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Baptist Quarterly 6.8 (October 1933)

The Spurgeon Centenary.

III. SOCIAL LIFE IN SPURGEON'S DAY.

ON June 19th, 1834, Charles Haddon Spurgeon opened his eyes on the world in a small, old-fashioned house at Kelvedon, in Essex. It would be interesting if we could have a peep at the world then; or at least at that part of it in which he was destined to become so famous a figure. If we have industry enough to search for the facts, and imagination enough to clothe them with human form, that should not be impossible. But it will not be easy, because the facts are so varied, and these 100 years have affected such tremendous changes in our social life, that the most imaginative of us will find it difficult really to see the England which they represent.

Eight years ago, Joseph McCabe wrote a book entitled, *1825-1925, a century of stupendous progress.* It contains a fund of information gathered from authoritative sources, on the progress of wealth, the life of the worker, the social life of the people, the morals, education, and political life of the nineteenth century. In the preface of his book he states that his object is "to give clear, precise, and ample proof that there has been in the last 100 years, more progress in every respect than had ever before been witnessed in 500, if not a 1,000 years." That that claim is not as extravagant as at first sight it appears to be, will show the difficulty of our task.

Figures are always difficult to make interesting and I am going, as far as possible, to escape from them, and give a few broad and rapid impressions of the England upon which the eyes of Spurgeon opened.

We will begin on the lighter side of life, the open air and recreative side, of which we think so much to-day. Imagine England just after the nineteenth century dawned. There were, of course, no motor-cars, no charabancs, no trains (we are just celebrating the centenary of railways), no excursions, no week-ends, no trams, no buses, no bicycles. Coaches were the general means of travelling and few but the gentry could afford them. Except for a friendly lift in a farmer's cart, or the luxury of a seat in a carrier's van, no worker rode anywhere. No matter how distant the place of his employment might be, he walked there in the morning and back at night. Very few working folk

travelled more than ten miles from their own home. If a son or daughter went twenty miles from home they were rarely seen again. Villagers never saw a big town, and scarcely any man who lived ten miles from the sea, ever saw it in his life.

There were no picture-houses, of course, no football matches, no parks, no playing grounds. There were no bank holidays, no half-holidays, no holidays at all for workers, save Christmas Day and the King's birthday, and occasional "Wakes" or fairs, of which we get a glimpse in Dickens' *Old Curiosity Shop*. Games which fill, in some form or other, so large a part of the leisure hours of the people to-day, were almost, if not altogether, absent, and the four favourite recreations (?) were sex, drunkenness, fighting and gambling.

In fact that is a negative impression of the people's leisure, for the simple fact is that they had no leisure. Agricultural labourers worked sixteen hours a day, while a Parliamentary Enquiry revealed the fact that the average hours of adults (all over sixteen) was fourteen hours a day, for six days a week. Sunday was the only day the wage-earner had any leisure, and he was too tired for any physical activity. He was left, on that day, the alternative of the church or the chapel, and the ale-house, and he was often content to patronise both.

Child-life, at least the child-life of the poor, is a horror even to think of. When Spurgeon came to London, Charles Dickens' novels were pouring from the press, and the story of the great novelist's own childhood allows us to see a little way into the tragedy of a child's life in London. Only a few years before Spurgeon was born, Dickens, a boy of twelve, was working long hours at a blacking factory for the miserable pittance of 1s. per day, "A little lonely prey to the London streets." "I know that I have lounged about the streets, insufficiently and unsatisfactorily fed. For any care that was taken of me, I might easily have been a little robber or a little vagabond." And that picture, dark as it is, is not nearly black enough for the children of the poor, and the hosts of unwanted children. One of the darkest pages in the story of the nineteenth century is that which deals with child labour. Children, from the age of five, were worked twelve to fourteen hours a day in the mills and factories. Thomas Carlyle, whose *Sartor Resartus* was given to the world the year that Spurgeon was born, wrote a letter in 1833, in which, referring to the factories, he speaks of "little children labouring for sixteen hours a day, falling asleep over their wheels and roused again by the lash of the thongs over their backs, or the slap of the 'billy-rollers' over their little crowns." Not until 1834, the year of Spurgeon's birth, was any attempt made to mitigate the hardships under which they suffered. Then, through

the efforts of Lord Shaftesbury, child labour was limited to eight hours a day for children under thirteen.

And that brings us to a glimpse, from another angle, at life 100 years ago. The mind as well as the body was neglected. Recall Dickens' description of " Poor Joe," the crossing sweeper. " He is not one of Mrs. Pardiggle's Tockahoopo Indians; he is not the genuine foreign made savage; he is the ordinary, home-made article. Dirty, ugly, disagreeable to all the senses, in body a common creature of the common streets, only in soul a heathen. Native ignorance . . . sinks his immortal soul lower than the beasts that perish." There were thousands like that. No one believed that it was the duty of the Government to provide a scheme of National Education, and it was not until 1870 that education was made universal and compulsory. There were a few attempts, mainly by religious people, to provide some sort of education; a few charity schools, dame's schools; some " Do-the-Boys Halls," where children were exploited for gain; some ragged schools, night schools and Sunday Schools. But the children of the poor were left largely to " native ignorance." In the course of a year, according to an official return of 1834, there were found, in London alone, 3,098 children living as mendicants or thieves.

And that mental poverty was reflected through all the grades of life among the wage-earners. The adults were largely illiterate, and few of them could read. We know what interest and delight come to us through music and books. The piano, the gramophone, the wireless, are in almost every home. Many of the greatest authors are on our shelves, and a flood of newspapers and periodicals are constantly issuing from the press. We have even our *Children's Newspaper.* Which all means that life is for us rich in interest; the world is at our door, and our intercourse with one another is informative and varied. We can hardly imagine what life would be without this mental activity. What would we do without our daily paper? A hundred years ago no daily newspaper could be procured under sixpence. It was only a few years before Spurgeon came to London that a new morning paper, the *Daily News,* of which Charles Dickens was the first editor, appeared at fivepence. Books were within the reach of few; a cheap edition of the *Arabian Nights,* for instance, cost six shillings and sixpence. There were no public reading rooms, and no free libraries, and no penny post. Life, for the masses of the people, was without the interest and joy of mental activity and interchange; and the world of thought and imagination was a hidden realm save to the few.

The conditions under which the workers lived, either in country or city, are difficult to imagine to-day. They were badly

paid, badly fed, badly housed, and the most sober and industrious were always fighting a hard battle with destitution, dirt and disease. "There is a submerged tenth to-day," says J. McCabe, "whereas a hundred years ago there was a submerged nine-tenths." A Parliamentary Enquiry in 1825 (and things had changed very little by 1833), showed ten million workers.

Three million children earned 1s. per week.

Two to three million women and girls earned less than men.

Four to five million adult males, the overwhelming majority of whom were agricultural or industrial labourers or factory hands, earned 8s. to 12s. per week.

One million domestic servants earned 3s. per week and their food.

One million paupers.

There were only a few thousand skilled artisans who earned more than £1 per week and very few of these more than 25s.

"When two millions of one's brother men sit in workhouses, and five million, as is insolently said, 'rejoice in potatoes,' there are various things that must begin, let them end where they can," wrote Thomas Carlyle in 1834, on what he called "the Condition-of-England question."

My limited space will not allow me to dwell on the cost of living. Are not these years known to us as the "hungry forties"? A suggestive description? Almost every necessity of life was dearer then than it is to-day, excepting beer, on which the skilled artisan spent a large part of his wage; for the sobriety of the people, and the general outlook on drink and drinking habits, has tremendously improved, at least amongst the working-classes, in these 100 years.

With no means of transport and long hours of work, the workers, of necessity, were huddled together in tenements as near as possible to their work, and commonly built back to back, so that there was no draught through the houses. Windows were taxed, so light was a luxury; soap was taxed, so cleanliness was a luxury. There were no public baths, and no water was laid on to the houses. There was no Public Health Department, of course. Very few streets were paved, or lit, or cleansed, and there was practically no drainage system. It was not until 1842 that the Government procured "General Local Reports on the sanitary conditions of the working-classes," and the mass of evidence collected was too revolting to publish. Our magnificent free hospital treatment and cheap medical attendance are all developments of the last 100 years, and the poor in birth and life and death had little skilled care. Disease often stalked abroad unchecked. You may recall Carlyle's "forlorn Irish widow," who died of typhus fever; died and infected her lane

with fever so that seventeen other people died there in consequence. "Very curious. The forlorn Irish widow applies for help. They answer, 'No; impossible! thou art no sister of ours.' But she proves her sisterhood; her typhus fever kills *them*: they actually were her brothers, though denying it." The first year of Spurgeon's ministry in London an epidemic of cholera broke out in the city from which over 6,000 died in eight weeks.

We have still cause to be greatly troubled, concerning the slums of our towns and cities: but it *is* something that we *are* troubled. The slum areas have become a matter of public conscience. But 100 years ago there was practically no conscience at all about them, and no sense of responsibility for the hopeless misery and crime that was bred in them. I still have a horrible memory of an occasion in my boyhood, when I went with an uncle of mine to a common lodging-house in London, where he was to conduct a service. But hopeless and horrible as that sight was, it must have been infinitely worse when Spurgeon came to London, for it was only a few years before that Lord Shaftesbury secured the passing of his Bill for the control of the Common Lodging-House, which he described as an "inferno of poverty where tens of thousands of miserable beings languished or rotted in lairs fitted to be the habitation of hogs than of human beings."

This rapid, and wholly incomplete, glimpse into the "good old days," for which we sometimes foolishly yearn, will have given us some idea of the London into which the Boy Preacher from Waterbeach entered in 1854, with his message of the Grace of God for sinful men. He, too, with his heart of compassion, could say with his great contemporary, Charles Dickens, "Heart of London . . . I seem to hear a voice within thee . . . bidding me, as I elbow my way among the crowd, to have some thought for the meanest wretch that passes, and being a man, to turn away with scorn and pride from none that bear the human shape." And *he* had a *greater Gospel* than Dickens' gospel of human kindness.

But that is not, by a long way, the whole story. There is a brighter page to which we can turn. The year of Spurgeon's birth may be regarded in a sense as the beginning of a new era. In June, 1832, the first Reform Bill was passed. The House of Commons, previously to this, consisted of 489 members—332 of which were returned from small boroughs in which a few score of voters either took orders from the lord of the district, or shamelessly sold their votes to the highest bidders. London, with a tenth of the population, had only four members. Manchester and Birmingham had none. The Reform Bill of 1832 altered all that. Its enfranchisement was severely limited; it was not,

indeed, until 1867 that the vote was given to all householders, but the Reform Bill of 1832 marked the beginning of the reign of the middle-classes.

And the middle classes, whatever their faults, were distinctly religious. "The qualities of the middle classes at their best," says Leathes, in his *People on Trial,* "were embodied in William Ewart Gladstone." The old story of Queen Victoria giving a Native Prince a Bible, with the remark that "that was the secret of England's greatness," is quite possibly apocryphal, but it *was* representative of the general conviction of middle-class England. They did believe that it was righteousness which exalted a nation, and that the essence of that righteousness was in the Bible. The day after Spurgeon died, one of the daily papers commenced its leading article with the words, "The last of the puritans is dead," and during the first part of the Victorian era the middle classes did represent much that was best in the puritans. The Victorian homes were religious; the Victorian habits were religious, and Victorian politics were not divorced from religion. The Victorian age, with its crinolines and anti-macassars and Mrs. Grundy has become a sort of by-word in these days of short skirts and unrestricted liberties, but it had some qualities that we have no need to dismiss with a smile. It may have taken itself too seriously, but it did believe that it had a duty and a destiny above cocktails and jazz, and it has something to show for its heavy seriousness. It was because the soil was there, the soil of a genuine religious life, that the seed of a new social order began to take root in men's minds.

If the novelist gives us the picture of the age in which he lives, the prophet gives expression to the thoughts that are crying out for utterance in the hearts of the people. The prophet is usually in front of his age, but he is in a real sense the product of the deepest thought and feeling of his age. A flood of light is thrown upon the life of 100 years ago, when we remember that when Spurgeon came to London two voices were speaking to all serious-thinking people. Ruskin (a frequent visitor to the Tabernacle) was calling for a new definition of riches, and preaching a political economy whose wealth was "the purple veins of happy hearted human creatures"; while Thomas Carlyle was thundering forth the rights of man in an age of machinery.

Jesus has a little parable of the yeast and the dough, and that is a fine description of the process that was at work in the nation. The minds of the middle classes were seething with half understood ideas of what life was meant to be for all men; the conscience of the community was stirring; the humanities were awakening; they were beginning to hear "the still sad music

of humanity," and Christ was leading them out not by an easy way.

The Victorian era is often spoken of as that of a respectable individualism that paid its bills, and attended church or chapel, and whose behaviour was proper and decent. But the story of the Victorian era is, as I see it, the story of an era that found its *resistance* to social obligation, slowly, but surely, *breaking down in the face of its own faith in the worth of the soul* of every man, woman and child. A gospel that was purely a social gospel was anathema to many evangelicals (it was particularly so to Lord Shaftesbury) because they believed in a greater gospel than that, but the last hundred years are the proof that social service inevitably follows in the train of that greater gospel. No one more strongly contended than Spurgeon that the Gospel was not a social gospel, but a redeeming gospel; but that redeeming gospel carried with it social implications that meant the Stockwell Orphanage, the Ragged School, and The Homes for old people. The Redemptive Gospel carries the social gospel in its bosom, and the nineteenth century shows a redeeming Lord thrusting out His people upon the social demands of His gospel. We have come a long way in these hundred years in the amelioration of the conditions of the poor; in the sobriety and conduct of the people; in the health and happiness of children; in human interest and education; in fuller life and larger liberties, but in the story you will find you are never far away from that crucified Christ that Spurgeon was upholding at New Park Street and the Metropolitan Tabernacle.

Let us give no churlish or stinting recognition to those forces outside religion that have contributed to a better England. A noble chapter can be written of scientific discovery, of political enfranchisement, of educational effort, of Temperance reform, of purely social service, but still the largest chapter, and the chapter that runs through all other chapters as their inspiration and incentive, must be the religious chapter. It was the evangelical Lord Shaftesbury that freed England from child serfdom and slavery, and who was the outstanding figure of social reform in the early years of the last century. It was General Booth, and the few evangelical forerunners of that great soul, who taught us that God was in the slums, and waiting for us there to right the curse of "darkest England."

By your young children's eyes so red with weeping,
By their white faces aged with want and fear,
By the dark cities where your babes are creeping,
Naked of joy and all that makes life dear;
From each wretched slum
Let the loud cry come,
Arise, O England, for the day is here.

People of England! all your valleys call you,
High in the rising sun the lark sings clear;
Will you dream on, let shameful slumber thrall you?
Will you disown your native land so dear?
Shall it die unheard—
That sweet pleading word?
Arise, O England, for the day is here.

Other men than Christian men have joined in that song, but it was the Christian reformer who struck the first note. It was that Christian lady, Josephine Butler, who originated the crusade to save those fallen women, whom Christ died to win back to purity. It was Bright and Cobden, both noble Christian leaders, who gave a voice to the hungry and the starved. It was those seven men of Preston, Christian men, who launched the Temperance movement and led the way to greater issues than they dreamed; while the sobriety and prosperity of our country owes not a small debt to the blue ribbon movement of the Victorian era—a distinctly Christian movement. The story of education, marred as it is by religious conflict and difference, by prejudice and partisanship and bigotry, is still a religious story, and the greatest educational reformers were moved by Christian conceptions. The finest parliaments of the Victorian era, and the most fruitful in social legislation, were distinctly religious, as were the great Premiers, Gladstone and Salisbury. The name of God was frequently heard in the House of Commons, and His authority impressively appealed to. Those were the days when the "nonconformist conscience" emerged as a force, and the "nonconformist conscience" was not merely a church conscience, but a social conscience.

A host of social and philanthropic institutions minister to-day to the needs physical, mental, and social of men, women, and children—in many cases indeed private charities have passed into public legislation—but you could number on the fingers of your hand those that did not have their beginning in the Christian faith and spirit. Recall the story of the Homes for orphan and neglected children; Quarrier's in Scotland, Müller's in Bristol, Barnardo's in Stepney, Home for Little Boys at Farningham, Stephenson's and Spurgeon's. Who were their founders? All poor men, all Christian men, all men deeply moved by the love of Christ, and appealing to a constituency of men and women moved by a like love. Spurgeon's Orphanage has its message to us to-day as well as Spurgeon's sermons and Spurgeon's College, and it is a reminder that we are always doing more than we appear to be doing when we sow the seed of a divine life in the heart of men. A man cannot be related to Christ in saving faith without becoming related to his fellow man in social service. "He who loveth God loveth his brother also." Christ is the

Lord of all good life, and the Saviour from all human ills, and the holy passion of the Cross sends us forth to the service of all needy souls.

Our fathers wrote a great chapter of social uplift in these 100 years, simply because they followed Christ to all the issues of His call.

> Slowly the Bible of the race is writ,
> And not on paper leaves or leaves of stone;
> Each age, each kindred, adds a verse to it,
> Texts of despair, or hope; of joy, or moan.

May God help us, in our age, to write our text of hope and joy.

W. RIDLEY CHESTERTON.

How the Infallibility of the Pope was Decreed.[1]

FREE Churchmen do not need convincing as to the fallibility of the Pope, but, perhaps, comparatively few of them know *how* fallible were the persons and proceedings through which the decree of his infallibility was secured. This at least must be my excuse for dealing with the subject here.

And first let us see what causes determined the definition in 1870. Among Catholics there was a strong desire to honour and console the Pope. Pius IX. was a man of amiable personal character, and his misfortunes elicited warm sympathy even from some who were not Catholics. He had undergone the hardship of exile, and now he seemed to be on the point of losing what yet remained of the Papal States, and therewith the last remnant of his so-called temporal power. But the chief reason was the desire to check, if possible, the ravages caused by the steady and alarming advance of rationalism in the lands of western civilisation in all departments of thought. It was supposed that the only effective remedy lay in the strengthening

[1] This paper is substantially the latter part of a lecture entitled, "The Story of Papal Infallibility," delivered at New College, London, as the Inaugural Lecture of the session 1932-3.

of authority. Free thought, scientific and historical, was putting forth fresh speculations almost daily, and making them universally known through the agency of a free press. Obviously, councils of the Church were a too slow and cumbrous machinery to deal effectively with the danger. For practical reasons they could not be summoned often; and there was the risk that they served to manifest division rather than unanimity of opinion on the questions deliberated. What was wanted was a single supreme head of the Church, who could infallibly pronounce the divine truth on all sorts of questions as they arose. This temper is seen conspicuously in W. G. Ward, one of the first of the Oxford tractarians to go over to Rome, who declared to a friend that he wished he might have a fresh Papal Bull for breakfast every morning along with his *Times.* As editor of the *Dublin Review,* Ward treated as disloyal Catholics all who were not prepared to accept *every* official utterance of the Pope as infallible.

The Catholic press was indeed diligently employed to pave the way for the acceptance of the dogma. An extreme instance is that of the French *Univers,* under the editorship of the layman, Vieullot. "We all know certainly only one thing, that is, that no man knows anything except the man with whom God is for ever . . . we must unswervingly follow his inspired directions." Vieullot even sneered at the deliberations preparatory to the Vatican Council, as implying that the Holy Ghost needed time for reflection, and he actually printed parodies of Catholic hymns in which the Pope's name replaced the name of God. But the greatest sensation was caused by the *Civilta Cattolica,* a paper controlled by the Jesuits of the Roman Court, who knew and indeed largely influenced the mind of the Pope himself. On February 6th, 1869, it published an article foreshadowing the adoption of the dogma of papal infallibility by acclamation at the forthcoming council. This, however, provoked vehement remonstrance in some quarters, and the Pope himself thought it politic to let it be understood that the paper was not warranted in assuming that it represented his own views.

We may now pass to a consideration of the Council itself and its proceedings. We cannot follow in detail the story of its successive sittings. But it will aid us in forming a judgment as to its competence to decree papal infallibility, if we examine (1) the *personnel* of the Council, (2) some characteristic specimens of its procedure, (3) the definition of infallibility itself, with its interpretation and practical consequences.

Let me say here that the primary authority for my statements is a celebrated Roman Catholic, the late Lord Acton; he was in Rome at the time, and in constant and close touch with

the minority leaders in the Council. He supplied at least the materials of a remarkable series of letters which appeared almost daily, during the sittings of the Council, in a German newspaper.[2] These were subsequently published as "Letters from the Council" by Quirinus, and they remain a first-rate source of information, not only as to the official proceedings of the Council, but also as to the views and activities of party leaders and committees. By common admission Acton was an excellent historian, of vast learning, and with a passion for historic truth. He died in full communion with the Roman Church, and no serious inaccuracy has ever been demonstrated in his reports of the Council.

The Council was one of the largest Catholic councils ever assembled. At its fullest it numbered over 700. Yet it was far from being adequately representative of the Roman Catholic world. To begin with, there were nearly 200 members who did not represent the Catholics of any geographical area—so-called "titular" bishops without dioceses, vicars apostolic, non-episcopal cardinals, and heads of monastic orders. Next, with regard to the diocesan bishops, representation was hopelessly disproportionate, whether we look at numbers or quality. Italy alone had 276 bishops, against 265 for all the rest of Europe. The Papal States (in Italy and Sicily) had sixty-two, representing less than three-quarters of a million souls, whereas Germany had fourteen, to a Catholic population of twelve millions. The great archbishops of Cologne, Cambrai and Paris, who were all anti-infallibilists, had flocks numbering together five million; yet they could be outvoted by any four other members of Council. And what makes the disproportion so disquieting is that the prelates most respectable for learning and character belonged almost exclusively to the minority, coming chiefly from Germany, France and America. "If any here" [in Rome], says Quirinus, "were to demand of the so-called theologians . . . the capacity of reading the New Testament and the Greek Fathers and Councils in the original language, he would be ridiculed as a dreamer."[3]

Religious literature was deplorably scarce and poor in Italy. It is a contemporary Italian writer who affirms that "in Italy there are not so many religious books printed in half a century as appear in England or N. America in one year. Here in Rome you may find a lottery dream book in almost every house, but never a New Testament, and extremely seldom any religious book at all." Quirinus, who quotes this, himself says,

[2] The Augsburg "Allgemeine Zeitung."

[3] Subsequent quotations in inverted commas are from Quirinus, unless otherwise assigned.

"It is difficult to form a notion of the ignorance of these Latins [Italians and Spaniards] in all historical questions, and their entire want of that general cultivation which is assumed with us [Germans] a matter of course in priest or bishop. And up to this time I have always found here that the predilection for the Infallibility theory is in precise proportion to the ignorance of its advocates." And again, "People here say, 'Why do you Germans . . . think everyone must learn to read? Take example from us, where only one in ten can read, and all believe the more readily in the infallible living book, the Pope.'" The Infallibilist leaders held that the definition would usher in a new dispensation —that of the Holy Ghost. Naturally, then, they were quite indifferent to facts of ancient history with which the dogma of infallibility was in contradiction.

If we are to say anything of the influence of *individuals* in the Council, we must at least not omit the Pope himself. The character of Pius IX. was such as to command general respect. His intellectual gifts, however, were of a modest order. "It is known here that small as are the intellectual requisites for ordination in the Papal States, it was only out of special regard to his family that Giovanni Maria Mastai could get ordained priest." He was in no sense a learned man. His ignorance of church history can be judged from his speaking[4] of his infallibility as "that pious doctrine which for so many centuries nobody questioned." He was specially devoted to the cult of the Virgin Mary. During the Council he announced that whoever, after confession and communion, recites the Rosary daily for a week, for the Pope's intention and for the happy termination of the Council, may gain a plenary indulgence of all his sins, applicable also to the dead. He adds that even when a child, and far more as Pope, he has always placed his whole confidence in the mother of God, and that he firmly believes it to be given to her alone by God to destroy all heresies throughout the world. Pius believed that through continual invocation and worship of the Madonna he had attained to an inspiration and divine illumination of which she was the medium—a purely personal privilege, which his predecessors did not all experience. As early as 1854 he summoned the bishops to Rome, and proclaimed to them on his own authority the dogma of the immaculate conception of the Virgin, though it was contrary to the teaching of some of the greatest doctors of the Catholic Church, e.g., S. Thomas Aquinas himself. Of course, the proclamation assumed his own infallibility, which he had proclaimed as early as 1846, without its provoking any commotion. He had indeed a peculiarly exalted self-

[4] In a letter to his nuncio at Paris.

consciousness. Quirinus quotes him as saying, "I believed it [his own infallibility] as plain Abbé Mastai; and now, as Pius IX, I feel it." "He frequently says that he too is a poor sinner, but (whereas) in all other mortals sin begets error as its necessary consequence . . . in his case, sin, through a special miracle, has no influence on the intellect." During the Council he proclaimed openly that he could not and would not tolerate any further doubt about his infallibility on the part of others. He actually declared on one occasion, "I know all about it," implying that he knew the state of affairs in Catholic Germany better than its own bishops.

It was this Pope who began the custom of frequent encyclicals on questions of the day. The most prominent example is the notorious Syllabus of 1864, which condemned eighty "errors of our time," including rationalism, Protestantism, socialism, any State control of Church affairs or education, civil marriage, freedom of conscience, of worship, and of the press. Should we be surprised to find that this man who trusted thus to his own direct inspiration was in reality very much at the mercy of advisers? This is repeatedly insinuated by Newman. Of these advisers the most influential were members of the Jesuit Order. (Papal infallibility had always been with them a favourite doctrine.) "He made the Jesuits a channel of his influence, and became an instrument of their own." It was after taking a Jesuit as his own confessor that his unique passion for proclaiming new dogmas became noticeable.

The Pope's faithful henchman in steering infallibility through the Council was Archbishop (afterwards Cardinal) Manning. "Manning appears to be recognised as their leader by all the adherents of the new dogma." His influence was in no way due to superior learning. "He does not possess a tenth part of the learning of his master [Newman]." His views of the Church's history were shallow and inaccurate. But he could afford to neglect history; for, according to him, "the appeal to antiquity is both a treason and a heresy." At the time of his conversion to Romanism, Manning could still say, "the intellect is God's gift, and our instrument in attaining knowledge of His will." But later he became an extreme advocate of authority. He himself told Ward that in 1867, on occasion of the feast of S. Peter and S. Paul at Rome, he and the Bishop of Ratisbon "jointly made a vow that they would not rest until they had secured the great dogma which was to give new glory to Christ's outraged vicar"; and Newman (in a letter) says that the securing of the Definition became with Manning a kind of "fixed idea." If so, it is hardly surprising to find him comparatively unscrupulous in the means he was prepared to adopt for securing

it. In another context Manning could declare that "imposture is the mark of a feeble and failing cause." But Newman does not hesitate to speak of "intrigue" and "trickery" in reference to Manning's tactics to secure the passing of the Infallibility decree at the Council. English priests who opposed it were silenced by threats of suspension and degradation. Father Thurston, S.J., says that "Manning made no secret of the policy of the committee organised by him, to exclude from the Deputation on the Faith" every name known to be adverse to the Definition," and he speaks of the presiding Cardinals yielding on an important point, against their better judgment, to the agitation of Manning. (Art. "Councils," *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, IV.*) In the Council Manning took up the position that infallibility was already part of the Church's doctrine; hence (consistently) he treated all who opposed it as heretics, whose part in the proceedings was not to be listened to, but to hear their own condemnation; and he actually went so far as to suggest that as soon as the decree had passed, each bishop who had voted against it should have his excommunication handed to him along with his railway ticket on leaving Rome.

We will now turn to the Council itself, and indicate some features of its constitution and procedure which seem to have some bearing on the question of its competence to pronounce finally on the momentous question of infallibility.

The Bull whereby the bishops were summoned to the Council did not state specifically the business to be considered, and made no mention of infallibility in particular. On arriving they were assured that no one dreamed of defining it, and the Council had actually been in progress some time before the Infallibilist leaders judged it expedient to announce that the Decree would be brought before it.

The discussions took place in a hall of the full height of St. Peter's Church and the acoustics were so deplorably bad that real discussion was impossible. Only men with good carrying voices could hope to be heard, and even strong men were thoroughly exhausted by the efforts involved in a long speech. At the first voting several bishops replied "Against! for we have heard nothing." Before long, indeed, one-third of the hall was partitioned off, and shortly before the close of the Council an awning was spread over to serve as a sounding board. These changes, however, effected only a partial improvement. One cardinal declared he had not really been able to follow a single speech, another, that not twenty words of any speech had reached his ears. Yet Pius clung to this hall, though petitioned by bishops to change. We need not suspect that this was

precisely because it prevented thorough debate—although an Italian ecclesiastic told an Anglican clergyman as much. But the Pope had spent a very large sum on preparing it, and more important still was the consideration of its proximity to the shrine called the Confession of St. Peter, whence he believed an influence issued which helped to bring the bishops to one mind with himself. The official language of the proceedings was Latin. The majority of the bishops was not sufficiently accustomed to its use to be able to speak fluently and effectively in Latin.

By the Bull "*Multiplices inter,*" the Pope reserved to himself the nomination of all Council officers, and also the final determination of the subjects to be discussed. Any motions meeting with opposition were referred to a commission for revision, and as thus revised the Council could only *vote* on them. Should the Pope die during its proceedings, the Council was to be dissolved. Strict secrecy respecting all that took place within the Council was enjoined, on pain of mortal sin, on all the members. This regulation, however, was widely ignored. Manning obtained a dispensation from the Pope, and gave full information to Odo Russell, the British emissary to the Vatican, in order that he might checkmate Lord Acton's endeavours to get the government of Mr. Gladstone to intervene. Acton himself, as we have seen, freely published information derived from members. After many weeks had been spent with little or nothing accomplished, there appeared a regulation which empowered the presidents to stop a speech, and even to closure a debate if this were voted by a majority. And the closure was actually applied at a most important point in the course of the Council—to the general debate on the Pope's primacy—when there were still forty unheard, who had given notice of their intention to speak. Once more, all motions were to be decided by a mere majority vote—surely a very incongruous principle to apply to the determination of divine truth. At former Councils unanimity had been required for *doctrinal* decrees. At the Council of Trent, proposals opposed by even a few members were abandoned. At this Council the minority leaders contended again and again for moral unanimity, but all in vain.

Yet another serious drawback lay in the fact that the matters to be discussed were issued to the members only piecemeal. Thus the minority were deprived of the advantage of considering them in their mutual bearings, and organising their opposition in the most telling way. It happened further that more than once important new matter was issued so late as to give no time for its adequate consideration. Quirinus records that of 122 amendments to Chapter III of the Schema "de fide," most bishops got their copies only the day before they would be

called upon to vote on them. Worse still—when the approach of the hot season threatened a necessity of adjournment, in order to secure a vote on the question of papal infallibility the order of topics was altered, contrary to the standing orders. Logically of course, the doctrine of the Papacy follows on that of the Church, and can only be rightly defined in view of the latter; but despite protests it was taken first.

Pass on now to consider the question how far there was the chance of free discussion and impartial chairmanship. We may note first that a lively paper warfare went on outside the Council. The opposition could not get their pamphlets printed in Rome, but had to send them to Naples, or even farther. Quite so, retorts Dom. Butler (in his recent history of the Vatican Council)—in order to keep the presses free for prompt printing of official matter needed for the Council's proceedings, the authorities had to prohibit the printing of private manifestoes. This reply would hold good if the authorities had not discriminated in favour of the Infallibilists. But the Infallibilists experienced no difficulty in getting printed an address to the Pope in favour of defining infallibility, whereas a treatise opposing infallibility on principle had to be printed at Vienna, and smuggled into Rome. But this is not all; the whole edition of an anti-infallibilist manifesto by leaders of the minority was seized as contraband in the Roman post office, so that not a single bishop got a copy. Again, the Pope attempted, though vainly, to interfere with party meetings by forbidding gatherings of more than fifteen or twenty bishops outside the Council. In the Council itself the presidents used their authority anything but impartially. A speaker was liable to be interrupted by their bell as soon as he said anything distasteful to the Roman Court. An American and an Italian bishop were speedily silenced when they raised their voices against infallibility. When presidents so openly showed partiality we cannot wonder that the infallibilist majority learned before long to refuse a patient hearing to opposition speakers. At the first word of protest actually uttered in the Council against decreeing infallibility there was such an uproar as brought the sitting to a close. When the eloquent Hungarian, Strossmayer, ventured to protest against wholesale condemnation of Protestants, and contended that some of them had rendered good service to the cause of divine truth, there were angry outcries, and the president exclaimed, "This is no place for praising Protestants!" When Strossmayer refused to give way, and went on to exclaim that nothing could be imposed as church dogma unless supported by the bishops with moral unanimity, a frightful tumult arose. Several bishops rushed at the speaker and shook their fists in his face. If a

minority bishop made an affectionate allusion to the Pope, the majority could be heard to mutter, " et osculatus est illum "—thus comparing it to the kiss of Judas! If a minority bishop's speech was attacked, he could not reply in the same debate, whereas the members of the Papal Deputation who moved the official proposals could speak as often as they liked.

Beyond all this, pressure was brought to bear on bishops in all sorts of ways. They were virtually prisoners, for the police did not allow them to leave Rome without a papal permit, and this was not obtainable during the Council except in case of grave illness. Even rewards for compliance and punishments for non-compliance were dangled before individual councillors. There were bishops from mission fields, trained and maintained by the Papal Congregation for the propagation of the faith. They were mostly obsequious; but independent individuals were actually threatened with loss of their pay if they would not come to heel. On the other hand, various honours were offered to entice over members of the opposition. One bishop was captured by the privilege of being the only western bishop permitted to wear a vestment known as a " superhumeral." Others had the prospect of various offices about the Roman Court—titular bishops, protonotaries apostolic, confidential chamberlains, &c. A few of the opposition leaders were tickled with the hint of a prospective cardinal's hat.

The Pope did not scruple to use his personal influence on the side of the good cause, and this more and more openly as time went on. It should be premised that, in Newman's words, "his personal presence was of a kind that no one could withstand." Further, resistance was the more difficult because "neither the Catholic nor the non-Catholic public has any idea of the extent to which a bishop in the present day is dependent on Rome " (Quirinus); and for years past bishops had been in the habit of obsequious compliance. Papal censures were reserved for Liberalism, while extreme statements as to papal prerogatives and Mariolatry were unreproved (Dean Church). Mozley, writing to the *Times* from Rome, said, " His Holiness tells (opposition bishops) plainly that they are among his enemies—are damaging the good cause," and so on. Of the Pope's dealings with individuals one or two examples may be given. To a distinguished German prelate who proved indifferent to proffered rewards, the Pope put the Lord's question to Peter, " Lovest thou me? " But the most notorious case is that of Guidi, an Italian cardinal, justly respected for his learning, who dared in Council to deny that popes had any infallibility separately from that of the Church. He was immediately sent for, and the Pope boasted afterwards of having

sharply rebuked him. He is reported to have called him "the coryphaeus of my opponents" and "ungrateful to my person." And when Guidi claimed the support of tradition for what he had said, he received the famous answer, "*I* am the tradition." He was required to retract, was kept in virtual confinement, and plied with alternate persuasions and threats.

It remains to give a few specimens of what we may call the "lobbying" tactics whereby the infallibilist leaders sought to secure the passing of the decree. It may be well to preface them by recognising that both parties—majority and minority alike—accuse each other of "intrigue," and represent themselves as driven into counterplot by the sinister proceedings of the others. Probably neither has a stainless record, and for our purpose we have no need to decide with which rests the blame of beginning dubious practices. What concerns us is that intrigue, more or less crooked, certainly played a not inconsiderable part in the doings of the Council. At the outset a commission of twenty-four "on faith" was to be chosen. Manning and his friends sent round a list of nominations (including Manning's own name) to likely members of the Council, and with such success that when the result of the election was announced, not a single opponent of infallibility had secured a place. (No fewer than 450 voting papers had the same twenty-four names!)

On at least two occasions the project was set on foot to carry infallibility in the Council by acclamation, and was only defeated by a threat from the French and the American bishops respectively to secede from the Council. More than one attempt was made to smuggle in a recognition of the Pope's infallibilty by a back door; e.g., the authorities brought before the Council an amendment proposed by a French bishop, which included a parenthesis implying the infallibility of the Pope. After all the devices to eliminate opposition, when a vote was taken on the article respecting the Pope's primacy, eighty-eight declared against, while sixty-two more gave only a qualified assent. At the final vote, in public session, with the Pope present, there were only two "No's," the bulk of the opposition having already left Rome, to avoid the painful ordeal of having to vote against the Pope to his face.

Can we reasonably ascribe infallibility to the findings of such a Council—composed of members with such pronounced limitations of knowledge, intelligence, integrity and good faith, and proceeding to their ends by such crooked manœuvres? Roman apologists point out to us that the character of the Council and its methods are no worse, if no better, than those of our civil parliaments or councils. Suppose we grant it—what is it to the

purpose? To whom of us would it ever occur to claim infallibility for the decisions of any of these bodies? But ultimately the infallibility of the Council (or rather, of its majority) is just that of an individual—the Pope. How does it stand with him? We have had the figure of Pius before us, with its glaring defects in knowledge, humility, patience and charitable judgment of others. And we might add to these, control of temper and tongue! He is reported to have referred to an anti-infallibilist German cardinal as "that ass." He "broke out into the most bitter reproaches against [the English] Bishop Clifford . . . before an assembly of Frenchman, most of whom did not even know him by name, saying that he knew 'ex certa scientia,' the only reason why Clifford would not believe in his infallibility was because he had not made him Archbishop of Westminster. Yet there is, perhaps, no member of the Church whom everyone credits with so entire an absence of any ambitious thought."

Now, nothing short of a divine revelation could certify the Christian Church of the infallibility of an individual man. Is it credible on the *ipse dixit* of such a man as Pius IX? We should unhesitatingly say "No." Personal conformity to the revealed commands of God is the indispensable road to a knowledge of His mind and His will. There must be whole-hearted renunciation of our own will and pleasure and submission in all things to the obedience of Christ. We have Scripture for that.[5] And it seems to us that all experience confirms it. But now, we shall be told, this is Protestantism, or rather, Puritanism. The Catholic, on the other hand, does not see the indispensable connection between personal holiness and discernment of divine truth. Pius himself, as we have seen, believed that by a special miracle his personal sin was prevented from invalidating his intellectual processes. And as for the Pope's ignorance and superstition, did not a Jesuit theologian long since plead that "a thoroughly ignorant Pope may very well be infallible, for God has before now pointed out the right path by the mouth of a speaking ass?"

I am afraid then that we must waive what might be called the moral argument and fall back upon others. Try this. Since there have even been popes who declared themselves not bound by their word when given under pressure of fear, we might fairly question the validity of an assent to the Decree practically extorted from members of the minority by the threat of anathema; for an anathema against those who refused it *was* appended to the decree. Or we might point out that the decree itself rests in the last resort on that accursed fetish of Pro-

[5] John viii. 12; vii. 17.

testants, a private judgment—that, namely, of the Pope himself.[6] We might point to actual instances of fallible decrees issued by popes. In 1172 Alexander III. approved of a man who has sworn to marry a woman, deceiving her by a sham marriage, and then retiring into a monastery; and this decision became part of the Roman canon law. When Protestants point out palpable errors such as these, Roman apologists are apt to fall back on the plea that in these cases the popes were misled by their (fallible) advisers. But what is the use of an infallibility which cannot discern bad advice from good? Indeed, we may ask how it contrives still to be infallibility.

We have finally to look at the internal evidence of infallibility, if any, afforded by the terms of the decree itself. "We, clinging faithfully to the tradition received from the beginning of the Christian faith . . . do, with the approval of the holy Council, teach and define it to be a dogma divinely revealed—that the Roman pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedra*, i.e., when in the exercise of his office of paster and teacher of all Christians, in virtue of his supreme apostolic authority, he defines a doctrine respecting faith or morals for the observance of the whole Church, has command, through the divine assistance promised to him in blessed Peter, of that infallibility wherewith the divine Redeemer willed that His Church should be equipped in defining doctrine respecting faith and morals, and thus such definitions of the Roman pontiff are irrevisable in themselves, and not merely by consent of the Church."[7]

Passing by such obvious criticisms as that the dogma of the Pope's infallibility has *not* the uniform tradition of the Church behind it, or that the infallibility contemplated by the decree is *not* the Church's, but the Pope's in distinction from the Church, let us concentrate attention on the phrase "ex cathedra." When does the Pope speak *ex cathedra*? Three conditions are indicated. (1) When he speaks in the capacity of universal teacher of the Church; (2) when he speaks, not as a private person, but in his capacity as successor of Peter; (3) when he speaks on questions of faith or morals. We might point out with Dr. Coulton that the last condition opens the way for endless debate. You can bring anything you like under one or other of these heads. "Galileo's contemporaries treated the motion of the earth as a matter of faith and morals" (*Papal Infallibility*, p. 55). The Jesuit Schrader lays it down expressly that no public act or direction of the Pope can be conceived of

[6] See art. "Infallibility" by Curtis, in Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics.

[7] The last clause inserted by the majority after the opposition had withdrawn itself.

as *not* having a doctrinal significance.[8] But without dwelling on this point, we may ask with Mirbt (quoted by Coulton, p. 56), " How are we to recognise whether the decision of the Pope is given in the exercise of his doctrinal office or not?" No criterion is assigned, and no authentic interpretation has been accorded from the chair of St. Peter. Even a French Catholic declared that a man needs to exercise his private judgment to decide whether the Pope has spoken *ex cathedra* or not. Manifestly the decree itself imperatively requires interpretation. And the interpretations given by Roman Catholic scholars differ widely. A view that merits attention as occurring in a book on *True and False Infallibility,* which was written by Mgr. Fessler, the general secretary of the Vatican Council, and which received papal approval, was that " the assimilation of a single papal utterance to the rest of the Church's teaching appertained again to the discussions of the Schola" ; which seems to mean in plainer language that any papal utterance, before issuing for general acceptance by the Church, should be reviewed by expert theologians. Manning, on the other hand, wanted to make everything depend on the Pope's intention, i.e., whenever he intends to require the assent of the whole Church he is infallible.

And as interpretations of the decree differ, so naturally do Roman Catholic scholars differ as to which of the actual papal pronouncements are to be accepted as *ex cathedra.* Fessler admits he can find " only a few." Cardinal Franzelin quotes only four cases which he regards as certain; while a priest named Carson claims general consent for only two, and adds, " Beyond these two . . . we cannot assert with any assurance that the prerogative of papal infallibility has been exercised from the day of Pentecost to the present time."[9] The fact is that only the ruling Pope can decide what utterances of himself or of his predecessors are to be accepted as *ex cathedra.* Small wonder that he shows himself backward to exercise the privilege! The burden of infallibility is too heavy for any *man* to bear. To a conscientious and serious-minded man the sense of responsibility must be paralysing. But if in these circumstances he shrinks from shouldering it, then we are left to speculate what is the value to the Church of a power which its possessors avoid using, except perhaps in cases where there is no serious division of opinion as to what their sentence should be.

A. J. D. FARRER.

8 Von der römischen Einheit, 1866.

9 There is no instance of a papal pronouncement addressed to the whole church before the beginning of the fourteenth century.

Social Morality.

OUR moral and social ideals will depend on our conception of man's vocation and destiny. If some amongst us are persuaded that his starting point was the jungle, we are bound to think of man in the present context of his varied relationships. Neither biology, economics, nor sociology comes anywhere near exhausting human personality. There are also " trailing clouds " of some glory which indicate a spiritual birthright. Man's supreme destiny, we believe, is to be found in the Christian revelation. And if we are to take our stand here on Christian values, these values must apply to the whole of man's life. We must not esteem the soul at the expense of the body—this " earthly tabernacle " in which man himself lives and moves. If we know nothing greater than the soul, then a like, if transitory, " greatness " belongs also to what Paul calls the temple of the spirit.

It is being urged upon us that our social world is in revolt against the generally accepted moral standards. Many voices proclaim that the old-time moral restrictions are passing and are waiting to be buried. But we had better be careful, lest we bury the living with the dead. After the long way by which we have come, there must be some things that remain, however shaken. There are foundations which no man can lay other than what is long ago laid. Christian ideals and standards are being challenged and discredited. New experiments are being made in social and domestic life. Much of our present-day drama and fiction represents family fidelity as a joyless and repressed existence, and flaunt the free and the promiscuous. Canon Barry declares that the " whole atmosphere of our society is drenched and saturated with sexuality. The stage, the film, the novel and the daily press are preoccupied with crude sex appeal. All the massed suggestions that play upon them are such as to lead boys and girls to imagine that this is the main interest of adult life." This one-sided emphasis, however, he thinks, is giving way to cynical satiety, and is begetting a wistful disillusionment. Those who despise and distrust love are becoming sceptical about life.

In a situation such as this the Christian Church must aim at being helpful and constructive. She must offer some clear guidance on these inevitable difficulties and problems of youth.

Our young people seldom turn to us for the help they need in those personal and social crises of the psycho-physical life, thinking possibly that Christianity has little else than "taboos" to offer, and that the Church would only be surprised and shocked instead of being ready with understanding and guidance. No doubt this is a mistaken idea of our attitude, but as Canon Barry insists, Christian moral standards of social life must be reasonable; they must needs be relevant to the facts of life, and commend themselves to the moral judgment as well as the feelings of the rising generation. We may add, however, that our Christian negatives are there because of the positives. Some people may not take kindly to "Thou shalt not," but then, the shadow of Sinai *does* rest on the love and light of Calvary.

In our insistence upon Christian ideals of moral conduct—ideals which shine with the utmost clearness and definiteness in Him who is "the Way, and the Truth, and the Life"—the whole man healthy, body, soul, and spirit, comes within the scope of our teaching and ministry. And at once, therefore, we find ourselves in opposition to much of the social psychology of our day, with its fragmentary explanation of life, and its "bogey" of repression, and its so-called "gospel" of expression. "I want, and I must therefore have," is simply not good enough for human personality. The social revolt which goes by the name of Humanism is altogether too much life Hedonism. The way here is too broad, ever to lead us into a life "more abundant." "Narrow is the way that leadeth into life," but the *life* itself ranges wide. Human personality must express itself! but what "self"? The animal, the vagrant and undisciplined ego, the man with his varying lusts and desires? "Where there is no restraint the people perish." This Freudian philosophy, with its supposed dangers of repression, is unworthy of the personality it seeks to explain, and carried to its logical issue would make social life impossible. If the culture of character be an essential of our social life it must involve the restraint and repression which alone make possible all happy and healthy expression.

Part of the Church's ministry to the social life of our time is to re-establish Christian standards of living, and to redeem social life from these degenerating influences. There is need of more definite Christian ministry in this direction. The younger members of our Churches, and often the older as well, are wrestling with some of those intimate problems of personal conduct and domestic relationships. In our teaching and preaching we might get a bit closer to those more intimate difficulties of daliy life and conduct, and become the guides of those who hardly dare ask the better and higher way. We can,

at least, in our homes and in our family life show by example what Christian love can be and do, and how the more intimate relationships of life can only yield their finest fruit as they become sacramental. As Herbert Spencer used to say: "You cannot get golden conduct out of leaden instincts."

As ministers of the gospel, many of us must often wish that we were given the opportunity of offering some Christian guidance to our young people in the moral enterprises of life. It has been said that the Christian fellowship of a church is as really committed to every betrothal as much as the State is committed to every contract. That may be stretching our responsibility beyond its limits; but at least we can assure those who are "made one" in the bonds of marriage, of our prayerful interest and of our friendship and fellowship with them in their new life.

There is need for such a ministry of Christian help and guidance if we can render it with all the wisdom, tact, and sympathy it demands. Here are some sentences from the letter of a young man—the kind of letter which is rarely written: "I was born one of a large family of boys and my father and mother brought us up in the fear and love of God. Both were very earnest Christians . . . and I and my brothers owe everything to them. And yet, in the vital matter of sexual education nothing was done, with the result that to-day, at the age of twenty-five years, I can see nothing ahead but a life of misery or a suicide's grave." And this from another who signs himself, "Struggling": "I find myself disillusioned and in a mental, moral and spiritual rut. At school so brilliant, in life so weak." In our Discipleship Campaign half the battle is often won if we can gain the confidence of the would-be disciple; if he sees that we know his life at its depth and height, at its lowest desires, and its highest dreams and ambitions, and are able to share the inner problem of his life, and understand his moral struggle.

We have a gospel which can solve all the problems of our personal and social life. The only true Humanism is Christian Humanism. The cleansing and renewing of our minds, the redemption of our social life from its every taint and foulness is in Him who is the Life and the Light of the world. Through Christ we may attain a life "temporal yet eternal, instinctive and spiritual, divine and human—the physical sustaining the life of the Spirit, the life of the Spirit redeeming the physical." "Do you not know your body is the temple of the Holy Spirit within you—the Spirit you have received from God? You are not your own, you were bought for a price; then glorify God with your body."

ALLAN M. RITCHIE.

Vasili Pavlov: A Russian Baptist Pioneer.

THE first Russian Baptist to achieve fame outside his own country was Vasili Pavlov. He was baptised in 1871, and from that time onwards his influence was felt through the expanding Baptist community. For more than half a century he laboured, and his activity ceased only with his death in 1924.

No man sums up in his personal service and suffering the story of the Russian Baptist movement so adequately as Pavlov. He came into it almost at the beginning. The date accepted as the birthday of the denomination in Russia is September 1st (August 20th), 1867, when Nikita Voronin was baptised. Voronin had belonged to the Molokans—a sect having some resemblance to the Quakers—but the study of the New Testament led him to adopt a point of view which he afterwards learned from a German settler in his district, Martin Kalweit, was identical with that of the Baptists. Kalweit baptised Voronin, and this earliest Russian convert at once displayed the evangelistic fervour that marks the great host of his successors. He gathered a small group of believers around him. In 1870 the sixteen-years-old Vasili Pavlov came under Voronin's influence and early in the following year was won for the young church, which before he joined it numbered about ten members. Another notable convert was secured at the same time—V. V. Ivanov-Klishnikov, whose after-career is in many respects parallel to that of Pavlov, and whose son (now an exile for conscience's sake) is honoured far beyond the limits of his own country.

Pavlov's intense zeal led him at once to set about preaching in Tiflis and the neighbouring villages. It is worth while to notice that his enthusiasm made full use of all cultural opportunities open to him. He shirked no rough work. In his youth we find him acting as shop-assistant, coachman, ploughman, baker, or commercial agent; but his earnings are devoted to the purchase of books, and his free hours to study. As a boy he had been happily encouraged. His father was a farmer; his mother belonged to a Russian officer-family. These pious and industrious people had been banished from Central Russia as Molokan dissenters from the Orthodox Church. To them Vasili

came as a Samuel. They had long been childless; his birth was an answer to prayer, and before his birth they had dedicated him to their Lord. It is therefore not surprising that he was able to read the Slavonic New Testament when only five years old. He early displayed unusual aptitude for languages, acquiring German by self-study and Hebrew at a Jewish school in Tiflis. Greek, Latin, Arabic, Turkish, several languages and dialects used in the Russian Empire, especially in Transcaucasia, and even Chinese, attracted him. Some he mastered; and eventually he secured more or less knowledge of about twenty-five languages. Nothing can be further from the truth than the idea that the Russian pioneers were ignorant fanatics; a few among them were men of remarkable scholarship, and the average Baptist preacher stood in Biblical and religious knowledge far above the general level of the priests of the State Church. No Baptist group in the world cherishes a simpler faith than the Russian, but none has set a higher value upon the training of the mind as an instrument in the service of God.

As members of the small Baptist church which had gathered in Tiflis about the merchant Voronin, Pavlov and his friend Ivanov-Klishnikov evangelised among the Molokans of Transcaucasia, and soon gave evidence of their power as preachers and winners of souls. A few country churches came into existence. In 1875 the Tiflis church resolved to send Pavlov to Hamburg to receive definite instruction from Oncken. He stayed only a year, but he won the confidence of the German pioneer, by whom he was ordained to the ministry. In the course of his return journey he was able to render a very great service to the cause. There had begun in Southern Russia shortly after the time of Voronin's baptism the Baptist-Stundist awakening, and by his direct contact with such leaders as Ratushny and Riaboshapka, Pavlov secured the understanding and fraternal co-operation which prepared the way for the founding in due time of a Russian Baptist Union. A period of comparative quiet followed. It lasted, in his case ten years, during which Pavlov was able to undertake preaching journeys of ever increasing range, founding churches even in the interior of Russia. Before the end of this period, however, the steady growth of the Baptist and Stundist movements throughout the southern half of Russia had awakened the suspicion and hostility of the authorities.

The term "Stundist" covered a religious awakening of somewhat chaotic character. The Russian Baptists, owing in part to German influence, had come to cherish clear-cut ideas of doctrine and church organisation, and were gradually giving form and clarity to the "Stundist" groups. They meanwhile

repudiated the label "Stundist" when applied to themselves, on the ground that it covered not only healthy but also religiously anarchic elements to which they could give no countenance. While the leadership and organisation of the evangelical movement throughout Southern Russia were gradually passing into the hands of the Baptists, they and the Stundists became known to an evangelical group of more recent origin, having its centre in St. Petersburg and including as adherents influential members of the aristocracy. This group owed its existence largely to the English Lord Radstock; among its leaders were Colonel Pashkov and Count Korff, and it was popularly described by such names as "Radstockite" or "Pashkovite." Its general positions were at that time those held by Plymouth Brethren of the "open" section. In later years under the name of "Evangelical Christian" it became definitely Baptist, so that after the Revolution its leaders and the Baptist leaders signed a common declaration of faith and order, as a basis for an organic union which unhappily has not yet been achieved.

A conference of about a hundred representatives from south and north met in April, 1884, at St. Petersburg, in the house of Princess Lieven, and entered into brotherly fellowship, though they found that differences on the subject of baptism prevented complete co-operation. This conference provoked the authorities to action: several delegates were arrested and compelled to return home, and Pavlov's notes were seized. Pashkov and Korff were soon afterwards banished from Russia. It may be observed that although formal union with the "Pashkovites" was not attained, this same year, 1884, witnessed the founding of the All-Russian Baptist Union to complete the unifying work initiated by Pavlov in 1876.

The accession of Czar Alexander III. had given the signal for the opening of a persecution which was gradually increasing in severity. On the ground of a personal report to the Czar by the Procurator of the Holy Synod, the notorious Pobiedonostseff, Pavlov with Voronin and others was sentenced in 1887 to four years' banishment in Orenburg. When the four years had expired, he returned to Tiflis, but his liberty was brief. The Government demanded that he should sign an undertaking to abstain from preaching, and, like his English forerunner, John Bunyan, he refused. Thereupon he was sentenced to a further four years' banishment; and on this occasion, in contrast to the first, he was transported as a dangerous criminal, under strong escort and in chains, from prison to prison, until after much suffering he at last reached Orenburg.

During the first year of this second banishment the devoted

preacher was exposed to most severe trials. In a single week his wife and three children died of cholera; a fortnight earlier a daughter had been drowned in the river Ural, and only one boy survived. "I found myself in the valley of the shadow of death," wrote Pavlov, "but the Lord was with me. I asked myself, 'Why live, when thou hast lost almost all thy dear ones?' But an inner voice answered, 'Life has still purpose: thou must live for Jesus who has redeemed thee!' I recalled the words, 'Whether we live, we live unto the Lord: whether we die, we die unto the Lord!'" During his banishment he carried on a small retail shop and bakery in Orenburg; and, strangely enough, he was permitted within a limited district to do the work forbidden at home. He preached and laboured with zeal, and churches arose among the Russian and Ukrainian colonists of the region. The clergy strove to check the movement by challenging him to public debate; but the only result was to extend interest and multiply the number of Baptist adherents, so that the discussions were speedily broken off by those who sought them. Then offers of lucrative employment were made to Pavlov if he would abandon his ministry—but they were made in vain.

The baffled clergy raged furiously against the unconquerable Baptist preacher; and as the close of his second banishment drew near, they threatened to secure for him a third, this time to the uttermost parts of Siberia. Pavlov saw that in the interests of his work he must for a while withdraw from Russia; and immediately after his release, before hostile plans could take shape, he left the country.

He betook himself to Tulcea in Rumania, about eighteen miles from the Russian border, and this place became a centre for refugees from the savage persecution then reaching its height. Pavlov was tireless in evangelising his fellow Russians dwelling in the district, and in organising help for the needy refugees. He remained in Tulcea until, in 1901, the flood of violence having somewhat abated, he was able to return to his own land.

During the remaining years of the Czardom he laboured chiefly in the Caucasus and in Odessa, and blessing was richly manifest throughout. He undertook an evangelising tour that extended through the whole length of Siberia as far as Vladivostok, and occupied six months. Difficulties were many: Russia was no "land of liberty," and the hopes aroused by the Czar's edict of religious freedom (1905) were speedily disappointed. On several occasions Pavlov's work was interrupted by imprisonment for from one to four months. The charges against him were "propaganda" (i.e., preaching) and

the translation and publication of a booklet by Spurgeon. The last sentence passed upon him—eight months' imprisonment for translating the Spurgeon booklet—was never put into effect, since he succeeded in evading the Odessa police until the outbreak of the Revolution in 1917.

One episode in connection with an imprisonment may here be described. Shortly after the issue of the Czar's edict of 1905, the Russian Baptist Union was holding a conference in Odessa, to the bitter chagrin of the Orthodox priests, who were supported by the Governor, Tolmatshev. The Governor arrested about two hundred members of the conference. Most of them were liberated after a brief detention, but he sentenced the leaders to periods of imprisonment varying from two weeks to four months. Pavlov naturally received the longest sentence. In prison he was treated as a dangerous criminal and allowed no visitors. Representations were made by his fellow-Baptists to the Czar, who sent a high official to Odessa. This man—whose name also chanced to be Pavlov—saw the prisoner and had a long talk with him. He reproached the Baptists with influencing their sons and daughters against the State, whereas the Government expected children to be educated in a spirit of loyalty. The Baptist preacher very frankly replied that if children of Baptists should be ill-disposed to the Government, the responsibility lay with the Government itself. "Do you realise," he asked, "what must happen when I come home after four months in prison? My son will want to know where I have been for so long. There is only one answer: I have been in prison. The child will ask why; and again there is only one answer: I must tell him that I have done nothing wrong, but have been locked up for preaching the gospel. The child will be astonished and want to know how the police can so treat his father for doing what God commands." He boldly pressed the question: "Are the Baptists to blame if their children grow up without sympathy for a Government that persecutes their fathers?" The Czarist official became very serious, and promised to use his influence for Pavlov's release; but nothing came of this. The prisoner had to serve the full term.

Three dramatic appearances abroad during the early years of the present century made him known to fellow-Baptists from all parts of the world. He was at the First World Congress in London in 1905, at the European Baptist Congress in Berlin in 1908, and at the Second World Congress in Philadelphia in 1911. His address at Berlin, where his mastery of German brought him into closer touch with the assembly than the English-speaking conditions of London and Philadelphia permitted, was crowded with information regarding the history of

the Russian evangelicals, and has been freely used in this biographical sketch.

The story of his experiences after the Revolution may be briefly told. When it broke out he was travelling near Moscow. For months he had avoided the neighburhood of Odessa, where the police were seeking him, and undertaken secret missionary journeys in other parts of Russia—in the Volga region, Orenburg, Turkestan, and Transcaucasia. In 1916 the church at Moscow called him to its pastorate and he accepted the invitation, but under the condition that he should take up the work only when the danger of arrest and imprisonment had passed. The Revolution freed him, from this particular menace. For four years, under new and most difficult conditions, including peril, poverty and hunger, he served the Moscow church and the All-Russian Baptist Union by voice and pen, displaying deep interest in Bible courses and the gathering of historical data concerning the Baptist movement in his country. On the occasion of his Jubilee in 1921 the Russian Baptists undertook to support him for the rest of his life. We find him soon afterwards preaching for a time in Leningrad; and in August, 1923, he moved to Transcaucasia with the intention of devoting his special knowledge to mission work among the Mohammedans. The plan was not fulfilled. His heart had been overstrained by exhausting labours, and an attack by bandits on a railway train in which he was travelling aggravated his condition. After acute suffering he died in Baku on the 15th April, 1924. At the earnest request of the Church, which he had joined as a youth of seventeen, his mortal remains were conveyed to Tiflis for burial.

Pavlov's outstanding characteristics are zeal, thoroughness, courage, and all are rooted in an intense personal experience of salvation in Christ. His enthusiastic and far-reaching labours appear in the story we have told. His thoroughness comes to light in his eager and prolonged study of languages, but especially in his expository and theological work. He was resolved to find, not only emotional satisfaction, but clear intellectual conceptions of truth. These were embodied in his preaching, and they made him a formidable public disputant As to his courage, there is no sign in his life of any yielding to fear. His withdrawal to Rumania for a few years was not a shrinking from persecution; he withdrew because he was threatened with banishment under conditions that would have denied him all opportunity of actively preaching the gospel. As pioneer, preacher, theologian, writer and editor, as a consistent Christian man, and as one who in a truly martyr spirit endured suffering for Christ, Pavlov is

worthy of high honour. He himself would have given the whole glory to the Lord who used him to influence more powerfully than any other Russian Baptist evangelist the men and women of his vast country.

Will his work abide? Who can doubt that it will? "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid which is Jesus Christ."

J. H. RUSHBROOKE.

Frederick Tryon of Deeping.

IT was Saturday morning in the year 1850, at the town of Sleaford, Lincolnshire. My grandfather's household, of which I was a child guest, was as usual about early. My dear aunt, his housekeeper, had a journey before her, for to-morrow was the first Sunday in the month, when she endeavoured to be present for Communion at the Baptist Cause at Deeping, some twenty miles away, where she was a member.

At an early hour the carrier's waggon started from the market-place. It was a large covered vehicle that once or twice a week travelled from Sleaford to Peterborough and back, conveying passengers, parcels and goods. Its occupants, country folk with their bundles, whiled away the time on the slow journey with bucolic talk and comments on local events.

At Folkingham we halted to bait the horses. The jail near the green had a treadmill, and when the prisoners were on it two fans revolved above the roof, a process I afterwards heard called "grinding the wind." My childish enquiry was met and satisfied by a brief explanation and a solemn warning as to what becomes of children who go wrong.

At Bourne was a long halt, when my aunt went to the house of an aged Christian friend to lunch and talk. Then on again till we alighted at Deeping where, with a widowed relative, we were to stay till Monday. Her three young children, destined in after years to occupy honoured positions in Christian service, gave a cheerful tone to that quiet Puritan home.

Sunday morning, calm and bright in those fen-lands, to chapel. A plain building facing a street on the bank of the Nene, then a placid little river, but in autumn and winter over-

flowing its banks and flooding the street, necessitating a footpath of boards or the aid of a vehicle.

It was named "Cave Adullam," and had been built in 1839 for the Rev. Frederick Tryon, B.A., erewhile vicar of the parish.

The chapel was full; people from the village, labourers, some in smock frocks and leather gaiters, and their families, farmers and gentry who had driven in from the surrounding district. Mr. Tryon ascended the pulpit. He was then thirty-seven years of age, a tall handsome gentleman in clerical suit and white tie. After the first hymn followed the reading and prayer, a solemn reverent approach to the throne of grace, another hymn and the sermon. "He mostly spoke of the text in its connection with the context, and dwelt much on the practical bearing of the subject as a whole upon the life and experience of his hearers. His preaching had an individuality that was peculiarly his own and invested his message with an authority and reality that convinced those who heard him that he was a man sent from God to preach His everlasting gospel."

Sermons were long in those days and few hearers could follow a deep doctrinal line of thought. The place was warm and quiet. One or two men took off their coats and put them on the gallery front; several stood up awhile to shake off drowsiness. One mother with a boy each side made them alternately stand up. It was all done quietly and no one seemed disturbed. Service ended; friendly greetings; some of the congregation driving or walking home, others staying for another meeting.

Not till after years, with a matured mind and some spiritual desire, did I realise the greatness of Mr. Tryon's ministry.

He was born in 1813 at Bulwick, Northants. His ancestors, Walloons, had left Holland during the persecution of the early seventeenth century, and after several removals settled there. Many family tablets are on the walls of Harringworth Church, the next parish.

During his school days an accident to his right knee led to prolonged suffering and permanent stiffness, but he was active and became a skilful horseman.

In due course he went for some years to Trinity College, Cambridge, and soon after leaving came under the influence of a college friend named Arkwright, who, recently "turned saint," to the disgust of his gay chums, had become Vicar of Cromford and, impelled by evangelical fervour, led him to seek the Lord. He was ordained in Durham Cathedral and became Curate at Wirksworth. With deepening conviction of the importance of spiritual things, his preaching "caused a great stir among the people," and when an evening service was projected the Vicar

was so alarmed that he wrote to the Bishop, who without any inquiry ejected him. Licensed to another curacy he found the rector violent and quarrelsome, until one day he unexpectedly said, "Mr. Tryon, you shall never be annoyed by me again." He kept his word and left his curate to carry on the work in peace.

The living of Deeping St. James was offered him. His worldly friends urged him to decline as there was "no society and no hunting." Here he began in 1838, and to quote his biographer, "During his short ministry the Church was crowded, not only with parishmen, but with numbers who came from long distances to hear him preach the gospel."

His experiences and the spiritual exercises of mind he was passing through shook the foundations of his ecclesiastical profession and led him to dislike the service for the baptism of infants, and to dread reading the burial service over those who died drunkards or in open sin. The matter became so urgent that on 1st March, 1839, he sent his resignation to the Bishop. "After what I have felt to-day I could not attempt to officiate again. . . ."

With the aid of friends a Baptist chapel was built and opened in October, 1839, when he preached his first sermon there. His last was on the 8th March, 1903.

Seeking no change, no larger or more prominent sphere, he laboured in that quiet village for sixty-three and a half years. To some who expressed surprise he said, "I love Deeping and the poor people round here whom God has given me for my friends. I shall never leave them till I can as clearly see the hand of the Lord in removing me as I saw it in placing me here." On another occasion he said, "I promised the Bishop to be diligent in this parish and I will be faithful to the end."

His ministry was not confined to preaching; he visited the afflicted, kept up a large correspondence, was liberal to those in need, and to those causes that stood for benevolence and truth. In his early ministry he travelled much on horseback or driving to local towns and villages and various places in Norfolk and Cambridgeshire, also, until old age, by train to London and many places far off to fulfil preaching engagements.

Mr. Tryon was twice married. His first wife died in 1844. His second wife was the eldest daughter of Diana Hilbers, and granddaughter of Sir Thomas Whichcote ,of Aswarby; she lived till 1896; one of her sons became minister at Stamford. The only daughter of his first wife lived till 1929, diligent till the end of a long life of eighty-eight years in Sunday School and other work at her father's chapel.

In his diary, September 14th, 1861, he wrote: "Henry C.

Hilbers has been a great help to me, preaching all the time in my absence to the people at Deeping; he grows in grace."

Mr. Hilbers, his brother-in-law, was a barrister, he had been a pupil of Lord Westbury. Coming under deep spiritual concern he withdrew from legal practice and devoted his life and talents to humble Christian service. Deeping became his home, but most of each year he regularly travelled a round of villages supplying the pulpits at small chapels or relieving some rural pastor for one or two Sundays.

He was a gentleman of culture, with a gracious spirit, and preaching gift beyond many. As his young friend and guest I realised his kindness and tact in dealing with the poor people attached to those rural causes with their narrow outlook and sometimes curious notions.

A Conservative, with a country gentleman's outlook of his period, Tryon disliked political changes and even dreaded some of the altruistic movements that were coming in. His life-work and ministry had a line of its own, distinctive from some with whom he was one in faith and doctrine. Its practical searching "drift" (a favourite word) was seen in the strict self-denial of many of his followers.

As a guest at my parents' home and the friend and pastor of our relatives, as a visitor at his house, a hearer on many occasions, I knew him well and realised the grace and greatness of his remarkable life and ministry.

T. R. HOOPER.

Leadership and Fellowship.

THREE hundred years give ample time for a church to unfold its strength and to test its principles. There are a few Free Churches in the country, as at Horningsham, Tiverton, Lincoln, which have more than three centuries to their credit. In London the oldest Free Church is the Baptist, which began at Wapping on 12th September, 1633, and kept its tercentenary at Walthamstow. The present pastor has told its story, largely from its own records, which run for more than 250 years. Stepping back from the trees, shall we try to discern the wood?

In every century the church has had an unusual number of men above the average. John Spilsbury was laughed at by out-

siders as the great patriarch of the Anabaptist confession; no small tribute when he earned his living by weighing hay. Jerome Sankey won his spurs in the New Model Army and was knighted; his military exploits included capturing a ship in Essex, winning many skirmishes in Ireland, subduing a rebellion in Cheshire; in civil life he became a member of Parliament and was on various committees for reconstruction. Samuel Richardson devoted himself to home affairs, constitutional reform, and theology. John Norcott concentrated on Baptist principles, and his pamphlet is still reprinted. These men made a fine group in the earliest days, when all believers exercised their priesthood and the distinction of a minister set apart was not yet established.

Not only did they give a fine lead within their church, but also they held out hands to the other London Baptist churches, and together made a statement of their beliefs, which dispelled much misconception and slander. Within a dozen years they were giving a lead throughout the land, urging all churches to associate for mutual help and for preaching the gospel. For the rest of the century they were to the fore in such matters. And when the 1689 convention urged that churches should support their ministers, so that all their time should be free for pastoral work, Wapping was perhaps the first to follow the advice.

When the Hanoverian kings gave assurance of peace to all dissenters, this church was prominent in two or three new enterprises. There were disruptive tendencies in theology, some ministers tending to Arianism, others to Antinomianism; this church proved that Scylla could be avoided without being whirled by Charybdis. A sane evangelical preaching resulted in thirteen young men being called to the ministry in twenty-six years; Samuel Wilson was the helmsman who kept the church on its even keel. He gave a lead to the London ministers that they should say plainly what they believed, and should decline to support a Fraternal whose only bond was the practice of immersion; his portrait in wig, bands and gown suggests a man who commanded respect. The church responded to his initiative, and was among the earliest and most generous supporters of the Particular Baptist Fund, for much co-operative work all over the country. And when there were signs of encroaching on religious liberty the church promptly sent its Dissenting Deputies to unite with other churches to uphold the law.

Another great leader was brought from Sutton-in-Ashfield, Abraham Booth, without whom nothing was complete for nearly forty years. In thought he was the great champion of Sovereign Grace, and as he was called to such a prominent church he set

a fine example of sustained and diligent study. Realising the difficulty and the danger of solitary work, he pleaded for a London Baptist Education Society with an academy of its own. His deacons and members well supported him, and not far from the church's home on Prescot Street, Stepney saw a bevy of students. Deacon William Fox founded the Sunday School Society and impressed the duty of every church having a school of its own. When John Thomas, first Baptist preacher in India, came home to find colleagues, it was Booth who put him in touch with the infant B.M.S. Booth then persuaded his deacons that the new movement was of God, and his powerful advocacy won many adherents in London. And when this great new co-operative movement for propagating the gospel abroad suggested a parallel movement within England, it was Booth who laid down the lines of that Home Missionary Society which has done such fine work ever since under the name of its younger sister, the Baptist Union.

A hundred years ago the pastor was Charles Stovel, whose ministry exceeded half a century. He was not content to drift with the impetus of the past, but proved himself another wise pilot. It is astonishing to see the list of societies within the church, the changing needs of the neighbourhood discerned, the quickness to devise new methods of doing good. Still there were men of weight attracted to a man of enterprise, as the name of Judge Willis attests. There was no selfish concentration on the time-honoured site; as members went further afield new churches were welcomed into existence and experienced deacons were dismissed to guide them.

Such a record has many lessons to teach us, and two emerge obviously. Churches owe much to men of piety and ability, who minister to them for long periods. It is a lesson illustrated also by Beddome, Maclaren, Clifford, and scores of others; it is a lesson to be remembered now that another current is flowing. Under such auspices there are trained whole families whose influence tells in all directions. And secondly, a church thus led and thus nourished may do wonders both by inspiring its denomination, and in leavening its neighbourhood; not by introspection and self-cultivation is work achieved, but by fellowship with others in discerning His purposes and actively pursuing them.

W. T. WHITLEY.

Calendar of Letters, 1742-1831.

(*Continued from page* 322.)

106. 1808. Dec. 31.

From WM. NEWMAN (Bromley) to SUTCLIFF (Olney).

Asks for a report about Mr. Worth. "Our Education Socy. is not sufficiently known among the country Churches—if it were, I think we should have a greater number of applications from promising young men. What shall we do to make it known? Will you and Mr. Fuller inform the country Associations?" He states he hears that Carey is married to the widow of a Spanish nobleman. He gives verbatim a long letter from an old student of his, John Williams-Jones, now an Army officer in India, in which the writer speaks of Mrs. Carey's death, and a talk with Carey re sending missionaries to Rohilcund.

107. 1809. Aug. 5.

From C. C. ARATOON (Chowgachear), an Indian preacher. Receiver not stated.

Gives, in broken English, a diary of his preaching work from July 25 to Aug. 3. His work is chiefly around "Sad-kaley." The chief names of his fellow Xns. mentioned are:— Funckershand, Bunchanund and Petumber.

108. 1810. Dec. 20.

From JOHN RYLAND to the REV. FRANKLIN (Coventry).

A hurried and disjointed letter. Refers to a "young man who, if recommended by your Church, I dare say could be received next August." In a PS. Ryland is desirous that F. should visit Byrom St. Church, Liverpool.

109. 1811. Jan. 4.

From MARSHMAN to FULLER.

A long letter almost entirely concerning the translation of Scripture into Chinese, and the possibilities of a Mission there. There is an apparent friendship, but also a strong strain of jealousy, between Morrison and the translators and printers of the Baptist Mission. Morrison has sent to print—the Acts in

Chinese—a translation *which he found in China.* He goes on to speak of the ability in the Chinese language of Manning, and particularly of Lassar, who are with him, and also Marshman's son, John, who is very promising. The immediate purpose is to translate the New Testament and later the Old Testament. Concerning Morrison, Marshman stresses repeatedly—"*the translation is not his own.*" The three effects of the Baptist Chinese translation will be:—

I. "The language will be laid completely open."

II. The Chinese will receive it much *sooner* and with *greater accuracy.*

III. The Door for the introduction of the gospel into China will be opened thereby almost beyond calculation. Marshman sees that Manning, who had previously failed to get into China through Canton, could probably do so from Bengal through the Banton Hills. Marshman sees three ways open of getting into China—

   i. By a station at Munnypore "a little beyond bro. Chater"—because there "a mart is held many days annually which the Chinese constantly attend."

   ii. Same could be done by a station in *Assam.*

   iii. Manning is certain of the way through *Tibet*—" if only we persevered in erecting another station or two beyond Mr. Robinson's."

As for personnel, Marshman speaks highly of "a fine young man of eighteen in the Calcutta Church" who is "coming up here next week to study Chinese for the very purpose" till he shall get a companion. (His name is not given.)

[There was indeed jealousy between the two sets of translators. At Serampore they had the honour of casting Chinese metal type, instead of using the old woodblock system; type is now the standard method. The type melted in the great fire was recast, and Lawson proved an excellent punch-cutter. In 1822 they issued the first complete Bible, a decidedly handsome production in five parts. Morrison's version followed in 1823 at Malacca. In 1848 the American Baptists began a version at Hongkong, and two years later, English and American Baptists were revising and printing in China proper, at Ningpo: till then Marshman's version had been in use.]

110. 1811. Feb. 5.

From WM. WARD (Serampur) to LORD MINTO.

Asking for Lord Minto's acceptance and patronage of a work called "Writings, Religion and Manners of the Hindoos."

111. 1811. Mar. 28.

From REV. JOSEPH JENKINS (Walworth) to MISS HOWARD (Hemel Hemsted).

"My dear cousin." A devotional letter, with many family references.

112. 1811. Jul. 28.

From COLN CHURCH (Lancs.) to Partic. Bap. Fund.

A Petition for JOHN STUTTERD for an "Exhibition which you have of late granted to superannuated ministers." States that S. started the Coln cause in Feb. 1776, and was ordained Sept. 1777—"has been our minister 35 years." Signed: Jos. Sutcliffe, Peter Nelson, O. Baldwin. Commended by the following: James Shuttleworth, Jno. Hirst (Bacup), John Pilling (Goodshaw), Nathan Smith (Barnoldswick), W. Steadman (Bradford), Miles Oddy (Howarth), Wm. Scarlett (Gildersom), Peter McFarlan, John Trickett (Bramley).

[On page 229 is a letter of 1769 showing that John Stutterd was invited to be pastor that year, not 1777. Stutterd states in his diary that he was ordained on 22nd June, 1769, and that Henry Clayton, of Salendine Nook, gave the charge to the church, formed that same day. Clayton died in 1776. The people who sign this letter of 1811 were not members at the beginning.]

113. 1811. Oct. 15.

From JOSEPH KINGHORN (Norwich) to SUTCLIFF (Olney).

Asks S.'s assistance in finding a minister for Worstead (Norfolk), a "highly Calvinistic Church with membership 150 (hearers about 400). Salary 60 guineas and a house, with $\frac{3}{4}$ acre of land."

[J. F. Beard had recently left, for Ipswich, after training and sending forth three ministers. Richard Clark came in 1813 from Sheldon, and sixteen years later a new chapel was built. The cause had originated in 1717 from the old General Baptist church centred at Smallburgh, due to Thomas Grantham at Norwich, a church last heard of in 1761 as vainly seeking an Elder.]

114. 1812. May 27.

From F. CAREY (Rangoon) to MARSHMAN. (*Copy.*)

He states that "the suspicions that the Burmans entertained about it since the first arrival of brethren Chater and Mardon"

are gone. Moreover, the members of the Govt. assured F. Carey that they would do all in their power to help the Mission. A Note by Marshman at the side (apparently forwarding it to Fuller)—states that a previous letter from Carey told them that they were in a distressing situation"—but *this* letter, 22 days later, shows that "all has been removed beyond our highest expectations." The Carey letter is a *copy*.

115. 1812. May 31.

From FULLER (at Abergavenny) to SUTCLIFF.

Fuller is unwell and cannot proceed to Wales, but Mr. Page is going on there. He has replied to Dr. Herbert Marsh to the effect that the chief aim of Carey is to get the Scripture translated, not that he should be the first to do them, and F. pays tribute to the "handsome manner in which you have represented their labours." F. has read "Bogue and Bennett's 4th vol."—and comments on its censuring of the Baptists. F. is unwell. "I seem near the end of my course, and through grace, and grace only, hope to finish it with joy." A postscript on Monday, June 1st, states that he is better and "am going towards Swansea in ½ hour."

116. 1812. Jun. 9.

From BENJAMIN WEEKS MARSHMAN (son of Dr. M., Serampur) from Serampur, to JONATHAN RYLAND (Bristol).

B.W.M.'s cousin is coming to India. He speaks of the distressing fire at "the office." Speaks of heavy afflictions during the year, and the follg. deaths:—Chamberlain lost all three of his children in 7 months: Mrs. Mardon died some while before, and now her 2 children, and on 23rd May Mr. Mardon died suddenly.

117. 1812. Jul. 18.

From A. AUSTIN (Clerkenwell Green) to ISAAC MANN (Burslem).

Stating that in Mr. Ivimey's absence he opens correspondence, and that Mr. I. will attend to M.'s letters on his return from Portsea.

[Abraham Austin had been a General Baptist at Sutton Coldfield. Since 1785 he had been pastor at Elim in Fetter Lane, and after fifteen years had been admitted to the Board. Ivimey was evidently satisfied after this probation.]

118. 1812. Dec. 3.
From EAGLE ST. CHURCH (London) to B.M.S. COMMITTEE.

Sends from the Church meeting the recommendation of Joseph Phillips to the work of the B.M.S. Signed by: Joseph Ivimey (pastor), Geo. Bagstrer, Jas. Pritt, Wm. Napier, Thos. Jaques.

[Joseph Phillips does not seem to have been accepted; his name is not in the lists printed in 1892.]

119. 1813. Oct. 19.
From W. H. ROWE (Weymouth) to ISAAC MANN (Burslem).

Rowe has accepted a probationary period of six months at Weymouth. He shrinks from appealing for money to settle the debt on the house. Asks for M.'s help.

[Rowe was ordained at Redruth in 1803. Probations were very serious. His son was named Carey William, an unusual sign of the interest felt in Serampore.]

120. 1813. Oct. 25.
From JAMES DORE (Walworth) to MR. HEATH (Blackman St.).

Dore authorises "you and your Brethren in Office" to assure any minister on probation at Maze Pond that should he (J.D.) recover he will not continue in office, "nor receive any gratuity from the Church after the appointment of another pastor."

[James Dore had been pastor at Maze Pond since 1784. Next year James Hoby was appointed. As Isaac Mann himself came in 1826, this letter came naturally under his notice.]

121. 1814. Jan. 28.
From JOHN CLARKE MARSHMAN (eldest son of Dr. M.) to JONATHAN RYLAND (Bristol).

Mostly concerning the Benevolent Institution, whose plan it is "to instruct all the Children of Indigent Xns. throughout India," and speaks of extending its benefits "to all Roman Catholic children." Carey and Marshman tried to get Mr. Harrington as chief of Committee, but Thomason opposed it, "and said that it should appear the work of the Missionaries"—which was acted upon. The Baptist constitution of the Society has not in any way affected the income; indeed, it is

increased, and a list of high civil dignitaries is given as being among the subscribers. The Institution "have some idea" of purchasing the school house from the Mission.

Lord Minto has brought two young princes from Java, whom he has "sent here." Of one of them (Saleh) M. gives a long account of his Mussulman beliefs and customs. He states, "Mr. Jabez Carey has resigned his position in a lawyer's office and is gone as a Missionary to Ambayna," and the Government have allowed him and his wife a passage thither. "Mr. Felix Carey is just arrived from Rangoon"—having come for vaccine matter. He has orders from the King of Burmah for a Sanskritt N.T., and thinks that the King will get it translated into Burman, as "the Burmans have a remarkable predilection for the works of foreigners." The writer reports the progress of Chinese printing at the Mission. The office has now nine presses. He would like to see J.R. in India.

A postscript asks that the letter be not printed as "I saw one of Ben's letters in a Mag."

[The educational work of Marshman deserves closer attention than is common. He was the schoolmaster of Broadmead before he went out. The high-class schools conducted by him and his wife attracted many pupils, and the fees paid were a most important item in the Serampore budget; the crashes of Calcutta business in 1832 ruined most English, and damaged the schools most severely. But this proposal was not to make money, it was Benevolent for indigent Christians.]

122. 1814. April 28.

From J. CHATER (Colombo) to SUTCLIFF.

He acknowledges receipt of books from the Society, and remarks of S.'s letter—"When I observe with what a trembling hand every letter is written I must forbear to complain of its shortness." Complementary to a letter to Dr. Ryland, he states that conditions are harder in Colombo than in Bengal, and at Colombo schoolwork (an economic necessity) demands much harder work to make it pay. But the Mission work is promising and Chater would like a suitable companion. He specially mentions that he "has obtained an immediate access to the Cingalese," meeting them at 7 a.m. on a Sunday morning with an interpreter.

[The Dutch had begun a Cingalese version in 1739, and Ward at Serampore had reprinted their New Testament in 1813. William Tolfrey, an officer who had distinguished himself at Assaye, was appointed assistant-commissioner of revenue in Ceylon that year. He at once organised committees to translate

the Bible into Pali and Cingalese, under the patronage of General Brownrigg, the Governor. Chater and a Wesleyan missionary were on the Cingalese committee, and as Tolfrey died before the work was ended, Chater then took the lead. A companion was sent to him in 1815, H. Siers, who lived till 1839, working chiefly at Hanwell, twenty miles away. Chater died 1829, having seen a third version by a C.M.S. missionary at Cotta. Sutcliff, to whom he wrote this letter, did not live to receive it.]

123. 1814. Sept. 2.
From J. W. YATES (about to be accepted for Serampur), from Leicester, to J. RYLAND (Bristol).

Mentions meetings which have been held at Leicester, details of which J.R.'s father will doubtless communicate.

124. 1815. Jan. 3.
Copy of letter from ADONIRAM JUDSON (Rangoon) to MARSHMAN.

States that Felix Carey is with him and that the " King of Ava has endeavoured to compensate him with gold umbrella, &c. . . . 10,000 rupees, and another 5,000 from the Prince," and also the King had made him Ambassador to the Governor of Bengal, and, in accordance, " I learn that he has relinquished the ministry." He has already purchased a piece of ground " on a river " and is to build a lavish house there. Describes a shipwreck on the river in which F.C. lost furniture and manuscript of his dictionary, which, however, he got back. Mrs. Judson is ill. " Felix thought it was a species of dropsy." She purposes going to Madras for treatment. I have lately reperused your account of Boogdh," and he enlarges on this. " We hope ere this that Dr. Carey has safely returned from his excursion."

[The compensation was needed for the loss by drowning of wife and children, printing-press, MS. dictionary, and Gospels. William Carey deplored that Felix " shrivelled from a missionary into an ambassador," and all were humiliated when after a state reception, and great expense, his credentials proved inadequate.]

(To be continued.)

Reviews.

The Revised Baptist Church Hymnal.

THE publication of the revised *Baptist Church Hymnal* by the Psalms and Hymns Trust is a reminder that Baptists have played an important part in the popularisation of congregational hymn singing. Two hundred and seventy years ago Hanserd Knollys recommended a hymn-book published for congregational use by Katherine Sutton, and in the following year Benjamin Keach incorporated hymns in his Children's Primer. Sixteen years later we find Hercules Collins urging, in an appendix to his Orthodox Catechism, the public duty of congregational singing. This innovation aroused great controversy, and for a century afterwards the General Baptists repudiated congregational singing. But among the Particular Baptists the idea was received with general favour. By 1700 Keach, who a decade earlier had printed 300 hymns for general use, could claim that congregational singing was adopted by many congregations; and this, it may be noted, was some years before Isaac Watts produced his first book.

Since those days a succession of Baptists have made important contributions. In England they were responsible for the innovation of hymns written by women; while Ash and Evans conceived the fine idea of assembling hymns by many authors in one collection. John Rippon's collection of hymns went through ten editions within thirteen years of its publication, and his selection of hymns remained in use at the Metropolitan Tabernacle until his successor, C. H. Spurgeon, produced *Our Own Hymn-book* in 1866.

A New Selection of Hymns appeared soon after the Union was founded, and in 1858, *Psalms and Hymns* made their appearance, gathered by a body of ministers representing the churches accustomed to work together with the B.M.S. A trust was created, and the Trustees catered for schools, special services, and the home. A music-book was bought, and another prepared. Later a supplement was added in order to include hymns of another generation. Add to such typical instances the contributions from the North of England, especially the Rossendale Valley, and we gain some idea of the place assigned by Baptists to good music in their worship.

The closer fellowship of Baptist Churches and the linking up

of the various denominational societies towards the end of the last century indicated the need for a new hymnal suitable for use in a wide constituency, and the *Baptist Church Hymnal* was therefore issued in 1900. It is pleasant to see that Mr. H. W. Pewtress, who was then the Secretary and Manager of the Psalms and Hymns Trust, still holds the same position and has carried through the very onerous work involved in the issue of the new book. The Trustees of the Psalms and Hymns Trust are responsible for the revised book. They have sought help and guidance in various directions, and two sub-Committees, the one dealing with hymns and the other with tunes, have devoted many days to their tasks, but the final responsibility has rested with the Trustees. They are twenty-four in number, comprising ministers and laymen, who, as will be seen from the following list, are representative both of London and the Provinces.

Rev. M. E. Aubrey, M.A.
Rev. W. E. Blomfield, B.A., D.D.
Rev. Carey Bonner.
Rev. Charles Brown, D.D.
Rev. F. C. Bryan, M.A.
Rev. F. Buffard, B.A., B.D.
Mr. Herbert Chown.
Rev. W. W. B. Emery.
Rev. P. W. Evans, B.A., B.D.
Rev. B. Grey Griffith, B.D.
Rev. C. M. Hardy, B.A.
Mr. J. Stanley Holmes.
Mr. C. T. Le Quesne, K.C.
Mr. Herbert Marnham.
Mr. Arthur Newton.
Mr. Sidney T. Peirson.
Mr. Seymour J. Price.
Rev. H. Wheeler Robinson, M.A., D.D.
Mr. Cecil B. Rooke, LL.B.
Rev. J. H. Rushbrooke, M.A., D.D.
Rev. F. C. Spurr.
Rev. P. T. Thomson, M.A.
Rev. W. T. Whitley, M.A., LL.D.

(One vacancy).

No hymn-book can be expected to please everybody, and the original *Baptist Church Hymnal* has had many critics. The revisers, in the course of their enquiry, found that many tunes in the 1900 book were quite unknown to Baptist congregations and never used. It was obvious, therefore, that these tunes were occupying space which might well be given to tunes from other collections, and newer tunes produced by the musical genius of recent years. Further, the vogue of small collections such as the *Fellowship Hymnal* and youth collections such as the *School Hymnary* has popularised many modern hymns which clamour for admission. The revisers, when they set about their task in 1930, were confronted with a series of difficult decisions. In all matters of worship, taste plays an important part. Church organists have been known to differ as to the best blending of tune with hymn. The more "old-fashioned" among us like hymns reminiscent of the strong theology of last century; the more "progressive" clamour for hymns reflecting the social consciousness of our day. To meet the needs of both sections, to bear in mind the requirements both of village and city

congregations, to remember the young as well as the aged, and all in a period when so many things are in the melting pot—this is indeed a task of extreme difficulty. How have the revisers accomplished it?

The Revised Hymnal omits a large number of hymns which are in the 1900 edition, but there will be little mourning at their departure. Isaac Watts seems to have suffered most at the hands of the revisers, but a careful examination of these omissions fails to find among them any hymns that could be described as in popular use. The revisers have retained the hymns, such as "All hail the power," "Beneath the Cross of Jesus," "Come thou Fount of every blessing," "Head of the Church," "How firm a foundation," "Jesus Lover," "Nearer my God to Thee," "Our blest Redeemer," "Rock of Ages," "There is a green hill," "When I survey," which might be described as great hymns common to all sections of the Church. Indeed, the most conservative among us could not complain of the revisers' policy. The cuts have been made without in any way weakening strong and necessary evangelical expression. The new book bears out the claim in the Preface, that as many hymns as possible have been retained "dealing with the vital doctrines of the Christian Faith."

The additions are excellent. Doubtless many readers will miss this or that hymn which they would like to have seen included, but considering the additions as a whole we have to say that the new book greatly improves upon the old. Among the notable additions may be mentioned, "All creatures of our God and King," "Angel voices ever singing," "A safe stronghold our God is still," "City of God how broad and far," "Hills of the North rejoice," "God of our fathers known of old," Dr. Fullerton's, "I cannot tell why He whom angels worship," "I need Thee every hour," "Master speak, Thy servant heareth," "My song is love unknown," "There's a light upon the mountains," "O valiant hearts," "Mine eyes have seen the glory." The section "National and International" ought to please those who are familiar with Brotherhood and Fellowship meetings, for here are several notable additions. The "Youth" section includes G. E. Darlaston's "O'er the hills and by the valleys," set to *Hyfrydol,* and the familiar "Yield not to temptation." The children's section includes the beautiful "See amid the winter's snow," "Tell me the stories of Jesus," "Who is he in yonder stall," and Basil Matthews' "Far round the world Thy children sing their song." The section, Baptism, includes two additions, "Lord of the brave who call'st Thine own," and F. A. Jackson's "Master we Thy footsteps follow."

Much as the additions to the hymns will be valued, it will

probably be found that an even greater improvement has been effected in the matter of tunes. Sir Henry Coward commends the revisers for their wise discrimination. Tunes have been restored to hymns to which by tradition they are wedded. "The Committee," he declares, "have fulfilled the all-important object of providing an attractive, serviceable, stimulating, praiseworthy collection of tunes which can, and doubtless will, be sung with such heartiness that the concession of incorporating a few surplus—but effective—popular tunes can pass without adverse criticism." For less than 800 hymns the new Hymnal provides more than 1,000 tunes, and the variety should meet the tastes.

We congratulate the Hymns and Tunes Committees on an important piece of work splendidly accomplished, and on a valuable contribution to the Baptist worship of our generation.

F. TOWNLEY LORD.

Foundations (The History of Salendine Nook Baptist Church), By Percy Stock.

In this careful and detailed study of a great and historic Baptist Church the author (whose father, Dr. Stock, produced a history of Salendine Nook in 1875) brings to his task many years of extensive research. He is very modest in his claims, and suggests that "one day some better man will set himself the task of re-writing the whole story." But if ever a better survey of this remarkable church be produced we should be glad to see it; Mr. Stock's familiarity with sources and documents stamps his work as a valuable contribution to Baptist history, while his distinctly original method of treatment relieves his book of any suggestion of "antiquarian dullness." No one can read this book without learning much of the social, political, and religious life of the last 250 years, and if its story fails to move us by its picture of sturdy and sacrificial Nonconformity, there is something wrong with our power of appreciation.

As far back as 1689 Salendine Nook was a preaching station within the range of the famous Rossendale Confederacy. William Mitchel and David Crosley, men of unusual capacity, played a great part in the Independency of their time, and in this isolated and sparsely populated district of Salendine Nook (as it is now called) they added their influence to that of the Mortons around whom the early dissenting meetings sprang into being. The Mortons were originally Scotch Presbyterians, but for half a century this connection with the Rossendale preachers was maintained. Mr. Stock shows us how, in 1731, Henry Clayton came to preach regularly to the community, and in 1743 a Baptist Church was founded, although for thirty years the community

had gathered for worship in a specially designed meeting-house. Mr. Stock gives us in full the "solemn covenant of communion," signed by "a small handful of the unworthy dust of Zion, usually assembling for the worship of God at Sallonden Nook." It is a great story, carrying us through the pastorates of Joshua Wood, William Brigg, Robert Hyde, and (among the more recent) Dr. Stock, John Thomas, D. Witton Jenkins, down to D. S. John, who is to-day maintaining the fine tradition of the church. Full justice is done to the remarkable laymen, of whom William Brigg and Thomas Stutterd stand out prominently. Here is a picture of a Baptist Church, its beliefs, services, experiments, and all described against the background of the time. It is the story of a church which, in 1820, identified itself with the Sunday School movement, which took its part in the life of the Association, which "mothered" other Baptist communities. Mr. Stock's "Pictures in the Fire," his excursions into the theology and controversies of the past, his frank declaration of his own views, and, not least, his description of his own parents, make this volume of great value to all who cherish the story of Baptist life and thought.

F. T. L.

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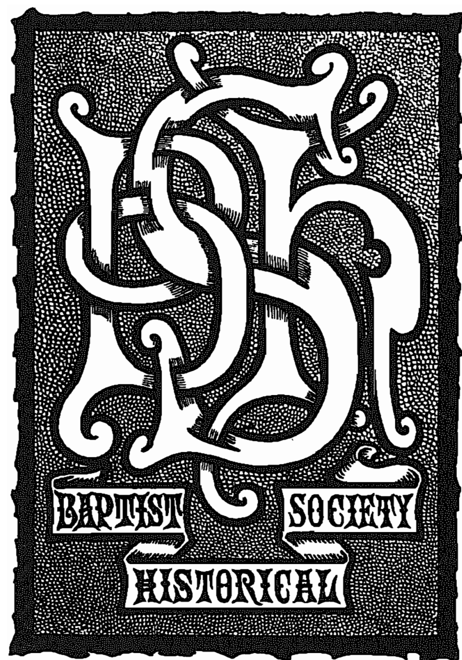
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