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Editorial.

NEW MEMBERS.

The following have joined the Baptist Historical Society during the past quarter:

Mr. F. Barrett.
Mr. F. Batty.
Rev. Frank C. Morton.
Rev. K. M. Preston.
Mr. C. L. Wade.
Mr. H. F. Webb.

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BIRMINGHAM LIBRARY EXHIBITION.

The City Librarian of the Reference Library, Birmingham, is entitled to congratulations on the interesting exhibition arranged by him in connection with the recent Baptist Assembly at Birmingham. Minute books, manuscripts and various printed works of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were displayed in glass cases at one end of the extensive Reading Room. These are in the permanent possession of the Library and include one volume of particular interest, *A comprehensive account of the General Baptists with respect to principle and practice* . . . By a Mechanic, MDCCXCV. Apparently no copy was in the Libraries consulted by Dr. Whitley when he compiled his *Bibliography*. The exhibition was further enriched by the loan of many volumes from members of our Society, notably those from the Rev. A. S. Langley's library. By the courtesy of the City Librarian we are able to print a list of the manuscripts (page 436) which are either owned or on permanent loan.

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HORSLEY STREET, WALWORTH.

In his article on *Early Days at East Street* (ix. 366), Mr. Philcox said that frequently the church became the mother of another church. The Seventh Annual Letter of the Association of Baptist Churches in and about London, 1840 (not the present London Baptist Association) gives the following details of one such church:

> "Horsley Street, Walworth, was formed March 13, 1833, by a secession from the church assembling in East Street, Walworth, on the decease of Mr. Richard Davis, the former pastor of that church. In 1834 the meeting-house was

enlarged, and vestries built. In 1836 a gallery was erected. There is connected with the Church a Sabbath School, an Auxiliary to the Baptist Mission, a Tract Distribution Society, and a Society for relieving the Sick Poor. There is a Library for the Sabbath School, and another for the use of the congregation. The pastors have been John Davis, now of Princes Risboro, Bucks, and R. G. Lemaire, the present pastor, who commenced his labours in July 1834." The church now worships in Arthur Street, Camberwell Gate, its property being leasehold expiring in 1950. Fuller details are given in Whitley's *The Baptists of London,* No. 128.

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DAN TAYLOR AND YORKSHIRE BAPTIST LIFE.

Mr. Beckwith sends the following addition to his article (ix., 300):

"From a manuscript note made by Rev. Alexander Gordon in his article on Dan Taylor in his own copy of the *Dictionary of National Biography* it is gathered that, according to a tombstone, Taylor was not born on December 21st, but on December 17th, 1738.

"Mr. Gordon had the distinction, all but unique, of having contributed to every volume of the *Dictionary,* and his biographies of nonconformist divines are particularly valuable. It is perhaps not so generally known to students of Baptist history as it deserves to be that the Unitarian College at Manchester possesses a set of the *Dictionary* which has been extensively "Grangerised" and annotated by Mr. Gordon. The College Library has a very valuable collection of nonconformist literature, which has been made all the more valuable in that, for example, the corrections noted by Mr. Gordon in his various reviews and researches have not only been collected together, but have been inserted by the present Principal (Dr. McLachlan) in the works themselves at the proper places. The Library is indeed a monument to the patient devotion of Dr. McLachlan. It may be added that properly accredited research students are admitted to work in the Library."

Believers' Baptism and the Holy Spirit.

SOME little time ago, a prominent Congregationalist wrote the following words in one of the religious journals: "It is Anglo-Catholicism (with an Anabaptist streak in Independency) which is holding up the healing of our divisions in India, in England and elsewhere." I do not wish to dwell on the questionable taste of such an allusion to Baptists by one who invites them to join him. It is sufficient to say that the metaphor by which the largest Free Church in the world is described as a "streak" in Congregationalism shows a singular lack of information about us. I make the quotation simply to illustrate the present need for clearer and more effective Baptist witness. If we are simply a larger or smaller body of Congregationalists afflicted with a rather embarrassing idiosyncrasy of negligible importance, we have indeed no justification for remaining aloof from them and others. But no intelligent and well-instructed Baptist would accept that description of his position. We believe that we give clearer expression to some cardinal truths of the Christian life than does any other of the Churches. Whatever our own shortcomings—and I shall speak frankly of what these seem to me to be—we believe that we have yet a witness to bear to the permanent truths of the New Testament, a witness still needed by the Church in general and the world without. But that witness can be borne only if the truths in question are not merely our opinions or traditions, but also our *convictions*. Does not some of our present admitted weakness lie here?

At your invitation,[1] I propose to speak of "Believers' Baptism and the Holy Spirit," and I do this the more readily because I have been doing it, in season and out of season, for forty years. Congregational polity does not greatly attract me, and certainly would not be sufficient to keep me a Baptist. Nor would the retention of the New Testament *form* of baptism, however valuable in itself, seem to me an adequate reason for refusing to join some other Church in which the permanent truths of the Christian faith found adequate expression. I feel strongly the attraction of the order and dignity of the Presbyterians, and of the spirituality of the Quaker witness. When I was baptised, more than half a century ago, the Baptist presentation of the great Christian verities was the only one I knew, but with larger

[1] Read to the London Baptist Association, January 31st, 1939.

knowledge I have remained a Baptist, growingly convinced of the value of the Baptist witness, chiefly on three grounds. *First,* because it is impossible, in the kind of life we have to live, to combine all the virtues and none of the vices of the different Christian communities within a single system. *Second,* because religion needs a body as well as a soul, and the Baptist form of "body" does express cardinal truths clearly and effectively. *Third,* because a Baptist who believes in the reality of the Holy Spirit can find his way to that true Catholicity which marks a genuine Christian faith while remaining a convinced Baptist.

In regard to our particular subject, I propose to speak first of the relation of baptism to the Holy Spirit as set forth in the New Testament, reviewing the baptism of our Lord, baptism within the primitive Christian community, baptism for the apostle Paul, and baptism in the Fourth Gospel. I shall go on to notice our present emphasis on certain aspects of baptism as compared with that of the New Testament, and to indicate what seems to me the present need and opportunity for a fuller fidelity to the example and teaching of the New Testament.

In the earliest account of the baptism of Jesus, that of the Gospel according to Mark, we read that as soon as Jesus came up from the baptismal waters, He saw the heavens parting asunder and the Spirit coming down upon Him like a dove, whilst a voice from heaven said, "Thou art my Son, the Beloved, in thee have I delight" (i. 10, 11). It should be noticed that in this narrative the vision and the audition are both confined to Jesus, by whom they were presumably imparted to others on some subsequent occasion. Matthew and Luke imply that the vision and the audition were experienced by others on the occasion itself, the former by putting the words spoken into the form of a public declaration (iii. 17), the latter by saying that the dove came down "in bodily shape" (iii. 22). The Fourth Gospel goes further still by stating that John the Baptist saw the vision and bore witness to it (i. 32, 33). It is safest here to take our stand on the testimony of Mark, and to conceive the experience as one belonging to Jesus only in the first instance. The symbolism of the dove has some parallels in contemporary Jewish thought, in which it was linked with the brooding Spirit of God at the creation, according to the first chapter of Genesis. It suggests, therefore, that a creative moment had been reached in the human consciousness of Jesus, a moment in His life comparable with that moment at which God said of the world, "Let there be light." We may compare the similar parallel drawn by the apostle Paul between the first and the second creation, when he declares of the ordinary believer, "It is God that said, Light shall shine out of darkness, who shined in our hearts, to

give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ" (2 Corinthians iv. 6). We have the best clue to the content of the created consciousness in the mind of Jesus in the words which He hears, apparently best preserved in the form [Western text of Luke iii. 22] :—

> Thou art my Son, the Beloved,
> To-day have I become thy father. (So Moffatt).

Those words echo two important Old Testament passages with which Jesus must have been familiar, viz., the second Psalm, referred to the Messianic king in Jewish exegesis, and Isaiah xlii. 1: "Behold my servant, whom I uphold; my chosen, in whom my soul delighteth; I have put my spirit upon him." Here again we may compare the way in which Jesus, in the synagogue of Nazareth, applies a similar passage to Himself: "The Spirit of the Lord is upon me." We seem, therefore, to be warranted in saying that the moment of baptism marked for Jesus the point at which His earlier filial consciousness, reflected in the story of His boyhood (Luke ii. 40 ff.), is passing into His own way of conceiving the Messianic vocation, and now having the seal of God set upon it. The moment was one which is comparable with the typical prophetic "call" of the Old Testament. We are fully justified in saying that the water-baptism was also for Jesus a Spirit-baptism, as the context of the words quoted from Isaiah xlii. would suggest, "I have put my spirit upon him." The baptism unto repentance which John the Baptist administered was capable of being given a new significance in the experience of Jesus; the Johannine baptism itself looked forward to something beyond itself, and as this something more became Christian baptism. In confirmation of the claim made that the water-baptism of Jesus was also a Spirit-baptism, we note the words of Mark, that Jesus was at once urged by the Spirit (conceived as remaining within Him) into the Desert of Temptation (i. 12, cf. Matthew iv. 1), whilst Luke says that He returned from the Jordan "full of the Holy Spirit" (iv. 1). We must not make our understanding of such words more difficult by trying to read into them the Christology of Chalcedon. They reflect the simpler Christology of the primitive community. They are paralleled by the words of Acts x. 38, which probably refer to the baptism of Jesus. Peter there shows "how God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Spirit and with power, so that He went about doing good, and healing all that were oppressed by the devil, for God was with Him."

We ought not to say that all this has no bearing on the subject of "believers' baptism," on the ground that our Lord was unique. True as that is, His uniqueness was not in having

a nature wholly different from ours, but rather in the use He made of the human nature which He shared with us. Whatever else He was, He was a believer, and as a believer He participated in a water-baptism which was for Him the occasion of that Spirit-baptism through which He is represented as entering upon His mission. His war with the powers of evil was waged in the strength of the power received by Him at His baptism. "By the spirit of God I cast out demons" (Matthew xii. 28). If, then, we plead that the example of our Lord in accepting water-baptism should be followed by believers, we are justified in the expectation that true believers who follow His example may enter into a humbler, yet related, experience of the Holy Spirit for the fulfilment of *their* vocation. Such a creative moment will have for us, as for Him, its long preparation, and its longer or shorter time of fulfilment, but the creative moment will have a significance of its own. We may say, with Dr. Anderson Scott, that "the coming of the Spirit may be described" for us, as well as for our Lord, "as an overwhelming sense of sonship, and an overwhelming sense of brotherhood."

If we are rightly to interpret baptism as practised in the early Church, there are some general facts to be recalled, showing that the Church of those days was primarily a Spirit-guided and Spirit-animated community. Think of the picture of Christian worship which we have in the First Epistle to the Corinthians. That worship has been well called, by a Roman Catholic scholar, "the liturgy of the Spirit." Probably the service began, like Paul's letters, with the benediction. An open prayer-meeting followed, with congregational "Amens," and possibly the Lord's Prayer. Hymns might be sung (like some of those in the Apocalypse) at the suggestion of someone present, as in a Quaker meeting. Portions of the Old Testament were read, and perhaps some of the sayings of Jesus, followed by a word of "wisdom" or "knowledge," opening the meaning of what had been read. Then, it might be, the Spirit moved one or another to "prophesy," that is, to declare some intelligible revelation, or (what the Corinthians specially enjoyed, and Paul rather deprecated) someone uttered those unintelligible sounds, under the influence of religious emotion, which were known as "tongues," and needed skilled interpretation into intelligible language. A closing benediction and the kiss of peace would close this meeting for edification. Here there are certain conventions such as any community which meets regularly must develop, but the supreme control is that of the Holy Spirit, acting through inspired members of the community.

Consider again the Church government. Again there are certain conventional elements, such as groups of elders, and in

some places their assistants, the deacons. But the supreme control is vested in the Holy Spirit, acting through individual members of the community, as when the Holy Spirit said, "Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them" (Acts xiii. 2), or when the apostles and elders at Jerusalem wrote to the whole Church, "It seemed good to the Holy Spirit and to us" (Acts xv. 28). These are not figures of speech; they imply human voices which uttered the message of the Spirit. The simplest utterance of genuine faith, such as "Jesus is Lord" was ascribed to the Holy Spirit. All the Christian virtues were described by Paul as the fruit of the Spirit. All the capacities of individual members, used in the service of the community, were regarded as the *charismata*, the "graces" or the "gifts" of the Holy Spirit—administration, teaching and interpretation, healing and general helpfulness. The Church is described as "walking in the fear of the Lord and in the encouragement of the Holy Spirit" (Acts ix. 31: *paraklesis*). The indwelling of the community by the Holy Spirit makes of it a shrine (1 Corinthians iii. 16), just as did the indwelling of the individual heart by the same Spirit (vi. 19). The Church, "built upon the foundation of the apostles and (contemporary) prophets," becomes "a habitation of God in the Spirit" (Ephesians ii. 22). The unity of the Church depends on the "unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace" (Ephesians iv. 3 ff.). Paul's argument for order and peace is the identity of the Spirit as the common source of all the diversity of gifts and energies.

The door of entrance into this Spirit-filled community was the baptism of believers, and it would be strange if this experience alone were divorced from the operation of the Holy Spirit, divinely operative in and through the human acts, just as in all the other operations. But we do not always have to depend merely on such an inference, valid as it would be. At the very outset of the Church's career, on the day of Pentecost, we have the familiar words of Peter, "Repent ye, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ unto the remission of your sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit" (Acts ii. 38). The baptism in, or into, the name of Jesus meant a surrender of the human personality to the ownership of the Lord Jesus Christ, and it was normally expected that this would be accompanied by the visible signs that the gift of the Spirit had been received. There were exceptional cases, and these are noted just because they are exceptions to the general rule. Thus the baptism of the Samaritans, which broke new ground, was not marked by the gift of the Spirit, until Peter and John, sent on purpose from Jerusalem, had

prayed and laid their hands on the baptized converts, thus confirming their entrance into the community (Acts viii. 14 ff.). The Cornelius group, responding in faith to the preaching of Peter, showed the power of the Spirit upon them before they were baptized, and this was held to justify their subsequent baptism (Acts x. 44 ff.). The dozen converts at Ephesus, who had been baptized into John's baptism, knew nothing about the Holy Spirit, but when they were baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus, "they spake with tongues and prophesied" (Acts xix. 6). All these instances, therefore, witness to the intimate connection of the gift of the Spirit and the baptism of believers.

When we turn to our most important authority for the inner life and thought of the early Church—the apostle Paul[2]—the same intimate relation is manifest, though we find the apostle inculcating a higher conception of the Spirit's work than that of "tongues." His most explicit reference is that of 1 Corinthians xii. 13, where he says, "in one Spirit we were all baptized into one Body . . . and were all saturated with one Spirit." Here the double reference to water-baptism, as an immersion and a saturation, suggests that the ideal beginning of the Spirit-filled life is at the water-baptism of the believer, which in those days would follow immediately on the credible confession of faith. A believer who did not express his faith by baptism would not then have been regarded as a believer. At the baptism, oral confession of the faith was made, and this was regarded as the decisive moment. Thus Paul is doubtless thinking of baptism when he says, "if thou shalt confess with thy mouth Jesus as Lord, and shalt believe in thy heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved" (Romans x. 9). From such oral confession, over or in the baptismal water, the creeds of the early Church, such as the Apostles' and the Nicene, took their origin. So again, the great passage in Romans vi. 1-6 derives all its cogency in the apostle's argument from the identification of water-baptism with that Spirit-baptism which equips the believer for his new life. Over against the historical facts of the death, burial and resurrection of Christ, Paul sets the inner experience of the Christian, viz., the definite renunciation of past ways of living, the death to sin, and the consciousness of a new life (life unto God in Christ Jesus). Now, the link between the history and the experience is the act of baptism, in which immersion into water corresponds to burial and suggests death, and rising from the water suggests resurrection.

[2] Paul was not undervaluing baptism when he disclaimed any considerable part in the baptisms of Corinth, nor was Jesus when His disciples, rather than Himself, performed the rite. The emphasis always fell on the act, not on the administrant.

But this link for Paul is not merely a suggestive metaphor, a mere symbol in the modern and weakened sense of the word "symbol." The whole argument requires that baptism be a constitutive act, and that by it his readers have entered into such mystical union with Christ by means of water-baptism that the new life to which he is calling them is already in some sense theirs. It is possible that we have a fragment of an early baptismal hymn in the words:

> Awake, thou that sleepest,
> And arise from the dead,
> And Christ shall shine upon thee. (Eph. v. 14.)

Similarly, when in Ephesians iv. 4-6, the mention of "one Body and one Spirit" is followed by that of "one Lord, one faith, one baptism," the reference is indeed to the Spirit-baptism, but not as divorced from the water-baptism through which it was expressed. In Titus iii. 5 "the washing of regeneration" is coupled with "the renewing of the Holy Ghost." "Ye were washed, ye were sanctified, ye were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God," says Paul (1 Corinthians vi. 11), reviewing the new Christian status from its beginning in the baptism of a believer. The Church has been cleansed by the washing of water with the word (Ephesians v. 26), i.e., the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, from whom, through the Spirit, baptism becomes sacramental.

The close inter-relation of water-baptism and Spirit-baptism which is implied in Pauline mysticism becomes more explicit still in John iii. 3-8. In the conversation with Nicodemus, four assertions are made in sequence, opening out of each other. Entrance into the Kingdom of God requires that a man be "born from above," that he be "born of water and the Spirit," that spirit is born only of Spirit, and that a mystery comparable with that of the wind (the same word as that for Spirit in Greek as in Hebrew) encompasses the experience of this supernatural birth. If a good Baptist is troubled—as many have been—by this apparent inculcation of baptismal regeneration through water, he may comfort himself with the not unimportant fact that "born of the Spirit" in verse 6 replaces "born of water and the Spirit" in verse 5. The higher element is thus made inclusive of the lower. But this does not warrant us in trying to evade the natural meaning of the whole phrase, that a man is born of water and the Spirit. Water-baptism was in the New Testament times the natural language and occasion and experienced means of the Spirit-baptism of believers. The safeguard against the materialism of a sacramentarian view (which all Baptists repudiate) is that baptism was administered only to

believers, and that their personal faith was the direct and primary link between the Holy Spirit and the power to live the new life which He imparted. But this does not preclude the use of occasions and means. In all our life and thought the spiritual is directly or indirectly mediated by that which is lower than itself. That is the very principle of the Incarnation, when the Word became flesh. The mischief is done when men separate the means from the Agent using the means, and tend towards a quasi-magical control of the higher by the lower. This occurs, according to the judgment of Baptists, whenever it is taught that baptismal grace is *confined* to the use of water over which a formula has been pronounced, and when the baptism is that of an infant, who lacks the essential New Testament condition of personal faith. Let me give an actual example of the extremes to which this can go. When I was a Baptist minister in Scotland, I happened to ask a High Anglican clergyman in the district whether he would require re-baptism if any member of another Church should seek entrance into his community. He replied, "That would depend. In the case of one of your Baptist people, certainly not, for I should be sure, with your method of baptism, that the water had actually been in contact with the baptized. But some of these Presbyterians are so careless with their sprinkling that you can never be sure that such contact has actually taken place." Such a view seems to me to belong to magic rather than to genuine religion, and Baptists have still a mission to denounce it as vigorously as possible.

But how, then, did Paul and his fellows interpret the function of the water-baptism which they linked so closely with Spirit-baptism? I think the truest answer is to be found along the lines of what is known as "prophetic symbolism," which meant much more than an "acted parable." The prophets of the Old Testament did not simply proclaim a word of the Lord; they sometimes began to put it into operation by identifying themselves with it in a personal act, which was already a fragment, as it were, of the whole act of God which they proclaimed. Thus Jeremiah, proclaiming the "breaking" of Judah and Jerusalem, prefaces it by solemnly breaking an earthenware flask in the presence of chosen witnesses, not as the mere accompaniment of his public utterance. He is beginning that which the Lord will Himself complete (xix. 1 ff.). So, in the New Testament, the prophet Agabus binds his own hands and feet with Paul's girdle, as the first step in the binding of Paul by the Jews which it is the predestined purpose of God to accomplish (Acts xxi. 11). The outer and visible act is itself an "earnest," a payment in advance of the whole—the term which Paul himself

applies to the present participation of the believer in the Spirit's power. It is probable that the apostle is, in fact, speaking of the "seal" of baptism when he says that, "He who anointed us is God, who also sealed us, and gave us the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts" (2 Corinthians i. 22; cf. Ephesians i. 13, 14), for the "seal" is a frequent figure for baptism in the early Christian literature. The emphasis, of course, falls on the inner experience, but that experience was mediated through the outer act of water-baptism, which began in miniature the real divine process. If this interpretation of the New Testament statements be accepted, we have a view of baptism which removes it from the baser sacramentarianism on the one hand, as it does from otiose "symbolism" on the other. What God has joined together, man has separated. The separating of water-baptism from personal faith has resulted in what theologians call (in reference to the Incarnation) a *communicatio idiomatum*, "an interchange of characteristics," from one to the other. So the water is credited with what belongs properly to the contact of Spirit with spirit, whilst Baptists emphasise faith exclusively as the real thing, until the way is open for the Quaker to say, "Why have water at all?" Baptists, as it seems to me, are pledged to maintain the unbroken unity of the divine gift and the visible act performed by believers in their baptism. They are neither sacramentarians nor anti-sacramentalists. They claim to continue the New Testament attitude towards baptism. Are they to-day wholly faithful in carrying out this claim?

I think that it would be generally true to say that in Baptist Churches of the present time baptism is made almost exclusively the public profession of repentance and faith, in obedience to the command of the Lord. The emphasis falls on the believer's act, rather than on the divine grace of a baptism of the Holy Spirit. Such teaching about personal faith is both true and necessary, so far as it opposes the idea of sacramental grace conveyed by any material means. It is not wholly our fault that we have been forced into too exclusive an emphasis on one side of the meaning of baptism. Perhaps also the rediscovery of Believers' Baptism by early Separatists as a better substitute for the Church Covenant tended to narrow its meaning unduly. But if the interpretation of the New Testament teaching already indicated be sound—and I believe that it would be that of the soundest and most unprejudiced New Testament scholarship—then there is something yet to be done if Baptists are to substantiate their claim to be fully loyal to the New Testament. Baptism is there not only a necessary profession of repentance and faith; it is also a sacrament of grace, as truly as is participation in the Lord's Supper. Just as baptism declares, especially

in the form of baptism by immersion, the believer's surrender to the ownership of the Lord, who died for his sins and rose for his justification, so it declares the divine grace in the gift of the Holy Spirit, through whose aid alone the new life can be lived. I do not, of course, wish to suggest that that side of Christian truth is ignored amongst us. But I do question whether it receives the emphasis it deserves and the emphasis which it receives in the New Testament, and I suggest that one effective way to recover that emphasis is to follow the New Testament teaching about baptism more closely than we are doing at the present time.

The value of such a recovered emphasis would be shown at baptism itself, *provided the previous teaching to baptismal candidates were sufficiently clear.* I am not asking that some ecstatic and emotional experience of an abnormal kind should be encouraged. But it is broadly true that the value derived from a sacrament by believers does in part depend on the ideas and expectations which they bring to it. If they are told that it has no value save as an expression of their own convictions, they may well ask whether such an expression is really binding upon them in our modern and Western world, where the conditions are so different from those of the ancient and Oriental world, for which such a rite was natural and familiar. Even if they decide to be baptized, as an act of obedience to the Scriptures, the value of such obedience does not yet reach to the scope of the New Testament teaching and the demands of the new life. We do teach through the Communion service that the believer depends on the constant renewal of grace, and his faithful use of the means of grace. Such teaching will be much more effective if he has come to the initial act of baptism with the same necessary conception of his dependence on divine grace, and expects to find in baptism the sign and seal of the bestowal of divine grace. This is one of the truths which other Churches can teach us, and this is one of the points in which other Christians, as I believe rightly, find us lacking. Baptists can afford to emphasize the bestowal of divine grace in and through the act of baptism with less risk than any of the Churches, just because Baptists emphasize the corresponding truth that there is no grace where there is no faith. It is, of course, the *act* of faith in baptism, and not the water, which makes the essential condition for the activity of the Spirit. The richer the moral and spiritual preparation for the act in the consciousness of the believer, the greater the opportunity afforded to the Spirit of God.

I am convinced that unless we make more of baptism than we are doing we shall make less—for we shall tend to lose the real justification for our separate existence as a denomination,

at any rate in England. The candidates for ministerial training whom the Churches send to the Colleges rarely show that they have received any adequate training in Baptist principles, especially in regard to baptism itself. The result is that they are often attracted by somewhat nebulous prospects of reunion with other Churches. With that further issue I am not here concerned, though I may say that the more faithful we are to our distinctive principles, the more we shall have to contribute to the universal Church of the future, whatever form it may ultimately assume.

Within our own denomination, all is not well. There is a prior question to any enthusiasm for Personal Discipleship Campaigns and Forward Movements. It is whether our Churches offer the kind of rich spiritual life which in itself should attract disciples and break forth spontaneously in an expanded life. I do not know any greater service which our leaders could render than to call the Churches to take heed to themselves and to the doctrine, beginning with a really honest membership-roll, and a drop in our statistics of perhaps a third, consisting of nominal members. I believe that our greatest need is for an "Internal Mission" such as Yorkshire attempted with much gain to itself, some twenty years ago. To that end, not the least contribution would be a recovery of that New Testament teaching about baptism and of its relation to the Holy Spirit which it has been my privilege to set before you this morning. So we might hope to yield a fuller, because a more intelligent and fruitful obedience to the words of the great Commission, since baptism would more consciously become the act of entrance, not only into the name of the Father and the Son, but also into the name, i.e., into the power, of the Holy Spirit.

H. Wheeler Robinson.

The Gospel and Pictorial Art.

WHEN we consider the Gospel of Jesus Christ, our thoughts are almost invariably concerned with the written record and the spoken word. Good news comes to us usually through the printed page and the human voice. He who would know the mind of Christ must search the Scriptures, and he who would feel the fullest glow of inspiration must meet with his fellows in corporate worship and find in the language of devotion a means of grace. In this way the sacrament of the sermon is of great importance, as Free Churchmen have realised throughout the last three hundred years. The proclamation of the Gospel by word of mouth is the distinctive emphasis of the Free Churches. If the function of preaching is neglected they may reasonably expect to find their witness impaired and their usefulness considerably curtailed. All is not lost if the sermon be poor; but much is gained if the preacher possess the truly prophetic accent.

All this, and much more, may be said in favour of the purely verbal expression of the Gospel. Yet preaching and hearing are not the only complementary activities of the mind. The language of the Gospel can never be confined within the limits of the alphabet. Words—written, read or spoken—convey much; but they cannot travel along all the highways of the heart. There are vast emotional areas outside which they must always remain. It is within these areas that pictorial art is a familiar pilgrim, reaching heights and depths of personality otherwise untouched.

It has been suggested by some that any kind of visual presentation is alien to the genius of the Gospel; that its message may be much more effectively conveyed through the ear by the larynx; that a good song well sung is a better evangelistic agency than a good picture well painted; that art can have no other than a baneful influence on the awakening soul; and, finally, that these things don't matter, and it is rather foolish to discuss them. Others have too often confused art with a certain type of philosophical aesthetism which makes the enjoyment of beauty for its own sake the supreme end. As Jung writes: "Aesthetism is not fitted to solve the exceedingly serious and difficult problem of the education of man; for it always presupposes the very things it should create, namely the capacity for the love of beauty. . . . Aesthetism, therefore, lacks all moral motive power, because *au fond* it is only refined hedonism." Now if we take the view that art in general—and pictorial art in particular—receives its final philosophical interpretation through this exposition of aesthetism, we have no alternative but to accept the dictum and

dismiss the subject. It is the purpose of this essay to question such a view and to affirm that the history of the relation of the Gospel to pictorial art effectually denies it.

The most cogent argument against the use of the picture to illustrate the Gospel is to be found in the protest of the Puritans against all forms of visual presentation of the things of the spirit. The clear eye of Calvin saw the danger of the aesthetic snare. Preaching, music and poetry were of the spirit: they had no embodiment in physical things apart from the creative personality moved by the Divine Afflatus. Painting, image, mural decoration, and any attempt to picture the Gospel were gross and of the earth; and in the struggle the earth would win. Idolatry loomed large on Calvin's spiritual horizon. Humanism did not save him from this fear. In his suspicion of pictorial art, Calvin was in direct descent from Tertullian, Jerome and Augustine. Puritanism was not a new movement when Calvin was born. There had always been the danger of enmeshing the things of the spirit in the cloying sweetness of the flesh, of weakening man's acknowledgment of the Sovereignty of God; and there had always been those who protested. Whether the Puritan's interpretation of the material universe and its relation to spiritual truth can survive in the light of the greater scientific knowledge of to-day is debatable. We acknowledge our indebtedness to them, but realise, in some measure, where they failed. Their suspicion of art suggests a Hebrew cast of mind reminiscent of the Old Covenant.

We have yet adequately to estimate the power of tradition and environment in the moulding of the form in which the Gospel is presented to the world in the literature of the New Testament, and also in the determining of the character of the men through whom it was produced. Even the casual reader will recognise the influence of the Old Testament on the thought-forms of the writers of the synoptic gospels and John. If he is in doubt, he can no longer remain so as he reads the letters of Paul, Peter, James, Jude, and that to the Hebrews. The New Israel is also a son of Abraham. The Gospel in the world owes its form to the Hebrews, its personality to God through Jesus Christ.

The ancient Hebrews were remarkable for their independence of artistic expression in the development of religious consciousness. In poetry and music alone did they excel. Certainly through these media they were artists in their portrayal of the Beauty of Holiness. In architecture, the plastic arts and ornament, they were singularly absorptive of the creative ideas of their neighbours. While we have Egyptian, Assyrian, Babylonish and Persian art reaching a high state of culture, the Hebrews were content to copy prevailing patterns. They have not be-

queathed to us any distinctive monument, not even a temple or synagogue ruin, that can be deciphered as a specimen of a school, for the very good reason that there was not a school at any time in their varied and wonderful history. Of pictorial art we have no trace, although one of the principal sources of our knowledge of contemporary peoples is in picture language. It can only be assumed that the Hebrews relied upon their more artistic neighbours to supply them with any illustrative matter they might require.

This power of absorption is one of the heritable qualities which Christianity has received from its natural parent, and in nothing is this more evident than in its use of pictorial art as a vehicle for the expression of vital truth. The early Christians accepted uncritically the standards existing in the pagan world around them.

When Christianity was driven underground by persecution, pictorial art developed not merely as an adjunct to worship, but as a necessary language. "Until the edict of Constantine legalising Christianity its rites were, at least in the West, practised in private, largely in secret, and the language of symbols took on an increased importance where persecution so often followed open speech" (A. D. F. Hamlin, *History of Ornament*, p. 188). The various symbols of the catacombs and earliest church buildings mark the beginnings of Christian art. They were the shorthand of the Gospel which necessity forced upon those who dared not openly acknowledge Christ. They were understood by the few, but revealed nothing to the many. In our day we are apt to look upon these symbols as ornamentation, much in the way as the decorative artist may obtain his motif from Egyptian hieroglyph or Greek choreography. The definite attempt to visualise the Gospel is seen in such symbols as the fish, a graphic way of declaring the essence of the faith, taking the letters of the Greek word for fish as the initials of "Jesus Christ the Son of God, Saviour." The same idea is carried on in all the contractions familiar to us whereby the Christians of the first few centuries, especially at a time of persecution, preserved the essential teaching of the Gospel and handed it on to later generations. Thus, occasionally, do we see the equal-armed cross after the Greek fashion, and the still rarer form of the Latin cross with the elongated upright and shorter *stauros*.

These earliest attempts to portray the Gospel in line and colour are interesting because of their reference to the generally established canons of art in the pagan world around the Christian Church. As William Booth did not believe in the devil having all the best tunes, so the early Christians did not allow the pagans to retain all the best forms of pictorial presentation. Thus in

portraying Christ as the Good Shepherd they did not hesitate to borrow the depiction of the god Hermes bearing a ram on his shoulders (Hermes Kriophoros), a familiar representation to their non-Christian neighbours. The cypress tree is borrowed from Greek and Roman symbolism, and is used freely to represent death, especially the death and burial of baptism. Angels are reminiscent of Roman genii, and cherubs are distinctly Bacchic in form, wreaths, festoons, all suggest usages illustrative of other and alien religious ideas. In most of the cubicula—or family burial places—of the catacombs are to be seen frescoes representing funeral feasts (a bequest from paganism) accompanied quite commonly by the Eucharist. Although it is doubtful whether the catacombs were used for customary worship, it is certain that the two sacraments were celebrated there. The baptisteries still exist, and in that now known as San Pontianus there is, immediately above the baptismal pool, a fine fresco of the baptism of Christ. "It is unnecessary to enter on any detailed description of the frescoes which cover the walls and ceilings of the burial-chapels in richest abundance. It must suffice to say that the earliest examples are only to be distinguished from the mural decorations employed by their pagan contemporaries by the absence of all that was immoral or idolatrous, and that it was only very slowly and timidly that any distinctly religious representations were introduced" (*Enc. Brit.*, Vol. V., p. 496, art. Catacombs).

The Basilican and Byzantine periods were rich in mosaics, revealing still more the absorptive character of Christian pictorial representation. It must be remembered that the term "picture" is not limited to the modern and popular meaning of a painting with pigment on canvas or wood. The term in its widest sense suggests also an "image" (see Chambers' 20th Century Dictionary), and may be thought of as including all the known and used media through which ideas and inspirations are visually portrayed. Thus mosaic, far removed as it is from painting, is to be included in any discussion of pictorial art. Moreover, the medium and method used lent themselves to the subjects depicted, adding the attribute of permanency to that of beauty in colour and design. In no form of art have the two been in such balanced combination and reached so high a state of artistic excellence—deep indigos, lapis-lazuli, peacock and emerald greens, the whole range of possible yellows from the tint of lemon, through the ochres, to the golden glory of the pomegranate, reds from the deepest madders to the blush of the Alpine rose-math, a veritable riot of the spectrum within the limits of lustrous gold and silver line, these were the materials that early Christians borrowed from their pagan neighbours to depict the majestic

humility and simple grandeur of the earthly life of their Lord and the triumph of His heavenly glory.

It is difficult to escape from the conclusion that whatever else the early Christians feared, it never occurred to them to run away from the subtle influence of beauty. Inheriting a borrowing tendency from their natural forbears, they borrowed wisely and well. They were not lotus eaters, and hedonism had never been heard of in those days. They felt the narrowing influence of a limited vocabulary. They believed that the Holy Spirit of God was more than literate. They were carried along by the compelling greatness of an evangel which made the stars of the heavens and the sun in all its glory instruments of proclamation. As well tell them that God did not speak through art as tell a child that a flower was not beautiful. The picture to them was a potent means whereby they could reveal the story of redeeming grace.

When, through the influence of St. Francis of Assisi, the art of Italy became emancipated from the conventions of the Byzantine school, the more realistically human came into being. It was the human Jesus who was portrayed on panel or sculped in stone. Even when making excursions into the realms of glory and judgment, the primitive thought of Jesus as taking to heaven a human brow. But by far the greatest attraction was in the cradle and the cross. They never could forget the Virgin, and the cross was not only central with them, it was final. A stranger to Christendom wandering round a gallery of primitives and old masters would be forced to the conclusion that Christianity started in a cradle and ended on a cross. The Resurrection had no place in the range of subjects on which they chose to exercise their genius. Cimabue, the pioneer of the Florentine school, gave many "Crucifixions" to the world. The single example of painting attributed to Cimabue which came to this country for the Exhibition of Italian Art in 1930 was a tempera of the Virgin and Child. Cimabue's pupil, Giotto, shepherd of Vespignano and friend of Dante, followed his master in the choice of his subjects. The Beatified Friar John the Angelic of Fiesole, known to posterity as Fra Angelico, ventured to cross the boundary into the land that lies between Calvary and Olivet. In the museum-convent of S. Marco, Florence, there is a fine altar-piece for the choir showing us the Marys at the Sepulchre. The Lippis, father and son, Sandro Botticelli, Antonella da Messina (whose "St. Jerome in his Study" is one of the most arresting pictures in the National Gallery), even Michael Angelo, the supreme master of arts, Leonardo da Vinci, famous to-day for one of the best-known and most-loved mural panels in the world, "The Last Supper," all linger around the

cross and dwell on the scenes of mortality of which it is the centre. In other lands, as well, we find that same emphasis on the physical experiences of Christ. El Greco, the Cretan who chose Toledo in which to die, Goya, whose many panels are like Freudian dreams, Velasquez, Memlinc, the Van Eycks, teachers of so many in their own land and throughout Europe, make but a meagre selection of those who gave us a portraiture of Christ more effective in their day, and in ours, than any written word. Sombre and morbid ofttimes as was their art, it had the enduring qualities of a living message to their own and subsequent generations.

Disciplined as were the early painters and artists by their pastors and masters, they caught the essential and authentic note of the Gospel. Partial as was their view, it was a natural step in the evolution of pictorial presentation. We have only to look at Holland, and at the Pre-Raphaelite School in this country, to see that the use of art as an instrument of evangelism passed from the experimental stage into that of assured acceptance.

The most notable paintings and etchings of the life of our Lord are given to us by Protestant Holland. At a time when religious ferment was delivering the Dutch people from the yoke of Rome, when the Bible was becoming a national handbook, Rembrandt van Rijn etched his immortal "Christ at Emmaus" and his equally penetrative plate, "The Incredulity of Thomas." Rembrandt gave to the world a new conception of the Saviour, a conception perhaps more enduring than that of Luther, Melancthon or Calvin. The softened light, the glowing face, the astonished awe of the disciples, give to us pictorially what cannot well be described in words.

The Pre-Raphaelite Movement appears retrogressive at first sight, but it was actually a great step forward in visual presentation of great themes. The subjects chosen by the members of this group were mainly from the New Testament. They were the modern pioneers in the proclamation of the Gospel through art. Holman Hunt's "Light of the World" has penetrated the hearts of ordinary folk in this and other countries from its resting-place in St. Paul's far more than much of the learned rhetoric that disturbs the dust of that historic pulpit. Millais' "Christ in the House of His Parents" still gives from the Tate Gallery its silent message to men and women, and has survived the fulminations of Charles Dickens, who described it as "a pictorial blasphemy, mean, odious, revolting and repulsive." Ford Madox Brown is preaching every day from the National Gallery in his "Christ washing St. Peter's Feet."

Of modern artists and craftsmen perhaps future generations will most appreciate Joseph Epstein, and I venture to include his

work in my survey under the cover and defence of the dictionary's secondary definition of pictorial art. His statue of Christ is exegesis of the highest order. The hands alone, so massively significant, with the deep, clear incisions in the palms, are a gospel in themselves. That magnificent neck on which the strong young head is poised, that vital mouth and chin, the Hebraic nose, bring the days of His Flesh into the Glory of the Resurrection, and perpetuate the Christ of Galilee in the Christ of the Garden.

It is not possible more than barely to illustrate the value of pictorial art to the witness of the Gospel in the world. Many examples must occur to the reader, mention of which is necessarily omitted here. Sufficient, however, has been said to state the claim of art to be accepted as a vehicle of expository and devotional value, and not to be set aside as irrelevant to the important work of making the Gospel known to the world. The crudest and simplest portrayal of the incidents in the life of our Lord is also an interpretation. The educated mind alone is able to place the right value on words, but the least sophisticated may understand a picture. The artist, as a child of his age, uses the formulae he has been taught; but if he is faithful to his inspiration he is an expositor in the truest sense of the word. There is a permanent value here, more enduring than the fugitive word of pulpit or platform. What the eye sees the mind remembers; we often hear, indeed, but understand not. Nothing is so evanescent as mass emotion produced by eloquence; nothing is so enduring as resolution born in contemplation. It is the vision, not the voice, without which the people perish.

Pictorial art is the universal language, transcending the barriers of nation and race. The artist, like the saint, crosses all boundaries and surmounts all divisions. The potencies of a lasting world peace lie not in a reformed diplomacy, nor yet in the right kind of government, but in the consecration of the creative faculty of man to the cause of the Gospel. In this is our hope. The first step in this direction is the development of cultural appreciation of the message of art.

T. A. Bampton.

The Codex Sinaiticus.

THE study of the Greek Text of the New Testament is a branch of Biblical scholarship which has been overshadowed by the more popular enquiry into matters of authorship and date. Fresh interest in the subject has been aroused recently by the purchase of the famous Codex Sinaiticus by the British Museum from Soviet Russia, and now the Trustees of the British Museum have issued a popular descriptive booklet under the title *The Codex Sinaiticus and the Codex Alexandrinus* (British Museum, 1s.). The booklet tells the romantic story of the discovery of the manuscript by the German scholar Tischendorf in a monastery on Mount Sinai, where it was very nearly burnt as rubbish. Then a description is given of its nature and contents, followed by discussions of its various correctors and of its probable date. After this, there is a list of some of the more important variant readings in the gospels. A similar description is given of the Codex Alexandrinus, and the whole is greatly assisted by six excellent illustrations. Any student of the New Testament will be enriched by a perusal of this brief booklet, and will wish to keep it by him for future reference.

While an acquaintance with the manuscripts which underlie our New Testament is of interest in itself, it is also of value in a matter which is of concern to the working minister. From time to time he will find in the margin of the Revised Version a note saying, "Many ancient authorities omit this verse," or "Many ancient authorities read . . ." In his Greek Testament these variant readings will be at the foot of the page, and in better editions there will be a string of mystic letters and numbers signifying the particular manuscripts in which they occur. If he is interested he will desire to make an intelligent choice for himself concerning the variant reading which is to be preferred. Canon B. H. Streeter in his book, *The Four Gospels* (pp. 108-148) has lifted the subject out of its technical obscurity by classifying the texts into families, both according to the locality of their origin and their temporal priority. In the early centuries only the leading churches would possess or preserve manuscripts of their own, and smaller neighbouring churches who might wish to have a copy would send a scribe to make his copy from the nearest original. In this way the manuscripts originating in a certain locality would have a family likeness to one another. These "families" are defined as Alexandria, Antioch, Caesarea, Byzantium, Italy and Gaul, Carthage. Manuscripts are then

divided into primary, secondary, tertiary and supplementary, according to what is supposed to be their distance from the original document. In course of time the Byzantine text became the standard to which others were corrected, but before this took place this text had already absorbed some of the variants of the others. This Byzantine standard became the basis of the "Received Text" used by Erasmus, but as other ancient manuscripts came to light (including the two mentioned in the booklet) a revision of the English translation became necessary, and was completed in 1881. This theory of the grouping of manuscripts according to their locality cannot be followed in all cases without reserve, for there are places in which two texts of the same group are in opposition to one another, but it helps to clarify the task of collation in two ways. In the first place, it makes clear that the true reading is not to be discovered by counting the manuscripts on one side and on the other and following the majority reading, but rather by weighing the texts concerned, giving more value to some than to others, and discovering the family grouping on either side. In the second place, it reveals the fact that certain readings have been influenced by the doctrinal tendencies of the churches concerned, and their value must be estimated accordingly.

When we come to ask what are the causes giving rise to variations, we may divide them roughly into three classes. In the first place, there are the slips which are naturally made by anyone who is set to copy something by hand. Next, there is the tendency to harmonise one gospel reading with that of another gospel. This may be deliberate, or it may be unintentional, but in either case the effect is the same. Lastly, there is the perpetuation of a reading which has a certain theological bias in accordance with the opinions of the scribe who is making the copy or the church for whom it is made.

Of the families mentioned above, it is generally considered that the Alexandrian is the one which is deserving of the most attention. Both of the two manuscripts mentioned in the booklet are members of this family, and both of them are dated in the fourth century. Their importance, therefore, is manifest, as they represent two important branches of one of the main streams of New Testament tradition.

E. H. DANIELL.

The State as God.

TO the Englishman, the doctrine that divine honours are to be ascribed to the State is exotic. He is aware, of course, that during the last century the State has increasingly intervened in his life, so that he can no longer truthfully say that after he has registered the births, marriages and deaths in his family, paid his income-tax, and recorded his vote, he has no further contacts with the State. Nevertheless, he has still a very large number of interests with which the State is not concerned. The State remains a somewhat shadowy figure in the background, and he tolerates its activities as a necessary nuisance. The claim that the State should be brought into the foreground, enthroned, and invested with the attributes of deity is a novelty alien to all his ways of thought and life.

This theory, which may briefly be described as the totalitarian theory of the State, is, however, enthusiastically received by many nations of the world. It is the basis of all totalitarian systems of government; Italian Fascists hold it; combined with the theory of racial purity, it is the foundation of German Nazism; while, by a strange paradox, Russian Communists profess it in a form which extols class rather than nation. Even in the democracies which repudiate it are to be found groups who accept it, though they are usually careful to exhibit its essential tenets under the guise of efficiency in politics and discipline in the nation. Indeed, at home and abroad, we rarely hear this political doctrine simply and clearly expounded as a theory; we are much more familiar with accounts of its practical application in the economic and political life of nations.

Some of the most difficult of political questions are raised by the relation between the community and the individual. Has the individual any rights against the State? How far is the State justified in interfering in the lives of its individual members? What are the duties of the individual to the State? These and cognate questions frequently arise both in the political thought and in the practice of modern nation-States. They do not arise, however, in the more primitive communities of the world, because their members have not yet clearly distinguished the community from the individual possessor of a moral personality. Amongst them, the group or tribe completely conditions the life of the individual. He has no independence, and indeed he never thinks of himself as set over against his tribe. Its customs and superstitions are his morals and religion; its enemies

are his enemies; his highest ideal is its security, and disloyalty is his blackest crime. In the ancient world, even amongst civilised people, the outlook was similar. Thus Plato thought that at least for the ordinary man in the State, goodness consisted in doing what his rulers commanded. The distinction between the individual and the community was first clearly drawn by Christianity, when it placed its great emphasis on the worth of the individual. The conception was among the most outstanding contributions of Christianity to Western thought. For the first time, the individual was regarded as an end in himself; he was invested with a personality which, since it was respected by God, must be respected by men, and he was pointed to ideals which he was expected to place before those indicated to him by his government. It is significant that Rome persecuted the early Church, not so much for religious beliefs, as for the view they implied that the individual Christian had a duty which was not necessarily identical with his duty to Caesar as the incarnation of the Roman Empire. What Caesar, like his modern counterparts, refused to tolerate, was not the Christian religion, but the Christian assertion that some parts of life were beyond his absolute authority. This assertion raised the whole question of the relation of the individual to the State. The question has since received many answers; among them is that of modern totalitarianism. It has been elaborated during the last century, though it was first formulated by the Greek philosophers; it is intricate and abstract, so that in the interests of brevity and clarity only its more general assertions will be mentioned.

We may begin by considering its first assertion: *that the State creates the personality of the individuals who are its members.* Most of us have read the story of Robinson Crusoe. For a long time he lived alone on his island without meeting any other human being; he not only lived, but he enjoyed at least some of the advantages of civilisation. In Robinson Crusoe, or better, in his prototype, Alexander Selkirk, we have an example of a man who was able to live as a human being in complete isolation from all his fellows. So it appears until someone asks: were not his parents members of a community? Did he not inherit from his home and from the town in which he grew up, his language, many of his customs, beliefs, and ways of thought? Even though he was isolated from social life, he was born into it, and he was pursued by it into exile. His State made him what he was by determining the general lines of his life. Similarly, it is argued, the life of every one of us is determined by the State in which we live. It takes notice of us when we are born, it bestows upon us our parents, homes, language, customs, nearly everything which assists in the formation and development of our characters.

In short, it makes us the persons we are; as Aristotle remarked, only beasts and gods are independent of society.

The totalitarian proceeds to argue that since the State makes us persons, it therefore has an absolute claim upon us. Our debt to it is so great that it can never be repaid; hence all our service and even the sacrifice of our life itself scarcely discharges our indebtedness. "The State," says Hegel, "is the ultimate end which has the highest right over the individual, whose highest duty is to be a member of the State."

The recognition of the State's paramount importance in fashioning our personality and in bestowing significance upon our random ways of life purges us of selfishness. The totalitarian declares that, "Tendencies to self-assertion and aggression are transcended in the service of an ideal and in obedience to a leader, and the individual is lifted out of the pit of vanity and desire which is the self and is merged in something which is greater than the self." Moreover, since the outlook of the individual is restricted by his "vanity and desire," the objects which he wills as an individual are not his own real interests as a social person, and his own private will is not his real will. His real will is the will of the State of which he is a member. Dr. Cyril Joad, to whom I am indebted for some quotations, has an interesting illustration of this point. From the totalitarian point of view, "the policeman who arrests the burglar and the magistrate who locks him up, are really expressing the burglar's real will to be arrested and locked up, the policeman and magistrate being the executive officials of a State which necessarily represents and expresses the real will of the burglar, who is a member of it. . . . Familiar applications of this doctrine in the contemporary world are afforded in the totalitarian States which take obnoxious persons into protective custody, 'for their own good,' and forcibly 'heal' the 'diseased minds' of . . . democrats and pacifists in concentration camps through the ministrations of officers who claim to represent the victims' own will to be healed."

Hence the State which creates us manifests itself in us, and our wills, illusory and divisive when they function in us as individuals, are real and unifying when they express the general will of the State. To quote Hegel again: "The State carries back the individual whose tendency is to become a centre of his own, into the life of the universal substance"; when, therefore, the will of the individual conflicts with the will of the State, the latter must always prevail, because the individual merely wills his apparent good, while the State always wills his real good. Consequently, the individual, being ethically and politically incompetent, must be denied the right of deciding either his own

good or that of the State. Hence he must accept, but not decide, the State's policy; he must extol, but never criticise, the actions of the rulers. To criticise would be to attempt the impossible of refusing consent to decisions which, if he were not prevented by a limited intelligence, he would perceive were really his own.

Secondly: *This doctrine affirms that the State itself has personality.* We sometimes use such phrases as, "the spirit of a people" or "the soul of a nation"; we probably mean by them the expression of the deepest thoughts and feelings of the majority of the individuals who compose the people or the nation. Similarly, we often use the personal pronoun in speaking of our own country, though it is doubtful whether we use it in any but a metaphorical sense. In the totalitarian theory, however, the personality of the State is not merely the aggregate of the persons who belong to it, and is certainly not a mere metaphor. Thus Mussolini writes: "The Fascist State is itself conscious and has itself a will and a personality—thus it may be called the ethic State." The English writer, F. H. Bradley, expressed a similar view when he wrote: "What we call an individual man is what he is because of and by virtue of community, and communities are not mere names, but something real." Just as a symphony is more than the musical notes which make it, and exists in the composer's mind as an ordered whole before it gives form to the collection of disparate notes, so the State is more than the aggregate of the persons who belong to it and has a personality which is logically prior to and transcendent over the personalities of the individual citizens. The personality of the individual is, indeed, but a particular and partial expression of the personality of the State. Above every private citizen, then, is set the person of the State whose will is absolute and real. So greatly is the State exalted that Hegel can say: "The existence of the State is God's movement in the world."

Thirdly: According to this doctrine, *the State is the source of the moral values of its citizens.* The individual may be mistaken in what he thinks is good because his outlook is limited, and the objects which as an individual he wills may not be those which he has really chosen, because his will is unreal. What is good for him is what the State wills. The moral world does not include within its borders and subject to its laws both the individual and the State; on the contrary, the moral world for the individual is completely circumscribed by the State. Justice is what the State decrees, and the whole duty of the individual is to accept the State's decisions. To quote Herr Wagner, the Bavarian Minister of the Interior: "What Hitler decides is right and will remain eternally right. Whatever is useful to the German people is right. Whatever is harmful is wrong." The

same view was expressed even more succinctly by General Goering when he announced to the Public Prosecutor and the State Attorneys in 1934 that "Justice and Hitler's will are one and the same thing." Within the State, therefore, the moral life of the individual is co-terminous with his political life. Further, no associations into which he enters can be permitted to have aims other than those of the State. All groups must regard themselves as expressions of the State's will. To quote Mussolini again: "Fascism conceives of the State as an absolute in comparison with which all individuals or groups are relative, and only to be conceived of in their relation to the State." Thus a football team playing an international match is more than a football team; it is a repository of the State's spirit. Its victory is the expression of the State's power; its defeat the evidence of the foul play and malevolence of the State's opponents. Since the Naples football team was regarded from the Fascist point of view as an integral part of the State, it was logical when the players degraded their country by losing a European cup in 1936 that the State should punish them by fining them £25 each.

Since the State is the absolute source of all morality, it follows that in all its dealings with other States it must always be right. There is no moral law above the State to which it must conform and by reference to which its activity may be judged. Thus, the late Dr. Bosanquet, one of the foremost English exponents of the totalitarian theory of the State, declared that he found it "hard to see how the State can commit theft or murder in the sense in which these are moral offences." The only guiding light for the State in its relations with other States is its own glory and the triumph of its own will. Its foreign policy can never be wrong, for the State itself is the source of all ethical value; that which it wills is right, and it cannot deny itself by willing wrong. Hence, in all its foreign affairs, its own policy is the criterion of righteousness; the ethical considerations which govern its diplomacy are considerations of its own advantage. It follows that any other power which challenges the State's authority must be wicked, and in the interests of righteousness and political justice it must be opposed by force. Not only so, the tendency of such a State is inevitably towards self-aggrandisement; destiny imposes on it a civilising mission; hence it has the duty of subduing by force of arms, and for their own good, the "lesser breeds without the law." It is, indeed, in the omnipotence of the State in time of war that the totalitarian theory of the State finds it logical development. "The state of war," says Hegel, "shows the omnipotence of the State in its individuality; country and fatherland are then the power which convicts of nullity the independence of individuals."

Any attempt to prevent war by subjecting the actions of the State to international judgment and control must be strenuously resisted. Membership of an international society like the League of Nations impugns the State's absolute sovereignty; consequently, it must regard with hostility the ideals of humanity on which the internationalism of the League is based, and treat any sympathy with them on the part of its citizens as the deadliest treason.

We are now in a position to sum up the answer which the totalitarian theory of the State gives to the perplexing question with which we began. This theory regards the community as an organism with life, personality and will. The individual citizens are its parts which it constitutes and transcends. The will of the community must order their life in all its details. Their highest good is its welfare, and their supreme duty the fulfilment of its commands. Apart from the State which bears, nurtures, and protects them, their existence is as "a madman's tale, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing."

On this view, the State has many characteristics which the religion, at least of the Western world, attributes to God. It is the creator of persons as God is; for its citizens, it is the absolute reality, as God is for His creatures; as the Divine will is supreme for men whose highest good consists in obedience to it, so the State's will is supreme, and complete submission to it is the citizen's highest good. Nor is it only in theory that the deified State is to be worshipped. In totalitarian States political meetings are religious services. Dr. Stephen Roberts, in his book, *The House that Hitler Built,* says: "Hitler has stolen the sanctions of religion for his own movement." The vehement preaching of Nazi doctrine, the demand for implicit faith in the leader, the surrender of the critical spirit, and the fervid emotionalism of party rallies, all bear testimony to the truth of the statement. And the statement would still remain largely true if the name of Mussolini or Stalin was substituted for that of Hitler.

But the philosophy of totalitarianism, though quasi-religious, is completely opposed to Christian faith. The "Bible" of the German Faith Movement says that it is not in Jesus Christ that the modern Nazi believes, but "in the German, God's other beloved Son." Reconciliation between totalitarianism and Christianity is impossible; both exalt for worship an absolute God, both declare that their God tolerates no rivals, and both have radically different views of human nature. Herr Rosenberg, the chief exponent of German racial theory, rightly says that "a citizen enjoying full rights and responsibilities cannot logically owe allegiance to the Catholic or Lutheran Church" and at the same time be a good follower of Hitler.

It would be mistaken to hold that this totalitarian view of the State is wholly without merit, and before proceeding to a criticism of it, it may be convenient to indicate some of its merits. It is, for example, a sustained attack on the exaggerated individualism of much English political thought. It insists that "we are all members one of another," and emphasises the debt which every individual owes to the community to which he belongs. When the theory is applied to the political life of the nation, desirable social reforms are hastened, and efficiency in administration is no longer subordinated to party tactics; while in the individual it encourages discipline, kindles enthusiasm, evokes patriotism, and inspires self-sacrifice.

Nevertheless, in spite of these merits, and in spite of the even greater glories proclaimed by its enthusiastic advocates, this political doctrine which regards the State as God is logically false, ethically wicked, and religiously blasphemous.

First: *The whole theory is vitiated by a disastrous confusion of the ideal with the actual.* When, for example, Hegel says that "The State is the ultimate end which has the highest right over the individual," is he referring to the State as it ought to be, that is, to the State as it is ideally, or to the State as it actually is? He would reply, doubtless, that he is referring to the ideal State, and would add that every State which falls short of the ideal is thus far not the State. But he never clearly indicates when he means the ideal State and when he means the States we know from experience. Moreover, he invests the actual State with attributes which should properly belong only to the ideal State. Even if it were true that the ideal State had the highest right over the individual, it would not therefore follow that the imperfect State of which he is a member also has that right.

Secondly: *This theory confuses the State with society.* The two terms are not identical in meaning; society is the complex net-work of relationships in which men stand to one another, the State is merely the relationship into which men are brought for the purpose of government. We may agree that in a significant sense, society creates the personality of its members, inasmuch as a person with no social relationships is a contradiction in terms. But this admission in no way justifies the conclusion that the State likewise is the creator of the personality of its members. Among some primitive peoples, civil government is almost non-existent, but their members enjoy a social life and they are social beings. Of the great nation-States of the Western world, and of the totalitarian States in particular, it is not even true to say that they enhance the personality of their members, far less that they create it. State regimentation tends to obliterate the differences between people, to curb initiative, and to change

persons into puppets. Lord Baldwin remarked in a well-known epigram, "The totalitarian State is like a chestnut tree—nothing will grow under it." And growth is one of the chief characteristics of personality.

Thirdly: *The theory that the State has personality is a delusion.* Dr. Joad has pointed out that while we may concede that "groups may be endowed with the juristic personalities which the law imputes to them, these personalities are, in a quite literal sense, legal figments." He quotes the verdict of Prof. Barker: "To talk of the real personality of anything other than the individual human being is to indulge in dubious and perhaps nebulous speech. When a permanent group of ninety-nine members is in session in its place of meeting, engaged in willing the policy of the group, it is permissible to doubt whether a hundredth person supervenes." Further, men belong to international economic, cultural, and religious groups. Have these groups personalities like the State? On what grounds is personality denied to them? If their personality is also admitted, it is difficult to see why their rights over their members should not be as absolute as those said to belong to the group personality of the nation-State. We may doubt whether the doctrine of the personality of the State is anything more than a device for justifying the unlimited despotism of those who have seized power in the State.

Finally: *The State is not the source of moral values.* Dr. Roberts sums up the philosophy of National Socialism as "the taboo system of savages plus a warped mystical interpretation of modern history." "The Germans have resurrected tribal instincts and the mythical sanctions of a savage society." But totalitarianism in all its forms, and not only in Nazism, is a return to tribal group morality. Primitive man has a right to live only as a member of his tribe, and to his tribe he is bound to give, without even the appearance of hesitation, whatever is demanded for its security. The tribe's gods are his gods; the tribe's customs are his only moral law. He buys all his religious and ethical customs from the tribal shop. Likewise, the morality of members of the totalitarian State is that of the tribe or group rather than that of humanity; their ethical conceptions are determined by the group in which they happen to find themselves; right and wrong depend for them not in the last resort on the fact that they were born with a human nature, but on the fact that they were born in a bedroom situated in a certain geographical area. It is essential to the genuinely ethical point of view, however, that it shall refer to humanity as a whole and not only to a group in it. If we insist on the absolutism of a group, then ethical relations with other groups are impossible.

The social nature of man is alone adequate as a basis of justice within the State and between States. That the State is the final arbiter of all questions of morals is a view which ignores the whole trend of man's ethical development. Regard, not for the interests of the State, but for those of humanity, is at once the only basis of an adequate morality, and the only hope for future moral progress.

These remarks may serve to introduce a brief account of the democratic view of the relation of the individual to the community.

As democrats, we may admit no less enthusiastically than the totalitarians the claim of society on the individual, but we must resolutely refuse to equate, as they do, society with government. It is true that the individual ceases to be himself apart from his social context. But it is not true that the individual ceases to be himself apart from a particular form of political government. He is a full ethical personality apart from government. It is the function of government to protect that personality, not to constitute it. Or, in other words, it is the function of the State to provide the minimum background for the growth of the individual in that kind of good life made possible for him in virtue of his humanity. On this view, it is not part of the State's business to lay down in what the good life shall consist. Given that every individual citizen has the right to lead his own life in accordance with his own moral code, it is the business of the State to see that every individual can, with equal freedom, exercise this right. Such is the general principle underlying the democratic conception of the State. The modern world owes it, let it never be forgotten, chiefly to English Nonconformists, who proclaimed it and suffered for it in the seventeenth century.

It follows on this view that States are bound by genuine ethical considerations, both in dealing with their citizens and in dealing with one another. Morality depends not on the decisions of the divine State, but on human nature; hence the individual State has a moral obligation to the whole of humanity. In modern Europe, thanks to the totalitarian theory of the State, this moral obligation is ignored or denied. If it be true, as Hobhouse says, that "each nation is a member of a family of nations which together constitute humanity," and that "each State gains a greater glory from the service of humanity of which it is a part than from the realisation of its own private ends," to this ideal we are approaching slowly and with many setbacks.

Throughout this paper I have been urging the importance of the totalitarian doctrine for political theory, but, as I have mentioned, it is also very important for religion. It is one of the substitutes for Christianity, and its popularity confirms the

words of Canon F. R. Barry: "Before all else, man is a worshipper. . . . If he cannot find God in heaven, he must fall down before a god on earth and deify some idol of his own making." The State is, I hold, one of the worst idols men have made, and its worship the source of one of the worst tyrannies men have known. If, however, we are to prove that a free man's service is a finer thing than the pagan servitude demanded by the totalitarian State and gladly endured by its citizens, we can do so only by giving even more gladly to our commonwealth the devotion it asks, and by showing that more potent to inspire such devotion than the totalitarian ideals of discipline, order and power, which are based on philosophic theory and Nordic legend, are the democratic ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity, grounded in our Christian faith.

GORDON J. M. PEARCE.

Trosnant Academy.

HAD Oliver Cromwell lived a little longer there is every likelihood that a University would have been established in Wales nearly two hundred years earlier than it was. John Lewis of Glasgrug, Cardiganshire, wrote a pamphlet in which he discussed the need of educational facilities in Wales. It is a lengthy treatment of the position, and on May 25th, 1656, he forwarded a copy to Richard Baxter, and suggested that he should use his influence with Cromwell for the founding of a University. In a lengthy reply, Baxter evinced interest in the project, even to suggesting a site for the college buildings. The relevant passage is as follows: "I am most desirous to treat with you about a Colledge with academical priviledges for Wales, and I am glad that you and Dr. Ulin favor it. I did ten years ago expound it to Colonel Mackworth, but succeeded not." Then follows a statement of the efforts that Baxter had made in other directions to get a fund started for the purpose of providing those educational facilities, and the assurance that if Lewis and those who supported him in his request could find someone to make a substantial gift to start the fund, there would be no difficulty in getting official sanction and support. "I make no doubt to procure authority from ye Protector and Parliament," and so certain is he that all would be well that he suggests the site for the college. "I conceive Shrewsbury ye only fit place in many respects."

With the death of Cromwell all hope for higher educational provisions was lost, and even those privileges which the Dissenters had enjoyed during Cromwell's rule were soon removed, leaving Nonconformist Wales in much the same position on its educational side as it had been when Nonconformity was first established.

This accounts in no small measure for the number of private academies that sprang up all over the land during the first and second decades of the eighteenth century. One other contributory factor was that at that time a large number of Welsh clergymen were ejected from the Anglican community, a great number of whom made use of their superior learning by training young men for the Nonconformist ministry.

In this way there flowed into the churches of Wales a steady stream of educated men, and it soon became apparent that denominational academies were necessary to encourage and control the training of these men.

To say, as it has been said,[1] that the Baptists of Wales were guilty of "culpably neglecting the education of their ministers for one hundred and fifty years" is unfair and misleading. As early as 1720, at the Association Meetings held at Trosgoed (now Maesyberllan), Breconshire, a Committee was set up to enter into the whole question of ministerial training, and especially to consider the desirability of forming a denominational academy.

This movement was supported by the leading men of the denomination, including John Miles, of Ilston; David Davies, of Hengoed; Lewis Thomas; John Jenkins, Rhydwilym; the famous Enoch Francis, Aberduar; and Morgan Griffiths, the third minister of Hengoed. It is true that nothing definite seems to have emerged from the findings of this Committee, but the fact that a son of one of its members opened a Baptist Academy about twelve years later cannot be without significance.

It was left to a layman to make the first venture in ministerial education among the Baptists of Wales. John Griffiths, son of Morgan Griffiths, the minister of Hengoed, who was at that time manager of the Iron and Japanning Works at Pontypool, rented a house at Trosnant and commenced an Academy there about the year 1732. The Academy's syllabus testifies to the purpose Griffiths had in mind, for it included among its subjects, first, the teaching of Welsh and English, secondly, an introduction to the root languages of the Holy Scripture, and thirdly, an introduction into the various branches of learning which are profitable for the work of the ministry.

This was the first school of its kind to receive the official blessing of the denomination, and it served the churches as a ministerial training centre for upwards of forty years. It is well to remember, however, that concern for ministerial education had been shown before this date. In 1718 the Particular Baptist Fund, known in Wales as the London Treasury Fund, began to help ministers in Wales, some to buy books, and others to obtain instruction at one or other of the private Academies. Even earlier than this, during the first ten years of the eighteenth century, churches assisted young men to study at the school of Robert Morgan, Pontyrdulais, who afterwards became teacher at Horsley Down School, London.

But these were all personal transactions in comparison with that which later took place at Trosnant. Here the denomination not only contributed to the maintenance of the Academy, but also had an important voice in its control and administration. There were times when its influence and importance were less than at

[1] By Dr. Rees in his *History of Protestant Nonconformity*, 1st edition, p.496.

others, but never during its history was the Academy completely severed from the Association.

As far as can be discovered there were six tutors at Trosnant,[2] not all at the same time, nor in succession, and it is difficult to determine, with any accuracy, how long and in what capacity some of these tutors laboured there. But one thing seems now to have been established, namely, that Miles Harry was associated in one way or another with the Academy from first to last. He and John Griffiths married two sisters, and they became firm friends, and if John Griffiths is to be credited with the founding of the Academy, much of its later success is attributable to the unwearying efforts of his brother-in-law.

When John Griffiths' active interest in the institution he had founded terminated is not known, but we are told that as the result of a difference between him and some of the "gentlemen of the district" he left Pontypool about 1750. After a period of residence at Abercarn, where he was among the founders of the Baptist Church there, he left for America in April 1759. For a time he lived at Philadelphia, but later removed to New York, where his intellectual attainments were recognised and he was made a judge of the New York State.

That Caleb Evans was at the Academy early in its history is now beyond dispute, although Joshua Thomas, Rufus and Nefydd, seem to have overlooked him. From *Dissenting Deputies* we learn that he was brought before the Bishop of Llandaff, Mathew Mawson, for keeping a school without a licence. This was in 1739, which indicates that at that time Evans was the principal of the Academy.

The bishop held that a licence for teaching could only be granted, according to the Schism Act, to one who could produce evidence of having communed at least once at the parish church during the previous twelve months. This Caleb Evans could not do, but he went one better, for this was one of the occasions when the prisoner was better versed in the law than his judge. Not only did he point out to the bishop that the Schism Act had never been enforced, but that it had been totally repealed in 1719. After that incident Evans resigned as principal of the Academy, and removed in 1764 to Bristol, where he died in 1790. Some time during its early years the Academy seems to have been under the supervision of one Thomas Phillips, a native of Rhydwilym, but nothing is known of him. It has been suggested that he was the son of Philip John, the minister of the church at Rhydwilym, but there is little or no evidence to support this.

The brightest and most successful period in the history of

[2] John Griffiths, Caleb Evans, Thomas Phillips, John Mathews, Rees Evans and Miles Harry.

Trosnant was enjoyed under the principalship of John Mathews, of Swansea. He is reported as having excelled in certain branches of learning, and was a tutor at Trosnant for many years, commencing his work there in 1740; apparently from the time that Caleb Evans severed his connection with the Academy.

We may rest assured, however, that much of the success during this period was due to a great extent to the publicity that the Academy received as the result of Caleb Evans' trial. The courage and resource of Evans were much talked of in those days, and the institution of which he was the head received a much-needed fillip from the accounts of the proceedings. Many brilliant young men enrolled as members of Trosnant during this period, who later earned fame for themselves not only in England and Wales, but also in Ireland and America. Among them were Morgan Jones of Pennsylvania, Benjamin Francis of Horsley Church, Gloucester, and Thomas Llewellyn of London. The death of John Mathews coincides with the closing of the Academy.

There is one other tutor whose name cannot be left out of the list of those who served Trosnant during these forty years, he was Rees Evans of Pentrefnewydd, Montgomeryshire. He was never the principal, but seems always to have worked as the assistant to the Head Teacher. He had already some knowledge of teaching before coming to Trosnant. After his baptism in 1740 he moved to Bedwellty, Monmouthshire, where he opened a private school. It was from Bedwellty that he was invited to Trosnant, where he was asked to preach.

His associations with Trosnant were partly as student and partly as tutor. He left Trosnant before 1749, for in that year he was enrolled as a student at Bristol, where, like so many of the other students of the Academy, he had gone for a further course of studies. From Bristol he received a call to Leominster, where he remained for three years. Afterwards he was at Shrewsbury, Chester and Tewkesbury, dying in the last-named place in 1768.

As has already been said, the exact relation of Miles Harry with the Academy is difficult to determine. He was a native of Blaenau Gwent, where he was baptised on April 1st, 1724, and was ordained as a local preacher on October 29th, 1729. He preached very often at Penygarn, which was at that time a branch church of Blaenau Gwent. When the first invitation came to him to take charge of Penygarn Church, the members at Blaenau Gwent were not altogether agreeable to his going, desiring, so it has been suggested, to retain his services themselves. At last, however, they consented, and having received his letter of transfer on May 1st, 1732, he became the chosen pastor of Penygarn on the 24th of the same month.

So we have a new minister at the only Baptist Church in Pontypool just about the time that the Trosnant Academy was coming into being, and the history of Trosnant and Penygarn are so interwoven that it is nearly impossible to tell where one begins and where the other finishes. For example, the Penygarn records tell of much missionary work in those days. Young men were sent out to all the surrounding villages to commence new causes. Thus we have Baptist Churches being formed in districts as far apart as Rogerstone and Blaenavon, Risca and Goytre, and hardly a village in the eastern and western valleys of Monmouthshire was not visited.

But how many of these young evangelists were members of the church at Penygarn, and how many were members both of Penygarn and of Trosnant Academy, it is not possible to ascertain. It is for that reason that the full list of students at Trosnant can never be discovered. There can be little or no doubt that young men leaving their homes for Trosnant would seek membership at Penygarn, and equally as certain that they would have been known later as members of Penygarn rather than as students of the Academy. It is this more than anything else that accounts for the statement so often made that all except five of the students at Trosnant settled in America, England or elsewhere. If we take into account all those who settled in Wales from Penygarn the figure would be nearer fifty than five, and many of these must have received instruction at Trosnant.

Opinions differ greatly concerning the number of ministers which Trosnant produced, some placing the figure no higher than forty over the whole period, or an average of one a year during its existence. But Dr. Richards, in his *Nonconformist Memorial,* claims that there were between thirty and forty during Mathews' period alone, and this seems much nearer the mark when we remember the number of men that entered the Welsh ministry from Penygarn during Miles Harry's ministry.

For many of the students Trosnant was but the stepping-stone to Bristol, and a great deal more is known of the achievements of these than of the men whose training ended with their period at the Academy. They left their mark upon Theology, Philosophy, History and Literature. One of their number, Thomas Llewellyn, made valuable contributions to New Testament studies, principally as a result of his work on the root languages of the Scriptures, and they all, without exception, gained much prominence as preachers and denominational leaders.

Some are deserving of more than this generalised reference; especially those who were at Trosnant during its most successful years under John Mathews. Of these, the greatest was Thomas

Llewellyn, for whom it has been claimed by one authority that "he was the most noted man that Wales ever reared." Born near Hengoed in 1720, Llewellyn began to preach immediately following his baptism in 1739. Before reaching his twentieth birthday he became a student at Trosnant, later studying under Foskett and Evans at Bristol. At the latter place he showed such exceptional brilliance that he was advised to continue his studies in London, where he came under the influence of John Huttard, Dr. Walker, Dr. Margath, Dr. Jennings and Dr. Savage.

Realising how greatly he himself had benefited by the opportunities for learning granted him, Llewellyn's first service on concluding his own studies was the provision of free educational facilities for all young men preparing for the Baptist ministry. His example soon attracted others who were interested in ministerial education, and soon afterwards a Society was formed "for advising and helping young men to learn original languages of Scripture, and other subjects desirable for the preaching of the Word." The Society chose Thomas Llewellyn teacher and advisor to these young men.

He was among the founders of the London Cymrodorion Society, and Cymdeithas Gwyneddigion. For many years he gave valuable assistance as a member of the missionary movement for the evangelisation of Môn and Arfon. The University of Aberdeen honoured Llewellyn, first by conferring upon him the M.A. degree, and later the LL.D. He died in August 1793, and was buried in Bunhill Fields, according to tradition, in the same grave as Isaac Watts.

Another Trosnant student who gained a world-wide reputation was Morgan Edwards. He was a member at Penygarn under Miles Harry, and began preaching when only sixteen years of age. For twenty years he did the work of an evangelist, journeying through the towns and villages of England and Ireland preaching the Gospel. It was not until 1757 that he was ordained to the ministry; nineteen years after he had commenced preaching. In 1761 he sailed to America, where he soon sprang into prominence as a popular preacher and historian.

To Morgan Edwards we are indebted for so much of our information concerning the Baptist movement in America up to the last quarter of the eighteenth century. He wrote twelve books on Baptist History in the Twelve States. These first appeared in 1770, and are evidence of great scholarship.

In this very brief summary of the life of but two of Trosnant's students we have an indication of how the Academy influenced Baptist witness in England, Ireland and America, and as could be expected, its influence in Wales was even greater, but, as someone has suggested, to tell the story of Trosnant,

even in the fragmentary form in which we have it, would demand the space of an average-size book.

During its forty years of existence the Academy did much to remove the prejudices that then existed against a trained ministry, and paved the way for future efforts along similar lines. There was never a year in its history when its supporters were free from anxiety, and scarcely an Association meeting passed without some threat to its existence. The last great fight to preserve the Academy was made in 1761, but the support was lacking, and the movement declined until it was finally abandoned in 1770.

There were good and sufficient reasons why the Academy should be closed. When, in 1741, the question of its continuance was discussed, it was revealed that there were only sixteen churches throughout the whole of Wales who were members of the Union, and it was explained that the expense of the Academy was too great to be borne by so few.

There was also the difficulty of securing the services of competent tutors, and perhaps most important of all, the fact that so many of the students left Trosnant to complete their studies at Bristol, and became lost to Wales by settling in England or America.

SELWYN GUMMER.

Non-Collegiate Studies, 1779.

A Letter from Robert Burnside to Dr. Samuel Stennett.

Aberdeen, Decr. 23., 1779.

REVD. SIR,

Some weeks have now elapsed since I proposed to pay my respects to you; but by one thing or other I have hitherto been prevented. However an opportunity now offers itself which I gladly embrace. And I shall without further preface proceed to inform you of what I have been doing since the last time I was favored with your company and conversation.

I have endeavoured with the most scrupulous exactness to pursue that course of study which you prescribed me with regard both to Composition and the Authors you recommended for my entertainment and profit. My doors are shut against all Expositions and Commentaries except Dr. Doddridge's *Paraphrase* and Poole's *Annotations*, neither of which I have been able as yet to procure. So that I have no other mean of discovering the sense of Scripture than comparing one Text with another and making it its own Interpreter. This practice requires much time and application, and prevents my advancing so fast as I could wish. It costs me so much labour to explain the Text and Context, to invent matter, to dispose my materials in a proper order, and to express my ideas that with all my attention and diligence I am only composing the third sermon since my arrival. I attempted several Expositions chiefly of passages out of ye Epistles, but, after having wasted a great deal of time about them, and well-nigh exhausted my Spirits, have been obliged to give them over. There appears to be much greater difficulty in explaining the Epistles than I formerly apprehended. When the Apostle Paul adduces proofs in favour of any doctrine, he brings other proofs to strengthen these &c: By which means the parts of the Epistles are so closely connected with and dependant upon each other, that it is no easy matter to take a part for the subject of an exposition without explaining the whole. Again, it often happens that I do not see y^{e}. connection between one verse and another, or how the one proves the other which yet is intimated by the causal Particle (For). And, to add no more, the members of sentences, or the sentences themselves, are not always disposed agreeably to our notions of order and regularity, what was said in one member or sentence being repeated with some little variation in another, which whenever

it happens breeds some sort of confusion, and increases the difficulty of analysing them. These are the principal reasons why I have not succeeded better in analytical discourses.

The third kind of exercise which you recommended to me was Essays, in which I find as great if not greater difficulties than in the other two. The reason is that I am more intimately acquainted with the Doctrines and Duties of Religion than with those things which are the proper subjects of Essays. But this and the other difficulties will I hope decrease as I improve in knowledge.

I am sometimes very much distressed on account of the little Progress I make, at which seasons Religion greatly supports my mind. The same Providence which began will I hope complete his own Work.

You will excuse my freedom in troubling you with my difficulties. You have in some measure drawn the trouble upon yourself; for by your past kindness to me you have given incontestable proof that no earthly friend more heartily wishes my welfare or is more able to promote it than yourself.

I am abridging Mr. Grove, and Dr. Ward agreeably to your advice.

Dr. Clarke's argument *a priori* in proof of the existence of a Deity has cost me a great deal of time and labour. I will endeavour to give you my idea of it. In the former propositions he proves an absurdity from supposing that there is no independant and immutable Being. Such a Being then exists of necessity i.e. We must either believe his existence, or admit an absurdity. But it is one thing for my belief to be necessary, and another for his existence to be necessary. When I see two ideas evidently to agree I am necessitated to believe their agreement, but that necessity which is the cause why I believe their agreement ought not to be assigned as the cause of their agreement. And yet Dr. Clarke seems to have done this in the present case, when he asserts necessity to be the cause why the supreme Being does exist rather than does not exist, whereas it is in truth no more than the cause why we believe his existence. Professor McLeod seems to have much the same idea of this argument as I have, for when I mentioned it to him he replied that that necessity regarded us and not the Supreme Being. If this be all that the argument *a priori* amounts to, I do not see wherein it differs from an argument *a posteriori*.

I thought to have said something concerning Mr. Locke's notion of Free-Will, but the limits of my paper will not allow me.

I have been enquiring after a Boarding-house for Mas^{r}. Stennett. From the character Mrs. Cruddie gives me of the Seceders I am apt to believe that there is a great deal of

enthusiasm among them, and were it possible to find one fit for your purpose respecting Religion, none of them keeps boarders; for there is but one boarding-house in all the town. Mrs. Cruddie informs me of a Minister's Widow, a very pious gentlewoman who keeps boarders in the New-town, and takes none but sober youths. If this gentlewoman would remove to the old-town, she seems to be the most likely to answer your purpose. But it will be very inconvenient for Mas[r] Stennett to walk the distance between ye Towns backwards and forwards to the College three times every day. If I may presume to give my opinion, I should think it would be best for him to board in a moral though not religious Family in the old-town, and on Sabbath-day, or whenever he has an opportunity to go over to the new-town and visit Mrs. Cruddie or any other religious person. I am very sorry that my enquiries turn out so little to your satisfaction, but really there is little prospect of procuring what you wish for in the old-town. I will however continue to enquire, and, if I meet with better success, shall be happy to let you know.

I am,
Sir,
With great respect,
Your much obliged
and humble Serv[t].
ROB[T]. BURNSIDE.

P.S.—Please to present my best Resp[ts]. to M[dm]. &c: and my duty to my Parents &c:

To, The Revd. Dr. Stennett,
to the care of Mr. John Burnside,
Palmer's Rents, Snow's Fields,
Borough, London.

Joseph Harbottle,

A Nineteenth-Century Pastor.

"Farewell, my friends belov'd,
Time passes fleetly;
When moments are improv'd,
Time passes sweetly.
In Jesus we are one;
When our few years are gone
Before the shining throne
We'll meet in glory."

THAT is the last hymn in the Revised Baptist Church Hymnal, to which edition it was added. A note says: "This hymn is widely used among Baptist Churches in the North as a closing hymn for services and Association Meetings. The writer was minister of Accrington Church early in the nineteenth century."

This minister, Joseph Harbottle, who died in 1864, just seventy-five years ago, affords an interesting picture of ministerial life and tempo of the age. With his time for study, the pursuit of hobbies, and the deepening of friendship, he is an enviable figure for the present generation.

For consider, this man during his forty years' ministry served in turn three churches which were neighbours. His district was Accrington, and he never had to quit. Perhaps he was not famous as men count fame, but he laboured faithfully in the work to which he believed God had called him, and gained a place of real influence in the district. That influence abides. In many a Northern chapel and school Harbottle's portrait still hangs as testimony. The cumulative effect of such a life has proved to be more enduring than that of many eloquent and much-travelled orators of his own day. Indeed, in the present re-consideration of the ministerial system this factor of the influence of the lives and personalities of the men who stick it is not receiving its due weight. And if it be said that to-day's pace does not give the same chance to personality, the *raison d'être* of the ministry in the modern world ceases to exist. For its ultimate justification is in the contact of friendship, and there is something wrong where this is not possible. Either the pace or the personality must be changed. Or both.

Joseph Harbottle's mother bore an honoured Baptist name —that of Angus. His father was the Baptist minister at the ancient church at Tottlebank for forty-three years. It was during his ministry that this church, with a handful of members, sent five young men into the ministry. Joseph was born on September

25th, 1798. He was converted at fifteen and baptised as a believer when twenty-one. From childhood he had diligently studied the classics and Hebrew, so that in early manhood he was an accomplished scholar. Eventually, few men in England had at that time a more complete knowledge of the Hebrew language. And, as we shall see, perhaps even the latest aspirant in Semitics in Regent's Park College could trace his descent back to this Northern minister.

In 1822 he went to Horton College to take the classical department in training candidates for the ministry. But ill-health prevented the pursuit of this work, and his Principal, Dr. Steadman, who had the highest opinion of his ability, recommended him to the Church at Accrington. After an extended trial, in accordance with contemporary practice, he accepted a unanimous invitation to the pastorate of the Church which now worships in Cannon Street. The work was hard, but the young minister saw it through, and in time the tide turned. In one year sixty members were added, and later a new building was erected in the Blackburn Road.

Harbottle was a bachelor, and lived alone in his own house. Ladies were not allowed about the place, so the cleaning was surreptitiously done in his absence. As he moved among the people of Accrington he came to be regarded affectionately by all classes of the community. Dr. Angus, who became Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, and then President of Regent's Park College, knew him well at this time, and says that all the people in the place spoke of him with reverence. Some remarked on his conscientiousness, others were attracted by his simplicity, a third class found in him a faithful, tender friend, and some smiled at what seemed his odd ways.

The North suffered from trade depressions even in those days, and Harbottle, though his stipend was little more than eighty pounds a year, was always foremost in the work of relief. He formulated a scheme for assistance together with local tradesmen, and many are the stories of his appearance when touring the district with a hired man and an ass laden with provisions for distribution.

For a number of years he instructed men for the Christian ministry. Among these were Joseph Angus, mentioned above, and Henry Dunkley, who became Editor of the *Manchester Examiner and Times*. The former has told how Harbottle would sit in the high-backed Lancashire rocking-chair before the drowsy fire, "the fire slept, and the chair barely moved, but eye, lip and mind were all alive! He rigorously demanded the jots and tittles of the verbs, and roots must be dug for and carefully presented."

In those days, too, there was time not only for learning,

but even for recreation and hobbies, too. Was there not, for instance, his telescope, revealing the then little-known wonders of the stellar world? Did not friends marvel at his microscope as it threw light on the progress of the tadpole into the frog? Were there not, also, long country walks, and quiet evenings spent in book-binding? Above all, there were the *sortes Harbottleianae*, "in virtue of which," says Dr. Angus, "we were challenged to open the Hebrew Bible anywhere—in Job or Hosea, even—and to find any verse which he should fail to translate. The deep craft of this arrangement was in the end revealed; for as soon as we could read the Hebrew intelligently, he ceased to show off his power of rendering it into English."

In 1841 there was opened at Accrington a new college for ministerial training. Harbottle was appointed to the classical side of the work. But he did not relinquish oversight of the Church until the college was closed in 1849. He then went a short distance along the road to the New Lane Church, Oswaldtwistle. Here he laboured for fourteen years with eminent success. He then returned to foster a new cause in Accrington, at Barnes Street, and he was minister there at his death.

The tribute given by Accrington to this Baptist minister at his funeral was commensurate in its degree with that given by London to Spurgeon. All the shops were closed, and great crowds lined the streets. To the burial at Tottlebank came Free Churchmen from all parts of Lancashire and Yorkshire.

Among the Free Churches—and particularly the Congregational and Baptist—a major part of the responsibility for a Church's success or otherwise rests upon the minister. This is not a matter of opinion. It is a matter of fact. It may or may not be right in principle, but in practice it is so. The time has come for a searching re-examination, by both Churches and ministers alike, of the best disposition of the minister's time and gifts. It is still personality that counts with personalities. And the greatest need of the modern world—which the Church ought to be eager to supply, at least through its minister—is friendship. And friendship takes time. And the impact of personality upon a district takes years, not just two or three, either. This should be remembered when ease of movement seems to be aimed at, rather than the accomplishment of solid work. The life of a pastor such as Joseph Harbottle reminds us of some of the fundamental elements in true ministerial success—diligence, faithfulness, friendship. They might be summed up in "sticking it." And as for disposition of time and gifts—well, he didn't spend (is that the right word?) much time on committees.

SYDNEY CLARK.

The Old General Baptist Church at Norwich.

OVER a narrow arched passage between two tall houses in the winding street called Cowgate, near to the left bank of the river Wensum, may be seen to this day the words, GENERAL BAPTIST CHAPEL. They mark what was once the entrance way to the "Priory Yard Chapel," which for nearly two centuries was the meeting-place of a Church founded by the famous Thomas Grantham, the successor of which is Silver Road Baptist Church.

REV. THOMAS GRANTHAM.

Grantham had an adventurous career. Entering the ministry in 1656 at the age of twenty-two, his energy and organising ability were soon instrumental in the foundation of a group of small General Baptist Churches in South Lincolnshire. After the Restoration he suffered fifteen months' imprisonment in Lincoln Gaol and six months more at Louth as the penalty for his religious activities. Three times he had audiences with King Charles II., who, it is said, received him courteously and made promise to redress the wrongs of the General Baptists—a promise which, however, never bore fruit. In 1666 he was appointed an Apostle or Messenger of the Churches. He seems to have settled at Norwich about 1685, and besides forming the Church here he organised General Baptist Churches at Great Yarmouth and King's Lynn.

His relationship with his fellow-Nonconformists in Norwich was far from friendly, and it seems that he was on better terms with the Anglicans, to whom perhaps his Arminian views may have commended him. When he died in 1692 his body was laid to rest within the west doors of St. Stephen's Church, the Vicar, Rev. John Connould, a personal friend of Grantham's, conducting the funeral.

Connould had a great respect for Grantham, and directed that when he died his body should be buried in the same grave. When Blomefield wrote his *History of Norfolk* in 1745, this grave was marked by a black marble slab, engraved with Connould's arms and a long inscription in which he, Connould, is described as *"Verbi Dei fidus Dispensator, Antiquae Disciplinae rigidus Satelles, Piis omnibus bonisque charus."*

AN EARLY LEASE.

The premises which Grantham's Church occupied in Cowgate were part of the remains of the Convent of the Whitefriars. An old Abstract of the Title to these premises has lately come to light. From this it appears that on April 17th, 1697, a lease of 700 years at £10 per annum was given by one John Chambers, a Woolcomber, to the representatives of the Church—Nathaniel Foxwell, Henry Taylor, and John Mingay, Worstead Weavers, Daniel Gilman, Cordwainer, and Ephraim Dowson, Robert Jessop, John Heett and Daniel Killingworth, Woolcombers, all of the City of Norwich. The premises are described as:

> "All that Messe. and tenemt. called the old Chapel being in length 41 feet within the wall and in breadth 21 feet with so much of the two tenemts: under it then in the posson of Elizath: Stubbs and Robert Browne as extend the length and breadth of the said Old Chapel. And also one piece of Ground on the South side of the sd: Old Chapel extending the whole length of the sd: building and of the breadth of 30 feet."

The word "chapel" presumably refers to the previous monastic use of the building, which is described by Blomefield as:

> "The Friars' Hall with their kitchen under it, now the Anabaptist Meeting House, and the chapel of the Holy Cross at the West end thereof."

John Chambers undertook to put the outward part of the roof in good repair before the Feast of Saint John the Baptist, and the lessees were to enclose their ground with a good and defensible wall by the Feast of the Nativity of our Lord Christ then next.

THE BAPTISTRY.

The lease has a further provision respecting the Baptistry. The Lessees were to have the right

> "to pass to a certain Pool of Water in the Garden of the sd: John Chambers then in the posson of William Wallman to make use of the same as a place for dipping of such person or persons as shod: be brought or go thither to be dipped and for no other use or purpose so that they . . . did well and truly pay to the said John Chambers . . . the sum of 1/- for every time that the said water shod: be made use of for dipping so that they did no hurt or damage to the fruit trees bushes herbs flowers and other things growing or to grow for the time being in the sd: Garden."

On their part the Lessees undertake to "keep the sd: pool in sufft: repair for their own use of dipping" and to "make good all Damages to be done to the sd: Garden walls or fences th-of or other things growing or to grow therein by reason of the sd: passage to the said Water or such dipping therein."

DANIEL KILLINGWORTH.

Daniel Killingworth, the last-named in the list of Lessees, was a prominent member of the Church. I think he was son-in-law to Rev. Thomas Grantham and father of Grantham Killingworth, who became a noted Baptist controversialist and a benefactor of the Church, to which he left a substantial endowment. In 1713, Daniel Killingworth agreed to "offitiate in ye work of ye ministry" once a fortnight, and three years later he was "unanimously chosen to serve God and this Church in the Capacity and Office of an Elder." He replied that his personal deficiencies with respect to qualifications and some other reasons did at present render him wholly unwilling to accept that request. Despite repeated invitations from the Church he was apparently never able to "find a willingness in himself" to take the office. He died in 1725 and was buried at the Old Chapel, where his tombstone, quoted by Blomefield, characterised him as Pious, Just and Liberal.

GENERAL AND PARTICULAR CHURCHES.

The General Baptist Church Meeting at the Old Chapel at the end of the seventeenth century was probably somewhat larger in membership than its elder sister, the Particular Baptist Church (now St. Mary's) then meeting at the East Granary—which had formed part of the buildings of the Convent of the Blackfriars.

The two Churches had no dealings one with the other—indeed, the Church books of each record excommunications of members who had fallen away to the other. A century later, when Joseph Kinghorn was building St. Mary's and his congregation was sharing in the worship of the Independents at the Old Meeting, he hired the Priory Yard Baptistry for 6/-, but the relationship between the two Churches even at this time seems to have been merely on a commercial basis. It was not until the second half of the nineteenth century that they began to draw together and to allow their bond of unity in the Baptist sentiments to overcome the doctrinal quarrel of two centuries.

C. B. Jewson.

More Reminiscences of the Strict and Particulars.

(*Continued from* Vol. VIII., 210.)

JAMES BOYD WARREN was an Ulsterman. An Anglican by birth, he became a lay missionary of the Irish Church Mission, for which he laboured and suffered in Southern Ireland. His character so commended itself to the authorities of the Mission that he was sent to St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, to be prepared for the foreign mission field. His training included the Greek Testament, and studies of this led to his acceptance of the Baptist position.

He explained his position to Dean Alford, then Dean of Canterbury, who, while sympathetic, pointed out that he could no longer stay at St. Augustine's and sent him to C. H. Spurgeon, who, in 1864, welcomed him to the Pastor's College. Here he was trained for our ministry, but he had become a more pronounced Baptist than Spurgeon, for he was strict both as to membership and communion.

In a letter to me he speaks of the open church as "yoking an ox and ass together." Indeed, he was so rigid as to this that, although he regularly attended the College Conferences, he and one or two other like-minded brethren never took part in the Communion Service with which the Conference closed. This limited his opportunity of introduction by Spurgeon, who was ever a good friend. Warren was not much of a talker as to his own spiritual experience, and it was only under pressure that, when he was recognised as pastor at Shouldham Street, Marylebone, he was induced to give an account of his "Call by Grace," which he then did with considerable emotion.

Earnest and devout, he lacked the gifts which win popularity. He was too definite and plain-spoken to suit many even in our churches. An extreme anti-Romanist, on one occasion when he heard Dr. Cumming in a lecture say "Throw off the rags of Popery," he cried out, referring to the Genevan gown which the lecturer was wearing, "Then thow off your gown"; and yet my friend told me that he never could feel the horror at the Crucifix which so many had. This is the reason. In his Irish Mission days he was stoned and seriously injured by a mob, and taken to a hospital where the nurses belonged to a Romish Sisterhood. One day, when he seemed near death, a Sister held a Crucifix before him. "Take that thing away," he

said. She gently replied, "It cannot hurt you to be reminded of the Cross on which your Saviour died."

His first of many short pastorates was at Unicorn Yard, Horselydown, only a few years before it closed. Spurgeon came there to preach, and was not pleased with the appearance of the building. "If you are poor, Warren," he said, "you might be clean."

Just one of the rank and file, it is now over forty years since he passed home. Few will remember him, but I gladly pay tribute to his memory.

* * * *

Leonard Hills was a man of different stamp. I only knew him in his later years, when, in 1919, he came from a country church to "Zion," New Cross Road, a church which has for many years had a broader outlook than most of the strict churches. He was an acceptable preacher, ready to help any evangelical church, Established or Free, and not afraid to associate in social work with a Romish priest. Occasionally and deliberately he would startle his hearers. On one occasion he told them that there would be no strict Baptists in heaven. A look of astonishment spread over the hearers' faces. He added, "We shall all be sinners saved by Grace." To a lady he said, "I believe in the Bible from cover to cover, except the Epistle to James." The lady was startled. "Oh," he replied, "I said the Epistle *to* James—not the Epistle *of* James." My readers will know that his reference was to the fulsome dedication printed at the front of the authorised version.

While I was Moderator of the Home Counties Baptist Association we held our Assembly at South Street, Greenwich. Leonard Hills came and remained to the Communion Service with which we closed the morning session. I asked him what would his people say, to which he characteristically replied, "They can say what they like."

* * * *

William Jeyes Styles was a leader amongst the Strict Baptists for many years, and for some time editor of the *Gospel Herald* and, in later years, of the *Earthen Vessel*. He was a man of considerable literary ability, and spoke on one occasion at the Baptist Union Assembly. [At Portsmouth in 1895, on "Help Clement also."]

My earliest recollection of him was an address which he gave at the memorial service for my then late pastor, R. A. Lawrence. His text was "And devout men carried Stephen to his burial and made great lamentation over him." Nervous at

the beginning, as he proceeded he became eloquent and gave a really fine address. The Rev. J. T. Briscoe, my friend for many years, told me that W. J. Styles said that Peter was the first Strict Baptist on the occasion when Paul withstood him to his face, because he was to be blamed. At least once he advised a young minister that his first business was to take the Baptist Union ministerial recognition examination; and, when he passed on, his funeral service was, at his own wish, conducted not by one of his own section of the denomination, but by the Rev. Frank James.

* * * *

James Cattell, a man of substance, some time a farmer, later devoted himself for just over thirty years to the little village church at Bessels Green, near Sevenoaks, having already served the church at Ramsey, Hunts., for nine years.

I first came in touch with him at "Zion," Heaton Road, Peckham, where, in 1884 or thereabouts, he spoke at the church anniversary. He was in a very real sense a Christian gentleman, and not without humour. He had a tendency, not always appreciated by the younger people, to be somewhat prolix, but he was universally and rightly beloved. He was a keen advocate of total abstinence and an earnest and active supporter of the Baptist Missionary Society. In his later years his sight began to fail and so it was that I became an occasional preacher at Bessels Green.

He had some devoted helpers. First in this connection must be named his wife, who survived him several years. Ernest Greenway still lives and serves the church. Another was a Mr. Packman, "only a working gardener." "Only," yes, but what besides? Here is the story. One Sunday morning I had quoted the verse beginning

"The birds without barn or storehouse are fed."

At the end of the service he told me that this had recalled an incident of his early manhood. He had been out of work two or three weeks and was becoming despondent. His mother tried to cheer him, reminding him that there was still food in the house. He, however, felt that he could not stay indoors, and went to the garden. The birds were singing, and he remembered that hymn, broke down into confession of his want of faith, and prayed, and returned to the house reassured. Work came, and, as he said, although he had never been well off, he never again was in such straits.

HENRY N. PHILCOX.

Baptist Manuscripts in the Birmingham Reference Library.

MIDLAND ASSOCIATION OF BAPTIST CHURCHES :—

Minute Book. duo. 1733-1767. (Catal. 497348).

BIRMINGHAM AUXILIARY, B.M.S. :—

Minutes, September 26th, 1855 to June 6th, 1918. *Printed and manuscript.* 2 vols. fol. 1855-1918. (Catal. 386536).
A collection of newspaper cuttings, circulars, handbills, letters, hymn sheets, etc., *pp.* 93. *Printed and manuscript.* fol. [1823-1880]. (Catal. 212491).

BOND STREET CHAPEL :—

Minute Book. 8vo. 1785-1828. (Catal. 405889).
Minute Book for the use of Bond Street Society for Mental Improvement. duo. [1828-1843]. (Catal. 405835).
Article on the Rev. Dr. Price entitled " Bond-Street Chapel," by C. Price. *ff.* [4]. [c. 1908]. (Catal. 382335).

CIRCUS CHAPEL, BRADFORD STREET :—

Minutes of committee. 2 vols. 4to. 1847-1890. (Catal. 497346).
Index and list of members. 8vo. 1850-1880. (Catal. 497345).
Edge (C.) Plans and drawings of the Circus Chapel and Schoolrooms in Bradford Street. *In* Edge (C.) *and* Edge (C. A.) A collection of plans and drawings, Vol. 3. obl. fol. 1847-1851. (Catal. 412421).

GRAHAM STREET CHAPEL (" MOUNT ZION ") :—

Manual for the use of the members of the church and congregation meeting in Mount Zion Chapel, Graham Street, Birmingham. 1860. [Two copies, with manuscript notes]. (Catal. 213304).
Mount Zion Benevolent Society Minute Book. 8vo. 1855-1856. (Catal. 405886).

HENEAGE STREET BAPTIST CHURCH :—

Edge (C.) Plans and drawings of Heneage Street Chapel. *In* Edge (C.) *and* Edge (C. A.) A collection of plans and drawings, Vol. 2. obl. fol. 1838-1839. (Catal. 412420).

NEWHALL STREET BAPTIST CHAPEL (" ZION CHAPEL ") :—

Assignment of lease from George Bower to Robert Hall and others, of Zion's Chapel in Newhall Street, Birmingham. 2 July, 1808. (Catal. 257351).

Baptist Historical Society.

I. THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING.

IT has now become an established custom for our Society, during the Annual Assembly, to hold an excursion to a place of Baptist antiquity in the locality. During the Birmingham meetings a company occupying four coaches left the city, in beautiful sunshine, for Bewdley and Bromsgrove. Going out along the Hagley Road we passed the Oratory, where Cardinal John Henry Newman spent many years, and not many yards beyond it our own imposing building, the Church of the Redeemer. After leaving Halesowen we came near to the Clent Hills, and in the distance on our right caught a view of Dudley Castle. Soon we were in the old-world village of Hagley, and caught sight of Hagley Hall, the seat of Lord Cobham, lying back in the trees.

As we approached Kidderminster, the Rev. W. D. Morris, who once ministered there, gave us an interesting account of Richard Baxter, whose statue, with hand uplifted, we saw as we passed through the town. Our own churches, Church Street and Milton Hall, were pointed out to us. For some time now the profusion of blossom upon the trees had spoken of the fruit country of Worcestershire. We had our first view of the River Severn upon our left, and soon we were passing over the old bridge at Bewdley, once famous for its strategic position on the high road to Wales. The narrow streets and quaint old houses took us back to the tranquillity of centuries ago, and when someone mentioned the name of Stanley Baldwin we realised that it was not his pipe alone that was the secret of his quiet contentment. But the object of our quest was the Bewdley Baptist Church, an old building lying hidden from the road, which we approached by walking up a narrow entry. Here the minister, the Rev. R. A. Lewis, spoke kindly words of welcome, telling us that, historic though the church was, it was still the centre of an active work, last year alone seeing five baptisms and fourteen new members.

Dr. W. T. Whitley, who gave the impression of being very much at home in this district (he himself once ministered at the adjacent Droitwich) referred to the Bewdley Church as the "grandmother" of Baptist work in Birmingham, and the centre of its early life in the Midlands. He caused some amusement by reminding us that the bridge over the river used to be fortified to keep out the Welsh! This Bewdley cause, so Dr. Whitley

told us, owed its origin to one John Tombes, who, after training at Magdalen College, Oxford, subsequently became vicar of Leominster. The coming of the Civil War drove him for refuge to Bristol, where he came into intimate association with Baptist refugees, with the result that Tombes himself emerged from the ordeal as a Baptist. He did not, however, break with his own church, but saw clearly that his new principles would not permit him to go back to Leominster. Hearing of the vacancy of St. Anne's, Bewdley, he secured the appointment. This was very suitable to him because it was only a Chapel of Ease, which meant that folk could neither be buried nor christened there, the latter fact plainly obviating any practical difficulty about baptism. To this church we afterwards paid a visit, where Dr. Whitley told us of a debate before a crowded congregation, lasting from six to eight hours, between John Tombes and Richard Baxter, in which the former occupied the pulpit and the latter spoke from a place in the back gallery! Tombes himself later moved on to spheres in Gloucestershire and Leicestershire, afterwards becoming Master of the Temple, and finally ending his days in Wiltshire. His presence in Bewdley meant a powerful witness to Baptist principles. His converting and baptizing work was wisely followed by teaching, and he left behind him a number of men trained to carry on as Baptists, foremost among whom was John Eckels, of whom we shall hear more later. It was out of this movement initiated by John Tombes that the Bewdley chapel arose.

After a stroll down to the riverside we embarked again, and this time made our way to Bromsgrove, where we arrived about four o'clock. Dr. Whitley had previously described this cause as the "mother" of Birmingham Baptists. The Bromsgrove cause dates back to 1666, thus being born in those memorable days of the struggle for religious liberty in our land. Its formation centres around the aforesaid disciple of John Tombes, John Eckels. With his first venturing were probably associated a small number of Baptists from the few other Midland churches, who had migrated to Bromsgrove because of the cloth-weaving and other industries. In 1672 the thirteen members signed a covenant to meet together for "ye worship of God at times appointed by ye church," and in it avowed their loyalty to the cause "to keepe in ye way of sepparation from all inventions of men, and never to leave the church to embrace any other doctrine that tends to schism and division until we have appealed to ye church for sattisfaction." That they were sharers of the persecution of the time is evident from the early words of the covenant—"though we have met with sore and great temptations [trials] we have hitherto been helped by the God of Israel,"

and Crosby records that Eckels was taken while preaching and put into Worcester Gaol, although there is little existing evidence for this.

John Eckels' ministry continued for over thirty years, and it is noteworthy that during all this time the church had no settled abode, its gatherings being held in private houses. To meet the requirements of the Toleration Act the house of deacon Humphrey Potter was, in 1700, registered as a meeting-house. Behind this house Potter later built the church's first actual meeting-house. The relation with Birmingham began on August 24th, 1737, when seventeen Bromsgrove members, living in Birmingham, were formed into a separate church, the Bromsgrove pastor, George Yarnold, assisting in the service. This church later became Cannon Street. For thirty-nine years during the closing half of this century, James Butterworth, a disciple of David Crosley, was minister, and during his time (in 1770) a new meeting-house was erected in Howe Lane (now Church Street). John Scroxton's ministry, which commenced at the close of the century, was noteworthy for the formation of the first Sunday School in Bromsgrove, and for the settlement of the church in the Worcester Street chapel, which became their third meeting-house. The most noteworthy of subsequent ministers were Alexander Macdonald (1863-75), whose flourishing ministry led to the erection of the present New Road chapel, and James Ford, who wrote the history of the church as a memorial of its 250th anniversary.

After a splendid tea, delightfully served by the Bromsgrove friends, we proceeded into the church itself. The Bromsgrove chapel is a light, spacious, and tastefully appointed building, readily creative of a sense of worship. Dr. Whitley, in taking the chair for the Society's annual meeting, reminded us that it was in the Bromsgrove chapel that David Crosley was baptized. Mr. Seymour Price's secretarial report rejoiced in the manifest progress of the Society, over one hundred new members having been added in three years. Mr. A. H. Calder, the treasurer, reported a balance in hand. Officers and committee were re-elected for the ensuing year, and Mr. G. E. Page happily voiced our thanks to the Bromsgrove folk for their kindly hospitality. The pastor, the Rev. H. W. Hunt, who is exercising so happy and progressive a ministry, emphasised the delight of his own folk at entertaining us, and gave an interesting résumé of the church's history. The Rev. Percy Austin, B.A., gave well-merited praise to the Rev. A. S. Langley, F.R.Hist.S., for his efficient organizing of the party, and through him to the laymen who had provided the transport. Mr. Langley himself was set apart for the ministry in that church, and in telling us something

of its glowing history, he told us that in the fifties of last century the Bromsgrove church had more mission stations than any other two churches in the Birmingham area.

The return journey took us to the foot of the Lickey Hills, past the works of the Austin Motor Co., and we saw also the colleges of the Woodbrooke Settlement, and the Birmingham University. And so ended yet another outing of the Historical Society; interesting, very informative, and a time of happy fellowship.

F. G. HASTINGS.

II. REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1938.

Twelve months ago, by generous permission of the Archbishop of Canterbury, our annual meeting was preceded by a visit to Lambeth Palace, a building which enshrines many centuries of history. Literary treasures of particular interest to Baptists were shown, and we also found much to claim our attention in other rooms of the Palace and in the spacious grounds. "Upton," Lambeth, a London church which dates from 1785, and has been the scene of two outstanding ministries, that of James Upton, the first President of the Baptist Union, and that of William Williams, Spurgeon's intimate friend, welcomed us for the annual meeting and tea. The churches which entertain us on our annual excursions do so royally, and "Upton" worthily maintained the tradition.

To-day we are indebted to our member, the Rev. A. S. Langley, for arranging this interesting excursion to Bromsgrove, and to three Midland laymen, Councillor A. Smith, Mr. F. S. Thompson, J.P., and Mr. R. H. Woodward, who have generously provided the charabancs. Here at Bromsgrove we are on historic ground, for this church was the mother church of the Birmingham area. We pay our tribute to the pioneers, worthy men and women, who followed God's truth as revealed to them, prepared to suffer rather than be disloyal to that truth. We rejoice in the present welfare and prosperity of this ancient church, and we pray that on minister and people God's richest blessing may rest.

During the past twelve months we have elected twenty-seven new members, making over one hundred additions in the course of three years. We need a constant influx of new members, as inevitably we lose a few each year, who retire owing to age or financial stringency. Then, in recent years, our losses by the death of those who joined in the early days have been heavy. We recall with affection such men as F. J. Blight, W. E. Blomfield, Carey Bonner, S. W. Bowser, Alfred Ellis, C. M. Hardy,

Herbert Marnham, Edward Robinson—all faithful members, keenly interested in Baptist principles, indeed, men who helped to make Baptist history.

The new members have been secured mainly by the efforts of two or three officers. Is it not within the power of each member to introduce one new member during 1939? With a larger membership roll we could do much more and publish "extras." A specimen copy of the *Baptist Quarterly* will be sent to any prospective member.

The officers have received several enquiries on historical matters from research students and churches, both in this country and abroad, and usually the required information has been available.

Four issues of the *Baptist Quarterly*, now enlarged to 64 pages, have been published, and the editor and his co-workers are deeply indebted to the ministers and laymen who, without remuneration, contributed to its columns. Particularly gratifying has been the research undertaken by some of our younger ministers and laymen. That the *Quarterly* is valued, and has a place of its own, is evidenced by the many appreciative letters and messages which are received.

All students of history will rejoice that the material for the third volume of Dr. Whitley's invaluable *Baptist Bibliography* is now ready. The publication of this will be an expensive matter, but it must be faced. The new volume, which may run from 1837 to 1887, will cover an important period of Baptist life in this country, and we hope it will not be needful to defer publication unduly.

SEYMOUR J. PRICE, *Secretary.*

III. FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

(*For the year ended 31st December,* 1938.)

INCOME.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Balance from 1937	... ...	3 18 6
Subscriptions—		
Annual for 1938	134 1 6	
Annual for 1939	7 2 0	
		141 3 6
Sale of Publications	... ...	8 5 9
		£153 7 9

EXPENDITURE.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Baptist Quarterly, four issues ...	... ...	101 2 3
Stationery, postages, insurance, etc.	... ...	12 18 0
Issue to Hon. Members, *Roade Baptist Church* ...		4 0 0
Transfer to Reserve	... ...	25 0 0
Balance in hand	3 5 6	
Subscriptions paid in advance ...	7 2 0	
		10 7 6
		£153 7 9

RESERVE FUND.

	£ s. d.
For Life Subscriptions ...	50 0 0
General Reserve	35 0 0
	£85 0 0

A. H. CALDER, *Treasurer.*

Bunyan and the Cokayns.

Mr. Bernard Cockett has published in the *Transactions* of the Congregational Historical Society (vol. xii., 225) an account of George Cokayn, minister at Pancras in Soper Lane. It contains references to Bunyan, as follow. He was mustered as a lad of sixteen, when his father had married again, into the company of lieutenant-colonel Richard Cokayn, and was sent to garrison Newport Pagnell, under Sir Samuel Luke. The officers belonged to Cople and Cardington, three miles east of Elstow. George Cokayn was ejected in 1660, about the time when Bunyan was imprisoned. In 1663 and 1664 he was preaching in his father's house at Cardington, and he may have visited Bunyan in the County Jail. In 1672 application was made (perhaps in Bunyan's writing) for a group of licences to be delivered to Nathaniel Ponder, including the house of Frances Whiteman at Cardington, John Bunyan at the house of Josias Roughead in Bedford, John Gibbs for his own house at Newport Pagnell.

Other licences were also granted for George Cockaine at his houses in Redcross Street and St. Giles, Cripplegate, outside London.

Four years later, Ponder published the *Pilgrim's Progress*, and Mr. Cockett thinks that he may have prompted John Owen to stir in the release of Bunyan from the Town Jail. And soon, evidently through the same circle, Bunyan was preaching at Pinners' Hall, one of the chief places for Dissenting worship, occupied on Sunday by an Open-Membership church of exactly the same type as his own at Bedford. In 1679 and the next few years, his church met often at Cotton End, and on the death of Elder Samuel Fenn, at a meeting there on 12th December, 1681, it was agreed to arrange for the better supply of the Meetings at Bedford, Kemston, Malden, Cotton End, Edworth and Gamblingay; also to transfer William Breeden to the care of the "beloved Brother Cockain in London." Another of Cokayn's members was John Strudwick, about twenty-seven years old, a grocer at the sign of the Star on Snow Hill, who rose to be senior deacon. In August, 1688, he welcomed Bunyan, wet through on a ride from Reading; and though Bunyan preached on the 19th at John Gammon's Open-Membership church in Boar's Head Yard, off Petticoat Lane, he was too ill to go home. His last days were cheered by his "lifelong friend" Cokayn, and on 31st August he was laid to rest in a grave bought for the purpose by Strudwick in Tindall's burial ground, Bunhill Fields. Three years later, Cokayn also was buried there, on 27th November, after service at Stocking Weavers' Hall in Red Cross Street.

A year later, the church moved to a new meeting house built for it, still to be seen at 5 Hare Court, a quarter of a mile west from Red Cross Street. Cokayn's will was not proved for four years. It spoke of land and mansion at Herring's Green, Cardington; of his bachelor son, John, at Cotton End; of his son William, a grocer in London. Twenty months later, Strudwick died, and was buried in the grave he bought for Bunyan.

W. T. WHITLEY.

Reviews.

Birmingham Baptists, Past and Present. Prepared for the West Midland Baptist Association, by Arthur S. Langley, F.R.Hist.S. (Kingsgate Press, 3s. 6d.)

Midland Baptists have always been strong, and well deserve to have their story told afresh. Stokes led the way, Gwynne Owen wrote again at the 250th anniversary; now Birmingham has grown so vast that it alone can commemorate its bicentenary. Standards of accuracy have been improved; our own Society has shown new sources to be tapped, and the result has been good wine that really did not need the bush Dr. Charles Brown has hung out.

Four dozen churches have their stories told, with a wealth of detail that speaks volumes for the industry of the compiler. We should have welcomed more of his work on the Baptist life in the city as a whole, so as to see the forest as well as the separate trees; the outsider does not understand easily why growth was at certain periods and in certain directions. For instance, who knows how the inventiveness of our minister at Dartmouth, Newcomen, and the improvements in his steam-engine by our Humphrey Potter of Bromsgrove, led to his pumps at Dudley and in the Black Country and aided the spread of Baptist principles till the days of Boulton and Watt? On the other hand, while we knew that the orthodox General Baptists of Coventry, dating from 1626 at least, had opened a branch at Birmingham by 1738, Mr. Langley now shows that the minister was C. Marston, and that they had registered their building on Freeman Street in 1729. By the way, no "licence" was needed to have a meeting-house, any more than to have a baby; it is only required that you certify the fact after it is accomplished. That Marston moved to Worcester about 1752, and his people joined Cannon Street, shows how the orthodox General Baptists would rather become Calvinist than Unitarian; this may explain why John Marston, born in 1722, figures at Broseley in 1770 as receiving a grant from the Particular Baptist Fund.

Cannon Street, daughter of Bromsgrove and grand-daughter of Bewdley, receives due attention. Its declaration of faith and practice, its covenant as to mutual duties, deserve study as to their origin and influence: do churches still drill their recruits in these matters of faith and order?

What Birmingham has done for foreign missions has been told separately, so is only glanced at here. References to other subjects are tantalising; would that Mr. Langley would develop what Baptists have done for education, as at Shireland Hall. Contribution to life in Australia and New Zealand is well summarised in a resolution sent last year to the centenary meetings under the Southern Cross.

It is to be hoped that after this fine contribution to the story of Baptist life in the industrial Midlands, the author will work up his researches in Lincolnshire and give us a companion picture of rural life by the sea.

W. T. WHITLEY.

Israel's Mission to the World, by H. H. Rowley, M.A., D.D. Student Christian Movement Press, 3s. 6d.)

In view of the flagrant injustice now being meted out to Jewry in various centres of civilisation (!) it is but fitting that a book of this order—a concentrated study of Post-Exilic Judaism—be accessible to lay and ministerial readers.

As often expressed, Post-Exilic Judaism is not easily handled, and might be badly mishandled, but Dr. Rowley's slender book in form and spirit reveals how much he is at home in his theme. The only criticism one cares to make is that the book is too brief for its theme, but the lengthened treatment it needs must wait until the author has more time than is now at his disposal.

In the first two chapters the wider and narrower visions of Judaism are set over against each other, together with the invaluable contribution each was able to make. The third chapter has the arresting title "Aggression through Christianity," the gist of which can be glimpsed through a phrase which Dr. Rowley has treasured for years: "Old Testament prophecies run to Christ, as tidal rivers to the sea, only to feel His reflex influence upon them." In closing, he sketches Israel's enduring contribution to the world, in which chapter one feels that the term to be stressed is that of duration, for the author shows how Israel compelled the thinking mind within the spirit of man to acknowledge once and for all that worship *must* be ethical through and through, since history and experience stand out as the vehicle of a revelation inherently holy, calling forth a worship which is fundamentally spiritual. (Those of us who have had some close acquaintance with worship as practised in other countries can hardly fail to underscore this varied emphasis.)

The position taken up throughout is that of modern scholarship, though Dr. Rowley, with engaging freedom and frankness,

in not a few places suggests that some critical positions were taken up years ago all too readily, with greater loss on deep issues than need have been incurred—a return, perhaps, to less vulnerable positions. Is it too much to say that the Old Testament is being handled with more reverence to-day than has been the case in other years?—reverence, in the sense of a more spiritual handling of great themes than that of the purely academic.

F. CAWLEY.

The Qur'ān: translated, with a critical re-arrangement of the Surahs, in two volumes, by Richard Bell, B.D., D.D. Vol. II. (Surahs xxv.-cxiv.). (T. & T. Clark, 12s. 6d.)

The first volume was noted in our issue of January, 1938, and what was then said holds true for this volume also. The special feature of this version is the dissection of the materials which have been combined in the Qur'ān. Muhammad himself was unable to read or write; he recited to others the oracles given to him as the prophet of Allah. These were written down, we are told, on all sorts of fragmentary materials, palm-leaves, leather, stones, etc., and were collected only after the Prophet's death. As any one Surah may be an agglomeration of oracles of widely different dates (though no external indication of this is given), the Qur'ān is a most difficult book to read. Dr. Bell's analysis of the material is necessarily often subjective, but even so, it affords valuable help to the student, as indicating the view of a competent authority. Thus, in Surah xc., the first eleven verses are classed as "fairly early Meccan"; *vv.* 12-16 are a (later) Medinan comment on a word used in the earlier portion; *vv.* 17-20 are "a scrap from some other context" presumably placed here because they were written on the back of the other verses. The style of the translation is not made to run smoothly, but simply aims at reproducing the Arabic as closely as possible. The brief footnotes are helpful, and indeed often necessary.

H. WHEELER ROBINSON.

Evangelism Today, by F. C. White, B.D. (Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 2s. 6d.)

Evangelism in all its aspects is the theme of this little book, which has much that is wise and useful to say about both the need and the methods of evangelism. Mr. White has wisely taken nothing for granted. Any book such as this, that re-directs our attention to the urgency and the possibilities of evangelism is relevant. The obligation to evangelism does not seem to grip the majority of ordinary church members in this country as it

does, for example, in some of the continental churches, or in China. Is it because evangelism has come to be identified with the particular school of thought and circle of ideas to which this book is most likely to appeal? Many of those who most need to read a book with such advice and encouragement as Mr. White gives need also a complete reinterpretation of the experience and vocabulary in which he moves with such ease and conviction.

W. Taylor Bowie.

Why not abandon the Church? Four talks by Bernard Lord Manning, M.A. (Independent Press Ltd., 1s. 6d. and 2s. 6d.)

It is easy to understand the inspiration these talks gave to an Easter School of young people. They are alive, informative and challenging, begging no questions. The critics who say (1) Modern science has exploded religion; (2) Karl Marx has exploded religion, or exposed it; (3) The people in the churches make it impossible to join them; and (4) Religion gives you a narrow view of life, are faithfully, even drastically, dealt with. But the book is concerned with more than the critics. It insists that the church is the bulwark against liberty being suppressed by dictators, and it tells young people what they can do in the church.

Mr. Manning's views on baptism are interesting. *The mistake of fancying that the main thing in baptism is the faith of the person baptised leads to the so-called believers' baptism. . . . Baptism of children is not merely dedication. . . . Baptism because of faith is sloppy Nonconformist sentimentalism.* Holding these views, Mr. Manning must find the New Testament a most awkward book.

On page 63, "not" has slipped from the sentence "Signing creeds does [not] protect Anglicanism from such folk."

The Office of the Holy Communion, with eight orders of service, by Pitt Bonarjee (Independent Press Ltd., 1s. and 1s. 3d.).

In a brief foreword, Dr. J. D. Jones says, "Mr. Pitt Bonarjee has prepared this little book of eight Orders of Service for the Communion not as rigid forms to be observed, but as suggestions as to the method by which the Supper of the Lord may be celebrated with due reverence." Ministers and lay preachers will find them helpful and suggestive, but let it be remembered that forms and orders and offices are servants, not masters. The more we elaborate the communion service the

farther we depart from the simplicity of the supper prepared by our Lord.

Prayer in the Purpose of God and the Experience of Man, by John Lewis (Kingsgate Press, 3d.).

The writer makes no claim to originality of thought or expression, but he has spent fifty-six years in our ministry, and served the Kent and Sussex Baptist Association as secretary for twenty-six. Out of this rich experience he says much that is profitable concerning the prayer life.

THE BAPTIST QUARTERLY for October will include articles by Mrs. Alexander Dow, M.A., on the "Baptist World Congress," by Professor A. J. D. Farrer, B.A., on the "Particular Baptist Convention of 1689," by Rev. Gwilym O. Griffith on "Absolute Pacifism," and by Rev. W. H. Haden, M.A., on "The Church at Salem, Burton-on-Trent." That issue will complete the ninth volume, and title pages and index will therefore be added.