since 1640, and had formed definite organisations of which the latest was in 1700. How they arose, how they suffered, how they persisted, how they grouped, is a story full of interest.

The story has been told, chiefly of the General Baptists in the Weald, in the *Baptist Quarterly* for 1925, volume II., pages 374-384. It will suffice now to recapitulate proceedings before 1700, at which time a distinct new chapter begins, and Sandhurst emerges.

Baptists here were due to William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury from 1633. His policy of enforcing uniformity was unwelcome to the well-to-do weavers and clothiers, largely reinforced by refugees from Alva in the Netherlands and the Guises in France. It was equally distasteful to many clergy; however needful it might be to put the communion table, which had stood lengthwise in the body of the church, up against the east wall, and to rail it off as a protection against pigs and dogs, his proceedings were objected to on many grounds. Laud sent many people to jail for nonconformity, and a clergyman discussing with a parishioner a point as to christening her infant was surprised when a fellow-prisoner called their attention to the fact that baptism, whatever the act, was instituted for believers only. From that discussion in Maidstone prison flowed streams of Baptist evangelism. William Jeffery, the layman, founded more than a score of churches, of which the chief were at Bradburn or Sevenoaks, otherwise called Bessel's Green, and at Speldhurst and Pembury, afterwards

called Tunbridge Wells. Francis Cornwell the vicar of Marden was appointed in 1644 to preach a visitation sermon; he startled his brethren by an attack on infant baptism. Another meeting was arranged when Christopher Blackwood, curate of Rye, should defend the usual practice, but study for the purpose led him also into the Baptist ranks. Both clergy resigned their posts, and while Blackwood left to play his part in Ireland and London, Cornwell stayed to work from the centre of Marden. His special contribution to Baptist life was to bring over the rite of Confirmation, which he based on the apostolic practice to lay hands on a believer at his baptism. This obtained in Kentish circles for a century and more, being first challenged as unnecessary at Rye.

Jeffery's evangelism had been so early and vigorous that a roll of members was drawn up in 1640, showing forty men and forty-four women, duly organised under two Elders, Richard Kingsnorth and Andrew Hills, with three Deacons, Daniel Kingsnorth, John Austin and John London. Other books were kept at other villages and while some have perished, and others are in unexpected places, there is an abundance of information both as to discipline of members, and association doings.

In 1653 invitations were sent to the Gathered Churches throughout the land to nominate men to consult on the affairs of the nation; these men subsequently became the Nominated Parliament, which dissolved itself in December. From Milton's official papers we have a list of the nineteen churches in Kent which made a return on 25th May. There were three in or near Cranbrook, others at Biddenden, Spilshill, Adisham, Benenden, Bethersden, Ashford, "Rowndinge" probably Rolvenden, Canterbury, Brenchley, New Romney, Sevenoaks, Orpington, Speldhurst, Dartford, Westerham, Staplehurst. Of the thirty-eight representatives who practically elected the M.P. for Kent, we note George Hammon of Benenden, Richard Beacham and Thomas Jermine of Canterbury, William Jeffery of Sevenoaks and another of Speldhurst, Richard Kingsnorth of Spilshill, and Richard Uridge, all of whom played more than local parts. Kingsnorth lived at the farm of Spilshill in Staplehurst. In 1657 he composed a hymn on the Mind of Man, setting forth rather gloomy Calvinistic views; this we have already printed, together with a list of the places registered on and near the Weald in 1672 for Baptist worship.

While persecution was vigorous, Baptists of all shades held together, though there were various types of teaching. But directly after the Toleration Act of 1689, they began to crystallize on three systems. Some held to the teaching of William Jeffery, that God really offered salvation to all men

generally; and these were known as General Baptists. Some were influenced by Matthew Caffin of Horsham, whose leading idea was a remarkable speculation on the human body of Jesus, which far-sighted thinkers recognised would lead on to Unitarianism. Some held to the teaching of Cornwell and Richard Kingsnorth, that salvation was intended for particular people only. Of Jeffery's descendants we need only mention that they were practical, and sent a missionary to Virginia twenty years before Wesley was sent to Georgia: of Caffin's group a solitary church survives in Kent, at Dover. The Association Book of this party, compiled in 1719, records that in 1708 the Calvinists "bore testimony and dissolved again." This acknowledges an earlier dissolution of the county organization, and we look back to 1700 as the year when the Particular Baptists drew together.

On the Christological issue, the church at Ashford had taken a firm stand in 1696, under George Ellis and Henry Longley and John Serles, but after 1700 it took no further part in the national proceedings. Andrew Robbins, who worked round Biddenden, Smarden, Tenterden, Headcorn, did not see the issues clearly till 1699, when he disavowed both the peculiar opinions, and the leadership of Caffin. Thomas Gilham was ordained Elder of this widespread community, in 1700, by George Ellis of Ashford and Thomas Petter of Sandhurst. He lived at Smarden, where his house was used for worship, and where he held the minute-book of the church, as distinct from the Association.

These men had plenty of energy, and had able helpers. The result was that a Particular Baptist Association was formed, apparently in 1700, for the fourth meeting was held on April 15, 1703, when five churches sent members to Rolvenden. The church of Rolvenden itself was represented by Thomas Petter, William Baker, John Walter, Stephen Chillenden and Samuel Harling: the church of Biddenden by Andrew Robbins, John Smith, William Blackmore and John Cooper: the church of Smarden by Thomas Gilham, James Kingsnorth, John Edmett and Daniel Kingsnorth: the church of Ashford by Henry Longley, George Ellis, Christopher Cooper, John Searles and John Broader: the church of Canterbury by Samuel Newman and Richard Godfrey. At this meeting a sixth church was received, that of Hawkhurst, represented by Daniel Russell and John Exeter.

Later minutes of the Association, at Canterbury in 1704, at Rolvenden in 1705, at Smarden in 1707, show that other representatives of Rolvenden were Edward Featherstone, Stephen Goldsmith, Benjamin Flint, John Tassell and John Man;

other representatives of Hawkhurst were George Piper, John Exeter, John Page and John Whatman.

In 1711 Solomon Bates, a miller at Benenden, died and bequeathed to Russell of Hawkhurst £50, to Samuel Petter of Sandhurst £20. Yet there is no sign that any of these churches owned premises; and indeed as the usual service was on Sunday only, for four hours at most, it might well seem extravagant, while members would lend their private houses. Moreover in the later years of Queen Anne's reign there was some risk of toleration being abridged or even withdrawn, and in the Jacobite riots of 1715, many a dissenting meeting-house was burned by mobs.

When the House of Hanover was established, it was felt desirable to ascertain the voting strength of Dissent, and soon Dr. Evans obtained information as to the churches and ministers all over the country. In this district he heard of Ellis and Longley at Ashford, Robins at Hawkhurst, Samuel Petter at Sandhurst, Thomas Gilham at Smarden; Samuel Newman and Linacre at the North Gate in Canterbury we know also to belong to the Association. There were two churches at Maidstone, and that under John Smith was probably of this group.

Churches were named after Rolvenden and Hawkhurst, perhaps because the pastors lived there, but in each case members lived within a wide circle, and we have noted some at Sandhurst.

At Cranbrook there was a remarkable development. Archbishop Tenison appointed in 1707 as vicar, John Johnson, and he set himself not to persecute but to win over the Baptists. He found that he could meet them more than half way: they insisted that baptism was for believers, and should be by immersion, he agreed that this form was prescribed in the Prayer Book, so he built a baptistery at the top of the steps leading from the south aisle to the room over the south porch. The result was that large numbers joined the Established Church, and the Baptist church, under David Chapman, at Cranbrook was weakened. Such an incident would show the need of some striking new departure by Baptists.

A completely new element came into the situation in 1724, when Louis XV., who had just come of age and assumed power, codified the laws against heresy, and renewed the persecution of the Huguenots. This led to an immigration at Rye, and within seven years the Espenetts were settled at Sandhurst and Tenterden, where their descendants still dwell. David Espenett joined the Baptists and they were encouraged to take a step forward. The precedent set at Smarden, within whose bounds arose two buildings in 1726, was followed at Sandhurst in

1731. Land was leased on the south side of the road from Rye, half-a-mile short of Sandhurst Green, and a small meeting-house arose. Henceforth this became the centre of the church hitherto named Rolvenden, which was an original member of the 1700 Association. The district was large, swarming with Baptists, and the church of Hawkhurst presently put up a meeting-house, which seems to have been technically within the parish of Sandhurst, under which heading the bishop's officials registered both buildings. So now the one ecclesiastical parish contained the headquarters of the Rolvenden church under Samuel Petter, and the Harkhurst church under Elder John Exeter.

Particular Baptist churches formed by degrees; they were content for many years to use the few meeting-houses, to which people would drive for miles, so that stabling was needed for the horses, and vestry accommodation for a noonday meal. Thomas Petter, who became pastor in 1733, succeeding Samuel, thus had a congregation drawn from Tenterden and Rolvenden and Rye, perhaps from Robertsbridge and Mountfield. A new era of building, however, set in about 1748, when the General Baptists of Headcorn and Biddenden put Rumpton meeting in trust. The Ashford church at once appealed to the London Board for help, and were housed before their centenary. Then came the turn of Rye.

Petter had kept up the tradition of Cornwell, that after the apostolic model, hands should be laid on every believer at his baptism; this was the custom in many Particular Baptist churches in many parts. But he extended it, and desired the practice at every ordination, whether of deacon or of minister. Others disliked it, apparently because it might be misinterpreted as if grace were conveyed by the ceremony. And it was on this issue that the friends at Rye decided to hive off. They had been using the Old Hospital on Mermaid Street; in 1749 on the advice of the London Board they called Charles Rodgers, who had been at Northampton and was at Chatham. By 1754 they had a meeting-house of their own on the site previously used by the Quakers. Two years later, Thomas Petter died, and the way was open for a new departure in Sandhurst itself, where it would seem that John Exeter also had died.

William Copping was at once asked to supply in Petter's room; he apparently belonged to the Tilden church at Smarden, and was of Baptist descent on both sides. Of any Association life at this period there is no trace, so that he had no outside help in facing the situation. It took six years before he could persuade the two congregations to "renounce all separate claim to church constitution, and incorporate

themselves in one entire body, as one church." However on 11 May, 1762, this end was attained, and there was a solemn ordination service, when Michael Bligh, of the 1748 church at Sevenoaks, and Thomas Burch, set him apart as pastor. Three years later, he brought a wife, Dorothy, from Ashford, where his mother's family lived. And in 1772 the church felt strong enough to buy the freehold of its premises.

The tenacity Copping displayed before he accepted the call is but an early instance of a power to be exercised in the village and the county for forty-three years. It is regrettable that when a new start was made, the books previously used by the two uniting congregations were disused; they have been mislaid, so that the story to this point has had to be recovered from other sources.

The Association founded in 1700 had lapsed, and its very memory is dead. But the Evangelical Revival began to tell, and new Baptist churches arose at Wivelsfield 1760, Tenterden 1767, Rotherfield 1774; unfortunately there was a split at Tenterden so that a second church was formed in 1777. Now this was reproducing the very situation that Copping had deplored at Sandhurst, and as his church had no direct right to intervene, the remedy lay in the old custom of associating the churches, a custom which at this time was being revived or instituted in many other parts of the kingdom.

The hint came from a kindred quarter, for at Sevenoaks grave trouble had arisen in the General Baptist church, with the result that it divided, and in 1770 there arose a New Connexion of General Baptists, with a Southern Association to which Sevenoaks and Eythorne adhered. Nevertheless the Old General Baptists were still many and strong; in this district the churches at Cranbrook, Sevenoaks, Headcorn and Smarden provided leaders to the whole denomination, while Chatham, Thanet, Dover, Hythe, Canterbury were vigorous, and Tunbridge Wells had life. Cranbrook had just given the lead in appointing times and seasons for explaining the Scriptures and engaging in Christian converse; the Messengers were assiduous in visiting the churches.

It was natural therefore that in 1779 the Particular Baptist churches at Rye, Sandhurst, Smarden, Wivelsfield, Tenterden and Rotherfield, sent their ministers and delegates to the senior church at Ashford, where they organised an Association for Kent and Sussex. Purdy of Rye was put in the chair, Morgan of Ashford drew up the Circular Letter, setting forth the reasons for the new departure. They were soon joined by a new church at Battle, and a campaign of extension was opened.

This proceeded on three lines. First, there were cases where the old General Baptists had lost grip, and where Particulars could carry on the tradition, with variety and with energy. One such case was at Maidstone, where the church had wilted away; the trustees of the meeting-house placed it at the disposal of a new Particular Baptist church. Secondly, where an established Particular Baptist church had members over a wide stretch of country, but only one central meeting-house, the outlying members might erect a second, and take a friendly dismissal; it never seems to have occurred to them to take a leaf out of Wesley's book, and continue as a United Society, owning the two houses. This method is illustrated at Egerton Fostal, where land was acquired in 1790, and a thatched timber meeting-house arose. Though it was burned in 1830, it was soon replaced, and in 1836 eight members took their leave of Tilden to form a separate church, which soon became very friendly with Folkestone.

Members of the Sandhurst church lived at Ticehurst, but they found it not always convenient to trudge over, so in 1787 some of them asked formally that the Lord's Supper might be administered there as need arose. Rather more complicated were proceedings at Cranbrook, where General Baptists had met since 1648, but had never housed themselves. Calvinists were meeting at William Tempest's house in 1780, a branch of the Sandhurst church. The increasing hold of Unitarian views produced a strong reaction under George Stonehouse; two cottages were bought, and the site was used for a Particular Baptist chapel, to seat about eighty. It was opened at Midsummer 1787, the members having taken their dismission from Sandhurst; and it attracted to itself all orthodox Baptists, so that the older community shrank rapidly. But Particular Baptist churches were not due only to the former General churches, or to subdivision; a third method was to carry the gospel into villages where religion was at a low ebb, and to begin a perfectly new church.

In this revived Association, Copping took a prominent part. He drew up the second circular letter, and when the churches met at Tenterden in 1781, he occupied the chair. Next year a new church joined, which had been gathered at Battle by a vigorous evangelist, William Vidler. Then in 1784 all the stabling at Sandhurst was needed, for representatives came in midsummer from nine churches; Folkestone joining with its new minister William Atwood. William Booker of Wivelsfield read the Circular Letter on The Gospel and its Benefits. Next year a new church at Lewes was welcomed, which had arisen as a reaction from Unitarian views, and included evangelical

members who were not baptized; this caused some hesitation, and even a temporary withdrawal; but by 1791 fears were allayed. It is probable that Copping had some part in these advances, for the church maintained preaching at Cranbrook and at Ticehurst. He presided at Folkestone in 1786, and two years later saw the gospel proclaimed from a Baptist church at Brighton, due to Vidler of Battle.

The Association tried to educate its people, especially in doctrine, against the grave tendency to Unitarianism. Circular Letters dealt with great themes:—The true grounds of God's controversy with us, The duty of love to men, The Work of the Holy Spirit of God on the hearts of God's people, The difference between the spirit of adoption and the spirit of bondage, The scriptural view of the covenants of works and of grace, The nature of Christian candour, The evidences of the grace of God in a believer's heart, Communion with God, &c. It is interesting that in 1793 they considered the Signs of the times; these included a revolution in France, and the foundation of a Particular Baptist Missionary Society at Kettering, but by the end of the century, one guinea from a Londoner at Gravesend is the only subscription acknowledged from Kent.

Copping saw more churches join the Association that year of 1792; one was the Chatham church, whose first pastor Rodgers had taken charge at Rye; the other was at Handcross, Slaugham, due partly to Bligh of Sevenoaks, who had ordained him. In 1795 all met at Sandhurst, and Copping was put in the chair. Two years later, and a new church was welcomed from Wilmington near Dartford, with two or three other preaching stations, one being at Eynsford, which is now the centre. In 1798 Copping was put in the chair again at Rotherfield. In the new century, he saw a fresh church, at St. Peter's near Ramsgate; and at the out-station in Cranbrook the building was improved. In 1802, the Sevenoaks church, which had been so friendly at the beginning of his pastorate, came into the fellowship. Three years later, as the Sandhurst church was preparing to entertain the Association, Copping died, having fulfilled a pastoral course of forty-three years, and having held together the numerous members in a wide circle. They recorded that he had done his duty "honourably to himself, usefully to the church, and to the glory of its Divine Head."

The Association was augmented at this time by various churches; at Maidstone the old General Baptist church had died out, and the trustees placed the premises at the disposal of a new Particular Baptist church; and at Eythorne another old General Baptist church came over bodily into the

Particular Baptist ranks. These two were welcomed in the meeting at Sandhurst the very year of Copping's death, when the question was raised whether the area covered was too large, and whether it would be wise to divide; this was negatived, and the decision involved the honourable obligation for all to help any. The neighbouring ministers did rally to the widowed church, but year after year it drifted on without any decision, though Nathaniel Tidd helped in 1806.

Between 1762 and 1805 conditions had changed greatly, and to find a new pastor was not easy. The old custom was to choose a young man actually a member of the church, perhaps already tested and called to the ministry; but there seems no record of any such man in the Sandhurst church.

Now Eythorne had set a new precedent, calling to its pastorate John Giles, who was a member of a London church; and so important had been the occasion that no fewer than twenty-three ministers had attended. Giles was now the secretary of the Association, and he seems to have shown the way out of the difficulty, while the need for action was emphasized by an attempt in Parliament during 1811 to abridge religious liberty.

There was a church in Little Alie Street, London, reorganized in 1798 by William Shenston, not on the narrowest principles. In this church was a man from Bristol, thirty-six years old, James Gates, who had been by the church called out to the ministry. He was willing to come, and on 7 August, he was ordained, and the Association rallied to give him a good start. Exall of Tenterden, Purdy of Rye, Knott of Chatham, and Martel of Burwash came to the lengthy meetings, besides Shenston and Button of London. In his time the church came to take a wider outlook, and was especially generous in its support of the Baptist Irish Society. The daughter church at Rye, however, had trouble soon after Gates settled, and Purdy found it wiser to have a separation into two groups in 1813; the other party withdrew from all fellowship.

With the new pastor, there was fresh hope and energy. A practically new meeting-house was given in 1812. But the troubles due to long wars told on the district, and a flow of emigration set outwards to the United States. The work at Cranbrook flourished, so that in 1814 it was recognized as an independent church; but Ticehurst seems to have barely maintained its existence.

For the centenary of the Sandhurst building, there were special celebrations, to which Thomas Shirley came from Sevenoaks and James Payne from Ashford, where similar meetings had just been held. The ordinary premises could not

accommodate all visitors, and 108 sat down to a cold dinner in the oast-house at Boxhurst. There were many such gatherings in the exuberance of the years around 1831; new churches had appeared at Matfield Green, Deal, Shovers Green, Dover, Chatham Brook, Tenterden, Brabourne, Canterbury (where the older church had died about 1750), Margate and Gravesend. The Association celebrated its Jubilee in 1828 at Chatham, and decided to promote a new church at Tunbridge Wells; while Joseph Exall of Tenterden told stories of the fifty years.

A link with the past was snapped in 1835 by the death of Robert Bridge, who had been deacon for 45 years; he was old enough to remember Thomas Petter, first pastor at this building. Gates lived to see more churches at Meopham, Hadlow, Dane Hill, Upnor, Hastings, Foots Cray and West Malling; but also to see the Association in grave peril during 1841, and come to an end in two years. He passed away in 1845, and Shirley in preaching his funeral sermon called attention to the fact that in 110 years there had been only three pastors; he might have said, only four in 145. That kind of pastorate was now at an end.

The fortunes of the church were guided by deacon George Ballard, who had to face a general upheaval in the county, and indeed in the whole kingdom. The questions were burning whether the churches should be absolutely Strict in communing with Baptists only, also whether they interpreted the doctrine of Particular Redemption so as to render it needless to preach for conversion, as Warburton held, or so as to enable them to go and win disciples, as Andrew Fuller had urged. At this time Sandhurst was unanimous in inviting Daniel Jennings, who had been ordained at Chelmsford in 1839, then pastor at Clare in Suffolk, but had been unhappy at both places, and was now supplying at West Malling. In the result, he settled before the year was out, with the countenance of Savory from Brighton, Andrew Smith from Rye, Woollacott of London, and the faithful veteran Shirley of Sevenoaks.

As doctrinal troubles had actually caused trouble in the Association, it is interesting that at this very time attention was called to the older Association, of General Baptists. This also felt a similar urge to widen, but it resulted in Bessels Green, Canterbury, Deal, Ditchling, Dover, Headcorn, Horsham and Northiam admitting others to communion, while Battle, Chatham, Cranbrook and Rolvenden welcomed others to full membership; Chichester, Cuckfield, Lewes, Tunbridge Wells, Yalding, Wingham and Hythe had died out, though the property was being watched.

After Jennings settled in 1845, there was attention paid to the premises. The building was completely re-modelled within, the pulpit being removed to the east end, and a porch being built out at the west. More ground was acquired for burials by Mrs. Ellis, and the work was consolidated by trustees being appointed. The Association had been reconstructed in 1844, and Sandhurst stood aloof for a time. Jennings ended his pastorate in 1851, and settled next year at Spencer place in Finsbury.

The custom of short pastorates at many churches had now become well established, and James Henry Blake, who had been at Lessness Heath and at Southwark, settled here in 1852. He added a new impulse, and the building had speedily to be improved. He also brought the church into fellowship again, and became secretary of the county building fund, while relations were established with both B.M.S. and Baptist Union. His activities continued till 1861, when he returned to London.

Again the deacons had to guide the affairs, and it was due to them that the church acquired the stables behind, and the British School adjoining on the east, where a tablet below the clock still commemorates Deacon Slaughter. They faced the problems that had been so disturbing, and the church now decided to adopt open communion.

By this time there was quite a new spirit in the denomination; the Baptist Union had become very energetic, and Spurgeon was training vigorous evangelists. The deacons secured R. A. Griffin from his college in 1865; under his auspices the church rejoined the reconstructed Association, from which the conservatives now held aloof; it also appointed new trustees. He resigned within two years, and settled at Weymouth later.

James Hurfood Wood came in 1868, with a varied experience for twenty-eight years as missionary in Jamaica, in America, pastor at Padiham and Haworth; for seven years he endeared himself, and a stone over his grave records his faithful service.

Josiah Green came from Hebden Bridge in 1876, and inspired the church to undertake regular work at Ewhurst; but he passed away after eight years. Lewis Llewellyn from Shrewsbury followed in 1884 for two years, and Arthur Henry Smith for two more before he went on to Bootle. The kaleidoscope then slackened with the settlement in 1888 of Thomas George Atkinson from Dunstable. It was decided to renovate the premises within, and by the spring of 1890 the whole cost was met. Four years later he outlined the story of the church, regretting the scantiness of records; in those

days scarcely any one in the denomination except Joseph Angus understood where to search for information, or how to interpret any fragments they found.

Mr. Atkinson's pastorate ended in 1898. Joseph Rigby came next year from Staincliffe, retiring at the age of seventy in 1912. He was followed by E. S. Gray from Oxford, who was called into Y.M.C.A. work after three years. W. Harrison from Romney came in 1917 for seven years, and saw many little improvements, the gallery at the west end being partitioned off and used for school purposes, there being special anniversary services in 1920; women also began meetings for sewing and devotion. Edwin Foley followed in 1925 from Boxmoor, and again there were special services next year; he passed on to Andover in 1929. The present pastor, H. C. Newman, came next year from Newcastle-under-Lyme.

A Hutterite Minister.

JACOB Hutter was born at Moos in Tirol, 1496. He deeply influenced the Anabaptists of Moravia, and persuaded most of them to live on the Communistic lines of the early church in Jerusalem. Though he was burned in 1536, his persecuted followers held out in Moravia for two centuries before they migrated to Rumania.

In 1770 the Russian authorities offered them a home, and they created a Bruderhof, holding all things in common. By 1819 they divided the land, and each family moved on to its own farm. In 1842 the Russian government, recognising some affinities with the Mennonites, who had come from the North Sea coast, moved the Hutterites 600 miles to a district called Molotschna in the government of Ekaterinoslav, South Russia, near a Mennonite settlement; here they organised a church on Mennonite lines, styling themselves still Hutterites. In 1857 a communist Bruderhof was formed here, which attracted about half the brethren.

In 1874 and 1879 the whole of these Hutterites went to South Dakota, and by 1890 they had organised in three groups. The Bruderhof is communist: the General conference of Mennonites has absorbed some: the Krimmer brethren have adopted baptism by immersion, and the washing of feet.

The pioneer of the 1874 emigration was born in 1842 at Blumenort, in a family named Zetterle. His parents moved to Hutterthal, where he was baptized in 1860. Six years later he was ordained, and in 1868 he founded New Hutterthal,

where he was known as Paul Tschetter. As the Tsars seemed disinclined to continue exemption from military service, he was sent with eleven others to explore conditions in America, where President Grant declined to give any special privileges, but told them there was perfect religious liberty. The diary of the minister from 14 April 1873, translated from German, is being published in the Mennonite Quarterly. It is extremely interesting on many accounts; incidentally we learn that a few people in the United States spoke English, and that was the language at school, otherwise the diary suggests that America is all German.

Tschetter found much kinship with the Amish Mennonites; they wore hats, blue clothes fitting tightly and fastened with hooks and eyes, and never cut their hair; they worshipped in private houses, the host providing food. The Old Mennonites were more hospitable, but they had their dark sides: the minister had three guns in his house, and everyone smoked, even the women. An overseer of the poor, entertaining them, asked if Tschetter liked music, and though he said No, started a musical box. Presently the visitor quoted Paul, "*Speak to yourselves* in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody *in your heart* to the Lord." The deacon countered with David, playing on his harp; the minister reminded him that David was a warrior and had shed much blood. As both were pacifists, the deacon could find no rejoinder.

RESEARCH.—The annual lists of Writings on American History published by the American Historical Association show that not many Baptists are gathering much biography, or making studies of churches and missions. In 1927 there were only six magazine articles and one book, besides a few references in an article dealing with the South-West; not 400 pages all told. Other bodies have a far greater sense of the interest and value of the past, though they can hardly have more romantic stories.

When students are required to present theses as part of the conditions for a degree, they might well turn their attention to their own denomination. One candidate in England recently thought of this, and found her professor quite willing; he limited her however to the eighteenth century. An hour's discussion with a Baptist enthusiast brought out several possible topics, and the professor finally agreed to consider a thesis on "The transfer of the Baptist centre of gravity during the eighteenth century from England to America." The research for this ought to deepen the candidate's loyalty, and her results may be a welcome contribution to knowledge.

A Free Church Walk.

THE Annual Meeting of the Society was devised on somewhat novel lines, which were quite successful. So popular did the programme prove, that had it not been for the friendly co-operation of the rain, which kept down the numbers of pilgrims to ninety, the preparations might have been inadequate. As it was, the surprised officials of the Southern Railway wondered whether a special train was wanted, and the City Police marvelled what unheralded procession was disturbing their traffic. Next year we must probably arrange two such walks in different localities round London; and in 1934 concentrate on Spurgeon sites, after a change to the Clyde in 1933.

Dr. Ewing led us first to Snow Hill, where Bunyan was nursed after his wet ride from Reading, whither he had gone to reconcile a father and son; John Strudwick, a grocer, took him to his four-storeyed gabled house, the Star, where he died. A few yards east is the site of the New Gate, marked by a blue tablet on the walls of the Old Bailey; in the arch of the gate were confined many prisoners, and at one time it was hallowed by the presence of John Murton, perhaps also of Thomas Halwys, the first two Baptist leaders in England. From that prison went forth the first reasoned claim for religious liberty.

Northward the road led past Bartholomew's Hospital, founded in 1123 by Rahere, the king's jester, in connection with a priory; at the dissolution the hospital was closed for a time, but re-founded by Henry VIII. Beyond is Smithfield, once the tournament-ground, outside the city wall, used later for Bartholomew's Fair. It was often employed for executions, and a tablet on the wall commemorates the burning of John Rogers, John Bradford and Stephen Philpot. There were three brothers Legat in James's reign; Walter was drowned in a baptism at the Old Ford, Thomas was in Newgate with Murton, Bartholomew was the last man burned in Smithfield.

The path lay by Bartholomew Close, which has housed Milton, Hogarth, Benjamin Franklin and Washington Irving; by Little Britain where Charles Wesley was converted in 1738, to Aldersgate Street, where his brother John had the same experience three weeks later. Another tablet tells of this, showing how catholic are the antiquarians of the City in their marking historic sites.

Milton lived in many houses round here, the sites of several being noted; a garden-house in Maidenhead Court, another in Jewin Street, and Bunhill Row, where he finished *Paradise Lost.* Outside the church of St. Giles at Cripplegate is the statue to our great poet. A long time was spent within, for here Cromwell was married in 1620, and Milton buried; while John Foxe and Daniel Defoe are also entered in the death register, and the walls of the church abound in historic monuments. Outside the church, a fragment of the medieval walls, on the foundation of the original Roman wall round London, attracted much attention.

Bunhill Fields contain memorials of the Free Churches in great abundance, and it was with difficulty that many could tear themselves away from the graves of Thomas Bradbury, John Bunyan, Susannah Wesley, Henry Cromwell, Daniel Defoe, Isaac Watts, Daniel Williams and William Blake. Reference was made to the grave of Dan Taylor, the Yorkshire mason who inspired the New Connection of General Baptists. Many were amazed to hear of Thomas Newcomen, the Baptist minister of Dartmouth, the first man to make the steam engine really useful in draining mines, to whom a statue has been erected for his invention.

Crossing the road, we were welcomed by the Rev. George McNeal to Wesley's chapel, where the formal business was quickly despatched, all officers and committee being re-elected. Mr. McNeal then guided his guests round the historic chapel and graveyard, while band after band visited the Museum, with its wealth of early Methodist association. This was a pleasant anticlimax to a pilgrimage which had been mainly concerned with Baptist historic sites. Another year it may be possible to go into similar relations with another of the Free Churches.

THE BAPTIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY of America spends about £600 every year. If British Baptists will entrust our Committee with as much, it can be wisely used.

THE HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY in America began its work in 1931, with two missionaries and a covered waggon to go on the pioneer trails. *Vanguard of the Caravans* is about to appear, giving the life of John M. Peck, best known of these evangelists.

Apostolic Succession or Apostolic Success?