
A table of contents for *The Baptist Quarterly* can be found here:

https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/articles_bq_01.php

The
Baptist Quarterly
incorporating the Transactions of the
Baptist Historical Society.

Editorial.

IN 1939 the names of twenty-two new members and one life member of the Baptist Historical Society were printed. The following have joined since our last issue:

Rev. M. Lister Gaunt. Rev. G. W. Hughes, B.A., B.D.
Rev. W. H. Haden, M.A. Mr. John W. Lee.

Unfortunately we have lost a number through death and resignation on financial grounds. More new members are needed in order that our work may be maintained during this time of war and heavy taxation. One new member, per member, in 1940 would be an admirable aim.

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SUBSCRIPTIONS. The annual subscriptions for 1940 are now due, and the Treasurer will be glad to receive them as early as possible. Remittance form is enclosed. The subscriptions are in four classes: Ordinary membership, ten shillings per annum; Honorary membership, one guinea per annum; Personal life membership, one payment of ten guineas; Permanent membership for a Church, one payment of fifteen guineas.

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COLONIES. A useful pamphlet, *Youth and the Colonies*, has been published for the British Youth Peace Assembly by the Student Christian Movement Press at fourpence. In the course of 32 pages much valuable information is given concerning Colonial Empires, the purpose of colonies, the capital invested

and the products, the former German Colonies, the League Mandate System, and kindred questions.

Colonies are of two types: (*a*) Those whose populations are overwhelmingly indigenous and (*b*) Those suitable for European settlement. Excluding the Dominions and India, which, in view of modern developments, can hardly be included in the term "colonies," Great Britain's Colonial Empire is second to that of France. Then follow, in order of square mileage, the colonies of Belgium, Italy, Portugal, Netherlands, United States and Japan. This list suggests that several countries will be involved in any ultimate settlement or readjustment of Colonial questions.

The authors suggest that the motives for the acquisition and retention of colonies fall into four categories: (1) Prestige. (2) Military. (3) Surplus population. (4) Economic. They consider that economic reasons are the most important, and that prestige has never been the main motive in the acquisition of any colony. Is this so? Does not prestige underlie and influence every other motive? About five years ago I was weatherbound for some days in a climbers' inn in a remote Alpine Valley. One Englishman and a Dutch Professor and his family were the other occupants. Our conversation ranged over many topics. In the middle of a discussion on colonies, the Professor's eldest daughter, perhaps twenty years of age, in a tone of unassumed pride, suddenly said, "Yes, and Holland, like Great Britain, has a Colonial Empire of its own." Prestige counts very much with nations as with individuals.

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FAMOUS MEN. In the closing months of 1939 three Baptists passed from the Seen to the Unseen, after giving long years of distinguished service to the Church of Christ. In type and temperament and service they varied greatly, but, in their devotion to the Christian verities, they were kin.

HENRY NELSON PHILCOX, who died on the 8th September at the age of seventy-five, was a busy lawyer whose judgment on legal questions was particularly sound. In the December preceding his death, he celebrated the jubilee of his admission as a practising solicitor, but, strong though his devotion to the law, it took second place to his religious interests.

He was a keen member of the Baptist Historical Society, and in 1936 and 1939 enriched our pages with his *Reminiscences of the Strict and Particulars* amongst whom he was brought up.

In early manhood he joined the church at Rye Lane and soon served as a deacon. Interests and activities increased. The London Baptist Association, the London Baptist Property Board, Ltd., the Home Counties Baptist Association, the Sunday School Union, the Spanish Gospel Mission, the Pioneer Mission, Spurgeon's Colportage Association, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Jews, and various other Societies, were helped by his wise and balanced judgment and his patient industry. Probably no layman served more frequently as Moderator of vacant churches, and his theological library was one of which many ministers would be proud. Stiff books did not remain on his shelves merely for adornment; they were read and marked. His Baptist and Protestant convictions were held tenaciously, but so wide was his charity that for many years he served as one of the managers of a Roman Catholic School in Peckham. When, owing to increasing infirmities, he retired from this position, the Fathers who had been his colleagues presented him with some Catholic devotional works which he greatly valued. His minister and friend of fifty years, Dr. J. W. Ewing, said of him that "the spring of his full and unselfish life was in his deep and tender devotion to the Lord Jesus Christ, a devotion which inspired him to an untiring effort of evangelism to bring men, women and children to his Saviour. The memory of his blameless life, spent largely in the service of others, will long be cherished."

HAROLD CHARLES ROWSE was cast in a different mould. Not for him the rush and burly of the public gaze and many committees and councils. Rawdon was his one love, and he served her with undivided loyalty. When he entered Rawdon in 1896, Vincent Tymms and William Medley were at the zenith of their powers as Principal and Tutor, and Harold Rowse proved an apt pupil. Passing on to Glasgow, he read philosophy under Sir Henry Jones, and, after graduating with First Class Honours, returned in 1905 to give a lifetime's loving service to Rawdon. The "Medley tradition" survived in him, and his stimulating influence on successive generations of students greatly enriched the Baptist Ministry. It is much to be regretted that he published hardly anything for the guidance of his own age and the enrichment of posterity. In this respect he is, unfortunately, like many of our Principals and Tutors of the last fifty years. They would probably say that they expressed themselves in their students, but that answer does not completely satisfy. Dr. Gould, Professor Rowse and others had it in them to make lasting contributions to theological thought, and thus still further repay their debt to Scholarship and the Denomination. We are glad

in this issue to publish Harold Rowse's Paper on *Symbolism and Revelation,* read at the last Rawdon Brotherhood. The proofs were revised by him shortly before his death.

ROBERT BIRCH HOYLE earned distinction early in life by his article on the Holy Spirit in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* and he was widely known as a gifted theologian. Trained at Regent's Park College, where he received from Dr. Gould that thorough grounding in Hebrew and Greek which later was supplemented by other linguistic studies, he appeared destined for big things. Partial deafness and a temperament not readily understood made his pastorates difficult, and the opening suited to his abilities never offered itself. He would not have been an easy colleague on a College staff, and yet it should be within the power of the Free Churches to provide a Chair from which the genius of a Birch Hoyle could make his permanent contribution to the thought of his age. In his later years he did a good deal of writing for the theological journals of this country and the States, and the *British Weekly* entrusted to him its Monthly Review of Theological Literature. He left four books which will long find a place in the libraries of the discerning: *The Holy Spirit in St. Paul; The Teaching of Karl Barth;* A translation of Wilhelm Stählin's *The Mystery of God,* and a translation of Barth's *The Holy Ghost and the Christian Life.*

Symbolism and Revelation.

THERE are possibly times when we all echo the ancient Pessimist's complaint that "in much wisdom is much grief, and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow." Perhaps this is nowhere felt so keenly as in the loss of that naïve anthropomorphic view of God and the world with which most of us began our intellectual career. I sometimes wish that I could recapture that youthful sense of the reality of the spiritual world, when the Bible was literally God's word, in which Adam and Enoch and Moses had real conversations with God, when Heaven was a real place up there, and Hell a real place down yonder, when real angels went up and down real ladders. Is this what Wordsworth means when he says that "Heaven lies about us in our infancy"? But alas! "the angels" do not "keep their ancient places"; with developing experience, the shadow of dubiety disturbs the confidence of such beliefs.

Of course, the sense of loss is never the whole of such a story. The old does not simply disappear; it is replaced by more adequate views of the structure of the world, of communion with God, of the possibility of Heaven and the actuality of Hell. Life develops for us richer meaning as we put away childish things. But these new meanings have not the vivid directness which characterised the earlier view. The world, instead of being a "brave new world,"[1] breaking out in unexpected places, becomes a series of problems, the solution of which it is our business to discover. In such discovery the realm of the natural encroaches upon that of the supernatural, and the extension of knowledge leaves less and less room for the direct activity of God. The category of Revelation tends to fall away, and belief in a personal God becomes more and more difficult to retain. "They have taken away our gods and what have we left?"

It is unquestionably true that when the category of Revelation does fall away, the specific character of the Christian, perhaps we may say of all, religion disappears. But Revelation is not a simple concept. We use the word in such a variety of senses that some examination of its essential meaning is necessary before its connection with religion is clearly discerned.

If we examine current uses of the term we shall find that there are two constituents of the idea. (1) The process is one of disclosure as against discovery. Dr. Farmer[2] cites in illustra-

[1] As Shakespeare, not Aldous Huxley, uses the phrase.

[2] *The World and God*, p. 77.

tion the investigation of crime. The police discover certain facts which implicate a certain individual, on the basis of which they submit him to intensive questioning, under which he confesses and reveals to them facts which they had not discovered. (2) The content comprises an element of surprise: what is discovered is something over and above what could have been collected from the facts we know. The facts revealed differ from the facts discovered, not merely because of our failure to unearth them; they belong to an order that can be apprehended only when other influences than our own investigations are operating. With respect to both these constituents, Revelation stands contrasted with Reason, the instrument of investigation.

Using, then, this concept of Revelation, it is easy to arrange the items of our knowledge under the two headings, those we can discover for ourselves, and those which are revealed to us. Within theology this distinction has often been made. Natural theology is contrasted with revealed religion and sometimes opposed to it. But the distinction is not always drawn in the same way. St. Paul insists that the natural world and the law written on the heart are valid, if limited, sources of religious knowledge. For Aquinas our knowledge of God was derived from two sources: the Church, the organ of revelation, and Aristotle, the master of analytic knowledge. He argues at length that e.g., the existence of God is capable of being demonstrated. It is not an article of faith, since it can be reached by using the categories of Aristotelian logic. While, however, it is not an article of faith, it is one of the preambles to the articles; and for any one who lacks either the patience to follow or the ability to understand the demonstration it may be accepted on faith. So that the two sources are not antagonistic. Indeed Aquinas exhibits remarkable ingenuity in the attempt to reconcile the Aristotelian and the Christian conceptions of God.

Among the Deists the distinction was drawn in still another way. For them Natural Religion was that knowledge of God which could be discerned intuitively, by the operation of the natural light: a set of innate ideas which, until corrupted by priests and other exponents of revealed religion, was sufficient to give to all men the knowledge of God. For extreme Deists there was no place for Revelation; for the more moderate, e.g., Locke, Revelation was to be accepted so long as it did not conflict with Reason. It was part of the great work which Bishop Butler did, to bring back the distinction to the New Testament usage: natural religion was that knowledge of God which could be collected from the course and constitution of nature and the deliverances of Conscience.

In recent times this sharp distinction of categories is not

regarded as satisfactory. The tendency is to insist, as with Goudge in his article on Revelation in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*,[3] that "no valid distinction can be drawn between discovery and revelation." If by *valid* Goudge means *ultimate*, there is something to be said for his position. In the last resort all we know of truth anywhere is the gift of God, and the most specific revelation of God cannot be received without some measure of activity on the part of man. But while this extension of the meaning has relative justification, it obscures a very real distinction, and it is extremely dangerous. No doubt there is genuine insight in Browning's vision of the Omnipresence of God.

> God is seen God
> In the star, in the stone, in the flesh, in the soul, and the clod;

but it very easily slips into the Pantheism of Pope,

> As full, as perfect, in a hair as heart.

And when this point is reached, Revelation has become so attenuated as to reveal nothing.

It is this wide range of meaning which the word may bear that gives point to Barth's insistence that Revelation must always be a unique process, unconnected with general intelligence or with the development of culture. One of the most perplexing of the many Barthian antitheses is that between Religion which he describes as the movement of man towards God, and Revelation, which is the movement of God to man. Between these two there is and can be no connection; Religion is one thing; Revelation is quite another.

Now it is possible to share Barth's concern for the recovery of some differentiating meaning for the term Revelation, without committing ourselves to his rigid distinction. The two movements which he separates are, after all, aspects of a single process. The communion of the soul with God which is the essence of Religion contains two elements for which we may accept Barth's description: the movement of man towards God, and the movement of God towards man. Between these two movements there is a real difference, which we may indicate by our pair of terms, discovery and disclosure. For the moment we are concerned with the difference. But the discovery is never bare discovery, and the disclosure is never bare disclosure. We should be false to religious experience if we erected this real difference into an irreconcilable antagonism.

Our concern, then, is with this second movement, that which alone can properly be called Revelation—the movement of God

[3] Vol. X., p. 746.

towards man. How does God make His contact with the human spirit? Here again we come upon a Barthian paradox: "God is always the speaking subject, not the object of Revelation."[4] There can be no doubt that in the moment of revelation there is, for the person concerned, an overmastering sense of the objectivity of the process. The assurance of Isaiah that he shares a secret with God (In mine ears, saith the Lord of Hosts), the conviction of many prophets that the word of the Lord came to them, are not merely examples of graphic writing; they record actual experiences. God is for them the speaking subject. But also for them in this experience God was not merely speaking; He was saying *something*. The content of the revelation was at least as important as the fact of communication. The uniqueness of the experience lay in this, that God was both subject and object, or, to put it quite simply, God was revealing Himself.

But this granted, we cannot, as Barth would seem to have us do, leave the matter there. With regard to both aspects of the experience questions of first importance arise.

It will be readily seen that, with regard to the mode of communication, the determining feature is the fact that, however real such an experience was to the experient, it was different from that of human intercourse. Whatever we mean by the personality of God we do not mean that He has organs such as those through which human intercourse is possible. An early writer could say with conviction that "The Lord spake unto Moses, face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend." That for us can only be a vivid figure of speech designed to indicate the intimacy of the fellowship between God and Moses. It may be most appropriate metaphor, but it is metaphor, or to use a word which Dr. Bevan has made current, symbolism. Further, it is not merely symbolic as a statement; it indicates an experience in which symbols form the medium of communication.

Let us examine this idea of symbol. It is significant that there should be, at the present time, a revival of this idea for purposes of explanation. For it is a revival. "That all the conceptions we can have of God or of the spiritual world are inadequate symbols is now a religious commonplace," says Dr. Bevan.[5] It is at least as old as Plato, who uses the distinction between truth of fact and truth of idea to point a drastic criticism of popular mythology. Berkeley sees the whole physical universe as a Divine Visual Language through which the Author of Nature communicates with us. And Kant has made us familiar with the distinction between the world of phenomena and the noumenal world to which our categories do not apply. But in all these

[4] *The Significance of Karl Barth*, McConnachie, p. 115.

[5] *Symbolism and Belief*, p. 15.

cases there was no attempt to analyse the idea of symbol. Bevan bases his book on the distinction between two types of symbol: (*a*) those which stand for something of which we already have direct knowledge, e.g. the Union Jack and the British Empire. The rising bell, e.g., does not give us any information about getting up in the morning; it merely tells us that in the judgment of the authorities this action has to be performed now. (*b*) those which purport to give information about the things they symbolise. For these some sort of resemblance between the symbol and the thing symbolised is essential. It is with symbols of this second kind that Bevan is concerned, and he has placed us heavily in his debt for an illuminating treatment of the more important symbols we use in speaking of God.

Again, to attempt an analysis of the idea was not altogether a new departure. Three years earlier Dr. Farmer had drawn the distinction between extrinsic or conventional symbols, and intrinsic or expressive symbols.[6] Nor was this entirely new. For in 1926, at the Yorkshire Ministers' Conference at Cober Hill, the present writer had suggested a similar distinction in connection with the significance of the sacraments, and at the instigation of Dr. Wheeler Robinson had developed it into an article which appeared in the *Baptist Times* in September of that year. There the distinction was almost exactly like that of Dr. Farmer. It worked on the difference between purely conventional symbols, e.g., the "x" of a mathematical equation and those which are likenesses of the thing they symbolise, a portrait, e.g., as against a monomark, a landscape picture as against a map. It was contended that symbols of the former kind are merely marks of identification. Symbols of the latter kind, employing the psychological mechanism of Association *re-present* the things for which they stand.

We may carry the analysis a stage further and distinguish between symbols according as they make their association by the principle of Resemblance or of Contiguity. Through association by Contiguity even conventional symbols may become expressive. The Union Jack, e.g., while not like the British Empire, has acquired a wealth of significance which varies with the individual. A symbol may thus become expressive, not through its intrinsic nature, but in virtue of the personal history that has gathered round it.

Now how does all this bear upon the process of Revelation? To put it abruptly, I would submit that any revelation of God to man will make use of symbols, that these symbols will need to be interpreted, and will therefore involve the whole fabric of

[6] *The World and God*, p. 74. Bevan's book was published in 1938, though the Gifford Lectures, which it embodies, were delivered in 1934-5.

experience. In this respect it does not differ absolutely from human intercourse. "When I speak to a friend," says Dr. Farmer, "I cannot thrust my meanings directly into his mind however much I may be disposed to think it would be to his advantage if I could. I can only come as far as the frontier and signal my meaning, and the latter can become his only after he has interpreted the signals." [7] In ordinary intercourse the symbols, though doubtless possessing shades of significance varying with the individual, have a meaning which is broadly the same for all, since they spring from and relate to the world of common experience. The case of revelation is different. Here we have God taking hold of some unique quality of spiritual genius and lighting up some particular experience with a meaning unguessed before. It is a process in which the personality and the experience of the saint become the channel of the Divine revelation. God is definitely speaking, but the message clothes itself in symbols which the man's experience has made significant. This is uniquely true of those who, in the history of religion, have been the conspicuous bearers of revelation; but in its degree it is true of all who at any time have heard a word of the Lord.

When we turn to the content of revelation we meet questions of a different kind. The reference to Laws of Association carries no assurance of validity; for these laws work in ways that are often grotesque, and links are forged which flagrantly defy the law of probability. True prophets have always had to contend against the false. How shall we distinguish the one from the other?

To such a question there is no simple answer. The outstanding difficulty arises from the fact that the ordinary test of symbols fails us here. The value of a symbol depends upon the relation between a sign and the thing signified. When any question of the utility of a symbol arises we appeal to that for which it stands. But for the present issue such an appeal is impossible. All our ideas of God are but inadequate and groping symbols. Are we then for ever shut up to appealing from symbol to symbol?

In the end, I do not think that we can avoid the objection, if objection it be, that revelation must be self-authenticating. As we can find nothing to guarantee truth save truth itself, so we can find no criterion for revelation except the content of the revelation itself. But that content never stands in isolation. It springs out of a concrete situation, and is a present word for present needs. It always relates itself to experience, and however new the knowledge which it brings, it throws a flood of light upon phases of experience hitherto obscure. In the last

[7] op. cit., p. 71.

resort, the truth which any spiritual genius finds must itself find us. This is not to commit the authority of a revelation to the approval of our chance desires. Often it cuts right across our ideas and holds us to unwelcome duties. But in the end it is what we must believe or perish, what we must do or be false to all we hold good.

Of the many other things that ought to be said in this connection, I limit myself to two :—

(1) Every genuine revelation of God will link itself up to our highest conceptions of duty and make an absolute demand upon our will. Did not Jeremiah lay down the essential condition of revelation in that word of the Lord, "When thou shalt sift the precious from the vile thou shalt be as my mouth"? Such a capacity to discriminate is never easily acquired. It depends upon more than intellectual insight, though insight there must be. Its main conditions are purity of heart and consecration of the will. "The pure in heart shall see God." "He that willeth to do shall know of the teaching." Such conditions are beyond our own power to attain or maintain. And this brings me to my second point.

(2) Every genuine revelation of God brings with it an awareness of the infinite distance between the human soul and God. Such an awareness is a humbling experience, but it never paralyses. It provokes, not despair but, rejoicing in the infinite resources of God. "O the depth of the riches, both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! How unsearchable are His judgments and His ways past finding out! . . . For of Him and through Him and to Him are all things." Before such infinite resources we are "lost in wonder, love and praise."

HAROLD C. ROWSE.

Justice, Human and Divine.

FEW theological books have been as long lived as Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo, Why God Became Man.* Few have exercised a wider influence. The thesis of the book is that Christ entered this world to meet the demands of justice. We are members of a sinful race. Justice claims that the proper penalty for sin is eternal death, which means not extinction but alienation from God, the Author and Fount of life. God was bound to admit the claim, for though He *may* be merciful, He *must* be just; and if justice were not done the heavens would indeed fall. It was not necessary, however, that the sinner should bear the penalty of his sin, provided that another, innocent of any transgression, were prepared to suffer in his place. Christ, then, died on Calvary, though death could not in fact hold His spirit; and thus enabled God to pardon sinners without affronting justice. It was for that reason that He took flesh and assumed our nature. He came into the world, to die.

This theory has influenced Christian thought for generations, and is widely held even to-day among Christian people. It has often been restated, never perhaps more persuasively than by R. W. Dale, whose great book on the *Atonement* remains the ablest and noblest presentation of the traditional doctrine. There is, Dale asserts, a Law of Righteousness which has "An eternal and necessary authority independent of the Will of God," though God is in fact identified with it. This Law affirms that sin must be punished; and Dale is most careful to distinguish the punishment that is the fitting penalty of sin from the moral and spiritual deterioration that is its natural consequence. If this demand that sin be punished were ignored, "God would no longer be identified with the Law of Righteousness, and conscience would vehemently maintain that the Law is supreme." If, then, God would remit the penalty sinners have incurred, He must honour the Law that links sin with punishment, in another act of "at least equal intensity." That He has done. "The Lord Jesus Christ laid aside His eternal glory, was forsaken of God, died on Calvary that God might remit the sins of men. It belonged to Him to assert by His own act that suffering is the just result of sin. He asserts it, not by inflicting suffering on the sinner, but by enduring suffering Himself."[1]

This is the form in which many splendid souls have held the faith; and nobody is entitled to speak lightly of a theory that has nerved saints to deeds of sacrificial devotion, and martyrs to

[1] R. W. Dale, *The Atonement*, 392.

meet death with a smile. Nevertheless, the theory has led to misunderstanding, and occasionally to worse. It has had the effect in certain cases of weakening the feeling of moral responsibility that is among the noblest elements in our nature. "Jesus," the Church affirms, "paid our debt." Some have concluded, "Then we are His, and must spend our strength in His service." Some, however, have inferred, "Then we are free. We may act as we will." Not long ago a man who had committed a cruel wrong and brought suffering on a number of innocent folk was asked by his minister if he were not troubled by what he had done. "No," he exclaimed, "It's all *under the blood.*"

The most damaging criticism that may be levelled against this theory, however, is that it is not in harmony with the teaching of the New Testament, and, in particular, of our Lord Himself. According to His own teaching, it was not to meet the claims of justice that Christ entered the world, but to amend our conception of justice. What is justice? In common speech it means, an eye for an eye. It means, reward proportioned to merit, and suffering to sinfulness. That was the Jewish conception of justice, but Christ expressly repudiated it. The justice of the Kingdom, expounded in His sayings and in many of His parables, is of a different order from that of the Scribes and Pharisees. His own treatment of the sinful was extraordinarily varied, tied to no theory, bound by no formula. He warned those who had not realised that they were sinners that they were heading for catastrophe. In handling those who could not conceal their sin He displayed an amazing tolerance. Asked how He would deal with a woman caught in sin, He refused to condemn her, and dismissed her with the injunction to sin no more. In the immortal story the Prodigal is received by his father as though the lad were a conquering hero. There was not a word of retribution, nor rebuke. There was only the eager greeting, the ring, the best robe. Urged by His friends to punish the Samaritans who had refused Him hospitality, He answered, "The Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them." The key to His thought of justice is in that sentence. It was S. T. Coleridge, that great and greatly neglected thinker, who first asked theologians what they meant when they talked of justice. Was this justice, of which they had so much to say, a *moral* attribute? Morality, Coleridge observed, begins in the distinction between persons and things. It is concerned not with the achievement of an exact equation between things, so much reward for so much merit, but with the development of human beings according to the law of their own nature. That is what justice means in the thought of Jesus, from whom in

fact Coleridge derived the idea. In our thought justice is retrospective, looking back to what men have done. In the thought of Jesus it is prospective, looking forward to what they may become. Our concern is that sinners should not avoid punishment. His concern is for the liberation of the best in their nature.

If He was, as we believe, the Son of God, that is God's concern, too. In sending Christ into the world, God simply thrust our human notions of justice aside. "Whilst we were yet sinners"—before we had repented or made restitution—"Christ died for us." Had He then to die? Aye! In such a world as this, being what He was, He could not avoid death, the death of the Cross. But it was *not justice* that demanded that He should die. It was human sin, human stupidity, human stubbornness. He declared that He had entered the world to establish the Kingdom of God in the world. In that Kingdom, men would find the fulfilment of their own nature. They would live together in harmony and fraternal love. "Repent," He cried, "Change your minds, your way of thinking about God, about life." They would find that the Kingdom was among them. They would not have it. They demanded, rather, that He should be sent to the Cross. That was not the end, for Him or for them. "I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto Me." Thus He looked confidently to the future. "Father," He cried, "Forgive." Even now He was concerned not with what they had done, but with what they might become.

The shadow of tragedy hangs over all things human, even over human justice. It might be argued that all human justice has injustice at its core. "What's done, we haply may compute, but know not what's resisted." Wars are fought for justice, and from them spring the injustices that demand rectification in the next war for justice. That is, in great part, the story of modern Europe. In 1914 the Germans invaded Belgium, bringing destruction and desolation with them. Our hearts were moved to anger at such wanton injustice. In 1918 the Germans were at our mercy, and we determined that they should never again disturb our peace. We fashioned the Treaty, of which the best that its defenders can say is that it was "stern but just." Four years later Nitti, who had signed the Treaty and repented, wrote: "The Treaty of Versailles broke all the pledges that had been given, and introduced new forms of domination and strife into modern history by adopting a series of measures which could have no other object than that of strangling Germany." Ten years later Stresemann, a dying man, pleaded at the Hague Conference: "If you would make one concession I could save my country." Audibly, a British delegate muttered: "Why

doesn't some German bring his fist down on the table?" Then Hitler appeared, *bringing his fist down on the table*—not pleading for concessions, but demanding justice. Now we are at war again, this time to rectify the awful injustices for which he is responsible.

How can we break through this tragic circle? It is disquieting that even now so many Christians are pinning their faith to what the world calls justice—that justice of which the New Testament knows nothing, that justice that has so often failed us. "If justice be thy plea, consider this, that in the course of justice none of us would see salvation." Christian justice, as Coleridge perceived, is always "personal," aiming at the redemption of the evil-doer, at reconciliation, at the peace that is guaranteed not by force of arms but by the power of indwelling love. If it looks to the past, it is not to the offences of the past, but to the things that have fostered the spirit in which offences occur; and its concern is never to avenge the past but always to fashion a fairer future. We are told that on the North-West Frontier to-day roads are being cut over the mountains, rivers are being bridged, the tribesmen are being trained in the art of agriculture; that they may no longer rely on robbery for food, but may learn to trade with each other, to trust each other, to love each other. That is peace-making in the spirit of *Christian* justice. There has been all too little of it in India, or in Europe. It is for that, that Christians must stand, that quiet, patient effort to soften enmity, to dispel suspicion, to create trust; loving their enemies, doing them good, despairing of no man. We shall hear much in the next few months of Leagues and Pacts, and plans for the resettlement of Europe. If they are designed, as the League of Nations largely was, to establish security rather than to effect reconciliation, to punish or to restrain rather than to help and to appease, they will fail, and our children will pay the price of our failure. It is not for Christians to echo the watchwords of the hour, to follow blindly in the steps of politicians, ready enough, when their own ends have been achieved, to cry Peace, where there is no peace. The Christian ethic, we are often told, springs from the Christian Evangel. Then let us be clear what the Christian Evangel is, for most of our errors are the effect of our imperfect understanding of it.

There is but One who can deliver Europe. "Ye are come unto Jesus, the mediator of a new covenant; and to the blood of sprinkling that speaketh better things than that of Abel." It is for Christians to follow Him. It is their part to bring His healing spirit to bear on this sad world, judging the present, planning the future, in the light that streams from His Cross.

H. INGLI JAMES.

Jesus and Internationalism.

THE international character of the Christian faith is clearly manifest in these latter days, the influence of modern missions has swept aside all barriers of colour, race or caste; the Church has accepted the truth that the Gospel is to be preached unto all peoples. Whatever of good may be claimed for the spirit of nationalism, and it still has its advocates in every land, the form of nationalism which has raised its head in modern times, with its religion of soil and race, and its doctrine of the totalitarian State, has shocked the conscience of the world with its sadistic cruelties and oppressions. The clash between Christianity and nationalism soon becomes apparent in any country where the latter becomes rampant, the ideals of internationalism and the hope of the brotherhood of all peoples are fundamental to the Christian view of the world.

The question arises, however, whether this international spirit of Christianity is a growth and development of later times or whether it can be traced back to its founder and derive its authority from the teaching of Jesus. It really means for us the issue as to whether Jesus Christ is the adequate and all-sufficient answer to the needs of the present time, for there is no doubt that the greatest need of the world to-day lies in the solution of this international problem. Was the vision and mission of Jesus of Nazareth international in its scope, or was He a prophet unto His own people only, confined by the limits of His own race and land?

The opening years of the 20th century witnessed a movement in Christian thought which, in an attempt to get back to the Jesus of history, proceeded to eliminate from the Gospel all that had grown about the person of our Lord during the centuries, the accretions of tradition and the additions from legend and superstition. The result was rather disconcerting: the pale and rather anaemic shadow of the Man of Galilee was a child of His own generation, with all its narrow nationalism and human limitations. Dr. Albert Schweitzer writes: "There was a danger that we should offer a Jesus who was too SMALL, because we had forced Him into conformity with our human standards and human psychology. To see that we had only to read the lives of Jesus written since the 'sixties, and notice what they have

made of the great and imperious sayings of the Lord. . . . Many of the greatest sayings are found lying in a corner like explosive shells from which the charges have been removed."

It must be remembered that Jesus belonged to a race whose nationalism was more intense probably than that of any people in the history of mankind, and at the time when Jesus was born the spirit of racialism among the Jews was at fever-heat, because of the oppressions which they had suffered. There is nothing so calculated to produce a strong feeling of nationalism as some wrong; we have an instance of this in Europe to-day. Revolt was in the air in our Lord's time, frequent insurrections occurred, members of the extremist party—the Zealots—found a place among our Lord's following, the hope of national deliverance played a part in many who attached themselves to Him. How far did Jesus Himself participate in this nationalistic feeling? There are utterances of our Lord recorded in the Gospels which might be interpreted as savouring somewhat of a nationalistic spirit, the outstanding example is in His words to the Syro-phoenician woman: "I am not sent but unto the lost sheep of the house of Israel," a saying which one cannot but feel has been given altogether undue weight and prominence. Again, when Jesus sent the twelve disciples out two by two, He said: "Go not into the way of the Gentiles, and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not. But go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." It must be noted that the Gospel which records these sayings, with their distinct racial bias, is that of Matthew, which was written for the Christians in Jerusalem; the parallel passages in the other synoptics provide an interesting contrast. One cannot but recall that Jesus Himself exercised a considerable part of His ministry in Samaria and the borders of Sidon.

However, there seems to be an opinion held by many that Jesus had no vision beyond the borders of His own country. Professor Harnack, in his *Expansion of Christianity,* speaking of the apostles' first missions to the Gentiles, actually says: "The early disciples entered on a career which their Lord and Master never taught them." This view seems to conceive of Jesus as entirely confined to the limits of His own race.

There can be no doubt that the international view of Christianity is derived from the New Testament. Whatever we may think of Jesus, the Gospel which was preached by Paul was no narrow gospel of racialism, but a world-wide message. To the Ephesians he writes: "Unto me, who am less than the least of all saints, is this grace given that I should preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ." "That the Gentiles should be fellow-heirs, and of the same body, and par-

takers of His promises in Christ by the Gospel." In his letter to Colossians he says: "There is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free; but Christ is all, and in all." It is inconceivable that Paul, who had renounced his pride of birth, his position and advantage among his own people for the sake of the Gospel, should ever give his allegiance to one who was less than the Lord and Saviour of the whole world.

It is important to remember that the earliest written references to the life of Jesus are those we find in the epistles of St. Paul, antedating the Gospels by many years, although there undoubtedly existed a Gospel either in written form or oral tradition in the early Church; but of our available written resources Paul's letters are the earliest, and there we find a Jesus Christ who is Lord and Saviour of all mankind, a universal and international Jesus.

There are evidences in the four Gospels that are in perfect harmony with the Christ of Paul's letters. It is to be expected that in an atmosphere of intense national feeling there should be some things that seem to lend colour to the idea of a national Saviour, yet the larger vision is not entirely obscured. There are windows that open to let in a flood of light upon the greater Christ. One of the earliest stories of Jesus in Luke's Gospel is the account of the visit to Nazareth and the teaching in the synagogue. In this Jesus mentions that in the Old Testament two who were blessed by the prophets of old were not Israelites but were Gentiles, the widow of Sarepta, a city of Sidon, and Naaman the Syrian. There were many widows and lepers in Israel, but it was to the Gentiles the blessing of God was given. The significance of Jesus' words was swiftly apprehended by His hearers, and they rose up in wrath to destroy Him. His wider vision of the Kingdom of God thus quite early in His mission kindled resentment amongst the Jews, and later was to bring about His death.

Again, towards the end of His life Jesus was challenged by the leaders of the Jews in Jerusalem to show them some sign to justify the strange course He was pursuing. The sign He gave them was the sign of the prophet Jonah. It is of the utmost importance that we should understand what Jesus meant by this sign if it really represents the purpose of His mission. The synoptic gospels show some variance here. Matthew, with his nationalistic bias, seeks to find the meaning of Jonah in the prophet's experience in the belly of the whale, comparing it to the burial and resurrection of our Lord. Luke mentions only that the men of Nineveh repented at the preaching of Jonah. The Book of Jonah is one of the least understood of all in the

Old Testament. It has been obscured by controversy about the big fish, but to a dispassionate judgment it stands at the highest peak of Old Testament revelation, with its wide scope and great missionary purpose. The Divine mercy extended to a great heathen city. "Should not I spare Nineveh, that great city wherein are more than six score thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand, and also much cattle?"

Jesus selected this book, with its emphasis upon the mercy of God to Jew and Gentile alike, as typical of His mission to mankind. How He would delight in that last phrase of the book: "And also much cattle." He who saw the Father's love in His care for bird and beast.

> "I knew that Christ had given me birth
> To brother all the souls on earth;
> And every bird, and every beast,
> Should share the crumbs broke at the feast."

The last piece of evidence is the most important of all, because it reveals the truth that our Lord not only believed in the international character of His mission, but that humanly speaking He died for it. In the last week in Jerusalem, Jesus entered the Temple and drove out the traders and money-changers from the court of the Temple. The court referred to was the court of the Gentiles, and according to Jewish law and tradition, the Gentile court was not sacred. It was outside the sacred enclosure, and it was accepted as permissible to arrange this trading for the convenience of those who came up to offer sacrifice. The Gentiles were not regarded by the Jews as holding any position of privilege, but Jesus, by His action in cleansing the court of the Gentiles, stated their claim as His words show. "My house shall be called the house of prayer for all nations." Strangely enough, only the earliest Gospel—Mark—preserves the all-important words "For all nations," and they are the significant words, as can be seen by reference to the chapter in Isaiah from which Jesus quoted.

> "Also the sons of the stranger, even them will I bring to my holy mountain and make them joyful in my house of prayer. For mine house shall be called an house of prayer for all people."

The cleansing of the Gentile court was a demonstration of the claims of the Gentiles to their place in the Temple of God, and revealed to the Jews the international nature of Jesus' purpose. His action shook Jerusalem to the depths, it precipitated

the plot of the Jewish leaders and goaded them to action, and it turned the popularity that Jesus enjoyed to a sudden fierce hatred. The shouts of "Hosanna to the Son of David," which had resounded on His entry into Jerusalem, became cries of "Away with Him. Crucify Him." Jesus had proclaimed an international ideal for which the Jewish people were not prepared. Jerusalem concurred with the verdict of its High Priest: "It is expedient that one man should die for the people, that the whole nation perish not." National expediency triumphed over the international ideal then, as it has done many times since, in the history of the world. That was the political and human cause of Jesus' crucifixion. It reveals Jesus Christ as the Saviour of the world, the Lord of all peoples, the international Christ. "They shall come from the East and from the West, from the North and from the South, and shall sit down in the Kingdom of God." A lesser Christ than the international Christ is not big enough for the need of the world to-day, a smaller Christ than the Saviour of all men is not big enough for the need of the humblest of the children of men. Unless He is the Saviour of ALL MEN, how can I be sure that He is MY Saviour?"

T. J. WHITMAN.

Elizabethan Literature.

THE study of literature, it has been said, is a form of travel; it enables us to move about freely among the minds of other races. But it enables us also to move about freely in time, so that we may become familiar not only with the minds of other races, but with the minds of other epochs in the history of our own, as well as of the other races.

"The literature of a nation," says Professor Hudson, "is not a miscellaneous collection of books which happen to have been written in the same tongue or within a certain geographical area. It is the progressive revelation, age by age, of that nation's mind and character." The history of any nation's literature is, then, the record of the unfolding of the peculiar genius or spirit of that nation, and is supplementary to its history and a commentary upon it.

And so in order to understand and appreciate the literature of a people or of an epoch, we need to know something of the life behind it, by which it is fed. How else can we understand the growth and decay of literary tastes and fashions, the formation of new schools, the changes in critical tastes and standards, the decay of some forms of literary expression, such as the old chronicles or mediæval romances, and the appearance of new forms, as seen in the growth of the novel?

For an explanation of all this we must try to see the motive forces at work, outside its literature, in the life of the society which produced that literature.

Literature and its Own Age.

The same society produced "The Fairy Queen," "Paradise Lost," "The Rape of the Lock," "The Deserted Village," "In Memoriam," "The Absent-Minded Beggar," and Rupert Brooke's "The Soldier." But the epoch which produced "The Fairy Queen" could obviously not have produced "In Memoriam," and the spirit of the hour, as well as the personality of the writer, differentiates the poetry of Rupert Brooke from that of Kipling. Within an epoch, for example in the Elizabethan age or in the Victorian, there may be a rich variety of modes of expression, poets, playwrights, philosophers, story-tellers all crowding the stage at the same time. But within each epoch, the writers, despite their individual differences, stand together as a group, in contrast with the groups of writers of any other epoch,

and show distinctive qualities of theme, manner, spirit and treatment, so that the literature of one epoch is marked off from that of any other by certain distinct and distinguishing characteristics. The writer, like every other man, is the citizen of his age, and as Renan said, belongs to his century and race.

We have to remember, also, in studying the literature of any given epoch, that the age in question grew out of that which preceded it; and that its own spirit and ideals were never fixed or settled, but were in a continuous state of transformation.

THE BIRTH OF ELIZABETHAN LITERATURE.

The period of English literature loosely called "Elizabethan," related as it is to the mediævalism which preceded it, and leading to the classic or Augustan age which followed it, has as real a unity as the age of Pericles or that of Petrarch and Boccaccio; and it stands out clearly from every other period in English literature, richly productive of works of every kind; like a garden in a favourable season, producing many flowers of such outstanding growth and beauty that they attract every eye, but in which there are also many smaller blossoms, with a charm and beauty of their own, but which, for the very reason of their profusion, tend to pass unnoticed. And this rich flowering grew quite naturally out of the life of England, and was an expression of the soul and spirit of the age in which it appeared.

At no period of English history has the national feeling been more deeply roused, the national spirit more buoyant and confident than during the second half of the reign of Elizabeth; and this elation and enthusiasm were perhaps the more potent in contrast to the uncertainty and disquietude which prevailed at her accession. The new outlook was brought about by several factors, forces operating together to produce profound changes in national life and a corresponding lifting of the national spirit and rousing of the nation's soul.

When Elizabeth ascended the throne in the middle of the sixteenth century, England had been through a period of devastating religious uncertainty, with controversies, persecutions, and bitter antagonisms such as pass our comprehension today; but by 1570 England had made her choice, mediævalism in religion had passed for ever, the Reformation had taken place; and when in that year the Pope, Pius V, published a bull excommunicating Elizabeth and the "heretics adhering unto her," he merely fanned the flames of anti-Romanism and of patriotism till they burned with unquenchable brightness. England had successfully made her first bid for religious freedom by casting off the tyranny of Rome. But there were other contributing factors. She had conquered the only foreign enemy she had to fear, and

had shown herself strong enough to defend her shores from invasion; the valour of her seamen had saved her from the "Invincible" Armada. The nation's riches were increasing, the country was prosperous, and a richness and display unknown before came into the way of living, owing partly to increase in overseas trade. New lands were being discovered and claimed for England, and returning travellers were telling fantastic tales of uncharted seas, and of lands flowing with milk and honey.

On the purely literary side, the Renaissance, which had already influenced other European countries, was sweeping its culture into and over England, and though it came into full flower here later than in more southern lands, its effects seemed to be all the richer for the delay, for nowhere else in Europe was there anything comparable to the quality and output of the writers of the Elizabethan era. A widespread independence of thought, a purer simpler faith, a deep religious earnestness, great vigour of imagination, a burning jubilant patriotism, all these are reflected in the literary out-pourings of the time, the lusty spirit of the age producing new literary forms, lyrics, sonnets, pastorals, religious and metaphysical poems, and, supreme among them all, the plays of Shakespeare.

ELIZABETHAN DRAMA.

Few events in our literary history are so startling as the sudden rise of the Elizabethan drama, and nothing in our literary history compares with the dramatist who, once he has moved out of the orbit of the drama of his time, sweeps into his own vast and unreturning curve. The middle ages, at this period, were fast receding, the discovery of new territories and of new worlds of knowledge was stirring the imaginations of men, and more than ever before knowledge of the life of man on earth and visions of his greater destiny were influencing men's minds, and this intense interest in the life of men found its freest artistic expression in the drama. The plays of Shakespeare reveal a new poetic expression in the perfected blank verse, a new philosophy of tragedy, a new dramatic technique, a new world of characters. And because of the greatness of Shakespeare and the fact that he was the first dramatist to take humanity for his province, and to create characters which are universal, his contemporary dramatists, conforming more to the manners of the time and therefore dated and stylised, have not the popularity and interest which some of them deserve; for example, Christopher Marlowe with his "Tamburlaine," "Life and Death of Dr. Faustus," "The Jew of Malta," "Edward II," and "Hero and Leander": and Ben Jonson with his "Everyman in his Humour," "The Alchemist," "Volpone and the Fox." Of the minor dramatists,

two of the best known were Beaumont and Fletcher, jointly responsible for a number of plays, the most read to-day being "The Knight of the Burning Pestle." Beaumont's premature death in 1616, at the age of thirty-two probably deprived us of great things. He was himself buried in Westminster Abbey, about which he had written:

ON THE TOMBS IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

Mortality, behold and fear,
What a change of flesh is here!
Think how many royal bones
Sleep within this heap of stones;
Here they lie, had realms and lands,
Who now want strength to stir their hands,
Where from their pulpits sealed with dust
They preach, "In greatness is no trust."
Here's an acre sown indeed
With the richest royallest seed
That the earth did e'er suck in
Since the first man died for sin:
Here the bones of birth have cried
"Though gods they were, as men they died."
Here are sands, ignoble things,
Dropt from the ruin'd sides of kings:
Here's a world of pomp and state
Buried in dust, once dead by fate.

FRANCIS BEAUMONT (1584-1616).

Apart from the drama, the chief manifestation of the literary impulse of the period was in the realm of poetry; and the poetic impulse manifested itself in many forms, the lyric, the sonnet, the pastoral and religious and metaphysical poems, all flourishing over a long period.

ELIZABETHAN LYRICS.

Many of the most charming lyrics of the Elizabethan age are to be found in the plays of the period, and especially in those of Shakespeare. "Oh, Mistress Mine, where are you roaming," "Tell me where is fancy bred," "Come unto these yellow sands," "I know a bank," and many others are so well known that they need only to be referred to here. Not so well known is the extract from "Hero and Leander" beginning, "It lies not in our power to love or hate," and ending with the couplet:

Where both deliberate, the love is slight;
Who ever loved, that loved not at first sight?

The last line is often attributed to Shakespeare, and it does appear in "As You Like It" where Phoebe, after her encounter with Rosalind in masculine attire, says:

Dead Shepherd, now I find thy saw of might,
Who ever loved, that loved not at first sight?

But here Shakespeare is quoting his friend and contemporary Marlowe.

The finest lyrics in the plays were probably inserted to overcome the limitations of the Elizabethan stage: and they are best read in their setting. The action is interrupted, and they seize the dominant emotion of the scene, dally with it, and relieve it.

Next to Elizabethan drama, Elizabethan song is, as has been said, the most characteristic literary product of the age. And, as well as in the plays, the lyrics are found scattered through the volumes of poetry of a different order, or in the Miscellanies and Song Books of which so many were published during the period; for most of the Elizabethan poets at some time wrote lyrical verse. If we look in the Elizabethan lyric for the kind of feeling which Burns and Shelley poured into song, we shall at first be disappointed. The older poetry was often less impassioned, less personal. It gives us less of the feeling of a singer pouring out his soul in a song. But it gives a unique display of a number of skilled craftsmen taking great joy in their work, in the beating out of a rhythm, in the designing of a motive or of contrasted motives, or the building of a stanza. The result is a wonderful fertility of lyrical pattern, a wonderfully diffused power of lyrical execution. An Elizabethan lyric lately reset to music has been very popular for the last few years. It is taken from Thomas Ford's "Music of Sundry Kinds," 1607, the first well-known stanza being:

There is a lady sweet and kind,
Was never face so pleased my mind;
I did but see her passing by,
And yet I love her till I die.

Sir Philip Sidney, the hero of Zutphen, whose life story and chivalry in death enrich the pages of our history books, left many poems of a subtle and delicate charm, among them the well-known lyric beginning:

My true love hath my heart, and I have his,
By just exchange one for another given;
I hold his dear, and mine he cannot miss,
There never was a better bargain driven:
My true love hath my heart, and I have his.

Other Elizabethan lyrics include those of Greene, Lodge, Drayton, Campion, Ben Jonson and John Donne. Most of them are impersonal in character and full of objective idealism, and most reveal an extreme lightness and delicacy of touch, great vivacity, and brilliant fancy, and much conventionality of theme.

It has already been noted that the "new learning" had at the beginning of the sixteenth century begun to make itself felt in

England. There was at that time no native literary tradition, no good available English models, and our writers, with commendable humility, often turned to the classics for guidance. And at first English poetry was experimental and imitative, even oppressed and retarded, and it was towards the end of the century that the literary impulse freed itself from foreign influence and that Elizabethan poetry reached the height of its glory.

INTRODUCTION OF THE SONNET.

The sonnet was introduced into England by Wyatt, but it soon took on a new and purely English character. Shakespeare broke entirely with the Italian model which consisted of an octave and sestet, the crisis coinciding as a rule with the change from the one to the other, and evolved the sonnet consisting of three quatrains, and a closing couplet for emotional and melodic climax. Shakespeare composed more than a hundred and forty of these poems, in addition to his other vast output; it has been said by critics that his sonnets were his mode of taking literary exercise. But they cannot be dismissed like that. Lovely lines of poetry are scattered throughout them and some attain great perfection. We do not need to be reminded of "True Love" beginning:

> Let me not to the marriage of true minds
> Admit impediment.

And we find, surely, more than the skill of the craftsman in:

REMEMBRANCE.

> When to the sessions of sweet silent thought
> I summon up remembrance of things past,
> I sigh the lack of many a thing I sought,
> And with old woes new wail my dear time's waste;
>
> Then can I drown an eye, unused to flow,
> For precious friends hid in death's dateless night,
> And weep afresh love's long-since-cancell'd woe,
> And moan the expense of many a vanish'd sight.
>
> Then can I grieve at grievances foregone,
> And heavily from woe to woe tell o'er
> The sad account of fore-bemoaned moan,
> Which I new pay as if not paid before:
>
> —But if the while I think on thee, dear friend,
> All losses are restored, and sorrows end.
>
> W. SHAKESPEARE.

Between the years 1591 and 1597 many sonnet-books were published; Edmund Spenser published a set of eighty-eight under the title Amoretti; other series were published by Daniel, Constable, Lodge, Barnes and Drayton. Drayton's "Since there's

no help, come, let us kiss and part," is one of the finest sonnets, magnificent in its restrained passion, and perfect in the simplicity of its beautifully balanced diction. Michael Drayton (1563-1631), author also of the familiar "Fair stood the wind for France," is one of the best known of the Elizabethans. Samuel Daniel (1562-1619), was one of the most prolific of the writers of the period; there are in his works magnificent passages, as when he speaks of the serenity of the wise and virtuous man in his epistle to Margaret, Countess of Cumberland, and beautiful lines as when he invokes Apollo:

O clear-eyed Rector of the holy hill.

He wrote a good deal of historical verse, some in epic form, and many sonnets. Here is one from the series to "Delia":

THEN AND NOW.

When men shall find thy flower, thy glory, pass,
And thou, with careful brow sitting alone,
Received hast this message from thy glass,
That tells the truth and says that all is gone;
Fresh shalt thou see in me the wounds thou madest,
Though spent thy flame, in me the heat remaining;
I that have loved thee thus before thou fadest,
My faith shall wax when thou art in thy waning.

The world shall find this miracle in me,
That fire can burn when all the matter's spent;
Then what my faith hath been, thyself shall see,
And that thou wast unkind, thou mayst repent.
Thou mayst repent that thou hast scorned my tears,
When winter snows upon thy sable hairs.

Daniel was still enjoying a poetical prestige in the eighteenth century when so little Elizabethan literature was being read, and later he was warmly praised by Charles Lamb and by Coleridge. He was educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, and spent most of his life in the study of poetry and philosophy. He is wanting in fire and passion, but in scholarly grace and tender mournful reverie he is pre-eminent. An echo of this tender reverie is found in Yeats' "When you are old and grey and full of sleep," very reminiscent of Daniel's "Then and Now."

RELIGIOUS AND METAPHYSICAL POETRY.

The stupendousness of the religious changes brought about by the English Reformation exercised a great influence on the literature of the period. At no time in history has the national conscience been so alive. For a long time before the religious settlement under Elizabeth, men had been willing to die for their faith, and for the new vision vouchsafed to them, and those of the Elizabethan writers who had not themselves witnessed the

tortures and persecutions, were near enough to them in time to know about them at first hand and to be influenced by them. And the long controversies had quickened men's minds, had roused men's enthusiasms and fixed their loyalties.

The break with Rome brought a religious freedom unknown before, and as never before Englishmen began to have a sense of a living God to whom they had personal access. And this God seemed to be on their side. Had he not answered the petition inserted in their new Prayer Book, when, in answer to the invocation of the priest "Give peace in our time, O Lord," they responded "Because there is none other that fighteth for us, but only Thou, O Lord"?

All this is reflected in the writings of the period, and it has been said that the new church became the nursing mother of English prose, and trained it more than any single influence. Towards the end of the period the Elizabethan compromise, on which religious matters rested, began to break down, and Calvinistic puritanism began to make itself felt. Most of the controversy was academic, as for example with regard to vestments and episcopacy, and, enshrined in the prose writings of the time, persisted well into the seventeenth century. But religious influence is very marked in the poetry of the later Elizabethan period. Ben Jonson was affected by it, and we find him writing:

> It is not growing like a tree
> In bulk doth make man better be:

in striking contrast to his lyric beginning:

> Still to be neat, still to be dressed
> As you were going to a feast,

charming in sentiment as the latter is. But we see this influence most in the work of John Donne (1573-1631), one of the greater poets of the nation. Carew's celebrated epitaph hailed him as a king:

> Who ruled as he thought fit
> The universal monarchy of wit.

His love poetry is some of the finest of the period, less conventionalised than that of his contemporaries. He runs through mood after mood, and sometimes expresses a universal feeling, as in the poem beginning:

> I wonder, by my troth, what thou and I
> Did till we loved.

He was brought up a Roman Catholic, but became deeply interested in religion on its intellectual side, and plunged into the controversy between the Roman and Anglican Churches. He joined the latter, became a royal chaplain, was appointed

preacher at Lincoln's Inn, and later was Dean of St. Paul's. One of his finest sonnets is on Death:

Death, be not proud, though some have callèd thee
Mighty and dreadful, for thou art not so;
For those whom thou think'st thou dost overthrow
Die not, poor Death, nor yet canst thou kill me.

From Rest and Sleep, which but thy picture be,
Much pleasure: then from thee much more must flow;
And soonest our best men with thee do go,—
Rest of their bones, and soul's delivery!

Thou'rt slave to fate, chance, kings, and desperate men,
And dost with poison, war, and sickness dwell,
And poppy or charms can make us sleep as well,
And better than thy stroke. Why swell'st thou then?

One short sleep past, we wake eternally,
And Death shall be no more; Death, thou shalt die.

George Herbert (1593-1633) was one of the sincerest and most deeply spiritual of the religious writers of the period, though not comparable with Donne as a great poet. Izaak Walton said of him that "he sang on earth such hymns and anthems as he and the angels and Mr. Ferrar now sing in heaven." And his songs are still being sung on earth. Who does not know his:

Teach me, my God and King,
In all things Thee to see,
And what I do in anything
To do it as for thee.

* * * * *

A servant with this clause
Makes drudgery divine;
Who sweeps a room, as for Thy laws,
Makes that and the action fine.

This is the famous stone
That turneth all to gold;
For that which God doth touch and own
Cannot for less be told.

But most loved of all his poems, probably, is "The Gifts of God," in some anthologies called "The Pulley":

When God at first made man,
Having a glass of blessings standing by;
Let us (said He) pour on him all we can:
Let the world's riches, which dispersèd lie,
Contract into a span.

So strength first made a way;
Then beauty flow'd, then wisdom, honour, pleasure:
When almost all was out, God made a stay,
Perceiving that alone, of all His treasure,
Rest in the bottom lay.

For if I should (said He)
Bestow this jewel also on my creature,
He would adore my gifts instead of me,
And rest in Nature, not the God of Nature:
So both should losers be.

Yet let him keep the rest,
But keep them with repining restlessness:
Let him be rich and weary, that at least,
If goodness lead him not, yet weariness
May toss him to my breast.

Of the other religious poems of the period, the best known to-day is probably Sir Henry Wotton's "Character of a Happy Life":

How happy is he born or taught
That serveth not another's will;
Whose armour is his honest thought,
And simple truth his highest skill!

Whose passions not his masters are,
Whose soul is still prepared for death;
Untied unto the world with care
Of princely love or vulgar breath;

* * * * *

Who God doth late and early pray
More of His grace than gifts to lend;
Who entertains the harmless day
With a well-chosen book or friend;

—This man is freed from servile bands
Of hope to rise, or fear to fall;
Lord of himself, though not of lands;
And having nothing yet hath all.

Wotton was born in 1568, and we have recently, on December 5th, 1939, celebrated the tercentenary of his death.

THE TRANSLATORS: THE AUTHORISED VERSION.

One of the glories of the Renaissance was the resurrection of the Classics, and the opening of the treasure house of Italian literature. There were hosts of translators during the Elizabethan era, headed by the Queen herself, who is said to have translated from Plutarch and Horace. But in an age of great translations, the greatest of all was, of course, our own Authorised Version of the Bible. Published in 1611, it is interesting to think that Shakespeare lived for five years after its first appearance, and probably read it in its first edition. But though, historically, its place in literature is in this epoch, it would be a mistake to attribute the incomparable form and superlative beauty of its language to the "grand style that was in the air." Many reasons beyond the scope of this article contributed to its perfection. Translations leading finally to the Authorised Version had been made over

a period of a hundred years, and probably to Tyndale, who sealed his work with his blood, we owe, more than to any other, the Bible as we know it to-day. Tyndale's boast that he would make it possible for the boy who drove the plough to know more of Scripture than the Popes had hitherto known was no idle one. The people learned to read on purpose to study the Bible; they stayed up all night to peruse it; and since the publication of the Authorised Version its language has pervaded the whole of our literature.

No Anthology is perfect, somebody's favourite is always left out. And the omissions in the above brief survey are glaring. Edmund Spenser, for instance, whose epitaph in Westminster Abbey names him as the "Prince of Poets in his time, whose divine spirit needs no other witness than the works he left behind him," has been merely referred to. We have, in fact, but skimmed the surface and done the barest justice to a few of the names that crowd the records of the period. And we could not hope to do more. We could only hope to re-capture something of the spirit of a glorious age, and to realise again something of its greatness and significance.

E. Webb Samuel.

The Hour and its Need, by William Paton, D.D. (1s.)
Should Missions Go On?, by Basil Mathews, and
Chinese Christians Face Their War, by Stanley H. Dixon.
Wartime Pamphlets Nos. 1 and 2 (3d. each).

The Carey Press should be congratulated on the prompt publication of these booklets. They are of value to all who are concerned with the continuance of missionary work in this time of war.

The Pastoral Office—
A Comparative Study.

WE take it for granted that the Church ought to be concerned for the spiritual needs of individual men and women. It is worth reminding ourselves that this pastoral concern for individuals has a long and interesting history. The State religions of Greece and Rome did not conceive of the individual as a personality in need of spiritual guidance and help. Their devotees in turn did not think of the priest who conducted the temple rites as a person to whom one could go for spiritual direction or enlightenment. "In no case did they [the priests of Greece] regard themselves as having any teaching or pastoral mission."[1] The priest might indeed be a sceptic, or even a libertine, and yet not be considered unfit for his high office; since the business of religion, as Dill has pointed out, was "to avert the anger or win the favour of dim, unearthly powers, it was not primarily to purify or elevate the soul."

In course of time, however, the need for personal spiritual direction made itself felt, partly no doubt because of the larger place that suffering and uncertainty came to have in the pattern of Roman life as the difficulties of the Empire increased; and from the second century B.C. it became the custom, in wealthy Roman families, to include in the personnel of the household a philosopher who acted as spiritual director. His work was to give instruction on the art of living, to furnish guidance at times of crisis, to discuss religious questions, and, with the approach of death, to fortify the soul for its last journey. The Empress Livia sought comfort on the death of Drusus from Augustus's director, Areus. Better known are the ministries of distinguished philosophers like Seneca and Epictetus, who were much sought after as spiritual counsellors. Such men felt the need for the reformation of human nature, and to this end they encouraged the pursuit of virtue, and inculcated the necessity for self-discipline. They sought to help men to find God. It is to Seneca that we owe the saying so reminiscent of the teaching of Christ: "The mind, unless it is pure and holy, cannot apprehend God." Epictetus reveals the pastoral concern of these philosopher priests in a passage in which he unveils his own sense of a mission to

[1] Lecky, *Hist. of European Morals*, i. p. 24.

minister to wounded souls: "The school of a philosopher is a surgery. You ought not to go out of it with pleasure, but with pain, for you come there diseased." It must be remembered that these ministries were directed to a very small section of society. At this stage Stoicism was a religion for the educated classes first and last. Seneca's clientèle was drawn from men of wealth and social rank. Warde Fowler has pointed out that the average Roman statesman regarded the lower classes of the population with disdain, and though Cicero might, in an expansive mood, write: "Nature has inclined us to love men, for this is the foundation of all law," such noble sentiments could not endure close contact with the working-class elements of Roman life. It was Cicero who also wrote: "The work of all artisans is sordid; there can be nothing honourable in a workshop. All gains made by hired labourers are dishonourable and base . . . with them the very gain itself does but increase the slavishness of the work." The presence of slavery as a fundamental part of the structure of Roman society was an additional factor which led to the hardening of men's hearts in their social relationships. This earlier eclectic Stoicism was later succeeded by a popular Stoic movement, contemporary with the early Christian Church, which was inspired by a considerable pastoral concern, though its chief weapon was the preaching ministry exercised by its street preachers. It called the masses of men to a higher standard of life, and among its leaders and street preachers were not only men of distinction like Musonius, who taught the forgiveness of injuries, gentleness to wrongdoers, chastity in men and women, but "the rush of porters and smiths and carpenters to join the ranks of the Cynic friars," who were often "men of unkempt beard and ragged cloak." These fervent preachers of a higher life saw their ministry in a pastoral light: "The Cynic is the father of all men, the men are his sons, the women his daughters." Many of these precursors of the modern Salvation Army later joined the ranks of the early Christian monks and ascetics.

So far as the generality of people were concerned, it is not surprising that the State cults, lacking as they did any message for the individual as such, fell into an increasing decay, notwithstanding the zealous attempts of Augustus to revive them. There was, moreover, a new wine fermenting in the ancient world, and bursting the bottles of conventional habits of thought and practice. It was the new wine of individualism. It revealed itself in a new note in Roman poetry, in the prominence given to the joys, sorrows, tastes and pursuits of the individual, in the rise of Roman biography and autobiography, and it led to a greater measure of self-scrutiny. The inevitable result was that the serious-minded man increasingly felt the need of a religion

with a more personal note, with a message for the individual, into whose consciousness the fact of his individuality had broken.

It was in such a situation that the Mystery cults rose to power. They frequently found their way to the centres of Roman life by way of the soldier who had been engaged in the Empire's eastern campaigns, and so had learned of the Egyptian Isis and Serapis, and of the Persian Mithra. The soldier was attracted to the new faiths not least because they had a message for the common man. "We see for the first time in history bodies of men and women banded together, irrespective of nationality and social rank, for the purpose of religious observance, and religion becoming recognised as an affair of the individual rather than of the State."[2] The priests of the Mysteries, who in the case of the Magna Mater might be women, undertook to give spiritual guidance, and promised to the individual, in the name of their cult, a deeper, richer life in this present world, and in the future a blessed immortality. Attempts might be made to suppress the new faiths in the interests of the old, as they were, but the inherent superiority of the new, in its concern with the needs of the individual, gave it a vigour which could not long be denied. The fine seriousness which was one element of these cults, compounded as they were of depth and superficiality, is seen in that of Mithra, a favourite cult of the soldier, with its god who is the type of the suffering and struggling life of man. The cult's pastoral aspect is indicated in its custom of sometimes referring to its adherents as "brothers," and in its use of the title "pater" for one of its officials. The cult of Aesculapius, though much concerned with bodily healing, had its pastoral ministry also. "In his sanatoria men acquired health of body and restoration of mind." "He raises up souls that are sinful." Spiritual direction took a considerable place in the "half philosophical, half religious sect of the Pythagoreans." The adherents of this cult met in underground basilicas, in which their sacred rites and purifications were carried out. Cumont has described how from a chair within the apse the Pythagorean philosopher-teacher gave instruction to the faithful, which included rules for daily living. "At dawn, after he had offered a sacrifice to the rising sun, the pious man must decide on the way in which his day was to be employed. Every evening he must make a threefold examination of conscience, and, if he had been guilty of any sin, must make an act of contrition." Numerous abstinences, repeated prayers, lonely meditations, were also prescribed. "This austere and circumstantial system of morals would ensure happiness and wisdom on earth, and salvation in the beyond." The deeper self-

[2] Legge, *Forerunners and Rivals*, i, p. 21.

scrutiny which has been referred to led to a new consciousness of sin. "There is a brooding consciousness of failure, of the load of human sin, and the need of reconciliation and purification. Self-sufficiency had given way to a mood of pessimism."[3] Relief for the troubled conscience was provided in the Mysteries, the priests of which anticipated the confessional of Catholicism. Ritual on an elaborate scale was a feature of the Mysteries, but it is interesting to note that the age produced also the Hermetic movement, thought by some scholars to be an offshoot of the Mysteries. This cult, which has been compared to the Society of Friends of our day, and for which salvation was the knowledge of God, dispensed with sacraments, but had its priests, known as "fathers," who were spiritual teachers concerned to guide the perplexed. Here, for example, is guidance as to the relation between the body and the soul: "Unless you first hate the body, my son, you cannot love your true self, and if you love your true self you shall have Nous, and possessing Nous you shall partake also of knowledge."

The pastoral conceptions and practice of Judaism also call for mention. The Pharisees, who were the most influential religious leaders of Judaism in New Testament times, gave great attention to the Law as the divine rule of life. The primary object of the synagogue service, for example, was "to hear the Law and learn it accurately." In private life, it was as individuals conformed to the pattern of conduct given in the Law, God's practical guide for the conduct of life, that they were judged to be rightly related to the God who had inspired the Law. In some schools of Pharisaism ignorance of the Law was judged to render impossible a life acceptable to God.[4] The religious leaders of the people were therefore regarded primarily as teachers, whose main work was to expound the Law. There were, of course, Rabbis whose pastoral work was an outstanding feature of their ministry. Dr. I. Abrahams, in his *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels,* has written of one Rabbi who showed intimate friendship to robbers and highwaymen in his neighbourhood, so that they might be brought to penitence; and of another who would go out on the roads at night, intercepting those who were about to sin, and with kindly words would divert them from their intentions. But though the Pharisaic brotherhoods could produce such outstanding examples of the pastoral spirit, and their ministry included such works of mercy as visiting the sick and burying the dead, their principal responsibility was to care for the text of Scripture, to understand the Law themselves, to teach it to others, and to administer at the

[3] S. Angus, *Mystery Religions,* p. 207.

[4] cf. *St. John* vii. 49.

pronouncement of legal decisions. The priests remained in Judaism, sometimes as teachers of the Law, for which formerly they had been completely responsible; but since they were largely concerned with the maintenance of the Temple services, the offering of the sacrifices and the accompanying ceremonial, the care of the sacred utensils employed in the services, the disposal of the offerings in kind, there could of necessity be little of a distinctively pastoral character in their work. In any case, the spiritual oversight of the people became, from the period of the Maccabean wars, in increasing measure the work of the Pharisees, and the religious ideal held and expounded by them was that of conformity to the Law in its amplified form. "He who haunts the synagogue and the schoolhouse, he who busies himself with the Torah"—it is such men to whom the vision of God will come.[5] Dr. T. W. Manson has made the interesting suggestion that the Aramaic word possibly used by Jesus to describe His disciples, and giving the meaning "apprentice," may have been deliberately chosen in opposition to the scribal system precisely because the pupil of the Rabbinical schools was primarily a student, whose chief business was to master the contents of the written Law and the oral tradition.[6]

When we begin to examine the pastoral conceptions of Christianity as illustrated in the ministry of Christ, in the records preserved of Him in the Gospels, we are met by a notable pastoral concern. Its source is traced back to God Himself, in His loving concern for the salvation of the individual, so unforgettably illustrated in the parables of the lost sheep, the lost coin and the lost son. There is thus in the Christian faith an adequate theological basis to inspire and sustain pastoral concern. In this respect Christianity stands over in contrast, for the most part, with the Mystery religions. As Angus has shown, the Mysteries were never, with the exception of Orphism and the Hermetic sect, conspicuously doctrinal or dogmatic, and were weak intellectually and theologically. The Stoic philosopher guides and preachers, too, found their inspiration to pastoral care not so much in their doctrine of God as in their conviction of the inherent superiority of the life of virtue. "Stoicism, again, was in essence a purely pantheistic system, knowing no destiny for the individual soul except absorption in the soul of the universe."[7] There is at times a warmer note in the religious philosophy of Epictetus, so that Kirk concludes that "with him, theism is all but a firm conviction"; but it is significant of the distance of Epictetus from Christianity, not only ethically but

[5] Kirk, *The Vision of God*, p. 21.
[6] *The Teaching of Jesus*, p. 239.
[7] Kirk, p. 34.

theologically, that the words ἀγάπη and ἀγαπάω are not used by him. Dill has called attention to the underlying pessimism of Stoicism: "Life is but a moment in the tract of infinite age, and so darkened by manifold sins and sorrows that it seems, as it did to Sophocles, a sinister gift." The dynamic of the Christian faith, on the other hand, has been and will always be, the realisation of God's love for the individual. "We love Him because He first loved us." This pastoral concern of God the Father is shared by His Incarnate Son, whose filial consciousness is so striking an element in His life as revealed to us in the Gospels. The pastoral conception of His ministry as directed to the needy meets us at its outset in the words quoted from Isaiah in the synagogue at Nazareth: *The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised . . .*

In another passage the Son speaks of Himself as having come "to seek and to save that which was lost." These great words bring to light a unique characteristic of the pastoral ministry of our Lord. It is that He went out in search of the sinner, to reclaim him for God. Two distinguished Jewish commentators have generously borne witness to this new note in the Gospels. Thus Dr. C. G. Montefiore: "The virtues of repentance are gloriously praised in the Rabbinical literature, but this direct search for, and appeal to, the sinner, are new and moving notes of high import and significance. The good shepherd who searches for the lost sheep, and reclaims and rejoices over it, is a new figure, which has never ceased to play its great part in the moral and religious development of the world."[8] Dr. I. Abrahams has commented: "One might put it by asserting that the Rabbis attacked vice from the preventive side, they aimed at keeping men and women honest and chaste. Jesus approached it from the curative side; He aimed at saving the dishonest and the unchaste."[9] The concern of Jesus for the individual, shown in His personal dealings with such representative figures as Zacchaeus and the woman of Samaria, is all of a piece with the pastoral character of His ministry, as is the testimony to His compassion for the multitude, that they were as sheep without a shepherd. It has always been a matter for pride among Christians that their Master was described by His critics in the days of His flesh as "a friend of publicans and sinners," because the title indicates that the Saviour felt a special concern for the spiritual well-being of the neediest section of the community.

[8] *The Synoptic Gospels,* Vol. 2, p. 520.

[9] *Studies in Pharisaism,* etc., p. 59.

This fact evidently greatly impressed the early Church also, for one of the sources of the Gospels, the special source used by Luke, and designated L, is marked by its emphasis on the concern of Jesus for those who needed Him most. "And so L is the gospel of the underdog, the poor, the despised, the outcaste and the sinner . . . the greater part of it might be regarded as a commentary on the text, 'They that are whole have no need of the physician, but they that are sick. I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners'."[10]

Enough has been said to indicate the essentially pastoral character of the ministry of our Lord, and of the religion which He brought to the world. There are special reasons for urging the importance of pastoral work at this time. The resurgence of totalitarianism, the influence of which English life has already begun to feel, makes imperative a fresh realisation of and insistence upon the value of the individual, as does the machine age in which we live. The devotion of the Church to the conversion of individual men and women to God, and their building up in Christian faith and character, though not exhaustive of the Church's work, will be its most effective contribution to the preservation of a Christian estimate of individual personality. Canon Peter Green, in his inspiring lectures on pastoral theology published under the title, *The Man of God*, has urged the need of "a new ideal of the character of the parish priest, and of the worth and dignity of parish work," in the interests of a revival of religion. His own devoted and powerful ministry in Salford gives weight to his contention that "nothing would do more for the conversion of England than for young men to regard the office of the parish priest as the highest and noblest to which they could aspire." The lectures make it clear that it is an evangelistic and pastoral caring for souls which Canon Green desiderates.

The first necessity of such a ministry to sick and needy souls is a sound theological background. Admitted that, as a recent American writer[11] on pastoral theology has pointed out, the psychological and social sciences have given us a new picture of human nature, and recognising that nothing but good can come from the deeper insight into the lives of men and women which such modern knowledge can furnish, we may well demur when it is argued by the same writer that "the trouble, then, with folk who are in need of the pastor's ministry for the cure of souls is not that they have inherited a corrupt nature, but that they have failed to make that adequate and efficient social adjustment which will eventuate in a satisfying life." The judgment smacks of that naïve optimism and superficial reading of human nature

[10] T. W. Manson, *The Teaching of Jesus*, p. 42.

[11] Holman, *The Cure of Souls.*

which have invaded theological thinking in recent years, both in America and in this country, and which makes it difficult to understand why God should have thought it necessary to send His Son to save men. The reality and power of sin, the necessity for a life rooted and grounded in repentance and faith, the forgiving grace of God in Christ, the power of the indwelling Spirit; it is upon these solid and enduring foundations that Christian pastoral practice must be built.

In the second place, an adequate equipment is demanded. It is cause for gratitude that the importance of training for the exercise of a pastoral ministry such as is within the competence of the working minister is finding increasing recognition. For Anglicans of the Anglo-Catholic school, guidance is offered in the recent symposium *Introduction to Pastoral Theology*. The point of view of the book is alien to Free Churchmen, who have never welcomed an ecclesiastical regimentation of the soul, but its contents are a reminder that the strength of the Anglo-Catholic movement is due in part to its deep concern for souls. Special courses of lectures on pastoral work by ministers who are recognised to have been successful pastors are now included in the curricula of some of our Baptist theological colleges. But much more is needed. In view of the impressive testimony of psychiatrists to the close relation between religion and mental health, it is to be hoped that the time is not far distant when the Church will have among its ministers a body of competent psychiatrists to whom the ordinary working minister can refer those whom he discerns to be in need of their specialised ministry. At present many a minister feels woefully helpless in face of a need he cannot himself meet. It is a reproach to the Church that it can be said with some truth that "the area of competence of the Christian Church has steadily contracted during these years, until to-day few people suppose that the pastor or the priest has either the knowledge or the skill to help them when they are spiritually sick; they turn instinctively to the doctor and the psychiatrist."[12] The removal of this reproach through the work both of those who have received a highly specialised training for their delicate ministry to sick souls, and of a multitude of working ministers whose sense of call to the pastoral office has been quickened, would do something towards furnishing contemporary evidence that the Gospel is still "the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth."

JOHN O. BARRETT.

[12] Eric Fenn, *The Crisis and Democracy*, p. 33.

Transport and the Churches.

ONE of the evidences of the vitality of our fathers' faith was their readiness to travel for it when travelling was much more difficult than it is to-day.

When the founders of Norfolk nonconformity returned from their exile in Holland in 1642 "after ye glad tidings of a hopefull Parliament," and formed themselves into Church Order, they settled their church at Yarmouth. The members who lived at Norwich had to make the twenty-mile journey to enjoy their church fellowship. Two years later the Norwich members were strong enough to form a church of their own, but even after this separation there were so many country members of the Yarmouth Church that the town members had to make special arrangements to give them hospitality.

In the eighteenth century many strong churches were settled in remote positions and were resorted to from great distances. Such was the church at Meeting Hill, Worstead, Norfolk. Its chapel is still the centre of its own tiny village in the midst of open country. Despite its lonely situation, the church had a large membership and at one time used to provide stabling for as many as forty horses and donkeys and accommodation for those who brought their picnic meals to eat between Sunday services.

A similar case is the church at Bluntisham. At the close of the eighteenth century and in the early years of the nineteenth century, numbers of vehicles of all sorts and people on horseback and afoot assembled for its services. One old gentleman regularly walked from Chatteris, nine miles distant, and others came by gigs, chaises and carts, distances of twelve and fifteen miles. One member of the church, Mrs. Maria Marshall, actually used to ride on horseback twenty-five miles from Parson Drive, though she was so deaf that she had to sit on the pulpit stairs to enjoy the sixty-minute sermons then in vogue.

Difficulties of transport hindered the movement of ministers and were an important contributory cause of the long pastorates which resulted in the building up of so many strong churches. When Rev. Diodate Hore came to St. Mary's, Norwich, in 1740, the cost of his move from Plymouth came to nearly one-third of his annual salary. Neither churches nor ministers could often afford expenses on this scale. A young man seeking a pastorate could not preach in a different pulpit every week, and often had to give the congregations he visited a few months of service.

Thus William Hawkins, after completing his education at Edinburgh, preached at Lynn, Godmanchester and Plymouth in 1814, spent the first four months of the following year at Olney, then five months at Birmingham ("there are not many intelligent people in Birmingham," he wrote), then three months at Newcastle, and in January of 1815 went to Portsea, where he did receive a call to the pastorate and where he was ordained six months later.

The letters of Joseph Kinghorn provide many interesting accounts of journeys on church business. In August 1784, he set off from home for Bristol College. Starting from York on a Tuesday, he took an inside place in the coach to Leeds and thence an outside place to Sheffield, where he hoped to catch the Birmingham connection. Three miles from Sheffield going down a hill one of the horses fell, and the passengers had to walk into town, where they arrived at 4 a.m. to find the Birmingham coach already gone. Kinghorn breakfasted at the inn, entered his box for next night's coach, and set out on foot with his pack and wide coat. He walked twenty miles to a stage Inn, where he slept, and caught the coach which was carrying his box, reaching Birmingham on the Thursday evening and Bristol the following day.

After his settlement in Norwich, Kinghorn made a number of journeys to see his parents in Yorkshire. These were attended by peculiar difficulties, as they involved crossing the Washes. There were no regular coaches, and the innkeepers who managed the business of passenger transport were often unwilling to risk hiring horses to cross the Washes. Once or twice he made the journey by sea from Hull to Lynn or Yarmouth, but the sea voyage had the added danger of capture by hostile French vessels.

When Kinghorn was absent from home, the deacon in charge sometimes had difficulties in arranging supplies. On one occasion he sent a man on horseback to go from one minister to another to the number of four. The first three could not come, but the messenger managed to engage the fourth and reached home safely after forty miles' riding.

The introduction of Lord Sidmouth's Bill to Parliament in 1811 threatened the liberties of nonconformists and created great indignation throughout the country. Joseph Kinghorn and Simon Wilkin were entrusted with the Norwich petition of 784 names, which had to be taken post-haste to London. In order to reach the House in time it was necessary to hire four horses for the last stage—greatly to Kinghorn's discomfiture. They accomplished the journey safely and delivered the petition to Lord Holland. The Bill was duly rejected.

Formidable journeys were undertaken on behalf of the

B.M.S. in 1818 and 1822 when Kinghorn, in company with others, travelled to Scotland and toured that country preaching in kirks and meeting houses and collecting for the Mission. Each of these journeys occupied about six weeks, and their arduous nature may be gauged from the fact that the party had to endure thirteen hours' continuous coaching to cover the eighty miles from Aberdeen to Perth.

At the close of Kinghorn's life the first railways were being built. He was not impressed.

> "I confess," he wrote, "I am not much taken with the tremendous strides of this march of intellect. For recollect how many good coals are burnt in this scheme of whizzing from place to place, and nothing finite can last for ever. Besides, how many good and loyal subjects of His Majesty are slain by the accidents attending these steam improvements; for when anything happens there is no selection of victims. I do not say this in mere jest altogether—seriously, I think such an excessive destruction of coals must be felt in comparatively a little time; and instances of dreadful destruction of life we often hear of. And if this system goes on, what effect it may have on the general systems of agriculture and manufacture is, in my apprehension, beyond calculation, but I am apprehensive it is like a stimulus, it excites—but does it not weaken?"

For all Kinghorn's apprehensions, the change was to come. Its effect on the general systems of agriculture and manufacture was certainly beyond his calculations. Nor could he anticipate that it would prove the precursor of other and even more startling developments—the telephone—the petrol engine, with its much larger "destruction of life" and terrible potentialities in warfare, and the radio. He could not have dreamed that in one hundred years after his death his successor would preach in the chapel he had built and his voice would be heard in India, then six months distant.

Times change and men change with them. We are subject to two great dangers. We may cling to the past and die with it, or in our enthusiasm for the present we may forget the gains of the past and easily let them turn to loss. Kinghorn and his successor at St. Mary's were as different from one another as two men could be. In appearance Brock was rugged where Kinghorn had been refined, in manner hearty where he had been reserved. He had not Kinghorn's deep scholarship, but he had a sympathetic understanding of his times to know what Israel ought to do. Kinghorn looked forward with foreboding to the railway era. Brock belonged to it. His great friend, Sir Samuel

Morton Peto, was a key man in railway development, playing an important part in the construction of railways not only in England, but on the Continent and in North Africa. His surplus energies, with much of the large fortune he earned, were spent in Baptist extension. He built Bloomsbury and induced Brock to become its first minister. When the new railway was building at Norwich—his own parliamentary constituency—he built a mission hall for the navvies which he placed in the care of St. Mary's and the Norwich City Mission. This building was later known as Sayer's Street Chapel. The mission work carried on there a little later on under the auspices of St. Mary's by George White was so successful as to result in the formation of a new church—now Dereham Road Baptist Church. A pioneer of a great modern development, Samuel Morton Peto belonged to an era which has completely passed away. He built himself a great country house at Somerleyton—providing also a chapel for the local Dissenters—and when in London used to drive to Bloomsbury Chapel in his "omnibus"—which carried the family in one part, the female servants in another, and the men servants on the box. At chapel he occupied a pew from which his domestics were under his eye.

Developments in the resources and habits of the society in which we live inevitably have their effect on the church and on the denomination. Modern transport has affected us in many ways. It has made us conscious of our national unity as a denomination—the Baptist Union could never have achieved the position it holds in the life of the churches without the railway and motor car. It has greatly aided us in realising our world unity as Baptists, a factor which may one day have quite as important a bearing on history as the war which now occupies our thoughts as such an overwhelming event.

The children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of the light. We are consequently more conscious of the ill effects on church life of modern advances than of the good effects. Yet every advance in the material realm rightly used may be turned to the advantage of the church as well as the advantage of the world. May God give us a vision that shall be equal to our times.

C. B. Jewson.

"Baptists Speak to the World."

A great many ordinary members of Baptist Churches are sadly ignorant of the story of their great heritage, and of the mighty world fellowship of Baptists to which they belong. Even among those for whom the missionary enterprise provides a wide horizon there is sometimes little knowledge of the courage, endurance and tenacity of Baptists in certain parts of Europe, or of the strength and influence of Baptists in the North American Continent.

Since Baptists held their first World Congress in London in 1905, at which the Baptist World Alliance was constituted, Baptist unity and fellowship have made great headway through the work of the Alliance with its five subsequent Congresses, reaching a climax in "Atlanta 1939." To have been at any of these gatherings is a great privilege; to have been to Atlanta is a unique experience. It is doubtful if any description could convey the atmosphere of this astonishing, many-sided event. Dr. Rushbrooke told press representatives in Atlanta he was sorry that the nature of the Congress left them little opportunity for the exaggeration supposed to characterise American newspapermen.

The Congress is in danger of being neglected in this country through the pressure of the more immediate and tragic events in Europe. Only a comparatively few people will read the official report. It is therefore very welcome news that Rev. Ernest A. Payne has produced a brochure under the above title giving a popular report of the Congress. Its vivid word-pictures of the crowded days in Atlanta will give to anyone who reads it as much of the "overflow" of those days as anything, short of being there, could convey. This book, which contains six illustrations and a panoramic cover, ought to be in every Baptist home. It is the best thing Mr. Payne has written, and it is published by the Carey Press at the modest price of sixpence.

W. Taylor Bowie.

Cupar, Fife, 1652-1659.

[In the Commonwealth period Baptist groups are known to have arisen in five places in Scotland, namely, Leith, Ayr, Perth, Cupar and Aberdeen. The following is the story of the Cupar episode, told in detail for the first time.]

THE year 1652 opened with English soldiers in Fife. Their appearance was the inevitable result of the misfortunes of Worcester the previous year, when the Scottish army under King Charles had been utterly routed by Cromwell's legions. With the soldiers from the south came new ideas, and these ideas caused no small commotion in the county town of Cupar, where, toward the end of the summer, Colonel Fairfax's regiment of foot encamped on the banks of the fair Eden. No sooner had the regiment settled into its winter quarters than the chaplain, a certain Mr. Browne, began preaching to the populace. His dialect was strange to the ear; his preaching stance on the green grass was certainly unconventional; but the substance of his discourses was the most startling. For Mr. Browne was a Baptist, and Cupar had never known anything but Presbyterianism.

The Cupar Presbytery was alarmed, but could not stop the enthusiastic evangelist. In their *Book of Common Order*, John Knox had written, "We damn the error of the anabaptists, who deny baptism to appertain to children." Probably, also, the news had come to their ears that the brother of the Ceres minister, John Row of Aberdeen, had turned Baptist, and had been appointed Principal of Aberdeen University by the English Commissioners. "These were sore days for the Kirk," wrote Silvester Horne, "for they were days when men and women not of their persuasion had equal liberty with themselves to preach and worship." The first baptismal service must have been disturbing. The record of them is in the diary of John Lamont of Newton.

"Oct., 1652. Cuper, this month and the former, the said Mr. Browne did rebaptise several of Col. Fairfax's foot regiment in the water of the Eden, neare to Erdries loodging, by diping them in the water ouer head and eares, many of the inhabitants looking on."

The earnest brethren of the Presbytery were in no small measure perturbed at the innovation, and the camp preacher was

challenged to a public debate in the Parish Church. He accepted, and two days were set aside for the meeting, October 12th and 14th. The Presbytery was represented by Mr. James Wood, minister of St. Andrew's, the Cupar charge being vacant. Great crowds attended, for the least among the prophets could safely foretell that this was an event to be discussed round the hearth, and in the ale house, for many months to come.

On the first day, according to the records, the questions at issue concerned the doctrine of the Fall. What punishment, it was asked, did Adam bring upon himself at the Fall? Mr. Browne argued vigorously that only man's temporal state was affected, and that the warning, "In the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die," had reference to physical death. This position, it is obvious, was that of Dr. Arminius, who held that by the Fall man did not lose any powers of the soul which the Creator had placed there. Against it, Mr. Wood contended that both physical and spiritual death were involved. Do we not read that we are all by nature the children of wrath? Mr. Browne protested that this was an unfair use of the text, for all that was intended by it was a description of our temporal state.

On the second day, the rival opinions on the doctrine of the Atonement were debated. The discussion centred principally on the question, Whether Christ died for all, or only for some? Mr. Browne professed himself a believer in the universality of the Atonement. The death of Christ was on behalf of every man. Did not Hebrews ii. 6 say that He tasted death for every man? That, replied the St. Andrew's man, was what the English version said, but the Greek word for "every," *pantos,* only meant "every" in the sense of "all." Humanity in general, and not every man in particular, was the intended reference. At this point, his opponent cried that he was a Calvinist. This greatly offended Mr. Wood, and he strenuously denied that he was either a Calvinist or a Lutheran. He did not desire to be called after any man. Thus they argued for some time until the minister confessed himself "spent." He would be pleased, said he, to meet his opponent in St. Andrew's, or correspond with him, but he could not debate any longer with a man who would not be convinced of his errors. Mr. Browne, however, was far from admitting defeat, and called on any in the audience who might care to continue the debate. None forthcoming, he inquired if any would debate with him on the question of infant baptism. This offer again failed to find a response, and the meeting was dismissed.

Among those who were attracted to the camp meetings, and were persuaded to accept the Baptist's faith were three sisters, Elspet, Isobel and Christin Millar. Only Christin was resident

in Cupar, but all were within the Presbytery area. They were well-known in the district, and there was no small commotion when they were publicly baptised in the Eden. There were other converts, but only one other name is known, that of Isobel Webster, and it is recorded that the established church had to use strong measures to persuade parents to bring their children for christening.

In June the following year, 1653, the regiment was ordered for summer training to Falkland, but not before a romance had been happily concluded within the little group of Baptists. One of the English soldiers, William Thomson, asked the hand of Isobel Webster in marriage, and she consenting, they were married by Mr. Browne, and set up house together in the town.

The tyrannical power, which reverted again to the Presbytery, was soon directed against the baptised, but they persisted in their faith, and the clerk of the Presbytery unwittingly paid a high tribute to their zeal when he wrote, in 1657, that "these persons use diligence to reduce others to the same error." It was at the Synod of Fife meeting of September, 1656, that a determined attempt was begun to stamp out the few who maintained the Baptist "heresy." The Presbytery of Cupar had asked the Synod for advice on the matter, and they instructed the Cupar minister, "in whose congregation they were," to proceed against them "according to the order of this church in such cases." Having received this instruction, the Cupar Presbytery at its next meeting in November cited the principal offenders to appear before them, "and ordeines the kirk officer of the parish of Cupar to summon them, to wit, Elspet, Isobel and Christin Millars." When they appeared the Moderator questioned them about their beliefs. He came to the main issue right away. "Do you regard your baptism in infancy as valid baptism?" "No," the sisters replied, "we do not regard sprinkling at infancy as true baptism." "Do you also deny the teaching of the church with regard to the atonement?" "Yes," they agreed, "we believe that Christ died for all and not only for some." "What, then, do you think about the doctrine of election? Is it not plainly taught in the Scriptures?" "Yes," they agreed again, "it is. But election is not absolute and unconditional. Freedom of choice is also taught in the Scriptures." "What!" cried the Moderator, "is not the Spirit of God irresistible?" "We believe that the Spirit of God is irresistible when God wills it." "Do you also agree with the heresy that the soul sleeps till the resurrection?" "We do," was their answer. It was plain that the sisters were not to be moved, and they were dismissed with the charge to appear again when summoned. This they did until they saw no point in submitting themselves further to questioning.

The matter appears in the minutes of the Synod at the next meeting in April, 1657, where it is recorded, "that the *pro primo* prayer before excommunication said in Cupar church by order of the Presbytery had failed to move the contumacious heretics . . ." The Presbytery were recommended to summon them again, and if they refused, "to proceed against them to the highest ecclesiastical censure according to the order and steps of procedure usual in this church." At the Presbytery meeting of June 4th, the invitation to conference having again been rejected, the sisters were declared contumacious, and ordered to be summoned out of the pulpit publicly. But Mr. John Makgill, the Cupar minister, requested permission to visit privately Christin Millar before naming her. This he did, and advised his brethren on June 18th to delay a little, as he thought there was the possibility of repentance. It was a false hope, however, and from his pulpit on the following Sunday he performed the first step in excommunication. July 11th saw the final proclamation delivered with the terrible prayer, "Here we in Thy Name exclude and excommunicate from Thy body, and from our society, Christin Millar, as a person slanderous, proud, contemner, and a member for this present altogether corrupted and pernicious to the body. And her sin (albeit with sorrow of heart) by virtue of our ministry, we bind and pronounce the same to be bound in heaven and earth. We further give over into the hands and power of the Devil the said Christin Millar to the destruction of her flesh; straitly charging all that profess the Lord Jesus, to whose knowledge this our sentence shall come to repute, and to hold the said Christin Millar accursed, and unworthy of the society of Christians; declaring unto all men that such as hereafter, before her repentance, shall haunt or familiarly accompany her, are partakers of her impiety and subject to the like excommunication."

The curt note was thereafter inserted in the Kirk Session records:

July. 11. 1658. Christin Myllar, anabaptist, is excommunicated this day, *excommunicatore majore.*

The awful sentence having been pronounced, we hear nothing more of this staunch woman. We may infer that the sentence would be rigorously enforced. She would have none to speak to her, trade with her, give her employment, or bury her. It is not surprising that the next attempt at coercion ended in recantation. William Thomson and his wife Isobel were cited three times to appear for examination before the Presbytery, but refused. Forthwith Thomson was publicly summoned from the pulpit, and visited. Excommunication was threatened, and on February 10th, 1659, he consented to appear before the church court and, "professed that he was convinced of his errore and

defectione to Anabaptisme, whereto he had been through ignorance seduced, and was content to submit to any way of satissfactione for the removing of that scandall; as also for the scandall of his disorderly way of marriage with Isobel Webster. The Presbytery ordeines," the minute continues, "that he shall go to the congregation of Cupar, wher he was dipped and give offence, and there present his child of four yeirs old to be baptised ther publicly before the congregation, to profess his faults afoirsaid and to promise ther (as he had done heere) to seek God for stedfastness heirafter; and his wyffe Isobel Webster was lykewayes appointed to declare her repentance, the afoirsaid day, for her disorderly way of marriage."

There were no more excommunications. Those who consorted with the Baptists gave way before these stern measures. Thus Cupar again achieved a united church, and no more secessions to the Baptist cause were made until 155 years later, in 1815, when another pioneer, the Rev. Jonathan Watson, braved the opposition of his day, and constituted the Baptist cause in the Royal burgh, which still continues its witness to this day.

R. B. HANNEN.

Christian Citizenship, by T. G. Dunning, M.A., Ph.D. Foreword by The Rt. Hon. Ernest Brown, M.P. (Kingsgate Press, 1s. net).

For over ten years Dr. Dunning has had the almost impossible task of directing three departments of the Baptist Union, Education, Temperance and Social Service. The confidence he has won throughout the denomination—and indeed among Baptists on the Continent and in the States—attests the success he has achieved in this unenviable position. The practical probems of Citizenship have been much before him, and in this little volume he discusses how the Christian, a citizen of a spiritual realm, should meet the claims of the earthly order to which he belongs. He does not shirk difficulties, and gives advice which will be of much value to social workers.

A Short History of Baptist Missionary Work in British Honduras, 1822-1939, by Robert Cleghorn, O.B.E., J.P. (Kingsgate Press, 1s. 6d. net).

An interesting but unpretentious account, in twenty-nine short chapters, of Missionary work in British Honduras. The author last year celebrated the jubilee of his arrival in Central America, and, in addition to retelling the story of earlier years, he relates many interesting experiences of his own long period of devoted service.

Cemetery Road, Sheffield, 1839-1939.

THE Church at Cemetery Road, Sheffield, has completed a century of Christian fellowship and service, and November provided the occasion of its celebration. Opportunity was taken to raise a fund of about £2,000, by which the entire substantial premises have been re-decorated and placed in complete repair. Thus the new century is entered upon free from any burden qualified to hamper future usefulness, and its workers succeed to a goodly heritage.

Cemetery Road, which returns the largest membership of the Yorkshire Baptist Association, had, like many of our churches, a humble nativity. In 1837 a young man, Cornelius Atkinson, came to a business appointment in Sheffield, hailing from the General Baptist Church at Retford, some 23 miles away. He did not bring his transfer with him, for Retford hesitated to dismiss him to the Sheffield Church meeting at Townhead, and Townhead was equally uncertain about his reception, for, said they: "Those of our body are High Calvinists, and they are Low Arminians."

Left without a spiritual home, this young man of but seventeen years gathered a few others of like faith and order, who met together for prayer and mutual edification, commencing in Rockingham Street at the house of Mr. and Mrs. John Carter.

From here, they were next found meeting in premises at 17, Matilda Street, since rebuilt, and in which a well-attended Sunday School also gathered. Presently the school was for convenience removed to a two-storied workshop in Porter Street. The difficulties of the struggling cause may be found in the fact that the superintendent of the school had to take his stand halfway up the communicating stairway, from which position his head and shoulders were visible in the upper school, and the lower portion of his anatomy from the ground floor room. A somewhat unusual vantage point for supervising the proceedings, and not without its humorous aspect.

Presently a venture of faith was made in a migration to the Assembly Rooms, Norfolk Street, now taken down for street widening, at a rental of £2 per month. When numbering eleven souls they entered into a Christian covenant, the Minute Book recording in ornate caligraphy as follows:

> "May this little band increase in piety, in holy zeal, in brotherly love, and in numbers; and may the great Head of the Church be honoured in them, and by them, for His Name's sake." H.H.

The initials are of the Rev. Hugh Hunter, of Nottingham, who constituted the little flock into a church.

During the first half-century, seven ministers laboured in the seeking and saving work to which the church was called. Under the first of these—Rev. T. H. Hudson, 1841-1844—they appear to have made good progress, for they resolved to "build a house unto the name of the Lord"; which aspiration was attained in 1842 at the opening of the chapel in Eyre Street. In the meantime, use was made of the nearby running stream of the Sheaf as it passes through Leadmill Dam for the observance of the baptismal rite. This Dam, situate at the junction of Matilda Street and St. Mary's Road, has for some years been arched over, the covered surface forming a children's playground.

Mr. Hudson has been described as "an able preacher, a wise counsellor, and of great largeness of heart." By-and-by he heard the call to undertake missionary work in China, where he continued to the end of his life.

Helpful ministries succeeded and the cause prospered. The Rev. Thomas Horsfield, 1845-1849, was a devoted and active personality, greatly beloved for his sweetness of disposition. During his ministry steps were taken to enlarge the accommodation, and to consolidate the work. Some surnames now familiar in the present membership are found during this pastorate.

Rev. J. Batey came to the church in 1850. He was present, too, at the Jubilee celebrations in 1889. Tall and spare of figure, of keen intellectual gifts, and outstanding virility, he was later widely known in the London Baptist area. In 1881, Mr. Batey, then seventy years old and retired, conducted a class of Lay Preachers at Broadway Hall, Crouch End. In the same year he became honorary pastor of a small congregation, meeting at this Hall. Recognising the need for more permanent buildings, and arising out of his great pertinacity, the present site of Ferme Park was acquired in 1884 and the building opened in 1889.

During the ministry of Rev. Henry Ashberry, the Eyre Street Chapel became inadequate, and it was decided to remove to a more promising and developing neighbourhood, choosing the present site, which was secured sufficiently large to permit later extensions.

It is worthy of record that in the negotiations for sale of Eyre Street Chapel to the Vicar and Wardens of St. Simon's Parish, a vital meeting of the contracting parties took place to arrange the final details and to fix the amount of purchase. After seeking Divine guidance in prayer, the would-be purchasers were

invited to state the highest price they could see their way to give, naming the figure in writing. The vendors were similarly asked to name the lowest amount they were prepared to accept; and when these two statements were exhibited to the general company there was not so much as a single coin of difference between them; so amicably was this important transfer made.

The sum of £2,200 thus realised was exceedingly helpful in the erection of the present chapel building, with the schoolroom beneath, costing £3,000, which was opened for public worship on May 12th, 1859, the Rev. Hugh Stowell Brown, of Liverpool, conducting the opening services. And now, with a more commodious chapel, situated in a prominent thoroughfare, led by an able minister, and supported by a loyal and whole-hearted people, Cemetery Road began to take an acknowledged place in the religious life of the city.

Among their ministers, the Rev. Giles Hester, 1864-1875, previously at Loughborough, is remembered as a man of exceptional gifts, and one who exerted a powerful influence. His memory is still held in honour by all who knew him. During his ministry several notable additions to the premises were made. The street frontage was improved by the construction of better approaches, the organ enlarged, and classrooms provided.

Rev. James Maden, a past President of the General Baptist Association, laboured from 1880, leaving grateful memories of a lovable and genial disposition upon his acceptance of a call to another sphere at Nottingham in 1883.

He was followed by Rev. E. Carrington, who maintained a most helpful ministry for twenty-two years, 1883-1905. Coming from his first charge at Swadlincote, he gathered about him a company of warmly attached and devoted people, whose elders dreamed dreams and whose young men saw visions. A local newspaper of the period said of him:

> "Judging by the services, he is an eloquent practical preacher; an energetic worker; and a man of broad and generous sympathies; to whom young and old alike will unhesitatingly resort for counsel or advice."

With painstaking zeal he ever upheld the highest ideals, and again larger premises were needed for the work. There were, too, some remaining debts, but the folk rallied their ability and talents for a new advance. The premises as they are to-day were then completed. The new Lecture Hall, Church Parlour, Men's Room, Primary Department, Tea Kitchen, Caretaker's House, and a more commodious Minister's Vestry, at a cost of £4,150, were added. The value of this new equipment has long been proved.

A quite distinctive feature in the church's life has been the persistence of several generations of families, sons and daughters following on in the work and service of the church of their forbears; whilst a by no means insignificant number lay claim to more than a half-century of membership.

One early instance only may be cited. In the fifties of the last century one of the elders, who was also choirmaster, exclaimed to his growing son: "John, I am going to have you taught music, and when you are proficient you will play the organ at the chapel; and, mind, you will play without fee or reward." It is good to relate that John —— did play the organ for no less than forty-one years, and delighted in doing so gratuitously. This is but a type of the devotion that has characterised this active fellowship throughout the years.

Neither have calls to National Service fallen upon deaf ears. During the period of the Great War, 1914-1918, quite a number of members volunteered for active service, and the names of those who made the supreme sacrifice are held in highest honour; being publicly remembered in a beautiful Memorial Pulpit, and upon outstanding occasions such as Armistice celebrations, and in other ways.

In the year 1923 the church was recipient of a valuable benefaction through the kindness of Mrs. Elizabeth Clark Eberlin, who bequeathed as a memorial to her late husband, Mr. Louis Eberlin, the present Manse in Thornsett Road. Mr. Eberlin's life had been identified with church and school in many capacities, including Bible Class leader, Deacon and Church Secretary. Never was there a more faithful servant, and this bequest stands out as a distinct acquisition to the church's property, and a cherished memorial to two of her most devoted members.

Other succeeding ministers have been Rev. Ernest Price, B.A., B.D., Rev. C. E. Shipley, Rev. W. H. Stradling, and the present pastor, Rev. T. J. Whitman, who has supported a happy pastorate of twelve years.

The story of Cemetery Road is an uneventful and peaceful record of several generations of devoted hearts, brethren and sisters, who have given themselves to the service of the sanctuary unstintingly; and have found there the comfort of its worship, the inspiration of its fellowship, and the joy of its evangel.

F. E. Bradley.

A Scenario of Baptist Essex.

COLCHESTER, the oldest town in Britain, where Boadicea had exterminated a colony of Roman invaders. Separatists, studying their Bibles soon after the King James Version came out, read a little book by John Murton, a glover from Gainsborough, *Truth's Champion,* which leads some of them to see that everyone who commits himself to Christ should seal that covenant in baptism. Within a score of years a soap-boiler is able to preach widely, and leaving a church here, ranges into the west, where one vicar is horrified at his occupying a pulpit, in a grey coat; another is scandalised at his dipping his converts in the Severn. Back to Essex, debating at Terling, helped by a weaver, Samuel Oates, in other villages. As one convert died a fortnight after her baptism, Oates indicted for murdering her; acquitted at assizes, after a fine advertisement.

Colchester invaded by Royalists from Kent, blockaded by Fairfax. Royalist ships trying to relieve, captured by the dragoons of Colonel Jerome Sankey, a Baptist soon to make a mark in Ireland. With the town ruined, a Baptist evangelist from Northumberland obtaining the use of a parish church, till it turns out he thinks public worship ought to be on the Sabbath, Saturday; exit Thomas Tillam.

Five Baptist officers, including Captain Kiffin and Colonel Packer, commissioned by the Council of State under its Baptist President, to preach throughout Essex. One or two ex-clergy also touring. Groups arise, worshipping in their farmhouses.

Progress stopped by the accession of Charles. Lamb's son Isaac, chaplain on the vessel that brought him over, promptly discharged. A Baptist captain of another warship, prefers his career to his convictions, lives to be buried in the odour of Anglican sanctity at Leigh, as an admiral. Edmund Hickeringill, army chaplain and old friend of Tillam, accepts ordination, settles at Colchester, and is a thorn in the side of the town. Tillam organises emigration up the Rhine, and streams of his adherents pass through Harwich out of the frying pan of Charles into the fire soon kindled by his cousin Louis in the Palatinate.

A plucky church at Burnham-on-Crouch starting its minutes and telling of wide evangelism; soon to suffer for its enterprise, and to persevere. Arrival at Woodham Mortimer Hall of a retired accoucheur, who had been very useful to Charles; Squire Peter Chamberlain, too retiring to call himself Baptist till he

was dead, when a handsome tomb testified that he had been baptised in 1648, and had kept Sabbath on Saturday above thirty-two years.

Richard Tidmarsh of Oxford sent by a Conference of Baptists to waken Essex again; campaign at Wivenhoe with its Cinque Port traditions and formation of another church at Colchester, to connect all his converts. Benjamin Keach extending this work as far as Thaxted and Bury.

More retired Londoners. A draper from the Minories buying the manor of Little Maplestead, once owned by the Knights Hospitallers, who have left a little Round Church; henceforth Baptists appoint the vicar. Davis soft-pedals that he worships on the Seventh-day, but bequeaths the manor to endow such fellow-believers. A retired ship-captain bequeaths another great farm to help five London churches, which never try to spread their convictions here. All progress now due to local men.

Burnham behind its sea-wall which defends a sinking mainland, has stemmed the tide of persecution; its Elder, Ham Stacey, is asked to superintend all the village churches near, as well as those at Braintree, Halstead, Coggeshall, Hedingham, Tilbury. Does not realize that this needs the energy of a younger man, takes the title Messenger, yet gives no message outside his town. Most churches fail to consolidate by building central meeting-houses. One Elder inclined to wear a periwig, and his wife a "high dress"; a scandalised church at Colchester appeals for advice to the contrary. A brewer there chosen to shepherd the younger church with its far-flung members, and his frequent travels to buy barley combine with superintendence. The great palace at Audley End, which the thrifty King James had declared too expensive for a king to keep up, gets a Baptist steward, who opens worship at Saffron Walden; good premises given by a friend, assure its existence even till to-day. Colonel Packer's church at Theobalds across the Lea, helps plant a church at Waltham near the splendid remnants of Harold's Abbey, and its first pastor dabbles in poetry. Except for a little building, churches fall asleep and some die.

The Presbyterian church at Saffron Walden cannot get an orthodox minister, so invites a nephew of Andrew Gifford with a free hand; so orthodox that he soon baptises forty-six people in the Cam, and founds a second church there. This balances the disappearance of Terling, whose minister had chiefly preached funeral sermons. A militia colonel, farmer, starts at Earl's Colne; amused Colchester folk say that those who cannot get white bread must take brown; they don't know that brown is more wholesome.

Quick response to the B.M.S. by forming the first Association in the kingdom designed to spread the gospel; itinerant engaged,

student sent to Gifford's Bristol Academy. Andrew Fuller's brother builds up a church at Thorpe-le-soken.

Napoleon's wars bring soldiery to Galleywood common, where they amuse themselves with racing. The Association provides a church as an antidote at Chelmsford; while Baptists in the navy find their home from home at Harwich. Militia men discover ardent preachers in their ranks; others range about the county, so that every year sees some new Baptist church. An itinerant when threatened by mobs summonses the ringleaders, gets the constable to stand beside him at his open-air work. Whole county backs the new Baptist Union. Andrew Fuller comes preaching for the B.M.S., in Congregational churches, and Baptist churches spring up in his wake. An old-fashioned pastor hears from his son in Van Dieman's Land of the awful plight of the convicts there; hears God's call and goes; Colchester thus founds Baptist churches in Tasmania. A Halstead man tries negroes in Jamaica, goes on to Creek Indians in Alabama. Newman from Waltham Abbey, keeping school, is called by a London group to head a new Academy; an early student comes to Epping forest and starts a church at Loughton; like his tutor, lives by a private school. Scandalised high-calvinists dislike new style, split many churches and rove about starting their style; everyway the gospel is preached.

Son and grandson of Congregational ministers converted at Colchester; "Ah, Charles, I often prayed the Lord to make you a Christian, but I never asked that you might become a Baptist." "Ah, mother, the Lord has answered your prayer with His usual bounty, and given you exceeding abundantly above what you asked or thought." Many of Spurgeon's training afterwards helped Essex baptist churches.

Londoners continue flowing out, to Romford, Chadwell Heath, the new-fashioned south end of Prittlewell, Stratford, Walthamstow, Plaistow, Barking. Joseph Tritton, partner in Barclay's bank, treasurer of the B.M.S., settles at Great Leighs, builds a chapel on his estate, his private property, and a church is formed open to all believers. Heads gravely shaken, more Strict churches embody; progressives lose heart and Association ceases. Solemn warning by Strict papers as to the wickedness of Associations.

Three little boys at Loughton collect for the chapel soup-kitchen, taste its winter brews; sit on the pew-floor during the twenty-minute prayer, looking at pictures in their bibles; twice to Sunday School, evening stories and hymns at the piano. Chapel fills, gallery added, with ornamental front and organ; conservatives very doubtful till concordance shows the word in the bible. New minister to help the old, carefully watched by his senior from

great armchair on the platform, snorting at any questionable doctrine. Pastor's school now kept by daughters, giving first-rate grounding; grateful brothers grow up to teach in Australia, explore the Congo, range over Canada and finish as deacon at Ottawa. Mother tries Home mission work in the gipsy tents of the forest; idea afterwards developed by gipsy-like caravan of the Association touring the county.

Waterside work started at Tidal Basin and Victoria Docks, then at Maldon. New County Union founded by Tritton with the old enterprise. Churches for immigrant Londoners at Southend, Leyton, Woodford, Forest Gate, Grays. As towns grow, chapels prove inadequate; one church persuaded to give up its fine site on a main street in exchange for one on a new road with some promise, provided with chapel built to their liking; when bargain complete, find that chapel is to be hidden by building in front; children of this world wiser in their generation, exact a handsome price for frontage.

Colchester one of the latest to keep up patriarchal ministers such as Spurrier, thrice president of the Association; ministers more transferable, not so engrossed in even county affairs; laymen more to the front, though John Bradford keeps his eyes open for opportunities to extend. Problems so serious that Pioneer Mission and Home Counties Association and Spurgeon all take a hand. A church benefited for centuries from an Essex farm, comes bodily from London into the county to Seven Kings. Far-sighted railway offers cheap season tickets to those who will build; chapels often follow, churches not quite sure whether they are London or Essex, unless beyond the cheap-ticket range like Clacton, or with local industry as Tilbury. Possibilities in West Ham shown by deaconess with vision, yoked with pastor to match; buildings crowded and constantly developed for use all day and every day; women, boys, girls, old folk; country home in Essex for weary mothers and anæmic children. More Union churches in new towns, giving a new opportunity to Free Churches.

War! Back to Napoleon's days with fear of invasion; Thames and Blackwater and Stour alive with craft; Tollesbury and Harwich not quite up to the magic opportunity.

Peace again, new duties felt. Strict churches have felt great mortality, hardly six pastors left. London creates in ten years a fine new town of 125,000 working-class folk dumped to struggle with hire-purchase. Brewers and cinema-owners leap at their chance; no Baptist Co., Ltd. equal to the emergency. Deaconesses and young ministers do their best, run Sunday Schools on double shift for children clamouring. The London frontier advances; Essex County Council approves new towns; Borough Councils extend their boundaries: new estates, arterial roads, change half

the county. Old churches build fresh premises; Association plans where more churches ought to arise.

A London Transport Board with vision decides to regard Harlow, Ongar, Brentwood, Tilbury as its concern; Green Line coaches supply, railway lines to be electrified, Tubes peep up from the depths. Baptists will have more growing pains; they thrive on such challenges.

W. T. WHITLEY.

William Oates, 1796.

Isle of Ely in the County of Cambridge to wit I certify that at the General Quarter Sessions of the peace holden at Ely in and for the said Isle of Ely on Tuesday the fifth day of April in the year of our Lord 1796 William Oates of Sutton in the said Isle of Ely being a dissenting minister took and subscribed the declaration required to be made and subscribed by protestant dissenting Ministers and Schoolmasters by an Act passed in the Nineteenth Year of the Reign of his present Majesty
Hugh Robt. Evans, for

Jas. Bellamy, Deputy Clerk of the peace for the Isle of Ely.

* * * *

The above certificate on parchment, owned by Alfred A. Mumford, of Beaconsfield, would protect Oates from being impressed into the militia, and from the penalties of the Conventicle Acts. He was conceivably connected with Samuel Oates, of Rutland, 150 years earlier, a Baptist evangelist, who conformed after the Restoration, and whose son Titus was expelled by Baptists. William was baptised at Cottenham in 1786. The church at Sutton dates from 1749, though whether as Baptist is uncertain; by 1790 it was. Had it been Baptist in 1786, why was not Oates baptised there? By 1784, George Norman was pastor.

W.T.W.

Tabernacles :

THE EVOLUTION OF THE TITLE.

THE Great Fire of London destroyed many parish churches. For official worship a few buildings used by the new Non-conforming ministers were seized, but these were chiefly outside the City. Therefore, whereas a general law enacted that all future buildings within the walls must be in brick or stone, leave was given to put up temporary wooden buildings for worship. To that Biblical age it was obvious to call them Tabernacles. As the churches designed by Christopher Wren arose, these Tabernacles disappeared.

George Whitefield initiated open-air preaching, and did much on Moorfields. His Dissenting admirers did not see why he should be stopped by bad weather, so in 1741 they procured a piece of land adjoining, and put up a huge wooden shed for the winter. Again it was obvious to call this a Tabernacle. The success was so great that when he left the promoters engaged Cennick, Adams, Jenkins, Howell Harris, Seagrave, Humphreys and others to carry on the work.

Now, Whitefield had arranged with Cennick to conduct a school for colliers' children at Kingswood, near Bristol. This flourished so well that he also gathered a Society of adults. So in March, 1741, Whitefield began arranging for a Tabernacle there, and presently warned him to take care of building too large or too handsome. Cennick laid what was called the " foundation stone," which seems to imply more than a wooden structure as at Moorfields.

Within twelve years the movement was so great that further advances were made. At Norwich, James Wheatley gathered two thousand converts, for whom a temporary Tabernacle was erected on Timber Hill, till a chapel was erected, larger than the city had seen, where Whitefield conducted a three weeks' mission. Whitefield laid a stone at Bristol in Penn Street for a Tabernacle which he opened on November 25th, 1753. And the Moorfields shed had done so well that the same year it was replaced by a brick building eighty feet square, which surrounded it on every side. When the wooden cocoon was taken to pieces, the name Tabernacle was transferred to the permanent structure. Thus the term lost its Biblical connotation of a temporary wooden structure, and came to mean a huge place for the worship of Calvinistic dissenters.

When John Campbell from Dundee and Kilmarnock came to Moorfields, a train was laid along which the fire flashed to Scotland. Two rich laymen, the Haldanes, began preaching in 1797 and 1798, eagerly backed by Campbell. They decided to repeat Whitefield's methods, and Rowland Hill opened in the Circus at Leith Street, Edinburgh, where James Haldane was ordained in February, 1799. The Tabernacle on Leith Walk replaced the Circus in 1801, able to hold 3,200 people with its two galleries. Within a few years they had Tabernacles in Glasgow, Dundee, Perth, Thurso, Wick, Dunkeld and Dumfries. Robert Haldane wrote that "the general idea affixed to the houses called Tabernacles is that of large places of worship, where as great variety as possible is kept up in preaching, by employing different ministers, in order to excite and maintain attention to the Gospel, especially in such as are living in open neglect of religion." In three of these Tabernacles he employed tutors who within nine years trained nearly three hundred evangelists.

Seven years later the Haldanes became Baptist, and when Andrew Fuller preached for the B.M.S. in Leith Walk and other Tabernacles, Baptists became acquainted at first hand with the name, and were familiarised with the idea of enormous preaching places, contrasting with the tiny meeting-houses erected for the two or three hundred members.

In 1827, James Wells of Alton, in Hampshire, began open-air preaching, especially in Westminster Broadway, Rochester Row and Prince's Place. He gathered a church of twenty, and organised on a high Calvinist basis. However illogical it may appear, preaching on such lines did have a wonderful appeal. Webb Street in Bermondsey was soon outgrown, and he obtained the Borough Road Tabernacle, built originally for John Church. This he rebuilt in 1838, and thus English hyper-Calvinist Baptists came to dwell in a Tabernacle.

Next year, John Campbell celebrated at the Moorfields Tabernacle the Centenary of Whitefield's apostolic labours. James Wells had to enlarge his place in 1850, and he styled it the Surrey Tabernacle. It became the London centre for those Baptists who fell out of touch with the main body, exaggerating the views of Keach and Gill. While the successive Baptist Associations ignored him, as he did them, he obtained a commanding position, and was in request all over the country.

Soon afterwards, Spurgeon came to the same district. New Park Street could by no means hold the people he attracted. He experimented in Exeter Hall, then in a huge music-hall in the Zoological Gardens near at hand. It proved that the young preacher could attract ten or twelve thousand people here

steadily. So it was soon decided to build a new Tabernacle for his use.

The architect was practical enough to copy internally the design of the music-hall, with two tiers of galleries, and platform. Outside he thought of four turrets, perhaps inspired by the Strict chapel on Gower Street, but these were never erected. The frontage was on the model of the Royal Exchange and the British Museum, so that the pastor could describe it as "a Grecian place of worship." The motto on the architect's plans was "Metropolitan," which afforded an obvious title to distinguish it from the neighbouring Surrey Tabernacle which James Wells was crowding. While the new place was rising, Spurgeon paid his annual visit to preach at the Moorfields Tabernacle, where John Campbell was carrying on a City Mission.

In August 1860, before the new building was really finished, Campbell came to a preliminary meeting, and chaffed Spurgeon about the title. In his reply he gave yet another turn to the meaning, as involving a doctrine. "We have not come to the Temple state here, we are now passing through the Tabernacle state. We believe this building to be temporary, and only meant for the time that we are in the wilderness without a visible King. We do firmly believe in the real and personal reign of our Lord Jesus Christ, for which we devoutly wait. That is the reason why our new house of prayer is called a Tabernacle, not a Temple." It is not recorded whether James Wells accepted this implication five years later, when he opened a new Surrey Tabernacle on Wansey Street. Joseph Parker had probably forgotten it in 1874 when he occupied a new City Temple. John Campbell had then passed away, and the new Whitefield's Tabernacle on the old site was in what was unkindly described as "Dissenters' Gothic."

Under the Metropolitan Tabernacle were many classrooms, primarily for training students exactly as Haldane had done. Here they heard Spurgeon propound that Greek was the sacred tongue, the Baptist's tongue; that every Baptist should be Grecian—never Gothic; that the five points of Calvinism were the angles of the gospel, five great lamps to irradiate the cross; that this Tabernacle was only the beginning, and the dark county of Surrey must be covered with places of worship. So "Tabernacle" came to mean a chapel with a Greek front in Surrey, occupied by a Spurgeon's man. Croydon, Battersea Park, South Lee, Dulwich, Peckham, show how well his hopes were fulfilled; while county bounds were burst, so that Woolwich and Tunbridge Wells put up Tabernacles never meant to be temporary. Across the river, older places at Highgate, Shoreditch and Barking made new homes, while the sons of Levi pitched at

Burdett Road, Enfield, Barking Road, Poplar, Shepherd's Bush, Uxbridge Road and Walthamstow.

Nor did the Tabernacle move round the Metropolitan area alone. The original Moorfields was now quite eclipsed; the Surrey Tabernacle was sold to the Jews with its Grecian front complete. But many buildings with the architecture and the principles of Spurgeon are now lit up by the Southern Cross.

W. T. WHITLEY.

Charles Brown, by Henry Cook, M.A. (Kingsgate Press, 2s. 6d.)

Our forefathers delighted in full-length biographies in which the subject was usually lost in a maze of unimportant detail. In its modest length this excellently written volume goes to the other extreme. Charles Brown stands out on every page and much of the record is in his own words, but we wish the publishers could have given the author another twenty or thirty pages.

Ferme Park is one of the outstanding churches of the last fifty years, with its membership that reached over twelve hundred, and its fine record of missionary giving and service. Speaking at his farewell meeting, Dr. Brown said: "It is you who have made this ministry—not I who have made this church." But that was Dr. Brown's characteristically gracious modesty. He was surrounded by able and hard-working colleagues on the diaconate: nevertheless, in the human sense, the church was made by him. He gave the people the Word of Life, they knew that when he stood before them he came from the presence of his Lord: no wonder that in the pulpit he mounted up with wings.

Dr. Brown's life is an inspiration, and we are grateful to his loyal and able colleague for this tribute so affectionately told.

Reviews.

Jesus, by S. Pearce Carey, M.A. (Hodder and Stoughton, 7s. 6d. net.)

To undertake a book on Jesus requires some courage. The ground has been so thoroughly examined in the past that there is little chance of any new discovery, and there is always the danger that prejudice—I mean pre-judgment because of the subject—will prevent the book having a fair chance. But Pearce Carey has proved his capacity by his *Life of William Carey*, and his student habits have continued with him through a long and varied ministry. There are constant references to the original text, and the Gospels are studied with freshness and insight. Constantly there are phrases that arrest the reader; for example, that the Golden Rule is "a perfect pocket spirit-level." The whole book is indeed both interesting and helpful, and it can be cordially commended. Not that everything in it will carry conviction; for example, the somewhat startling and unfortunate suggestion that the Agony in the Garden may have some connection with *Angina*. In the same way the treatment of the Transfiguration and the Cry of Dereliction on the Cross will seem to many unsatisfactory. But the book as a whole is both sane and suggestive. Perhaps the biggest lack is a discussion of the composition and inter-connection of the Gospels. But probably the scheme of the book did not allow for this. As it is we can congratulate Mr. Carey—and our ministry—upon it, and hope that the sales will benefit the two causes he has at heart, the B.M.S. and Regent's.

HENRY COOK.

Crusade! A Plea for Christ and His poor, by G. Oswald Cornish (Independent Press Ltd., 1s.)

This book is described in a foreword by William Dick of Poplar as the manual of the Crusade to which he himself has called the Churches to deal with the problem of unemployment in the light of the Christian gospel. It starts from the contention that unemployment is not a necessary evil but is due to human failure and can be remedied. The author goes on to show that a body of Christian people thinking and acquiring knowledge about this subject, following up their concern and keeping the Church and the nation awake on this urgent issue, has a great work to perform. He outlines a practical strategy for dealing

with the situation, but wisely suggests that it is tentative and may need to be altered. The plan of the Crusade which he expounds is in outline (1) To provide work for those at present unemployed, "a short term policy." (2) To scrutinise very carefully the basis of the present industrial system in order to isolate and remove from it the factors that have created unemployment, "a long term policy." (3) To bring the Crusade into the field of international justice and goodwill, building world peace by the removal of the economic causes of war.

This book raises big issues and leaves big questions. Ought the Church to commit itself to the programme for the immediate reduction in the number of unemployed which is here outlined? Can we plan an economic and legislative programme in advance of a sufficient nucleus of that changed human personality that the author believes is necessary to sustain this Crusade? Whatever the answer to these questions, this book does a service in quickening the Christian conscience on a matter that all too easily fades into the background.

The Christian as Soldier. War-time discussion, by Hugh Martin, M.A. (Student Christian Movement Press, 4d.)

Mr. Martin writes as a one-time pacifist who has changed his mind. Avowing as passionate a hatred of war as any pacifist, he contends that "it is our Christian duty to-day to take up arms." Non-pacifists will find their case stated with that lucidity and force which make it such a pleasure to read anything Mr. Martin writes. Pacifists will naturally want to question and rebut the argument page by page. They may even claim that the author concedes more than he thinks when he says, "We must beware lest in order to win a military victory we lose the cause for which we say we are fighting." This is certainly a lively and stimulating pamphlet. It left one reader musing on whether it is not the case that the Christian Church of our day has been whispering the distinctively Christian word about peace while it loudly proclaims the stalemate it has reached in its conflicting reactions to the use of force.

W. Taylor Bowie.