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Editorial.

NEW MEMBERS.

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

Rev. Herbert Anderson. Rev. P. T. Thomson, M.A.
Rt. Hon. Ernest Brown, P.C., M.P.

OUR MAGAZINE.

The present issue completes Volume IX. of the *Baptist Quarterly* (following seven volumes of the *Transactions*), and the editor is grateful to the contributors, upwards of fifty in number, who have considerably eased his task. It is gratifying that one-third are new contributors. Their articles show that our denomination is rich in men with something worth while to say on both antiquarian and modern problems.

In bulk this ninth volume is the largest that has been published. Formerly the quarterly issues were of forty-eight pages, but the growth in membership of the Baptist Historical Society enabled us to increase to fifty-six pages in 1936 and to sixty-four in 1938. Further increases were in mind, but there is little doubt the war will upset our plans.

AN ORDINARY CHURCH.

Many of our leading churches have had their stories told in print, at jubilees, centenaries, and other celebrations. We have learned much of their ministers and deacons, and noted the influence of church and officers on the civic life of the district. On the other hand not many churches which may be described as of the rank and file, faced with financial and other problems, have published in any detail. Yet if we are to have a true picture of Baptist life, we must know something of the ordinary as well as of the extraordinary. We therefore feel special indebtedness to the Rev. W. H. Haden, M.A., who has felt it worth while to provide us with a careful study of the minutes and other data of the Salem Church, Burton-on-Trent.

THE NATIONAL SITUATION.

For the second time within the short space of twenty-five years, our country is involved in a major European war, and again the nation as a whole is convinced of the justice of our cause.

Compared with 1914 there is a vital difference in the war atmosphere. Then there was widespread enthusiasm, a hatred of Germans and everything German, an outburst of jingoism which resulted in the smashing of aliens' shops, a general expectation of a brief, bright war ending at Christmas: the horrors of modern warfare were unknown. To-day there is grim determination, a hatred of Hitlerism, combined with the desire to remain friends with the average German, sympathy with the alien and refugee in our midst, a fear that the war may be of prolonged duration: some of the horrors of modern warfare are known.

The present is not an opportune time to discuss the policy which has brought the nations to this tragic position. Many are uncomfortable as they think of the decade 1920 to 1930, but that is history, and in due time historians will assess the parts played by men and nations.

It is pertinent, however, to remind ourselves that the day will come when another peace treaty will be signed. What influence will the Church of Christ exert on that treaty? In 1918 the churches had been so busy supporting the war that they had had little time to think of the terms of peace. The Treaty of Versailles was the work of politicians, among whom there was not one of the moral power and insight of Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, who gave immediate self-government to a defeated enemy. The churches were almost silent. True, a few prophetic voices urged a peace based on the highest principles, but, not for the first time, the prophet was unheeded. The Treaty of Versailles has been administered and interpreted by politicians, and a sorry mess they have made of it.

The principles for which we are fighting have been clearly stated by our Prime Minister and others, but the man in the street hardly understands their practical working. It is said we want to restore Poland and Czecho-Slovakia and give the Austrians freedom. That sounds very much like drawing the Versailles map again. What do we feel would be a Christian peace?—Christian towards the countries just named, Christian towards Germany, Christian towards ourselves and our Colonies, Christian towards the oncoming generation? Cannot the Churches think out peace proposals which will be just and therefore have some chance of settling the world's unrest? Is not this a task worthy of the Baptist World Alliance? It might be salutary if we knew how the Baptists of the United States, and Holland, and Sweden, and our Colonies, think the map of the world should be redrawn.

The India of Carey and of To-day.

WILLIAM CAREY was born at Paulerspury, Northamptonshire, on August 17th, 1761; appointed a missionary of the Baptist Missionary Society at Kettering on January 9th, 1793; left for India, with wife and family, on a Danish sailing vessel on June 13th, 1793; landed in Calcutta on November 11th, 1793; and died in Serampore College at sunrise on June 9th, 1832. The India of Carey, therefore, synchronises with the latter half of the eighteenth, and the first half of the nineteenth century. We will take the last fifty years to represent the India of to-day, a period which covers my privileged association, also as a Baptist missionary, with that land.

His Majesty King George, in his speech at the Guildhall last June, mentioning the outstanding impressions of his famous journey to Canada and the United States, said that "history and geography never really live for us until we travel." It is certainly true that the history and geography of India can only live for those who have travelled and resided there, and have experienced the remarkable hold the East gets upon them. For, both in Carey's day and to-day, the land is a land of mystery. It possesses a secret background of thought and feeling seldom revealed, and only to sympathetic hearts. Its ancient temples, on which Carey gazed, and which are standing still, suggest a religious history of uncounted years, and mystery haunts their worship of an unknown God, in rites and ceremonies, sometimes winsome, sometimes wicked. Behind all contrasts and comparisons of the India of Carey, and of to-day, let us not forget the things that never change, the haunting longing of the human soul for God, and the smiles and tears of human faces.

Politics.

The India of Carey saw nothing but war, strife, plunder, the constant shedding of blood and wide devastation. When Europeans became masters of ocean travel and built sailing ships to carry merchandise that could brave any storms on the open seas, the conquest of the Eastern world swiftly followed. Two centuries before Carey, the Portuguese were the first to discover the wealth of India. The Dutch followed them, and, overthrowing Portuguese influence, opened Indian trade to all the nations of the West. The East India Company's Charter was obtained from Queen Elizabeth in the year 1600; its early activities consisted of obtaining trade concessions from Indian rulers, building factories, and creating establishments to protect

them. When Carey landed in Calcutta, the Company had secured political ascendancy only in Bengal and Bihar, with smaller possessions in Madras and Bombay. In the rest of India there was nothing but interminable warfare. Hyderabad was in constant strife with Maratha neighbours. The Rajput Princes were also disputing Maratha domination, while Mysore refused to be the vassal of the Moghul Empire any longer. Then a feud started between Mysore, Hyderabad and the British, and during Marquis Wellesley's régime as Viceroy, the Company won, and British rule in South India was established. Then came the slow conquest of the turbulent Maratha Empire. It was Marquis Wellesley, too, who brought all the chief Indian States into alliance with the Company, and so checked once for all the ceaseless warfare they had been waging with one another. By 1818 the peace of the greater part of India was assured, though it took another half-century to get political control over Sind, the Punjab and, finally, Burma. It was thus that wars, annexations and treaties with those who supported the British arms, eventually made the British Raj paramount. William Carey, therefore, saw Britain's territorial expansion over the land which, in the second part of his famous Inquiry, published in 1792, he had characterized as "India beyond the Ganges—length 2,000 miles, breadth 2,000 miles, number of inhabitants 50,000,000, religion—Mahometans and Pagans. Hindustan—length 2,000 miles, breadth 1,500 miles, number of inhabitants 110,000,000, religion—Mahometans and Pagans." The knowledge of geography about Asia was meagre in those days!

Let us glance at India to-day politically. The record of British rule in India was summarized in the Simon Commission Report, published in 1934:

> "The sub-continent of India, excluding Burma, lying between the Himalaya's and Cape Comorin, comprises an area of 1,570,000 square miles, with a population now approaching 340,000,000. Of this area, British India comprises 820,000 and the Indian States 700,000 square miles, with populations of about 260,000,000 and 80,000,000 respectively. . . . The record of British Rule in India is well-known. Though we claim for it neither infallibility nor perfection, since, like all systems of government, it has at times fallen into error, it is well to remember the greatness of its achievement. It has given to India that which throughout the centuries she has never possessed, a Government whose authority is unquestioned in any part of the sub-continent. It has barred the way against the

foreign invader, and has maintained tranquillity at home. It has established the rule of law, and by the creation of a just administration and an upright judiciary, it has secured to every subject of His Majesty in British India the right to go in peace about his daily work, and to retain for his own use the fruit of his labours. The ultimate agency in achieving these results has been the power wielded by Parliament. The British element in the administrative and judical services has always been numerically small. The total European population of British India to-day, including some 60,000 British troops, is only 150,000."

Side by side with this eulogium let us place the history of the Indian National Congress, a political party which was started in the year that I arrived in Calcutta, 1886, and, after a somewhat chequered career, now claims to have over three million paying members, and to be the real voice of the masses of India. Its membership is open to all men and women, subject to three conditions—"(*a*) they must be 18 years of age; (*b*) they must sign its creed; and (*c*) they must pay four annas (sixpence) a year, or spin two thousand yards of yarn a year from cotton supplied by a local Congress Committee." Its first president was a European, a retired Civil Servant, and from its commencement it had Moslems, Hindus, Christians, and all religions, sects and creeds represented on it more or less fully. There is no doubt that its influence among the peasants and the very poor classes is very great, and is growing. This influence has been won by the personal magnetism of its great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, and more by practical service than by advertising propaganda and by agitation. It has always attracted some remarkable leaders, e.g. Khan Adbul Ghaffar Khan, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sirdar Vallabhai Patel, Srijut Subhas Chandra Bose, Srijut C. Rajagopalachariar and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, to mention only two or three, in its active support to-day. Its creed has been its strength. At heart that consists of a racial instinct that is non-violent. It opposes the taking of life under any circumstances. The secret of its hold on many millions of illiterate villagers is said to be their reverence for the Mahatma as the apostle of *ahimsa* (non-violence), a religious idea associated with poverty, suggesting self-control, power obtained through asceticism, and the ability to overcome its enemies by love. Mr. Gandhi's portrait as a semi-nude saint, sitting in deep meditation, may be seen to-day in almost every part of India. The hold he has gained is marvellous. He has succeeded in giving to his countrymen self-

respect, and his political ambition, which is slowly being realised, is a non-violent rebellion against the degradation, more imaginary than real, of acquiescence in British rule. A few years ago Congress initiated a civil disobedience campaign, a mass non-violent attempt to upset the administration by attacking Government revenues. First it was salt, then it was drink, then it was foreign goods. Much bitterness, suspicion and distrust were created, and at least 100,000 Congress members went to jail, women sharing with men imprisonment for longer or shorter periods. At last the movement passed away, but not before the Congress claimed that it had re-created the nation's lost manliness in the fires of suffering, and had so prepared it for some future self-government.

While all this discontent with British rule was being fostered, the British people, through the Houses of Parliament, were facing the inevitability of granting to the Indian Empire a political freedom that might prevent another rebellious rising. It is unnecessary to recapitulate the processes by which, after seven years, Parliament passed the India Act of 1937. Eleven Provincial Governments have been functioning for nearly two years, and Congress Ministries have shown evidence of considerable administrative ability, with quite a humanitarian outlook towards the masses of the people. Their policy shares the ethical enthusiasm of the Western political idealists.

Now the second problem, a Federation of all India, including the Indian States, is in process of formation. It is a great ideal. Hindu and Moslem failure to co-operate, and the fears of the Indian Princes about their status, are delaying matters. Where there is no growing tradition of co-operative political action and life, there can be no sound basis for national, or international good-will. It may be that British India will have to move forward without the States. Democratic ideas have not yet possessed the minds of the subjects of the Indian Rajas. If so, the States will have to join the Federation later on, but with less influence and standing than they are offered in the present Act. The aim of that Act is clearly to allow the Indian Empire to work out its own political salvation, as a full self-governing Dominion. That should satisfy reasonable public demand for another twenty-five years, and if honesty of purpose and international good-will prevail, the political India of to-day augurs well for the British Commonwealth of to-morrow.

Communal Feuds.

One of the outstanding features of Indian life to-day is the communal feuds between the two great religious communities

—the Hindu and the Moslem. In Carey's day, apart from the wars in far-off places, there is no evidence of the tense feeling in Bengal and Northern India that has sprung up since the hope of political emancipation came into view. In Carey's day, though the Moghul Empire was crumbling, Moslem rulers had great influence. As military conquerors three centuries earlier, they had destroyed Hindu temples wholesale, and made by force myriads of converts. Then, and since, Islam has never concealed its contempt for idolatry. Its strict unitarian creed has always been in violent contrast to the mystical pantheistic symbolism of Hindu worship. Nevertheless, Indian Moslems and Hindus, especially in village life, have not clashed. Indeed, I can recall visits to several festivals, both Hindu and Mahommedan, where members of both religions have mixed together in great friendliness. It would seem from Carey's accounts of his tours in village Bengal that this was the rule rather than the exception in his day. But to-day a new generation has arisen in which the tolerance of the Hindu and self-control of the Moslem have vanished. What is behind the estrangement? Political and economic fear. Islam fears, as the result of the Indian Act, a Hindu Raj, as numerically, under any democratic franchise, there are four Hindus to one Moslem. This explains why Moslems have claimed separate electorates. Further, the competition for posts in Government Service has become bitter. Hindus, on the whole, are better educated, wealthier, and have had much more administrative experience. So a struggle for jobs goes on; and also both have grown strangely sensitive to religious annoyances. A Hindu procession passes a Mosque at prayer time, playing blatant music. The Moslems go for their sticks and staves and a row starts. A Mahommedan sacrifices a cow at the festival where Islam enjoins that act. He chooses a public place to do it. Hindus gather, protest, and rioting starts, with mutual murders. It is clear that many such communal feuds are due to the baneful influence of politics in these difficult days. Such strife is poisoning the national life, and India can never hope to be a united nation with Dominion status, until that hatchet is buried.

Travel and Transport.

The development of transport and communications has always been the most important of all changes that can be brought about by human agency.

In Carey's day in India there were no railways—rivers and roads were the chief ways of travel. On the roads the

multitudes were hikers; one also saw on the streets, as prints of Calcutta at that time show, a few palanquins, a horse or two, bullock carts, a carriage or buggy here and there, and an occasional elephant; on the rivers, boats of all shapes and sizes. In the many trips Carey had to take to Calcutta from Serampore, his usual way was by boat called a budgerow, a large and commodious but cumbrous and sluggish house-boat, in one of the cabins of which he could have a chair and table and go on with his work. As he looked through its windows, he would see dinghies, small boats rowed by one or two men, and large cargo boats carrying straw, rice or merchandise of various sorts. Progress was always slow, hindered or helped by wind and tide; two or three miles an hour was the average rate. To-day we are viewing with perplexity the numberless changes that are being wrought in all human relationships everywhere by the inventions of the last fifty years. In India communications are by road and rail, post and telegraph, telephone, wireless and air. A telephone system between India and England has been established by means of a submarine cable, and any of the 75,000 subscribers to telephone service in India can speak to their friends across the oceans. Regular air services for passengers and mails and much freight go all over the world to-day, and India has a bi-weekly service with the promise of an almost daily service. Six hundred million passengers travel annually on the 50,000 miles of railway that cover the continent. Third class travelling is not comfortable, but you pay about a farthing a mile, and rub shoulders, often literally, with a jostling crowd pleasant in manners, somewhat fragrant, and always prepared to talk. On a recent visit to India I was surprised to find how omnipresent the motor-bus has become. They are running everywhere, on jungle roads, as well as on the splendid trunk roads made more than a century ago, so that the troops might march under the shade of the pepul and other trees that were planted as avenues on either side. 'Bus fares suit the poorest classes, and millions of villagers are taking to this new and interesting method of seeing a larger world than their forefathers ever knew. The wealthier class, throughout India have, of course, taken to the motor-car, and a few of the more adventurous do not hesitate to fly over the long distances that separate Bombay and Calcutta or Karachi and Madras. It would be difficult to say whether India or England has travelled farthest in methods of transport during the last century and a half. Certainly, if Carey came back to visit the haunts round his old church which he knew so well, he would rub his eyes in more than mild

astonishment. And if he then took a taxi to Dum Dum Aerodrome and travelled to England in three or four days, the contrast compared with the experience of his first journey to India in the *Krön Princessa Maria* of five months, less two days, would be nothing short of miraculous.

THE MIND OF INDIA.

It would be still more wonderful if, getting beneath these material changes, it were possible for us to penetrate the mind of India, and sympathetically to gauge the changes that 150 years have brought. The educated classes, town dwellers, have far more to think about than their ancestors had, and it may be seen clearly that religion has not the same place, nor the same hold which it had in Carey's day a century and a half ago. There is less change in the Hindu and Moslem villagers' mind. The Hindu village has its temple and its priest and its gods. You can still be wakened, if you are living near at hand, by the ceremonial of daily worship, the bells and the sound of the conch shell. And if you are interested enough to go and watch, you will see the Brahmin priests bathe and dress, and feed the deity, whether Siva or Krishna, or the elephant-headed Gonesh. The daily offerings are flowers, rice and clarified butter, and the thoughts behind are still that for protection, and welfare, and some future good, that which their ancestors believed is good enough for them. The Moslem village still centres round its mosque, and the Mullah sounds the call five times daily to the faithful to come and pray. The Moslem mind has changed but little. It is different with the Outcastes, the Harijans, the Pariahs, or whatever name is given to the depressed classes, numbering more than thirty million. They have no temple and no priests. Fear of evil spirits has been their incentive to their degraded forms of worship. Various causes, political and social, and their contact in these later days with men of all creeds and classes who have been working for their amelioration and for their votes, have led to an awakening of thought and purpose among them. Some silent movement of a gracious Spirit has come into this valley of dry bones. Traced to its right source, Christ has come to that lost section of the Indian nation, and He has brought a message of the individual worth of man. Christian Missions have gained most of their converts from men and women of these lower classes, as they are called, and have tended and educated and brought them into a healthy prominence. Now, leaders of all religions are scrambling for their allegiance. In some areas considerable numbers are joining the Christian com-

munity. The chief result so far has been that this section of village India has new thoughts of the value of themselves, as persons, and of God as something very different from the evil demons their forefathers worshipped in trembling fear.

SOCIAL CHANGES.

The character of the British community in India has changed much for the better since Carey's day. Marshman, in his *Life of Carey,* writes in scathing terms of the effect of political power upon the merchants and officials of the East India Company of those far-off days. "A boundless field was suddenly opened before them for the gratification of ambition and cupidity, and every thought was absorbed in the accumulation of wealth, without any qualms of conscience as to the mode of its acquisition." "The process of turning power into money, which had been practised in the East from time immemorial, was one of the first lessons which the new conquerors learnt, and scenes of injustice and oppression which were daily exhibited make us, to this day, blush for the degradation of the British name." "Avarice was associated with profligacy." "The bulk of Europeans, both in and out of the Service, lived unmarried with native women, and their leisure was spent in the most debasing associations. The influence of Christian principles was almost extinct in European Society. For a quarter of a century after the battle of Plassey, Calcutta presented a scene of such unblushing licentiousness, avarice, and infidelity as had never been witnessed before under the British flag." The Directors in England of the East India Company had eventually to intervene; and public opinion, fostered by high officials of a different type, sent from England, led to changes that, before Carey's own course was run, restored something of the prestige of the British name for truth, honesty and clean living. The character of European Society in all parts of India to-day is not without its blemishes, but, speaking of the country as a whole, India knows she can trust the word of an Englishman. He is straight, and his social life is controlled, to a large extent, by the same moral code that prevails in the country from which he comes.

The Bureau of Public Information in India publishes an annual report on such matters as Agriculture and Industry, Commerce and Communications, Defence and Emigration, Politics and Administration, Health and Education, and Scientific Surveys—archaeological, topographical, geological, botanical and zoological. There is to-day a library of information on each of these, dealing with their quiet, steady progress,

largely under Government control and with Government financial assistance. It is a thrilling story, for example, to trace the stages of *educational advance* from the first Christian schools for boys and girls—Indian, Anglo-Indian and European—started by the Serampore missionaries, to the vast educational facilities all over India to-day. At the top there are nineteen Universities with hundreds of thousands of students; Arts Colleges, Training Schools, Secondary Schools, Primary Schools, and in many cities now, a system of compulsory education in municipal areas. Nevertheless, it has to be confessed that education is in its infancy in India. Out of forty million children who ought to be in Primary Schools, only eight million are there. Only one out of every three boys, and one out of every fifteen girls, gets to school at all. Out of every thousand women, less than ten know how to read and write; and, despite all that is being done, criticism abounds against the character of the education. The lesson has not been taken to heart which Lord Curzon, in one of his famous speeches, tried to teach: "Vital as is education everywhere as the instrument by which men and nations rise; yet in a country like India, in its present development, it is perhaps the most clamant necessity of all that here education is required, not primarily as the instrument of culture, or the source of learning, but as the key to employment, the condition of all national advance and prosperity, and the sole stepping-stone for every class of the community to higher things." Mahatma Gandhi has his own ideas as to what might be done, ideas that do not commend themselves to leading educationalists among his own fellow-countrymen. Experiments in adult literacy work are a feature of to-day. Dr. Laubach's method to reach, directly, the lower and illiterate classes, and teach them within three months to become literate, is receiving wide attention. Missions, which have had so noble a part in the training of India's sons and daughters, are still powerful influences in the ferment of intellectual advance throughout the land. Carey's aim to make Serampore a "Christian Benares" is being steadily accomplished.

Status of Womanhood.

Nothing would startle and please the founder of Serampore more than to note the differences in his day and to-day in the treatment and influence of women. India in the last quarter of a century has lived rapidly, and remarkable innovations and reforms in this sphere have taken place. The chief characteristics of oriental womanhood have not changed, happily. Attachment to husband and children, modesty, faithfulness, and

constant attention to all homely duties, these are still her charming attributes. The customs that debased and degraded her are almost unknown. You may see in the corridor of the India Office, Whitehall, the striking painting of a suttee, the burning of a widow with the corpse of her husband; and Carey found nearly five hundred cases of that inhuman rite in a comparatively small area of Bengal. Purdah is fast breaking down, child-marriage is being made illegal. And, on the positive side, women have obtained political franchise. One has risen to be Deputy Speaker of the Madras Legislative Council. Another holds Cabinet rank in the United Provinces. There are Indian women lawyers, doctors, teachers and nurses by the score and the hundred, and whatever department of national life they have dared to enter, they have courageously adorned.

THE TEMPERANCE CRUSADE.

In Carey's day, drink and drugs were taxed very lightly, and missionaries themselves took alcohol regularly "for their stomach's sake." But India is and always has been a land of total abstainers. Religion, tradition and social sentiment have always favoured total abstinence. As time went on, the British Government followed the East India Company in making a monopoly of the trade, because from it they found they could have an ever-increasing source of indirect taxation and helpful revenue. Indian public opinion has consistently criticized this Government Policy; and, as soon as Congress began to get into its stride, it promised legislation of a prohibitive character for both alcoholic drinks and narcotic drugs, because the teaching of both Hindu and Moslem faiths forbad their use as sinful, and because their evil effects fell most heavily on those poverty-stricken classes of the community for whose moral and social uplift Congress promised to strive. I spent a fortnight last February in one of the Districts of the Madras Province, Salem by name, a district as large as Wales with a population of over two million, to investigate the results of the Madras Prohibition Act X of 1937 therein. I would not have believed the reports of the splendid success that have followed this bold moral and economic adventure, had I not seen it for myself. The fight is only in its initial stages at present. It is being waged in eight out of the eleven Provinces of India. Serious financial difficulties, as expected, are being encountered, for in three Provinces, Excise revenue was over twenty per cent. of the total revenue. Madras and Bombay are to-day leaders in a wide-spread prohibition campaign. If the National Congress retains ascendancy in the Elections of 1941; and if, when Federation

is introduced, they secure in the Council of State and in the Federal House of Assembly the ability to legislate as they think right, India may yet be the first country in the world to make the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of drink and drugs a noble success.

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE.

The relation of the British Government to the Missionary Enterprise in India has oscillated between violent opposition and benevolent tolerance. Carey and his colleagues and most of the Free Church missionaries met ridicule, scorn and persecution. One of the worst early storms broke out in Calcutta in 1812 when the animosity of the anti-missionary party, assisted by the Secretaries of the Government of that day, and by the inexperience of the Viceroy, Lord Minto, who had just arrived from England, culminated in an official order which aimed at suppressing the missionary undertaking altogether. All vernacular preaching was prohibited, the Mission Press at Serampore must be transferred to Calcutta, and the issue of any publications, tracts or treatises from it was to be subject to Government control, and most of those already published were to be withdrawn from circulation. The safety of the British Raj, they said, was at stake! The Government had pledged itself to protect all non-Christians in the undisturbed exercise of their respective religions. The Serampore trio, after prayerful fellowship, consulted their best friends and acted with such prudence that within a week the orders were cancelled, and with the imposition of some quite minor restrictions, the Mission was left to pursue its work practically unfettered. The Court of Directors in London, when the trouble was reported to them, condemned the conduct of the Viceroy and his colleagues, and Lord Minto was instructed to abstain in the future from "all unnecessary and ostentatious interference with the Mission's activities." What a change to-day from that attitude! During the last half-century Government officials in all parts of India have gone out of their way to commend in the highest terms, especially the educational and the medical service that Missionary Societies have rendered to India, and many non-Christian leaders are constantly giving expression to the great debt India owes to those who seek to propagate the faith of Jesus Christ over every part of the land.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

Finally, reference must be made to the position, status and progress of the Christian Church in India—the India of Carey and

of to-day. The first convert of the Serampore Mission, Krishna Pal, was baptised in the Ganges on a spot before the gate of Serampore College on the 28th December, 1800. It must not be overlooked that the Danish Mission in South India, with its most famous missionary Schwartz of Tanjore, had laid the foundations of a Protestant Indian Church in Madras during the previous half-century while, on the Western Coast, the Syrian Churches had existed, in practical isolation, for centuries. But in North India the foundation of the first little Church in Serampore was the beginning of Indian Church History. Under the aegis of British rule the country's population has made gigantic strides. In Carey's day it was reckoned at one hundred and fifty million. An official census taken a few years ago increased that figure to three hundred and fifty million! The Christian community in Carey's day, both in South and North India numbered some thousands only. Now it is somewhere around eight million. The proportionate number of Christians to Hindus or to Moslems may appear as a very small harvest after a hundred and fifty years of sowing and reaping. But every one acquainted with religious thought and life in India knows that the influence of Jesus Christ is felt, and is working like leaven far outside the ecclesiastical boundaries of those who bear His name. The history of the Christian Church in India, in its various sections, would need a big volume truly to represent it. The Anglican section, with its favoured State relationship, sought political freedom in 1937, secured it by an Indian Church Act of that date, and has become an autonomous Church under the self-chosen title of the Church of India. Its Bishops are no longer appointed by the Crown.

The Simon Commission Report points out that when the powers of the East India Company passed to the British Crown in 1858, its obligation to provide for the spiritual need of British troops stationed in India, and, where circumstances permitted, for the European members of the Civil Service, was taken over. Grants in aid out of Indian revenues, for the maintenance of church buildings and for a certain number of non-official chaplains, have been made; but under the Constitutional Reforms it is suggested that the autonomous Christian Church must, in course of time, come to depend less and less upon Government assistance. One can see that as soon as India succeeds in securing Swaraj, all such help would immediately cease. Apart from this section of the Christian Church, other denominations have been dealing with the problem of self-support, self-government and self-propagation in various ways. Movements towards Church Union, both in the South and in

the North have been slowly maturing, and many of the Indian Christian leaders desire to make the Church in India autonomous in more than name. Most foreign missionaries are in full sympathy with this aspiration, and have themselves been planning, as in the Serampore and other Theological Colleges, for a great development in Indian leadership. Generous Indian gifts in support of this desirable ideal of an autonomous Church are not a marked feature of present day developments, and there is still, in some quarters, far too much subsidizing of Church organisations, which necessarily makes advance slow in any true degree of real freedom and responsibility.

Let it be clearly understood, however, that India to-day is, in the main, unevangelised. According to a recent issue of the Directory of Christian Missions, at least one hundred million of the people have no intelligent knowledge of Jesus Christ and His Gospel. The plea that the evangelisation of these millions is the task, now, not of the foreign missionary societies but of the divided Indian Church, has always appeared to me utopian. While census figures show that the ordinary population increases at the rate of thirty million every ten years, the Indian Churches are quite unable to face that heavy responsibility. There has been the dawn of a new evangelistic zeal in many parts of India and in different sections of the Church—for which God be praised. But it seems to me that the appeal of these vast untouched areas in every Indian province must penetrate the hearts and minds of the Older Churches in the West with something of the thrill that awoke in Carey's heart the determination to go himself and give himself for their salvation. Shall not the Baptist Missionary Society Ter-Jubilee Celebrations in 1942 be made a grand opportunity for rousing the Baptist Churches of Great Britain, and of the world? THE INDIA OF CAREY AND OF TO-DAY FOR CHRIST. He is worthy.

HERBERT ANDERSON.

Some Notes on the Atlanta Congress.

AS the Cunard White Star liner *Britannic* drew away from Southampton Docks on Saturday, July 8th, 1939, she carried parties of Baptists setting out for our World Congress, most of them allowing for a few days at New York to visit the World's Fair. My own plan was to proceed at once to Atlanta and to spend a few days there in personal contact with the delightful people who were making such gracious preparation for our historic gathering.

As the liner moved out to sea we all felt a certain relaxation from tension. Earlier in the week I had sat on a Borough Committee reviewing the arrangements for dealing with fatalities in possible air raids; and our country has some hundreds of such Committees which have been steadily arranging the preparations for defence, of which there are many grim and necessary details.

After some months of work and thought on these subjects it was an amazing relief to set out to sea and turn one's mind hopefully westwards. The gain of an hour every night as the ship goes towards the setting sun makes the outward voyage across the Atlantic particularly restful.

The company was considerably reassured by the cheerful presence of Mrs. Ernest Brown, who was planning to be away from home two months, and was receiving encouraging cablegrams from the Minister of Labour.

The chief event of my first day in Atlanta was attending in an official car with Dr. Rushbrooke at the station for the reception of Dr. and Mrs. Truett at 8.30 in the evening. It was a thrilling occasion. It was dusk, with a good deal of lingering daylight. The forecourt of the station was crowded with three thousand people; a choir of two hundred were ready with a programme of choruses; a large orchestra of girls in striking uniforms, microphones, flags and bunting contributed to a scene of lively enthusiasm. Then there were the cars: the official one for Dr. and Mrs. Truett decorated with streamers and stars and stripes, the Governor's car, the Mayor's car, the Police Commissioner's blue car, the Chief of the Fire Brigade's red car, and other decorated cars, official and private. Community singing kept us all busy until the great moment when the President arrived, and was greeted with hearty cheers and several speeches of cordial welcome, all of which he acknowledged most appreciatively in a few graceful words. Then a procession of cars

moved away, through cheering and waving lines of people. The whole spectacle seemed typically American: I felt at once that there was a something in the atmosphere, something strange but not uncongenial, which was definitely different from our English ways. As a newcomer, I could not yet suggest what that something was, and perhaps a fortnight's visit is too short to form any opinions.

During the remainder of the week the Baptist women of Atlanta showered kindnesses and hospitalities upon me, so that I have stores of delightful memories, and was at a loss to express sufficiently my gratitude and appreciation.

The subjects we discussed were the religious outlook and methods of Sunday School work and church organisation, and the war menace and the conditions of life in England. Everyone wanted to tell me of the intense admiration, almost devotion, inspired by our King and Queen during their recent visit, and well understood the depths of loyalty and gratitude to them which fill our hearts to-day.

The attitude of the English towards the Abdication, a subject I never introduced myself, came into the conversation with more than half of the Americans I met, particularly with those who were not Baptists: one realised that the sensational press had used an opportunity to the full.

On the subject of church life and organisation, two aspects struck me particularly, and I had opportunities of discussing them with Dr. and Mrs. Truett and other Americans, and with Dr. Rushbrooke. One question that arose was of the elaboration and luxury of many of the church premises: vast buildings, with class-rooms, lecture rooms, reception rooms, and a suite for the minister (study, office, reception room). One church I visited had so many rooms for varied purposes that there were twenty-five pianos on the premises! I happened to mention this to a lady from Texas, who said: "Oh, that is nothing! At our church we have fifty pianos!"

A great headmaster once said that the ideal number of boys for a public school was two hundred and fifty, the greatest number which could be personally known by the Head. There is a limit to the number which can participate profitably in most human activities, especially where the element of fellowship is involved. Dr. Truett took no offence when I put plainly to him the danger of excessive numbers, the impossibility of mass-production standards of spiritual effort: he very kindly recognised that I was sincerely troubled, and endeavoured with some success to assure me of the reality and depth of the religious life and spiritual teaching which seem to find their setting in vast buildings and bustling crowds.

Dr. Truett wields an influence comparable to that of the great Spurgeon. The christening fairies gave him a remarkably fine voice, good physique, a handsome face, and dignified bearing: he is an orator, holding attention easily from the first word to the last, and like Spurgeon he combines intense eagerness as a messenger of the Lord with a kindly personality which wins warmest affection wherever he goes. No one can talk with Dr. Truett without feeling his friendliness and his transparent sincerity: he is quite unspoiled by his many years of limelight and adulation.

The second question about American religious life was in regard to Sunday School policy. It appears that large Bible Classes are attended by adults. At one school which I visited the "scholars" of the Senior Department ranged from twenty-five years upwards! I seem to have heard of such Sunday Schools in Wales years ago, and must find out whether they still exist. Meanwhile, the point arises if adults attend Sunday School from 9.30 a.m. to 10.45 a.m. will they, do they, attend also the regular morning service at 11 in addition? Also, is not the minister's work as an instructor of his people insufficiently recognised? American friends took diametrically opposite views, some maintained that all was well, others regarded the present system as disadvantageous, and as creating difficulties for the ministry. Dr. Truett was one of the former, Dr. Samuel Lindsay, of Brookline, of the latter.

Much of the space allotted to me has been used before we come to the Congress itself, and I will not attempt anything of a detailed report, hoping that our readers will have seen some of the accounts which have appeared in the *Baptist Times* and other religious weeklies, and may perhaps secure a copy of the official record in a few weeks' time.

This Congress was remarkable for the extreme friendliness of the atmosphere, engendered from the first by the warm welcome and unselfish hospitality of the Atlanta folks themselves. We met at a time of acute international tension, and with the problems of race differentiation visibly in our midst. The week did not pass by without some difficulties, but these were successfully negotiated through the wisdom and patience of our leaders.

The roll-call at an International Congress is always a most impressive and heart-searching experience. To listen successively to these groups of people bearing their simple testimony calls out all one's sympathy and admiration. The hearer thinks of their journeyings and sacrifices, of the hard climates that many endure, of the age-long traditions they challenge, of the menaces of war and persecution they face to-day. The Czech "messenger" (a good word, very preferable to delegate!) said: "I come from

a country which was, which is not, and which is to be." When I quoted this on my return, Dr. Chesterman said that it was a slogan adopted by the Czechs generally.

The spectacular side of the Congress focussed in two events: the long procession of cars and marches on Saturday, July 22nd, and the pageant of Baptist History composed by the Rev. E. A. Payne. On the Saturday I went about among the crowds in the principal streets instead of riding in one of the cars, and was interested to find how much all the folks seemed to know about the Baptists and the Congress, and how they enjoyed identifying various foreign delegates. The pageant was a fine contribution to the programme, most varied in interest and in the numbers taking part in succeeding episodes. It was a *tour-de-force* on the part of our Atlanta friends, practically the whole work of production being accomplished in three weeks.

The main subjects of the Congress deliberations were:

(1) The Church's Task of Evangelism;
(2) The Church, War and Peace;
(3) Religious Liberty in all lands;
(4) The Church and Re-union.

On all these subjects the endeavour was to ascertain the mind of the Master, while giving sincere recognition to the unparalleled difficulties of our generation.

Towards the close of the Congress our beloved Dr. J. H. Rushbrooke was elected as incoming President with the utmost enthusiasm and complete unanimity. Of the other British speakers, their fellow "messengers" were very proud of them all, and if I may mention a few names, very strong impressions were made by Mrs. Ernest Brown (quite an outstanding success), by Mr. Aubrey, Mr. H. L. Taylor, and Mr. Wilson Black. I did not hear Dr. S. W. Hughes, as I had to leave on the Friday afternoon, but I hear that his speech on "Peace" met with an enthusiastic reception. Several important meetings I missed altogether, owing to illness caused by the intense heat.

If any of my readers question whether such Congresses are worth while, considering the long preparation, the expenditure of money and effort, the fatigues and travels involved, I would ask them to believe that in this way we Baptists have greatly promoted fellowship throughout the world, and have been permitted to bear witness and declare our allegiance to the Prince of Peace and our steadfast faith in His Kingdom.

"Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him."

M. F. Dow.

Absolute Pacifism.

IT is important that we should distinguish at the outset between the idea of *peace* and the idea of an *ideal* peace. For our present purpose it may suffice to define peace as that condition in which nations live together in freedom from armed aggression. In this general sense the *Shorter Oxford Dictionary* defines peace as "freedom from war." The same authority defines pacifism as "the doctrine or belief that it is desirable and possible to settle international disputes by peaceful means." In that sense most Englishmen may write themselves down as "pacifists" to-day.

The idea of an *ideal* peace is, of course, a different matter. An *ideal* peace requires for its actualisation ideal States populated by ideal people, and necessitates such ideal reasonableness and altruism, such an ideal mass-mentality, as would make peace something spontaneous and perpetual, needing no enforcement, no external safeguards, no sanctions except the sanctions of the spirit.

All of us believe in *peace,* and most of us believe it is possible to organise and actualise it. We believe the call to translate this possibility into a functioning fact is a moral imperative that commands the conscience of the civilised world. On the other hand, relatively few of us imagine that Europe and the world to-day are ripe for that *ideal* peace of the Kingdom of Heaven which is maintained simply by ideal sanctions without the enforcements of law.

Now, although this general statement would probably excite little dissent, it is nevertheless at this point that the forces that make for peace begin to fall into schism. For while few would contend that the ideal peace of the Kingdom of Heaven is immediately practicable in our present unideal world, many feel themselves morally bound to agitate for the application of ideal measures to unideal conditions. As a fair example of these ideal measures one may indicate the demand for immediate unilateral disarmament.

But this reflects a state of mind that is deadly to "idealism," for it ends by defeating its own object. American Prohibition was a case in point. It was an ideal measure applied to unideal conditions, with a result which was the exact opposite of the end desired. For whereas the Dries had hoped to confiscate the liquor and present the Wets with an inviolable law, it turned out that "the Dries got the Law and the Wets got the liquor." The

nurse in charge of a diabetic patient may believe conscientiously in his recovery; but if she treats him as if he were already in ideal health and orders his dietary accordingly and abolishes his insulin, she will probably kill him. For good intentions and a moral glow are no remedy for diabetic coma.

It should not, therefore, seem perverse to argue that measures appropriate to an ideal, weaponless and spiritual peace, as for example an absolute non-resistant pacifism, universal disarmament or unilateral disarmament, are not well calculated to match existing conditions in a Europe of commercial competition, tariff-wars, racial jealousies and power-politics; and that, by the same token, such a policy would only defeat the purpose it was intended to serve. For not even the most ardent and doctrinaire of the extremer pacifists would argue that these actual, unideal conditions, economic, racial, national and imperial, can be removed within the next six months or even within the compass of a Five Year Plan. On the other hand, the need for a practical, constructive peace policy is urgent and imperative *now*. It is an urgency to be reckoned not in terms of decades but of months, weeks, days. The extreme pacifist is no doubt right in proclaiming the splendid ideal; he must "write the vision and make it plain." But when he divides the forces of peace by opposing all practical, and admittedly unideal measures, and insisting upon his own programme of non-violence and total disarmament (coupled perhaps with economic reforms which would require generations of inspired advocacy), his service to the cause of humanity may seem to be diminished in value.

But at this point the doctrinaire pacifist who bases his agitation upon a finished Christian conscience has every right to direct the argument to the explicit teaching of the New Testament, and thus to waive all considerations of worldly expediency. He may say in effect: "We believe in taking the New Testament seriously. We are bound to do so, and for us the course is clear. Not only can we have no part or lot in military or national war-service, but also we must do our utmost as Christians to convince the Government of its national duty to disarm immediately; and if other Powers do not choose to do likewise, so much the more is it imperative that the British Empire should set the example."

There is, it is true, some division of opinion about what should be held out as the consequence of such a policy. Some have said that the sure consequence would be peace and safety. God would see to it that the defenceless, the voluntarily defenceless, should be defended. There would, moreover, be an immediate quickening of the general conscience of mankind which would overcome the natural cupidity of esurient Powers at the

spectacle of so rich an imperial estate inviting plunder. And even though the Totalitarian press and Totalitarian propaganda might conceivably conceal, or distort and caricature, the actual facts of this Pacifist Revolution, and annex certain territories and their populations, in any case war would be averted and safety would be assured. Others, objecting, perhaps reasonably, that this addresses the appeal to the less laudable and heroic instincts of human nature, say that, on the contrary, the consequences of such a policy might be national martyrdom in a righteous cause. But the policy, whatever the consequences, is the same.

Now, so far as the "martyrdom" alternative is concerned (that is, "martyrdom" on the national or imperial scale), we have here, it may be said, an example of that application of ideal measures to unideal conditions of which we have spoken—an application which, whatever its further consequences, destroys the virtue of the "martyrdom" itself. For the Master of Balliol is justified, surely, in indicating that the Christian pacifist has no Christian or moral right to urge his country to such a course as would force his countrymen (and, in the case of the Empire, native populations under the country's protection) who do not share his conscientious faith, to share his "martyrdom" for that faith, and submit helplessly to injustice. It is not Christian to impose "martyrdom" on others, and the fact that it is done when earthly States send conscript armies to their deaths does not make it Christian. And as to the other alternative, it is not transparently Christian to bid men disarm and go defenceless in this actual world on the assurance that God will see to their physical and material safety.

Nevertheless, who cannot feel the force of the Christian pacifist protest against war itself and military service? Compromise of some sort there must be, it seems, in this difficult world; and the ethics of compromise are complicated; but to Christian compromise there must be a limit, and that limit seems to be reached when a Christian is expected to bombard civilian areas with high explosive and incendiary bombs.

But the concern of the Christian conscience can never terminate simply upon a private, moral escape from the evils in which it refuses to participate. That private moral escape is provided by the alternative of "conscientious objection" and refusal of military service. But the Christian pacifist is clearly right in going further and attacking the evil of war itself. And no doubt if he could persuade all the people of military age in the civilised world to refuse military service, the evil would be abolished by that short method; mankind, having signed the Peace Pledge on the dotted line, would have signed the death warrant of war. But a world of conscientious objectors is far

to seek, and the pacifist cannot pretend that this method can save the situation to-day. He sees instead the so-called peace-seeking Governments (certainly not from disinterested motives, for they are the "Haves" who have everything to lose by war) striving to build up a Peace Front to discourage the sort of aggression that victimised Czecho-Slovakia and to save the world from a conflagration. It is certainly not an ideal method, but it is the only practical one that has immediate promise of being temporarily effective: beyond it lies the hope of a calm discussion of the complex problems that make for strife, and beyond that the building of a real community of nations.

The fact remains, however, that a certain type of doctrinaire Christian pacifist feels himself obliged in this crisis to lift up a protesting voice and demand that his country should disarm, and thus tear down whatever defences of collective protection the nation has pledged its honour to maintain. For it is plain, as we have said, that this type of Christian pacifist feels that his loyalty to the New Testament, his Christian obedience, allows him no other course. He cannot, he feels, destroy his integrity by recognising a dualism as between State morality and the Sermon on the Mount. Christ's teachings are for the common life of man, and Christ has bidden us not to meet violence with violence, not to resist evil with its own weapons, but rather to submit and turn the other cheek to the aggressor and give to the litigant man more than he demands.

Now let this issue be faced. It is recognised that the immediate application of the teachings of Christ is to those who accept their authority; to the Christian community of disciples; to that community which, by the essential nature of its allegiance, lives not by law but by grace. It by no means follows that the application can, or ought to, be extended to the State in a pagan or sub-Christian civilisation. Thus it is of the essence of the New Testament community that it does not employ force. It does not employ it for the extension of its own apostolate. The Christian apostle must be weaponless. It does not employ it in its own community life. The Church has, rightly, no judiciary bearing the sword of magisterial compulsion. Its rule is the rule of conscience and love. It lives, we say, above the law; it lives by grace. It has so strong an inward principle that it has no need of external checks and compulsions.

But can we say this of the State? We may resent the dualism, but we cannot obscure the distinction between Church and World *and* be true to the New Testament. We cannot treat the New Testament seriously *and* suppose that precepts that are authoritative for the Christian community were intended to be applied, or *can* be applied, *holus bolus,* to the world, to civic

governments, to heterogeneous communities composing the State. For the State is "of the world," not "of the Church." It is not composed simply and solely of citizens who own allegiance to Christ and live by grace. The State, in Brunner's words, is "a God-given order of sinful reality." Mankind, actual, imperfect, sinful humanity, has been placed on this world under the necessity of either living in community and under law or disintegrating and rotting in anarchy. In that sense, according to the New Testament, even the Pagan State is "of God"; not because it is "divine," but because it does serve in some sort to administer the Providential design of an ordered community life. And, as imperfect, sinful humanity is now constituted, all States are under the necessity of maintaining compulsion as a power behind the law. That is indeed what makes a State a State. And few would be found to argue that the time has now come, either in our national or our international life, when States should be abolished or should be transformed into Christian Churches.

According to the New Testament, Christians are bound in conscience to recognise and honour the function of the State with its governmental authority and judicial power of the sword, even as they are bound in conscience to "live above the law" of the State in their own ethical and spiritual life. This dualism may be illustrated by two quotations. "Dare any one of you," says St. Paul to the Corinthian Church, "having a matter against another, go to law" [in the State courts]? "Why do ye not rather take wrong? Why do ye not rather suffer yourselves to be defrauded?" Precisely; for that is the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount! On the other hand, he writes to the Roman Christians (Moffatt's version): "Every subject must obey the government authorities. . . . A magistrate does not wield the power of the sword for nothing; he is God's servant. . . . You must be obedient, therefore . . . as a matter of conscience, for the same reason as you pay taxes—since magistrates are God's officers." That is to say, because you live by the Christian rule of love it does not mean that you must repudiate the function of the State, with its magisterial authority and power of compulsion. For the world is the world, and the State, with its judicial power of the sword, is a necessary institution for the restraint of evil in the mixed multitudes of mankind. The Sermon on the Mount presupposes the existence of the State, with its laws and compulsions (Matthew v. 25, 40, 41), its "judges," "officers" and "prisons"; how else should it command Christians to exceed the requirements of the law? It nowhere commands Christians to seek to substitute *in the State itself*, as a sub-Christian institution of this world, the purely preceptive code of the Christian community. This would be contrary to the

tragic realism of the New Testament. Christians must live by the rule of love: it does not follow that they should seek to deprive others of the protection of the law. Christians must do no murder; it does not follow that they must deprive others of legal protection from murderers. The Church observes only a spiritual discipline; it does not follow that the State must attempt to govern simply by good advice and moral suasion.

This, of course, is not to say that violence or war is right! It is because they are wrong, and because nevertheless violence, rapine, cruelty and lawlessness exist, that States are necessary, and that State law and legal force are necessary, for the restraint of evil-doing. Thus, in fact, the State's use of force may, on the actual sub-Christian level of the world's life, serve the law of love; for when legal force is used by the State to restrain illegal violence, it does serve the interests of love and preserves an ordered community-life in which the nobler apostolate of the spirit may fructify. Thus ancient Rome, in New Testament times, policed the world and kept the peace. It was not peace in the Christian sense; it was not the peace of the Kingdom of Heaven; but it was the only possible peace, and it aided the apostolate of the Christian Gospel. Nor did the greatest of the Christian evangelists refuse the protection of his Roman citizenship nor of the military power (Acts xxii. 25; xxiii. 27). The Apostolic Church never so interpreted its commission as to declare that the State itself should be weaponless. Its conflict with Caesar was on another and very different issue. The Church affirmed the Lordship of Christ and refused to recognise the divinity of Caesar. It did not interpret the Mind and Lordship of Christ to mean that Roman Law and Roman Justice must disarm and rule a turbulent world simply by moral admonition, or by a paternal discipline powerless to enforce its own authority.

Therefore, it may be said that the doctrinaire and absolute Christian pacifist who agitates for immediate, and if necessary one-sided disarmament, because it is "the mind of Christ," has not yet come to terms with his New Testament. To argue that murder is incompatible with the mind of Christ, that war is murder, and that therefore the State should disarm in the presence of all potential murderers, is not a transliteration of the New Testament teaching. It fails to do justice to what we have called the tragic realism of the New Testament and to the fundamental dualism of Church and World. It assumes, what is by no means assumed in the Christian Scriptures, that an ethic and discipline that are possible and imperative in a society of Christian men and women are also possible and imperative in a heterogeneous and mainly sub-Christian aggregation of communities. And it assumes that "the mind of Christ" takes

no account of the fundamental distinctions involved in these disparities. These are assumptions it is difficult to maintain.

Finally, it may be said that the Christian mind, no less than other minds, ought to be open to the education of history. And peace, which after all is not a new moral discovery nor an entirely novel experiment, has a history. It is not so long ago, relatively to the life of man on this planet, that we on this island lived in a state of perpetual war. We were split up into a medley of different States—Northumbria, Mercia, Wessex, East Anglia and the rest—each fighting for its own hand. Much the same was true of France and the other countries of Europe. To-day in our own country we are zoned within a permanent territorial peace, and wherever on the broad face of Europe the like is true, such peace has been achieved not through an absolute pacifism or the method of non-resistance, but through the building up of community law with a legal force behind it capable of maintaining it, and it has been developed because in the shadow of that security have grown up common interests, common ideals and a community-conscience. To-day we need to extend this achievement from national territories to whole continents. Our opportunity is to organise peace on the basis of a community of nations owning a common loyalty to international law and justice. This is the logic of history and the hope of civilisation. It is not "Christian" peace, which can be obtained only when the world is Christian; but it is a peace in which war can be outlawed and banished from the earth. To dream of patching on to the polity of modern civilisation, with its commercial rivalries and racial egoisms, one single shred of the Christian ethic—non-resistance—torn from the code of the Christian life, is not to nourish the New Testament hope nor effectively to serve the world.

Therefore, to end upon the reflection with which we began; we must distinguish between *peace* and *ideal* peace, between the pragmatic morality of earthly States and the ethics of the Kingdom of Heaven. This is a dualism which we cannot dissolve by denying it. We cannot rule out the function of force in the world civilisation of to-day because it is ruled out of the ethics of the Church and of the Kingdom of God. To do so would lead, not to the New Jerusalem, but to the jungle. The Christian conscience may refuse military service and accept the consequences. It cannot justifiably require the State, by disarming, to force these consequences upon citizens and subject-peoples who do not approve this course, and whom the State has pledged itself to protect.

GWILYM O. GRIFFITH.

Wesley and Ourselves.

JOHN WESLEY'S scholarship was wide, his travels apostolic, his industry astounding, his organising capacity rare, and his vision universal. Dr. Tyerman wrote in the last paragraph of his biography: "In the case of a man like Wesley panegyric is out of place." If so there has been much misplaced eulogy. The stream of praise has run in spate recently. Mr. Gladstone said that, in the Roman Catholic Church, Wesley would have been a saint. I gladly hail Wesley as a hero; I would approve his canonisation—the Calendar needs revision; but the apotheosis of the man I deplore.

John Wesley's life almost covered the eighteenth century, 1703-1791. Before the era of steam he crossed the Atlantic, travelled in Germany, visited Scotland twenty-two times, toured Ireland twenty-one times (including Wales on the way), and his journeyings reached an aggregate of nearly a quarter of a million miles. In the pen-and-inkhorn age he wrote two hundred and thirty-three books and pamphlets, helped with a hundred more, and founded a magazine, contributing largely to its pages. Hundreds of books he read as he rode. His collected *Letters* fill eight volumes. He preached forty-six thousand sermons—I have read only one hundred and fifty of them.

> Alike to him was time or tide, December's snow or July's pride;
> Alike to him was tide or time, Moonless midnight or matin prime.
> Steady of heart and stout of hand . . .

HIS JOURNAL.

Wesley began to keep a careful record of his life during his University days in Oxford, on the advice of Bishop Jeremy Taylor in his *Holy Living and Dying,* and he continued the practice until October 1790.

This *Journal* was an elaboration of a diary written chiefly in Byrom's shorthand, but with figures, ciphers, cryptics and mysterious hieroglyphics of his own invention, some still untranslatable. The *Diary* was in amazing detail. He rose at four every morning, but early rising was not unique in those days. Many entries are amusing—

11.0 a.m. Haircut.

9.0 a.m. Played upon the flute for half an hour.

In morning read Mystics, after dinner shaved. Drank chocolate; coffee; tea (hundreds of times).

Dr. Nehemiah Curnock edited the *Journal* splendidly in eight volumes. Dr. Workman claims that "it is one of the most human documents of any age, indispensable for all who would understand the England of the eighteenth century." Dr. Alexander Whyte urged his Scottish students, "Keep John Wesley's *Journal* always lying open beside your study Bible." It certainly is a remarkable book.

ANABAPTISTS.

Wesley nearly always referred to our ancestors as *Anabaptists,* only a few times did he call them *Baptists.* He knew that the Anabaptists were mentioned in Article XXXVIII., and the word was a reproach. Why did he perpetuate the stigma? It stands permanently in his *Sermons* and the *Journal.* Dr. Whitley emphatically declares, "Our ancestors shared practically nothing with them." Wesley knew that. Cromwell wrote of his troops, "I have a lovely company . . . they are no Anabaptists; they are honest, sober Christians." But he had an increasing number of Baptists. Major-General Thomas Harrison and Major-General Robert Lilburne were strong Baptists. Wesley knew that; everybody did. Anabaptists were most of them pacifists and communists; British Baptists were neither!

In Bristol many Baptists were known to him, inevitably. Of Broadmead's history he could not be ignorant, nor of its strength as a Church—there were two hundred and fifty members in 1774; and the Pithay Church nearby was vigorous too. Further, he knew Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress,* for he read it, and a biography of Bunyan; presumably also *Grace Abounding* interested him. He quoted Dr. John Gill; he dined with Dr. Gifford; he read Dr. Taylor's *History of the English Baptists,* and Dr. Calamy. But yet he persisted in the use of the term *Anabaptist.* Indeed, in his very last reference, only three years before he died, he wrote *Anabaptist* in his *Journal.* It was inexcusable—but what was the reason?

In his lecture on Wesley, Dr. Alexander Whyte said, "Shreds of his High Churchism hung about Wesley and hindered his movements for long." Did he ever shake them off? He always insisted that he was a Priest of the English Church. Even when he preferred to use the word Presbyter it was but old priest writ large. He wrote Presbyter in his Certificate to Dr. Coke appointing him Superintendent for America, and did not scruple to ordain him, claiming that Bishops and Presbyters were one Order. He had abandoned the theory of Apostolical Succession, though his renunciation might be due to his experience of episcopal opposition to his work at least

as much as to his historical research. Although that change had come, Wesley had not cast off much more. Dean Hutton, in his biography, states, "Wesley observed Lent, used mixed chalice, prayed for the faithful departed, kept festivals and feasts, enjoyed Cathedral services, and rejoiced when he could have the Lord's Supper daily, an emblem of the primitive Church." It was not until his last days that he relaxed the rule forbidding Methodist meetings during canonical hours, and he did so reluctantly and with restrictions. Shreds of his High Churchism hung about him to the end.

BRISTOL PRINCIPALS AND STUDENTS.

Our College Presidents and their students[1] understood all this fully. Principal Bernard Foskett trained sixty-four men from his appointment in 1720 to his death in 1758. Hugh Evans succeeded him, and began what S. A. Swaine called, "The Augustinian Age of the College." He was followed by his son Caleb, who had assisted his father for some years. Caleb Evans died in 1791, and Joseph Hughes took charge for two years; then John Ryland ruled the College until 1825.

Our men during the Wesley period included some of the "most distinguished alumni, *Faithful Men of Bristol College,*" as Swaine styled them, and his book. (It should be revised and brought up-to-date.) They included John Sutclif, Samuel Pearce the Seraphic, Steadman the first Principal of Rawdon College, William Staughton, who contributed a borrowed half-guinea to the immortal first collection for the B.M.S., Joseph Hughes, the Founder of the Bible Society and the Religious Tract Society, Robert Hall and John Foster, Benjamin Beddome, Robert Day, Dr. John Ash, John Reynolds, Dr. Thomas Llewellyn, Morgan Edwards, a great Baptist in America later, and Dr. John Rippon. All the men must have known about Wesley. Tutors and students must have seen and heard him. How was it that they were not captured by his eloquence, nor caught in the wave of enthusiasm? The triumphant Methodism did not fascinate them. Ambitious young orators, they were not drawn away by the chance of popularity.

Our solid Principals studied the Wesley movement thoroughly, discerned its weaknesses, witnessed its effects as at Kingswood, and criticised it psychologically and ecclesiastically. They sympathised with its purpose, admired Wesley's energy, but they stood firm. All of them must have read sections of his *Journal.* Through so long a period many entering our College had personal acquaintance with the Revival in all its aspects, and their correspondence would keep them keenly interested con-

[1] Read to Annual Conference, Bristol Baptist College, 1938.

tinuously. And they would certainly feel wrathful over Wesley's repetition of the scornful word *Anabaptist.* Under Foskett, Hugh and Caleb Evans, they had received and developed a strong dislike and distrust of all sacerdotalism. They were trained to form a balanced judgment. Amid spreading excitement they "saw life steadily and saw it whole." I wonder whether any of those "Boys of the Old Brigade" dared to sum up the hysterical elements of the Revival as a writer in *Johnson's England* has done, who says, "The more intellectual members of the earlier Dissenting congregations derided the Wesleyan enthusiasts as throw-backs to an earlier and less civilised age."

I feel sure they were kinder in their severest criticisms.

DR. CALEB EVANS AND WESLEY.

In Dr. Caleb's time there were exciting days in the Old College. The dining-room rang with the clash of debate and cheers for the Doctor, for Caleb's name resounded over the whole country.

Here, Bliss was it then to be alive, and to be young . . . !

In 1775 Dr. Johnson wrote his *Taxation, No Tyranny,* denouncing the American Rising. Wesley, changing his mind upon the subject, rushed into print plagiarising or popularising Johnson's work. This roused Caleb Evans, and a most tremendous tourney began.

Dr. Tyerman's description of our famous Principal is worth quoting:

> "Rev. Caleb Evans was in the thirty-seventh year of his age, a man of good sense, a diligent student, a faithful pastor and extensively useful, but a rampant advocate of what was called Liberty, and therefore a well-wisher to the republican rebellion across the Atlantic."

Caleb thought Wesley's production was sheer plagiarism. Dr. J. Wesley Bready says, "Wesley's sub-conscious and traditional Toryism re-asserted itself"; and again, "Perhaps his attitude on America was his weakest spot." Caleb sharpened his pen; he wrote of the "shameful versatility and disingenuity of this artful man." Fletcher of Madeley joined the fray. The minister of Broadmead preached a special sermon on British Constitutional Liberty. Wesley wrote to the *Lloyds Evening Post,* and Caleb wrote in the *Gazetteer* an epistle which Wesley called "an angry letter"; then he sent Dr. Caleb a personal letter, which he copied in the *Journal,* where you may read it. A glorious logomachy! Dr. Curnock notes in his edition of the *Journal* that on some matters of detail and fact Wesley's

memory was failing; really it never was fully reliable; this Dr. Evans could not possibly know, or he would have dealt more gently with Wesley.

I have no documentary evidence for this, but I believe that one night in the Older College the noisy joy was so uproarious that the Senior Student opened his door and called out, "Study Hours, Gentlemen."

What excitement for the men of the House! One day the Doctor, "rampant advocate of Liberty," returned from a London visit with £400 for the library. And into these days came northern news, incalculably important though temporarily thrilling: a young Methodist in Yorkshire had become a Baptist, Dan Taylor, the new Apostle of the North; Saint Dan Taylor, as Dr. Clifford honoured him long afterwards. Golden days they were in the Older College!

Later, as Wesley's literary works circulated in wider areas, our own two famous men, Hall and Foster, wrote voluminously and preached characteristically for years, but revealed no sense or sign of inferiority, neither complex nor simple. They stood staunch and steady. They knew Wesley thoroughly.

Dr. R. W. Dale ventured to say: "Methodism is simply anxious to make men Christians; Congregationalism is anxious that men who are Christians should realise, in their Church life, Christ's own conception of what this Church life should be; and we believe that only by restoring the true conception of the Christian Church is there any chance of christianising the English people." This conception of the mission of the Church our men received under the sound and strong guidance and training of the virile Principals here in Wesley's time. And they "took leave of these dear halls" to evangelise and teach, to proclaim a complete Gospel and to develop Christian character in Church membership. No shred of High Churchism hung about them as they went forth.

THE OLD CURRICULUM.

Swayne preserves Dr. Caleb Evans' fine address to his students, and his *Catalogue of a few Useful Books,* a copy of which he gave to every man—Hebrew Bibles, Septuagint editions, Greek Testaments, Lexicons, Expositions, Apologetic and Systematic Theologies, Histories, Biographies, Miscellaneous—"*cum multis aliis,* which perhaps I may mention when you have read all these; for the present, adieu!"

The men were called by a bell at six a.m. "Rise at five," said Dr. Caleb. (Joseph Kinghorn did rise at five—so he stated in 1784.) Mr. Crisp used to lecture at seven. Bristol discipline was Spartan. And our well-drilled predecessors departed to

industrious ministries, to set a grand stamp upon the Churches of labour, piety and intelligent evangelism.

> In OUR halls is hung Armoury of the invincible knights of old,
> In everything WE are sprung Of earth's first blood
> Have titles manifold.

I cannot trace the exact curriculum in Foskett's Presidency of the College, but twelve years after his death the course was wide and thorough, and it is no wild guess that under him it was equally so, and a number of names decorated with University degrees is good proof. Our men were excluded from Wesley's Oxford for a full century longer. He had left Oxford with proficiency in the learned languages and logic, and he had studied metaphysics, natural philosophy, oratory and divinity. Not vastly superior to our men in intellectual equipment. He acquired German from the Moravians sailing to America, and added Spanish while there. These modern tongues might be among Dr. Caleb's *multis aliis*. Perhaps they even excelled in some qualities, for I doubt whether any one of them (Foskett's boys), could be correctly described as Dean Hutton delineates Wesley in Georgia—"intolerant and autocratic, impetuous and indiscreet." Wesley returned to England a much-humbled man, greatly changed even before the 24th of May, 1738.

OUR CHURCHES AND THEIR PROBLEMS.

Why did we not produce a Wesley? Is genius ever produced? Oxford did not produce Wesley any more than it produced his great contemporary, Dr. Samuel Johnson. Why were not our Churches the vehicle or channel or instrument of the Evangelical Revival? I feel there are two answers. One is Zophar's question, "Canst thou find out the Almighty unto perfection?" The other is our Master's own word, "The wind bloweth where it listeth."

John Smith, the Se-Baptist, is dated 1609. Within fifty years Baptists had become a religious and political force. Dr. Wheeler Robinson says, "the militant Puritanism of that age was largely Baptist." Baptist thought was vigorous enough to generate two branches, General and Particular, Arminian and Calvinist. And Baptist polity was not wildly individualistic. Dr. Whitley proves that our Associations go back to the seventeenth century. There was a General Assembly in London in 1689, twelve Associations participating. The Meetings of the Northern Association are recorded in 1699. Hexham Abbey had a Baptist lecturer in 1653, sent there by the Mercers' Company in London. Barnoldswick, on the edge of Yorkshire and Lancashire, had fifty-six members in 1698. The first Baptist Church in Norfolk, at Pulham, was founded in 1645, and Norwich had

five licensed Baptist preachers in 1672. The first Baptist hymn-book appeared in 1663, and in 1691 another book of three hundred hymns. Watford has a list of deacons from 1707, though Baptists were there sixty years earlier. Western Churches sent representatives to meet in Wells in 1653, and the Berkshire Churches were organising in the year before.

After the collapse of the Commonwealth and the accession of Charles II., persecution began, which threatened the very existence of our Churches. They survived, although their influence upon national life was sadly reduced. Dissent was in decline. Our Associations were enfeebled. And unfortunately persecution was not the sole cause of the period of decline. Dr. Whitley discerns "a hypnotism by certain theological problems, Christological and ethical, and the growth of a censorious spirit." Professor Elie Halévy declares, "Dissent lost all capacity for propaganda." That is terrible! Dr. Whitley entitles a section, "A sterile fifty years at home." And he remarks, "Arrogance and criticism are poor substitutes for evangelistic zeal."

But in the very darkest days there were gleams of light. In 1763 Dan Taylor passed like a flame of holy fire through the West Riding. In the tiny village of Hamsterley, in Durham, a new chapel was built in 1715, and a valiant young minister arose named David Fernie. In 1745 he baptised a young northerner named Christopher Hall, and a few years later Hall's brother Robert, who was called to the ministry at Arnsby in Leicestershire, and his son, another Robert, was our Bristol Chrysostom. The Baptist Board arose in 1723, and the Associations woke up from Northumberland to Kent, from Lancashire to Cornwall. Baptists had not lost all capacity for propaganda. When Wesley died in 1791 William Carey was minister at Harvey Lane, Leicester, preparing his immortal sermon, which was to begin the Baptist Missionary Society. Propaganda by Baptists was not due to Wesley's campaign, it was not an extinct capacity, it had only suffered a lull. And through all that period our men were toiling on, all their work being based upon the granite foundation of Faith in the Church.

WESLEY'S THEORIES.

Wesley did not *anglicise* his converts by thousands; they were members of the Methodist Societies. Our men rejoiced in his success, and they saw its weakness, its lack of Church foundation. His maintenance of Infant Baptism was a barrier; he said repeatedly that Anabaptists were welcome to the Societies, but our men were not cajoled.

At the foundation-stone laying of City Road Chapel in 1777, Wesley said, "What is Methodism? It is the old religion,

the religion of the Bible, the religion of the primitive Church, the religion of the Church of England." But it was not; the bitter opposition of the clergy everywhere demonstrated that it was not; and the frequent discussions on complete Separation from the Church in the Conferences confirmed that it was not; he certainly strove valiantly to make it so, but vainly.

And his insistence rendered capture of our folk impossible, it invigorated them. Wesley notes that at Tipton (proverbial for sharpening wits) Baptists had been making havoc of the flock. April 8th, 1766, at Bingley and Haworth, so many of the Methodists were perverted to the Anabaptists. March 16th, 1768, Cheltenham, "the Anabaptists and the Rector both have blown the trumpet with all their might." Our Bristol men were neither idle nor silent, and the capacity for propaganda was rising.

Wesley's view on Baptism was, I think, very confused. In Georgia he "baptised according to the custom of the first Church, and the rule of the Church, by immersion." So he wrote, and so he said. His rigid persistence on this was one of the charges against him which caused his flight from America. March 21st, 1759, he notes in the *Journal*, "I baptised seven adults at Colchester, two of them by immersion."

In one sermon he asked, "How many are the baptised gluttons and drunkards, the baptised liars and common swearers, the baptised railers and evil-speakers. . . . Lean no more on the staff of that broken reed, that ye *were* born again in baptism. Who denies that ye were then made children of God, and heirs of the kingdom of Heaven?"

This seems to me very confused, almost contradictory.

In a sermon on the New Birth he said, "Baptism is not the new birth; they are not one and the same thing. Many indeed seem to imagine that they are the same; at least, they speak as if they thought so; but I do not know that this opinion is publicly avowed by any denomination of Christians whatever. Certainly it is not by any within these kingdoms, whether of the Established or dissenting from it. . . . Nothing is plainer than that, according to the Church of England, Baptism is not the New Birth."

Well, Article XXVII. reads, "Baptism . . . is a sign of Regeneration or New Birth, whereby, as by an instrument they that receive Baptism rightly are grafted into the Church." And the Baptismal Service states, "This child is regenerate." The Priest later gives thanks that "it hath pleased Thee to regenerate this infant with Thy Holy Spirit." And in the Baptismal Service for those of riper years, the Prayer of Thanks includes this petition, "Give Thy Holy Spirit to these persons that being born again and made heirs of salvation . . ."

All these authoritative words seem plain and free from ambiguity. Methodist doctrine was not the doctrine of the Church of England on this subject, and Wesley himself was confused. And our people generally, and our own men here, and in the ministry, understood all this fully.

THE ESTABLISHMENT.

Loyal son of the Anglican Church to the end, Wesley must often have felt very embarrassed. Concerning Henry VIII. he said, "Sextus Quintus, a hog-driver who became Pope, was full as far from being a Christian as Henry VIII. or Oliver Cromwell." Queen Elizabeth he declared as "just and merciful as Nero, and as good a Christian as Mahomet." Respecting Charles II.: "Oh, what a blessed Governor was that good-natured man, so called, King Charles II.! Bloody Queen Mary was a lamb, a dove, in comparison of him." And again, in a sermon, "King Charles II., one of the most dissipated mortals that ever breathed." Each of these monarchs was the Supreme Head of the Church of England. When George II. died Wesley wrote in the *Journal,* "When will England have a better Prince?" Did he not know the moral tone of his Court?

In a sermon on *Former Times,* he said: "Constantine, calling himself a Christian, and pouring that flood of wealth and honour on the Christian Church, the Clergy in particular, was productive of more evil to the Church than all the ten persecutions put together. From that time . . . vice of all kinds came in like a flood, both on Clergy and laity." So *Establishment* was an unmitigated curse, but Wesley was in an Established Church! It must have troubled him terribly sometimes.

Wesley neither anglicised his followers nor moulded the English Church. The Evangelical Movement in the Church gathered force, but was never dominant. It only flourished with a struggle. John Foster said the Established Church could not live more than forty years. But another Oxford Movement arose, and grew, and captured the English Church.

Wesley's movement was evangelical and ethical; Anglo-Catholicism is hierarchical and mediaeval. Wesley's attempt to save the Church failed, but he had founded another destined to occupy his World-Parish in more magnificent service than he dreamed. In his work he did eventually provide the Church foundation which our men in his time discerned to be lacking.

Some day a Christian Plutarch will arise in the Church of Jesus Christ, able to compare perfectly all the cherubic splendours who have shone in the Divine Kingdom, and I believe he will find parallels with John Wesley in Bunyan and Spurgeon, Carey and Clifford.

ARTHUR B. ALNWICK.

The Metaphors of St. Paul.

DR. T. R. GLOVER has entitled a chapter in his volume *Paul of Tarsus,* as the "Human Paul," and in an interesting and arresting way he gives a vivid picture of the human side of the great Apostle to the Gentiles. To build up his portrait of Paul, he closely examines the mind of his subject, and then passes to a study of the style of his writings; and his argument and illustrations clearly support the old adage that the style is the man. He writes, "Paul's style is his own, the living echo of his own mind . . . he has a great range of living allusion and metaphor, not always easy for us to grasp; his words and terms come to him from the lips of men in the street and market, and come back to them, and to us, charged with a new life and personality." (page 195.)

Undoubtedly the writings of Paul are rich in metaphor, and in fact the whole of Scripture has its own distinctive imagery, and through the use of this imagery much instruction is conveyed. Therefore, in order to understand Paul, it is not enough to study his writings, but it is necessary also to know something of his times; for, as the late Canon Howson says, "In studying the Bible, the dictionary of things is almost as important as the dictionary of words; and Paul's writings are no exception to this rule, but one of its best exemplifications."

No writer can express himself without keeping in close touch with the fashions, tastes, habits and ways of his own time. If he does not, he becomes unintelligible to the people to whom he is writing. Therefore, in any study of the metaphors of Paul we must endeavour to reset his words in the associations of his own day. "When a man has once seen a really Oriental city, and made himself familiar with the sights and smells of a bazaar, walked on the flat roofs or stood among the camels, he has acquired a power of appreciating the Old Testament such as no dead lexicon can ever give him. And how great a help for the New Testament is gained when, in some good museum, a man has taken in his hand a silver Denarius and reflected that this might have been the very piece of money that was shown to our Saviour." (Howson.)

It is interesting to notice that Paul's favourite metaphors and illustrations are in some ways unlike those used by his Master. The Lord Jesus Christ was a man of the open air. For the greater part of His life He lived in small towns and villages, and naturally drew on the sights and scenes of those places to illuminate His teaching. His many parables reveal

clearly enough that He made close contact with nature and the simple things of earthly life. But Paul was a dweller in towns, a university man, one who felt very deeply the hustle and bustle of city life. He was also a traveller to far-off places, familiar with docks, and ships and buildings, and the colourful life of busy centres of commerce; consequently his writings are filled with those things. Paul and Jesus lived in the same century, and were men of the same spiritual outlook and purpose; but because of their differing environments they reveal contrasts in their style of expression, for men can only draw on those things with which they are familiar.

If we limit our study of Paul's metaphors to the Pastoral Epistles we find that he uses nine varieties. Some of them are found in other Pauline Epistles, for the stock of metaphors any writer can use is definitely limited. But it does not follow that Paul's mind was barren of ideas because he finds it necessary to repeat himself.

1. Imperial warfare is frequently used to illustrate the struggle and conflict of the life of a Christian.

"thou mayest war a good warfare" (1 Tim. i. 18).
"give none occasion to the adversary" (1 Tim. v. 14). (The word for occasion is peculiar to Paul in the New Testament. It is frequent in Classical Greek, i.e. Thuc. i. 90, "a base of operations" in war.)
"a good soldier of Jesus Christ" (2 Tim. ii. 3).
"take captive silly women" (2 Tim. iii. 6).

2. Classical architecture is used to describe the building up of the Christian life.

"a good standing" (1 Tim. iii. 13).
"the house of God which is . . . the pillar and ground of truth" (1 Tim. iii. 15).
"a good foundation" (1 Tim. vi. 19.)
"the firm foundation standeth" (2 Tim. ii. 19.)

3. Ancient agriculture is drawn upon also. In fact, it is used in the Pastoral Epistles as numerously as any other class, thus revealing that, although Paul was a man of cities and towns, the impression that country life and industry had made on his mind was not small.

"we labour and strive" (1 Tim. iv. 10).
"they who labour in the word" (1 Tim. v. 17).
"the labourer is worthy of his hire" (1 Tim. v. 18).
"a root of all kinds of evil" (1 Tim. vi. 10).
"reprove them sharply" (literally "cutting away as with a sharp pruning knife") (Tit. i. 13).

" that they be not unfruitful " (Tit. iii. 14).
" the husbandman that laboureth " (2 Tim. ii. 6).

4. The fourth section of metaphors is drawn from Greek games.

" exercise thyself unto godliness " (1 Tim. iv. 7).
" play thou the man in the good contest of faith " (1 Tim. vi. 12).
" if a man contend in the games " (2 Tim. ii. 5).
" I have finished my course " (2 Tim. iv. 7).

5. There is only one metaphor concerning Roman law, although in Paul's other letters the word for " heirs " and its kindred phrases occur eighteen times.

" that we might be made heirs " (Titus iii. 7).

Now we come to the last four classes, and the words and phrases used are almost entirely peculiar to the Pastoral Epistles.

6. The first is Medical Science.

" consent not to sound words " (1 Tim. vi. 3).
" to exhort in the sound doctrine " (Tit. i. 9).
" that they may be sound in the faith " (Tit. i. 13).
" things which befit the sound doctrine " (Tit. ii. 1).
" not endure the sound doctrine " (2 Tim. iv. 3).
" eat as doth a gangrene " (2 Tim. ii. 17).

7. Next, Seafaring Life.

" made shipwreck concerning the faith " (1 Tim. i. 19).
" such as drown men in perdition " (1 Tim. vi. 9).

8. Thirdly, Mercantile Life.

" godliness is a way of gain " (1 Tim. vi. 5).
" my deposit " (2 Tim. i. 12).
" the good deposit " (2 Tim. i. 14).

9. Lastly, the Fowler's Craft.

" the snare of the devil " (1 Tim. iii. 7).
" fall into temptation and a snare " (1 Tim. vi. 9).
" out of the snare of the devil " (2 Tim. ii. 26).

The above nine classes of metaphor are drawn from the Pastoral Epistles only, but the first five recur very frequently in the other Epistles of Paul. Compare, for example, the metaphors from Roman Law:

" adoption " (Rom. viii. 15, 23; Gal. iv. 5; Eph. i. 5).
" testation and inheritance " (Gal. iii. 15, iv. 1, etc.).

We may say that these metaphors are of a permanent nature. Paul did not choose as illustrations for his teaching, the

transient and the passing. Modern life has not outgrown those trades, professions, sports, and industries, although perhaps "the fowler's craft" is not so well known in the twentieth century as it was in the first. But all the others (warfare, architecture, agriculture, games, medical science, law, seafaring and mercantile life) are still to be found in our day. If Paul had only drawn, or frequently drawn, on the passing things of the first century, much of his writing would be unintelligible to us, and we would need to undertake a good deal of research to arrive at the meaning of the message he was endeavouring to express. But because he drew on the basic professions, trades, etc., of civilisation, his meaning is almost as clear to us as it was to his readers nearly two thousand years ago. Thus it seems that the Holy Spirit led him in this path so that later ages might know the mind of the Apostle to the Gentiles.

We must not forget that there is evidential value in a study of the metaphors of Paul. Some scholars are not ready to assign the Pastoral Epistles as entirely from the hand of Paul. But the fact remains that there is a unity of style in the use of metaphor, and the unity of style tends to prove the unity of authorship. Authors may change their style over a long period of time, but certain peculiarities of speech and writing will always remain, and perhaps we can say that Paul retained these peculiarities in his use of similar metaphors in different letters.

It is clear also that the active, energetic side of the Christian life made its paramount appeal to Paul. He does not dwell very much on the mystical contemplative aspect of Christian experience when using these metaphors; but almost without exception he uses them to illustrate the building up of the soul into the likeness of Christ, or the spreading, by vigorous effort, of the Gospel throughout the world. Paul was a man of action. He was "engaged on an enterprise very difficult," and in consequence the scenes and manners of men around him which illustrated the "work of faith and labour of love" were drawn upon very freely.

WALTER A. BUTCHER.

Leeds Baptists of the Eighteenth Century.

SINCE the writing of the history of the early years of the Baptist Church in Leeds, new particulars have come to light which, if they provide no sensational discoveries, yet give us additional glimpses of our origins we are glad to have.[1]

I. JOHN MOORE AND THE HARDCASTLES.

One question which has never been explained satisfactorily is whether the seed of John Moore's preaching at Great Woodhouse and other neighbouring parts of Leeds early in the eighteenth century fell on stony ground, as it appears. Two of the very lengthy discourses which make up his published work were in fact addresses delivered in 1703 and 1719[2] to audiences in the village mentioned, which was then, and long remained, in the ecclesiastical parish of Leeds. Dr. Whitley has already noted[3] how surprising it really is that no permanent cause had been established in Leeds following the labours not of Moore only but of his master Mitchel as well. Between the date of Moore's preaching in these parts and the first baptisms in Leeds there stretches a gap of from thirty to forty years. Did his seed then really fall on stony ground? Or on the other hand, were those discussions which resulted in the first Leeds baptisms of 1760 the spontaneous results of an individual reading of the New Testament, or were they the very late harvest of his sowing? Or is the revival due, after all, as seems most likely, to the influence of Methodism, especially to the preaching of Whitefield? Perhaps we shall never know for certain. But it is well to remember one Baptist name which bridges the gap: that is, Thomas Hardcastle the second, who lived at Woodhouse[4] in the 'twenties (was that why Moore went there?) and who was still there in the 'forties, when he resigned his Eldership at Rawdon because of the unmanageable distance. Indeed, it was

[1] Notes supplementary to articles in the *Baptist Quarterly*, N.S., VI. and IX.

[2] See my notes on John Moore and Alice Rawson, *ibid.*, April, 1939, N.S., IX., 377.

[3] *Trans. Bapt. Hist. Soc.*, IV., 45.

[4] *Baptist Quarterly*, N.S., VI., 73. Booth, *op. cit.*, 78.

there also that he, presumably, died in June, 1767.[5] The identification of the various Baptist Hardcastles, all named Thomas, presents a pretty puzzle to the historian; an attempt to unravel the tangled skein of their relationships was made by Philip Booth in his *History of Gildersome and the Booth Family*,[6] where four generations are enumerated in addition to the famous ejected minister (died 1678) who is reckoned first of the line. However it may be, the important fact for the present purpose is that there certainly was one Baptist Thomas Hardcastle or another in Woodhouse, Leeds, from 1726 at the latest until the end of the century. Their importance for Rawdon and Gildersome is well known; is it so very unlikely that laymen of such eminence should count for something in the place of their home and business?

II. THE FIRST BAPTISMS, 1760.

In an article[7] describing the acquisition by the Unitarian College of a series of forty-one manuscript diaries kept by Joseph Ryder (1695-1768) of Leeds, Dr. McLachlan quotes the valuable testimony of an eye-witness of the first baptisms in Leeds. Ryder was principally a worshipper with the Unitarians at Mill Hill, and maintained a great interest in sermons, theological controversy and funerals: he had something to say about the decay of the old dissent in Leeds in the middle of the century, especially at Call Lane Chapel, and he distrusted the Methodists no less than the Baptists. Under the date of April 23rd, 1760, he wrote:—

> "This day four or five persons were baptised in the river Aire by Mr. Crabtree, a Baptist minister of Bradford, which drew great multitudes of spectators, it being a transaction unknown at Leeds to the greatest part of the inhabitants if not to all. And in the evening he preached

[5] *Leeds Intelligencer*, no. 726, June 16th, 1767. Thoresby Society, vol. XXXIII. (Miscellanea), p. 198. "On Thursday last died Mr. Thomas Hardcastle, drysalter, at Woodhouse near this town." It was not everyone who got his name into the infrequent and expensive provincial newspapers. That this was Thomas the second is not, of course, positive: it may well be Thomas the third, such is the Hardcastle family jig-saw.

[6] Privately printed, 1920, p. 83. Also, at pp. 78-9, e.g., are notes of deeds of 1726 and 1784, signed by "Thomas Hardcastle" among others.

[7] *Trans. Unitarian Hist. Soc.*, IV. (1927-30), pp. 248-67. The existence of the diaries had long been known; J. Horsfall Turner mentioned them fifty years ago in one of his numerous publications. In 1925 they were presented to the Unitarian College by Mr. Edgar Lupton, of Leeds.

in a chamber taken for the purpose at or near the bottom of Marsh Lane. Sects and parties we have now in great numbers, and every one perhaps think themselvs to be right. What may be the issue of all is known only to God."

It seems hardly possible that this date can be incorrect, and if correct, then the account of the same ceremony in a Baptist source needs a slight emendation. In his Memoirs[8] of William Crabtree, Isaac Mann gave that very date of April 23rd 1760 as the day when a group of enquirers at Leeds addressed a letter to Crabtree asking for his guidance; and then, "soon after," continues the account, four or five persons were baptised and "received into full communion with the church at Bradford; these were followed by six more . . . " That a scholar of Mann's reputation should make such a mistake is not easily understandable, unless "soon after" is intended to refer not to days or weeks, but to hours. To add to the confusion, in Fawcett's diary,[9] under May 25th of that year, there is the entry: "This day six persons were added to our number, five of whom came from Leeds"; presumably this is a reference to the second batch.

The bottom of Marsh Lane referred to lies under the shadow of the Parish Church of St. Peter, just beyond one of the four ancient "bars" of the old town. The scene of the baptisms of the earliest Leeds Calvinistic Baptists near by has always been associated with Nether Mills, and from his dye-yard on the bank of the river Aire at Crown Point, Mr. Herbert Waddington (holder of a name honoured now for a century in the annals of the Leeds church) is proud to point out the supposed actual spot where those hardy disciples were found to proclaim their witness unafraid.

Now under the same date of 1760, another item of great interest can be recorded as showing the ferment of opinion which had been reached in Leeds by that date. In the year 1760 Joshua Wood[10] was ordained Baptist pastor at Halifax. He had been born at Leeds in 1734, of a father who by trade was a corn merchant in the town and who by religion was a Presbyterian. On leaving school at the age of fourteen, Joshua (who had proved himself a boy of talent) was taken into the business. About three years later, influenced no doubt by his mother, he joined the Methodists at Leeds, but it was not long before he left that

[8] Printed at Bradford in 1815, p. 36.

[9] In *An Account* . . . (&c.), 1818, p. 57.

[10] Particulars from the obituary notice by his personal friend Fawcett, in Rippon's *Baptist Annual Register* for 1794-7, p. 223 (obituary for 1794). Reprinted in full in Percy Stock's (anonymous) *Foundations*, chapter 20.

society, having come under the influence of Whitefield's Calvinistic teachings. He was encouraged to preach, and the pulpit being more to his taste than the counting house, he left the family business and moved for a year to Bradford. On his return to Leeds he was admitted a member and a preacher of the Independent Church, then under the care of Edwards; he remained "in that capacity and relationship" until 1760, and also kept a school here. The chronology of this vital period is tantalisingly obscure. He had moved to Wakefield before this date, and it was while there that he became convinced of the necessity of believers' baptism by immersion. He applied to Hartley of Haworth and Crabtree of Bradford; all three met at Fawcett's house, and Wood's "apologia" to them culminated in his baptism the same day. "He had an honourable dismission from the church at Leeds signed by Mr. Edwards and others."

Now according to Mann,[11] it was out of Edwards' church that there came the first Leeds Baptists, who approached Crabtree in 1760. May we see in Wood a "lost leader"? In 1760 he went to Halifax and remained there ten years, and after further calls finally settled in Yorkshire once again at Salendine Nook, where he died in September, 1794. It is as a forgotten pioneer in Leeds that we now salute him.

III. REV. THOMAS LANGDON.

In the 'nineties a young man of no very great distinction at the time visited Langdon at Leeds; he had, however, a future of some renown before him, and his name was John Foster. In his *Life and Correspondence*[12] may be found one or two letters of his written in most friendly and jocular tone to Langdon.

Although they refer to a period just beyond the limits set by the title of this article, two items which concern Langdon and his Church are worthy of a brief note. The first is the great interest which was taken by men of all classes and creeds in the town in the Serampore missionaries and their work; much may be read about the activities in Leeds on behalf of these far-away Baptist missionaries in the *Life*[13] of William Hey, a surgeon whose eminence in his profession was equalled by his zeal for all good works. The second is the fact that early in the new century, Dr. J. D. Heaton,[14] to whom as pioneer the University of Leeds

[11] *loc. cit.*

[12] Edited by John Ryland. 2nd ed., 2 vols., 1848.

[13] By J. Pearson. 1822, Part II., pp. 180, 194, etc. 2nd ed., 1823, 2 vols. in 1. has different pagination.

[14] (1817-1880). *Memoir* by (Sir) T. Wemyss Reid. 1883, pp. 52-3, 57.

owes an incalculable debt, went as a very small boy to the school kept by Langdon. At the age of five he was sent, together with his sister, to this school " kept in the house in which Mr. Langdon at that time lived, a commodious brick building now (1883) used as the Cloth Hall Tavern, and situated in Infirmary Street, just opposite the Coloured Cloth Hall Yard. This district of Leeds was then regarded as a fashionable suburb; King Street, which almost adjoins Infirmary Street, being looked upon as the furthest limit of the town. Gardens and detached villa residences then occupied nearly the whole of the space westward of Park Square, and the district beyond, which is now crowded with dwelling-houses and manufactories, was then the open country. Twice a day the two children walked to Mr. Langdon's school from their father's house in Briggate, their route being through the narrow and tortuous thoroughfare of Boar Lane. . . ." When about nine he was transferred to the school kept by Langdon's son, his sister going elsewhere; " Dr. Heaton himself admitted in after years that his progress in learning was not very rapid, and he bitterly deplored the fact that his father would not allow him to learn French." Presumably he stayed here until his admission at the Leeds Grammar School in 1830,[15] brutality displacing civility. His father was no fool, and it is a great tribute to the Langdons that he considered their schooling good enough for his son; Heaton's bookshop in Briggate has been styled " a real intellectual centre for the city " and " probably the nearest approximation in Leeds at that time to a University." [16]

IV. EBENEZER.

The records of the second Leeds Baptist Church, i.e. Ebenezer, are, as has already been pointed out, curiously sparse.[17] However, it was a pleasure as well as a surprise to come upon a pen-and-ink sketch of the building in what, on second thoughts, should have been an obvious source to consult in view of Ebenezer's historical importance to Methodism; that is, A *New History of Methodism* (1909).[18] The chapel must have been a

[15] Leeds Grammar School admission books, from 1820 to 1900. Edited and annotated by Edmund Wilson. 1906 [actually 1908], p. 35. Another issue in the publications of the Thoresby Society, vol. XIV.

[16] By Professor A. J. Grant on "The development of thought in Leeds," in the *General Handbook*, prepared for the Leeds Meeting of the British Association, 1929, p. 144.

[17] *Baptist Quarterly*, N.S., IX., 125-7.

[18] Edited by W. J. Townsend, H. B. Workman, and G. Eayrs. Vol. I., p. 506, plate 29.

typical meeting-house of square, slightly oblong shape, a little more pretentious in appearance, perhaps, than the unimposing Stone Chapel which served Langdon's congregation for forty-five years, yet plain and no doubt neat at first. It had an upper and a lower series of tall window-frames, three at the front and three at the sides, and a substantial enclosing wall with corner gate completes the simple picture of a structure which presents a study in straight lines.

Out of Ebenezer, as will be seen later, there came the man who ministered at Bramley Zion late in 1798, but whether this was Rigby or Furley is not certain. A clue to the date of the erection of the building (which is not known) may possibly be found in the date (1785) of the commencement of the registers of births and burials which are now deposited at Somerset House; here at any rate is a *terminus ad quem.*

V. GREATER LEEDS.

It should also be noted that the term Leeds has not remained constant down the years; in common with all large cities, Leeds has put forth its tentacles upon small neighbouring townships and drawn them in, especially in very recent times. Following the Leeds Corporation Act of 1924, the ancient township of Bramley, for example, became part of Leeds, although, on the other hand, it was in 1863 that its very ancient chapelry had become an independent parish separated from Leeds. This brief explanation is the more necessary in that Bramley, which is now within the boundaries of the city of Leeds, possesses a Baptist church with a longer corporate history in fact than the "first Leeds Baptist church" whose story has already been given in full.[19] If, therefore, merely the present boundaries of Leeds are taken into account, the title of "first Leeds Baptist church" given to South Parade is a misnomer, for Bramley Zion dates from 1777 and South Parade from 1779, but a proper historical or evolutionary perspective must be preserved, for it is clear that at the time of its foundation South Parade had no rival in Leeds. Again, if the process of expansion goes on, it may be that Gildersome or Rawdon itself will find themselves one day in Leeds (*pace* Bradford) and then the *reductio ad absurdum* of the claim will have been reached.

The Baptist church at Bramley is said to have been formed in 1766,[20] but this can hardly be more than a rough guide to the date of its ultimate origin. The cause owes its foundation to

[19] *Baptist Quarterly,* N.S., VI., 72ff., 116ff., 166ff.

[20] *Baptist Magazine,* XIX., 139.

one Joseph Askwith,[21] a striking character and a product of his age. After twenty years' service in the army he returned to his "native" Bramley, we are told, and being there brought to a knowledge of the Christian gospel he lost no time in preaching wherever he could—for nine years, it is said, in a barn—until about 1775 some evidence of the success of his efforts is found in the fact that an interested patron having erected a room in the village, a lease of it was granted to Askwith and his friends for fifty years. But about this time also, Askwith became convinced of the validity of believers' baptism by immersion, and so, as the Gildersome church book records, he submitted himself to baptism on January 2nd, 1777 and was received into full communion there on the fifth of the same month. From two further entries it becomes clear when the Bramley church was in fact established. First, the record of his baptism continues: "He preaches to a congregation which he has gathered at Bramley, but intends remaining with us till they settle in a church state." Then, on April 22nd, 1777, "we resigned him to the church at Bramley, and he is become a member in full with them." In the meantime Askwith has himself made two baptisms on January 27th and March 24th. From that time until his death, on March 16th, 1795, he continued pastor of the little flock, a selfless and devoted friend to them, seeking no reward except to serve his Master always.

He was followed by a Mr. Rigby who stayed "about three years." After him, "for two years," came Thomas Furney; it is to him presumably that Thomas Stutterd, of Salendine Nook, referred when he said of Bramley, in his survey of the Yorkshire Baptist churches, that it was "supplied by a young man from Leeds. He was raised from Ebenezer chapel."[22] This was at the end of November, 1798. But the period had become by now one of depression; it was not until the arrival of Joseph Trickett that an era of prosperity began.

[21] *Memorials of the Baptist Church at Bramley* [By Abraham Ashworth], 1864. Various Asquiths or Askwiths are recorded in the Bramley registers (published by the Thoresby Society) but no Joseph whose dates are suitable. There was a Joshua, son of Joseph Asquith, born January 7th, 1733, at Bramley (Thoresby Soc., XXIII. (1916), p. 80). At Hunslet, on the other side of the river Aire, was born (or baptised, the entries are not clear) on October 13th, 1717, a Joseph, son of John Asquith (Thoresby Soc., XIII., p. 252 (Leeds parish church); 391 (Hunslet chapelry); duplicate entries.) This latter date suits admirably, but Hunslet is not Bramley, Askwith's "native" village, if Ashworth (*op. cit.*) is correct. Askwith's death is recorded in the *Leeds Mercury* of Saturday, April 4th, 1795; it is there asserted that he was "Baptist minister of that place upwards of twenty years. His remains were interred in his own Chapel at Bramley."

[22] Stock, *op. cit.*, p. 383.

VI. APPENDIX.

The registers of these old Baptist churches are now preserved in Somerset House; as given by J. H. Turner's *Yorkshire County Magazine*,[23] the catalogue reads:—

Bramley, the Lane Chapel, 1779, Minister, William Colcroft. Births, 1783-1803; 1803-1818; Births "and namings," 1818-24; Births, 1825-1837. Deaths, 1823-37.

Leeds, South Parade, 1779, Minister, Eustace Giles. Births, 1785-1837.

Leeds, Ebenezer Chapel (Baptist, sold in May, 1797), Ministers, William Price and H. H. Williams. Births, 1785-1797. Burials, 1786-1794.

FRANK BECKWITH.

[23] II. (1892), pp. 12, 83-4. Lists supplied by a Daniel Hipwell, of London: taken, no doubt (by inference from the names of the ministers given) from the Blue Book of 1841, giving county lists of non-parochial registers.

ST. MARY'S, NORWICH. We sympathise deeply with Dr. Gilbert Laws and his church in the destruction of their beautiful sanctuary. Fire broke out on Sunday, 10th September, some time after morning service, and, as was the case with the Metropolitan Tabernacle forty-one years ago, the walls alone were left standing. St. Mary's is one of our most historic churches, dating back 270 years to the heroic days of persecution. Ministers whose names are outstanding in Baptist history have filled its pulpit—Joseph Kinghorn, William Brock, George Gould, John Howard Shakespeare, Thomas Phillips—while laymen, equally distinguished in their several walks, have served on its diaconate—George White, Harry Pearce Gould, and others, call up affectionate remembrance.

We rejoice to know from our member, Mr. C. B. Jewson, whose historical researches have so enriched our pages, that it has been "unanimously decided to rebuild as near as may be possible to the building that has been destroyed." *The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former, saith the Lord of hosts: and in this place will I give peace, saith the Lord of hosts.* (Haggai ii. 9.)

Records of Salem Baptist Church, Burton-on-Trent.

THE Records of the Church open quietly: "In the year 1780, by the all-wise Providence of God, Richard and John Thomson, natives of Lancashire, and members of the Church at Accrington, removed to Burton." With this quiet opening the records proceed to say that the brothers Thomson found Burton "in an unhappy situation with respect to the Gospel—there being none, in or near the town." This is a sweeping statement, and one wonders what the other churches were doing. The Parish Church and the Independent Church were there. But our two brothers had come from sturdy folk in Lancashire, Calvinist in doctrine, with whom religion was a matter of vital importance; and it would seem that the brothers failed to find what they would consider "soul-nourishing" Gospel preaching. This mattered to them, and in search of it they journeyed to Melbourne, a distance of ten miles. But the distance was such "that we were prevented from attending so constantly as was necessary in order to keep the life of religion in our souls." They evidently felt their condition keenly, for they record that "we had no Christian friends to converse with, and so we became barren in our souls." Now and then they attended Ashby Chapel, to hear Lady Huntingdon's preachers, and likewise occasionally to Derby. But as all the places were too far for regular attendance, "in this dreadful situation we shamefully departed from God, and continued in this unhappy condition until 1789."

Being now "under much concern of mind," the two brothers went to Shepshed, a distance of eighteen miles, to lay "their unhappy case before Mr. Mills, the minister of the church there." They were well received, and much encouraged by the promise of Mr. Mills to preach in a small house of Richard's at Burton Mills, "in Derbyshire, a mile from the town." The river Trent divides Staffordshire from Derbyshire, and formerly the whole town of Burton lay in Staffordshire. It would seem that the brothers were millers, and in a comfortable position. Burton Mills lay just over Trent Bridge, and here apparently Richard Thomson lived.

Richard Thomson looked out for a house, "with strong desire to introduce Gospel preaching in Burton, and some kind Providence led him to some old premises at the bottom of New

Street." This was purchased by Richard, together with a good house, "which is rare in Burton; although it took all he had to purchase it." Part of the premises was certified "for Public Worship" on January 14th, 1790; and on January 26th, public worship was conducted for the first time by the ever-faithful minister of Shepshed, Mr. Mills. Services were conducted once a *month,* and by "supplies."

1792—1868.

We now come to the formation of the Church. Having a place of worship, the friends invited one of the "supplies," a Mr. Biggs of Codnor, to "remove to Burton, to labour statedly among us." Mr. Biggs complied and began his ministry in October, 1791. The services were well attended, and in September 1792, twelve persons were baptised. It was then decided to form a church, and in October of the same year fifteen were enrolled as members. Five were added in November, and the church started on its way with twenty members.

Trouble soon began, and no wonder when so small a number accepted the responsibility of supporting a minister. In July, 1793, the church was called together "to compromise matters with Mr. Biggs and all who thought he paid too much attention to his worldly belongings to the neglect of the ministry of the Word." It seems likely that Mr. Biggs had to give time to his "worldly belongings" in order to live, for what the church could give must have been small. The matter was not "compromised," for the next month Mr. Biggs left, having served the church for two years. This seems to have been the first chapter of a whole book of troubles with ministers. The church was worried for many years about money matters, and the result was a continuous strain on the part of the church to find enough money to offer a minister anything at all like a salary; and a similar strain was placed on the minister to try to live on what he got.

In January, 1794, the church "called out and set apart by prayer and supplication, our dear brethren" to the office of deacons: Richard and John Thomson. As they were not in a position to buy the pick of the fruit when it came to a minister, the members had to be wary what fruit they had, and so they took plenty of time about it. It was their practice for a time to invite likely ministers for a *probation* period of 6 months. But this worked both ways, for after 6 months the likely minister had had enough, and as often refused the invitation; or on the other hand the fruit was not good enough and no invitation was given at end of the time of trial.

In February, 1794, Mr. Tift was invited to the pastorate, after the 6 months trial; but he had evidently had enough, for he

declined the invitation. The next year Mr. Mills, a student of Bristol College, served the church for the 6 months' probation, and then received an invitation to the pastorate; which he declined. In November of the same year the Rev. William Upperdine, of Birmingham, received an invitation after his probation period was over; but he also declined acceptance. The church was in a feeble way, but something was done, for there was an increase to 30 members.

Trouble now arose in another direction. In February, 1796, the church was called together "to admonish Thomas Bowler and his wife, for the practice of visiting their friends on Wake Sunday." The offence was evidently brought home to their consciences, for they "promised never to do it again." After that cleansing the church went forward, and in October of the same year, the Rev. William Baldwin, of Bond Street Church, Birmingham, received an unanimous "call," and accepted it. The salary was £30 a year "and what could be publicly collected." The same month the "first public collection was made for the support of the Gospel." The next year the church considered fixing the minister's salary at £35 a year, "and the produce of the quarterly collections." By this we learn that the collections were quarterly, and the final decision of the church was to give the minister £40 to "cover all."

The church, however, seemed unable to keep some of its members up to the mark, for Brother Bow was admonished "for working on the Lord's Day." It speaks well for the authority of the church that Brother Bow confessed that he had done wrong, and like the Wake Sunday offenders, promised "never to do it again." But they were born to trouble, for in the year 1798, matters went badly. There was "shameful conduct on the part of two members," and the members of the church say of themselves: "Our zeal for God and love of one another is abating." The church now "dragged on unhappily," and the members were evidently in difficulty with the minister's £40, for they met together to decide what to do, and decided to "ask the minister to lay himself out for the Lord elsewhere." In what manner Mr. Baldwin laid himself out for the Lord elsewhere, is not recorded; but in June, 1800, he left, after a ministry of three and a half years.

Then came a sad blow to their hopes, for on Mr. Baldwin's departure the church "came to a stop, and was dissolved." This must have been a grievous disappointment, for less than three years before, just after the minister's settlement, the members "were on the eve of building themselves a chapel."

There was yet some life in the broken fellowship, for only three months after the church "came to a stop," a few of the

members began with a prayer meeting in a friend's house, and the next year opened the Meeting House again "in the forenoon;" where Brother Fletcher exercised his gifts so well in reading and speaking that he was invited to the pastorate and accepted, remaining with them for six years.

A period of prosperity now lay before the restored church. The year following the minister's settlement, in 1802, the members began to think of building a chapel, and so well did they move that in the September of 1803 the new chapel was opened. Two of the leading preachers of the denomination were the special preachers for the occasion: Andrew Fuller and John Sutclif; so that the light that so nearly went out now burned brightly. In the next year a Sunday School was started, with 40 boys and girls, who were taught from "10 Testaments and 40 spelling books"; evidence that the scholars were taught to read. But the sun was shining too brightly, and clouds gathered. One member was expelled for "intoxication and swearing," and one of the two deacons was excluded for "adultery and other crimes." Then two members were brought before the church for "seeking to bring the minister into disgrace"; and were expelled. This so disturbed the minister that he left soon afterwards, and a good ministry of six years closed under a cloud. This was the first ministry of any length, and during the ministry the new chapel had been built.

In 1808 there is a record of the "death of a valuable member, Mrs. Harrison, who for years kindly entertained the ministers who came to dispense the Word of God." It is good to find this early mark of recognition of the quiet service, rendered in all generations, of gracious hospitality.

In 1809 John Smith was ordained minister, but later on he "developed curious speculations in preaching, verging on Unitarianism." Then he openly confessed "the Arminian scheme of Divinity"—and a little later, "he actually went over to the General Baptists." It must be remembered that in those days the church members were not only "sermon-tasters," they could also taste the quality of the doctrine preached, and did not hesitate to say so when doctrine disagreed with digestion. Brother Smith was evidently too advanced for members of the 1812 Salem Church, and in that year he separated from the church, and as it is recorded, "he actually went over to the General Baptists." The Rev. John Moss was invited next. He came on trial for three Sabbaths from Bishops Burton. The members were so satisfied with him that they invited him to come again on trial a second time. But Mr. Moss was equal to them, and told them that if he returned to Bishops Burton, there was no hope of him coming back. This decided the members, for

they invited him "forthwith." He settled in 1813, but in 1814 there was disagreement amongst them and he left—not this time "actually going over to the General Baptists" but "he took refuge among the General Baptists."

The next year two members were excluded from membership for "defrauding their creditors." In all cases of discipline and exclusion, the names of the offenders are given. In 1815, the good minister, Brother Fletcher, who had served the church so well for six years, but had left because of the gossiping tongues of some of the members, was invited again; and began his ministry in December. There is now the record of "gracious seasons," and also the record that "the ways of Divine Providence are very mysterious, for in April, 1820, our worthy and esteemed Pastor, Thomas Fletcher, died." The funeral sermon was preached in the Methodist Chapel by the Rev. B. Brook, of Tutbury, before a "crowded congregation."

After this the church "tried" Mr. West of London, for six Sabbaths, and then gave him an invitation unanimously. But Mr. West was unanimous also, for he declined their invitation. During the year the church was called together "to consider the inconsiderate and inconsistent conduct of a member in taking his child to the Established Church to be christened." After being severely reprimanded, the brother promised not to do it again. There may have been little virtue in the promise, as the christened babe may have been his last child. The Rev. Samuel Jones, of Addlestone, Surrey, was now asked to come on trial for two months; after which he received an invitation for three years at a salary of £80 a year. The salary is an indication of the growing strength of the church. The three years of Mr. Jones' ministry seem to have been successful, for the records are of "increasing congregations," and in 1822, the consideration of "erecting a gallery." The question of conduct came before the church during Mr. Jones' ministry, and one member was excluded for "gross immorality."

In June, 1825, the Rev. E. E. Elliott became minister, and remained four years. Cases of "immorality" and "intoxication" occurred among the members, and the minister resigned; "troubled by the low and declining state of the church." But before his term of notice expired there was a revival of interest, and he was asked to stay longer. As, however, "some thought his strain of preaching unsuitable," he did not stay. Mr. Davis then became minister, after six weeks' probation; but he only stayed one-and-a-half years. Events occurred of an "extremely unpleasant nature"; and as members of the church did not approve of his ministry, there were "several altercations" between the minister and the members. He left in 1851. The

next year the church invited a student from Stepney College; but he did not accept "owing to the low situation of the town not being suitable to his health."

In January, 1833, Mr. William Stokes, of the Baptist Home Missionary Society, began his ministry. When invited, after four Sundays' trial, the salary offered was £70 a year, but he refused the invitation, and the church felt that the refusal was due to the salary not being sufficient. They increased the offer of salary to £90 a year. This did it, and Mr. Stokes began his ministry with such fervour that nine months afterwards the church "testifies to the zeal and activity of the minister." But he was evidently a sprinter and not a long-distance runner, for the next year records "much less promising appearance, and congregations declining." The minister was now charged with advocating "the Hyper-Calvinist" scheme of doctrine. A spirit of controversy was aroused in the church, and trouble was imminent. Then he married "a young person of the church who had not made a profession of religion"; so that there was trouble all round. But Mr. Stokes was accommodating in matters of doctrine if not in matters of love, for he changed his preaching, and as the records say: "he veered right round and preached the universal doctrine." This was too much for the church, and the minister was told that he "was exceedingly vacillating in his ideas of Divine truth." The minister's personal circumstances now became embarrassed, and he was told that he must go at the end of the year. He then "got very personal in his preaching," and the breach widened. He left in February, 1835. There must, however, have been binding ties between minister and people, for two years later, apparently having settled in Burton, Mr. Stokes asked that he might join the fellowship of the church, and he was welcomed—each saying to the other, "Let by-gones be by-gones." During his ministry the church had been called together to consider whether they should keep in membership those "who consorted with a lodge of Odd Fellows." This matter took two or three church meetings, and the final decision was that those already in membership with the Odd Fellows may continue, "but they were to frequent such meeting of the Odd Fellows as little as possible; and no other members of the Church might join" the offending Odd Fellows.

In 1837, a Mr. Owen of Monmouth began his ministry. Decline soon followed, and he began to think of going as soon as he came. In the next year, Mr. Leese of Manchester, who had contributed £20 a year for twenty-five years, informed the church that he could no longer continue his support. This settled the matter for the minister who left in August, 1838. The year 1839 opened with "very gloomy prospects." But during

this year some property left by the will of James Douglas, "to our late deacon, Francis King," came into possession of the church, and the clouds began to lift; for in the next year a considerable debt was cleared off and the income of the church increased; and on the day the debt was cleared off the church, by resolution, "opened the fellowship of the Church to the Communion of pious Pædo-Baptists."

> "Believing that the practice of Free Communion is more in accordance with the Word of God, as well as more in unison with the spirit and the genius of the religion of Jesus Christ, we heartily resolve that the fellowship of the Church shall henceforth be free to every man and woman who make a creditable profession of their faith in Christ, though their sentiments may not accord with the sentiments of those now composing the Church on the subject of Baptism. We in fact regard ourselves as not to refuse those who, in the judgment of charity, we think God hath received. And we further resolve and agree, to prevent any disputes in choosing a minister, he shall invariably be of the Baptist Denomination, holding that believers in Christ are the only proper subjects, and immersion the only proper mode of Baptism."

Then followed a succession of very short pastorates. In 1841, Richard Morris, a student of Stepney College, became minister, and after twelve months was succeeded by James Pulsford, who also only stayed one year. The Rev. A. G. Aitchinson managed to remain for two years, and left in 1854. The Rev. Samuel Davis began his ministry in 1856, with sixty-one members. The congregations were "small when he began, and they grew less." At the end of his first year's ministry, he suddenly resigned, "owing to his connection with the British Bank affair." He is said to have been a good pastor, and the church "parted with him in sorrow." Mr. Davis went to America. During his ministry the church enjoyed the unusual experience of having a balance on the right side; it was only 2/6, but it "elicited applause." The next minister was the Rev. J. Jenkins. The only deacon resigned his office immediately upon the appointment of the new minister, and went "over to the Independents." This unsettled the minister, who resigned after two years' service.

A very successful pastorate now began. The Rev. Alexander Pitts became minister in June, 1858, and remained five years. During his ministry a new chapel was built at Walton by Mr. Tomlinson, and a good work was carried on there. The choir was also "allowed to govern themselves." The secretary

was able to report a balance of £30, and £10 of this was voted to the minister. At this time also, Evan Jones was received into the church, "although he could not speak a word of English." In 1860, the first record is made of one of the members being sent to College from the church to prepare for the ministry—"our young brother Arthur Mason being recommended to Rawdon College." On June 10th, 1859, Charles Haddon Spurgeon visited the church, and preached in a tent put up on the premises of Messrs. Bass & Co. There were four thousand present at the service. Tea was held in the Malt room belonging to the firm.

In 1860, two friends offered £20 each to start the liquidation of the debt of £350 on the chapel, if the whole was raised in a given period. A Debt Committee was appointed to deal with the matter, and to get out plans for heating the chapel with "hot air." But on Sunday, January 6th, 1861, the chapel was destroyed by fire, and "The congregation worshipped this day in the Lecture Hall, Guild St., and in the morning and evening services, pastor and people wept." The spirit and vitality of the church is clear from the fact that the members decided to erect a new chapel on the same spot as "it is in the midst of a dense population." It was further decided to buy a hundred and eighty-eight square yards of land at the back of the chapel for the sum of £155.

The opening services of the new chapel were held on Sunday, October 20th, 1861, with services on the following Tuesday and Thursday, and the next Sunday. The preachers were James Acworth, Principal of Rawdon College, James A. Spurgeon, Arthur Mursell, and J. Lord. It is worthy of note that the Railway Company allowed travelling on the Tuesday at a single fare for the double journey; from Birmingham, Tamworth, Leicester, Coalville, and Derby.

The members now numbered a hundred and eighteen, and there were a hundred and twenty scholars in the School. Special thanks were passed to the minister, and William Rushton was thanked for his "attention to the comforts of the place." A Chapel Keeper was also appointed at a salary of £8 a year, "with perquisites." In the difficulty of raising money for the new chapel, the minister "ever came to the rescue, preaching, pleading, begging, so that the work went on, and the treasurer was never without the money required." But other influences were at work. Some of the members, not profiting by the minister's preaching, absented themselves from worship; and were good enough to say that "should the church choose another minister," they would return. Other matters had to be dealt with. The deacons were called upon to see Mr. and Mrs.

Green, who, although they attended the services, "would not consort with the members because Mr. Green had not been recognised as a deacon." Then Mr. Rushton resigned, leaving only one deacon. The minister now said that he too would resign: he had hoped to see the debt cleared, this had been his "cherished desire;" but the "unkindness of some of the members" caused him to take this step. In October, 1863, he left for Rochdale.

The Rev. D. B. Joseph settled in 1864, at a salary of £100, "and something extra at the close of the year." A quiet and steady ministry followed, until in the third year of the ministry the treasurer resigned owing to reports respecting Mr. Joseph "attending the Odd Fellows Dinner." The minister cleared himself of the "grosser charges," and went on with his work. But rumblings about the Odd Fellows Dinner affair continued, and the ministry closed through this matter in 1868. In this year eight houses were bought in Moor Street, and one thousand six hundred square yards of land, from money remaining from the Guild Street property which had been sold in 1864. The year 1868 completes the first part of the records of the church. During the seventy-six years eighteen ministers had served, the longest pastorate being that of Thomas Fletcher. His first period lasted six years and his second period nearly five years. Founded in 1792 with fifteen members, there were now a hundred members.

1869—1939.

After Mr. Joseph's departure the church pulpit was "supplied" for twelve months, and then the Rev. Thomas Hanson became pastor. He did not have a promising start, for Joseph Mason, the senior deacon, who had resigned through ill-health, died before his settlement. The records speak of the deacon as a "valued friend and brother in Christian fellowship"; and his death would be an important loss to the new minister. In addition the finances were in an unsatisfactory condition, and seventeen members were erased for non-attendance. The pastor's stipend was £70 a year, with an increase to £100, "if justified." The church kept faith, for an increase of £5 each quarter was voted during the first year, and he commenced his second year at the £100.

A proposal to elect deacons for a term of office, and not for life, caused considerable contention, and resignations flew about. The pastor, however, was "very conciliatory," the old method stood, a breach was averted, and the resignations were withdrawn.

Continued deficiencies on the funds worried the church, and finally the minister resigned, having served three years.

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After this sad business the church entered upon a most fruitful ministry when the Rev. Thomas Owers became Pastor in 1872, and continued his ministry for thirteen years, thus far out-distancing all former ministers. He came from Loscoe, after "six Sundays' trial, to judge of his fitness"; and he accepted a salary of £80 a year, "to be made into £100 as soon as possible." Two of the deacons wiped off a small debt of £5, "to let the minister start free from debt, and its dangers." We now have the record of a meeting called to consider whether the church "should renovate the organ, have a harmonium, or dispense with an organ altogether." They decided to renovate the organ. An important work was being carried on at Walton, and the Good Friday Meetings became an important institution. The sum of £85 was subscribed for "an organ to be built after the manner of the organ at Woodville"; so that they seem to have given up the idea of renovating the old organ. At a church meeting Brother Brown gave "notice of motion"—from this time onward the giving of "notice of motion" pops up like King Charles' head. Brother Brown's notice of motion was that boxes be placed prominently at the doors, for the use of strangers, so that apparently an offertory at the services was not being taken. But during the discussion a brother proposed an amendment that the matter "be left as it is." There seemed always to have been a useful brother in attendance with an amendment "that we stay as we are."

At the beginning of his third year Mr. Owers' salary was £120. The church this year finished with a balance in hand of £66, after paying the final £10 needed to complete the organ. It was now proposed that "we have collections for Foreign Missions," and this was carried. One sovereign was given to Mr. Freer, the caretaker, because of the "extra work caused through the late flood." This great flood is still remembered in Burton for its devastations. A committee was set up to see what could be done to "stop the draughts in the chapel." It was decided to try black silica for the gratings and under the floor in the gallery; and to have sandbags attached to the doors. The members now turned their attention to the "damp walls of the chapel," and it was decided to take the ivy from the walls. Later the "draughts" came up again, and this time they looked for them in the ventilators, but evidently they did not find them, for the draughts remained.

The year 1879 opened with the resignation of Samuel Bowman, but the church was not having any resignation. They struck the brother off the roll. When two brothers wished to join the church, and the church visitors saw them, "they gave suitable answers, but spoke with a spirit of levity unbecoming

the serious object in view" ; and they were kept back for a time. The old contention was brought up again—to elect the deacons for a term of three years, but it was decided to let the matter "remain as it is at present." It was also decided "that sisters in church meeting be restricted to voting." Evidently they had been saying too much! Weekly Offerings were now begun, with a trial of six months. The minister's salary was increased by £30, making £180. Mr. Cameron was removed from the church roll, "for leading young men astray in doctrine." It is from the secession of members who followed that the Tabernacle Church in the town was formed.

On Easter Monday, 1882, the foundation stones were laid of the New Linton Church, in which the church had taken a great interest. New schools were begun in 1884, and opened in the September of that year, at a cost of £1,415. The following year the pastor resigned and thus brought to a close a very fine ministry, and an eminently successful period of work.

The Rev. William Hanson settled in 1886, and during his ministry of six years, "Sunday *evening* collections began." The centenary was celebrated in 1892, and the special preachers were Dr. Booth and Dr. Clifford. The Rev. John Toogood followed Mr. Hanson, with a ministry of two-and-a-half years. The difficult period that followed was sustained by Mr. W. B. Smith, the church books recording "the great services of Mr. Smith through troubled times, and for taking the services when the church was in a low condition."

The years which followed have seen a steady increase in the number of members, and a richer life in the church. Five ministers have served, namely, Evan Williams, six years; David Laurie Donald, twelve years; Amos Alfred Blacklidge, seven years; Joseph Tweedley, three years; William Henry Haden, six years. Their ministries are within living memory.

W. H. HADEN.

BAPTIST WORLD ALLIANCE. We heartily congratulate Dr. J. H. Rushbrooke upon his election as President of the Baptist World Alliance, an election that will give pleasure to Baptists in all five continents, for wherever Baptist Assemblies and Associations are found, Dr. Rushbrooke's name is held in warm regard. The election will be popular in this country, for no one represents the Baptist standpoint with greater power; and it will be particularly welcome to our brethren in war-stricken Europe, to whom Dr. Rushbrooke has been a great-hearted brother.

Reviews.

Tudor Puritanism, by M. M. Knappen (United States of America: University of Chicago. Great Britain and Ireland: Cambridge University Press. 20s. net.)

The sub-title of this work, "A chapter in the History of Idealism," indicates it character, and it covers the period from 1544, when William Tyndale left London for Germany to prepare a translation of the Bible in the vernacular, to the Stuart settlement of the seventeenth century. The period witnessed considerable development in the Englishman's outlook and habit of life. The Renaissance and the Reformation linked him with great movements in other countries, while Puritanism played its part in linking the mediæval with the modern. The earlier Tudor Puritan of this study, who accepted the duty of passive obedience, was different from the later Stuart Puritan, who was willing to take the sword against his rulers.

This well-documented scholarly volume, with its select Bibliography and well-arranged Index, is likely to remain the standard work on the subject.

George W. Truett, a Biography, by Powhatan W. James. (Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 12s. net.)

Here is a book to establish faith and to encourage adventurous living. Dr. Truett is the Spurgeon of to-day, and the careers of the two men are strangely similar. There is the same passionate devotion to Jesus Christ, the same overwhelming desire to win disciples, the same outlook on social service, which, in the one case, found expression in an Orphanage and Almshouses, and, in the other, the erection of the Baylor Hospital at a cost of about £600,000.

Illustrations abound. We read of the sensation at the Georgia Baptist Convention when George Truett made his first speech and "men wept under the mastery of that mountain lad's epic story"; of the guidance which led him to take what appeared to be the foolish step of moving to Texas; and of his ambition to become a lawyer frustrated by the determination of a whole church that he should be a preacher.

We have rarely read anything more moving than the story of Dr. Truett's ministry to the cowboys and cattlemen and the conversion of Big Jim and others; or the tragedy which nearly crushed his sensitive soul and the three-fold vision of his Master which remade him—now told for the first time. And there is much else, but get the book and read for yourself.

The author, who married Dr. Truett's eldest daughter, has done his work well, but the subject is greater than the biography. Perhaps the author was too near his father-in-law. A bigger canvas could have been secured by the omission of some of the many eulogies which are unnecessary, and by a fuller recital of the actual work at Dallas and elsewhere, setting it against the background of Texas as it was when Dr. Truett went there and as it is after his ministry of over forty years.

The Reformed Pastor, by Richard Baxter, 1656. Edited with an Introduction by John T. Wilkinson, M.A., B.D., F.R.Hist.S. (Epworth Press, 7s. 6d. net.)

A reprint of this classic on the Christian Ministry was long overdue, the last reprint being nearly eighty years ago. It has been produced in a style that will satisfy the most fastidious. The print is easy to read, the paper and binding a delight to handle.

Praise of Baxter's work is superfluous. Written in the seventeeth century, its message is fresh in the twentieth, for, as the late Dr. T. H. Martin said in the April issue of the *Baptist Quarterly,* " in the prosecution and enforcement of the essential motives of the minister's work it cannot be surpassed."

This volume is an abridgment, the many lengthy Latin quotations, and digressions upon passing controversies, having been omitted, while some sections have been transposed to afford better unity and development of thought. The introductory essay is altogether admirable, and the volume is further enriched by many useful footnotes.

A deacon who gives a copy to his minister for Christmas will be a wise and discerning man.

Great Women of the Bible, by F. Townley Lord, B.A., D.D. (Cassell & Co., Ltd., 3s. 6d. net.)

In this portrait gallery eight pictures are from the Old Testament, beginning with Eve, the Mother of Mankind, and eight from the New, concluding with the Women in the Background. The style is popular, for Dr. Lord knows how to convey solid teaching and exposition in picturesque language. The characters are portrayed with sympathy and insight, and although customs and manners may change it is clear that human nature, or perhaps in reviewing this book we should say woman's nature, has changed very little through the ages. The counterparts of these women can be met to-day in the homes and shops and churches of this modern world. The book will be specially helpful to leaders of Bible Classes and Women's Meetings, but its value is not restricted to them.

Index

to Persons, Places, Subjects and Incidents connected with Baptist History.