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Editorial.

NEW MEMBERS.

The following have joined the Baptist Historical Society since our last issue:

Rev. D. R. Griffiths, B.A., B.D. Mr. P. W. Jewson.

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NEW ZEALAND BAPTISTS AND PEACE.

The following paragraph is copied from the *New Zealand Baptist,* the official organ of the Baptist Union of New Zealand.

"The question is raised in the *Baptist Quarterly* as to what would be a just peace. The editor urges that the Baptist World Alliance, with affiliations in all European countries, should collect suggestions. We have pleasure in offering a scrap of New Zealand history, which we happened on when we read Buick's book, *New Zealand's First War.* It is in part paralleled by the peace action of the British in South Africa. The first war was occasioned by the discontent of two chiefs, Hone Heke and Kawiti. The British were aided by loyal Maoris, who accepted the intentions of the British expressed in the Treaty of Waitangi. Their leader was a very able soldier, Waaka Nene, from the Methodist Mission at Hokianga. When the rebellion flared up, the Governor, Captain Fitzroy, promised the loyal natives that they should divide the rebels' land between them. Before the war won to its issue in the storming of Ruapekapeka a new Governor was on the scene, Sir George Grey. Grey took the view that a vindictive peace is no peace at all. He proposed a free pardon and retention of tribal lands by the rebels. He was confronted by his predecessor's promise, repeated many times by Colonel Despard. He called Waaka Nene and expounded his view. Nene was deeply Christian, and he desired permanent peace. He saw and said that confiscation would leave a rankling sore, and would never be forgiven. He freely renounced his rights to plunder, and a magnanimous peace was concluded. When, fifteen years later, the second war flared up, those northern tribes remained loyal and prevented the sack of Auckland. The whole transaction is very notable, and is worth a very close consideration, as this war wears toward its weary close."

Atlanta and Rumania.

BAPTIST WORLD INFLUENCE.

[Dr. J. H. Rushbrooke was announced to give a report on the Atlanta Congress at the afternoon session of the Baptist Assembly, on Monday, 29th April. Unfortunately, owing to the lateness of the hour and the time occupied by earlier business, his report was curtailed and heard by an attenuated audience. The *Baptist Quarterly* does not usually print speeches, but this report by the President of the Baptist World Alliance was of importance, and we gladly give it permanent record.]

FIVE years ago it was my privilege to tell in this Assembly the thrilling story of our meeting in Berlin, how in Hitler's capital city the world assembly of the Baptist communion adopted resolutions condemning not by implication but directly and unequivocally the racial theories of Nazism. What we said on war and peace and on other matters was equally to the point, and has given a lead to Christian thinking within and beyond our denomination.

It seemed to me at that time that no future world gathering could rival in dramatic intensity "Berlin 1934," but I was wrong. "Atlanta 1939" was in some respects very different, but its influence immediately flooded a whole continent, and the electric currents of its inspiration radiated in every direction to the ends of the earth. Berlin saw the greatest Baptist world assembly yet held in the Eastern Hemisphere, but Atlanta set up a new record. It was the scene of the greatest world assembly any Evangelical communion has ever held. I confess that the numbers almost frightened me. Think of masses of people occupying all the seats around an American baseball ground, and filling the playing space itself, so that often 50,000, and on one occasion some 70,000 were present. I was unable to imagine such multitudes unified into a congregation quiet, reverent and intelligently participant in the proceedings. Until the Atlanta Congress I had not appreciated the marvellous developments of American technical skill in the use of amplifiers, so that throughout the vast area everyone followed every word without disturbing reverberations. Never have I known a more intense spiritual experience than during the stirring sermon of Professor Ohrn, preached to 45,000 people as easily and naturally, and heard as clearly, as if he had been in a small village church. Only on one occasion was there an embarrassing interruption, and

Mrs. Ernest Brown was its victim. Her husband is credited with a mighty voice, but I am told he has declared that he never "smashed the mike" as his wife did. I really must publicly vindicate Mrs. Brown. The prosaic truth is that a nearby thunderstorm put out of action a section of the amplifiers; but within a few minutes the technicians had righted everything, and her remarkable speech was perfectly heard.

It is impossible to attempt to describe in a few minutes even the external features of the Atlanta Congress. It was a historic event in its setting. Never have coloured people and white co-operated more closely and fraternally than in that city of the *South*. The speaker on behalf of all the Baptists of Georgia, chosen by themselves to offer their welcome, was an honoured negro minister. It was historic, as I said, in its vast numbers. It was unique in the public attention it evoked. Press and radio were constantly at our service. Again and again nation-wide broadcasts were secured. One of my own addresses was wirelessed not only to the States and Canada, but to Europe and South America. It was unique in the variety and range of the questions it faced. Nothing was shirked. War and peace: if there is anything within its compass more searching than the Report presented by Dr. Nordström's Commission, I don't know it. Political, economic, racial issues are all treated with profound insight, and its last word is a moving, simple slogan that has reverberated everywhere: *None but changed people can change the world.* We faced the question of the Church, both as it concerns Baptists themselves and as it concerns their relations to others, and we faced it in the only light in which it can for us be solved—that of the New Testament. No one could accuse us of lack of open-mindedness or of stand-offishness over against fellow-Christians who peruses the Report prepared by Dr. Wheeler Robinson and presented by Dr. Holms Coats, or that of Professor Carver on the Oxford and Edinburgh Conferences. Our responsibility for evangelisation was enforced both in connection with foreign missions and at home; British visitors have told me that their supreme gain in Atlanta was the vision of an evangelising church. Youth received attention, and young people participated in a degree beyond precedent. The pageant of Baptist history prepared by Mr. Payne, and presented by members of the white and coloured churches of Atlanta, stood out as a "high light" of the Congress. And it must always be remembered that the abiding worth of such a Congress is not measured by oratory in the vast public assemblies—even when it includes a tremendous presidential address of Dr. Truett—but by the friendships formed and the fellowships deepened, and by the sectional meetings in which smaller representative groups

hammer out decisions and recommendations on practical issues. *Inspiration and witness* were the dominant notes of the mass meetings: plans for practical action were shaped in group gatherings. Two only of these will I mention: a Women's Committee of the Alliance has taken shape under the chairmanship of Mrs. Brown, and an Evangelisation Committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Pitt Beers. You will hear much of these.

The British-American Fraternal, an outgrowth of the Alliance, is an instrument of fellowship in specific directions, and from our point of view it could not have chosen a better president than the Rev. Henry Cook.

You sent a splendidly representative group of British Baptists to Atlanta, and except for distance, expense and the gathering clouds of war, far more would have gone. There were a hundred of us on the other side of the Atlantic. You were one, Mr. President, and your service was great indeed. You, Mr. Vice-President, left your mark and earned a new title: "The head of the leading bone-dry organisation in Britain." You, Mr. Secretary, certainly expressed our mind about the totalitarian State, and after your speech no one in the States should be surprised at the British Baptist attitude towards the present war. Beyond those I have named I find in the list of speakers Mr. Taylor Bowie, Mr. Child, Mr. Middlebrook, Mr. Payne, and Dr. Dunning, and other such honoured leaders as Dr. Gilbert Laws, Mr. H. L. Taylor, the Rev. B. Grey Griffith, Dr. S. W. Hughes and the Rev. Henry Cook. Our end was kept up. Certainly I am deeply moved at the fact that the nominating committee, representing all parts of the world, unanimously decided that a British Baptist should be named as President. I have only one word to say regarding the choice which the great assembly ratified: the man they elected has put his life into the service of the fellowship and freedom of Baptists. He believes in the Baptist World Alliance, and he believes in inter-denominational co-operation. About ecclesiastical fusion, which is a different thing, he perhaps has an opinion which need not now be obtruded!

As President of the Baptist World Alliance, I wish in a few closing sentences to plead for a wider horizon in the outlook of some—not all—British Baptists. It shocks me to discover now and again how little thousands of our people know of what their brethren represent in the world. Over a large section of Europe since the Great War it is the pressure of Baptists exerted with the support and guidance of their World Alliance that has kept alive the claim to *religious* freedom and compelled statesmen really to understand and face it. Other minority claims have been mixed up with politics and race. The suspicion that our

claim was of that sort, industriously fed by slanderous tongues, has been one of the major difficulties, especially in Rumania. After twenty years' work, with heart-breaking disappointments, I have lived to read of the approval by the Government of that land of a Baptist Statute with the title: "The Statute of the Baptist Christian Cult of Rumania"—*cult*, mark you! The term is the Rumanian legal description of a Christian communion; that status has never been admitted before; and the first clause of the approved statute reads:

> "The Baptists of Rumania, of any nationality, constitute a Christian cult."

Troubles are not over. One clause had been inserted into the statute that would have wrecked everything by suppressing liberty of preaching. My personal intervention secured its removal. While I was on the way to Bukarest, on the 8th of this very month, sixteen Baptists were imprisoned or fined for taking part in a prayer meeting. These cases and others are, in response to our appeal, to be revised by the Ministry of Justice, and action is promised to remove other grievances. There is a changed spirit, and I recall with grateful appreciation the attitude of the present Minister of Cults, who received me as a guest to lunch in his home, and of the Prime Minister who, if I had not been forced to leave early, would have had me to dinner with him. New and significant facts! I believe there is now a firm resolve on the part of the Royal Government of Rumania, expressing the will of the King himself, to make an end of the long story of strain. I was profoundly pleased to learn this: that a document which I submitted last December in the name of the Baptist World Alliance gave the Minister the suggestion and starting-point of his new policy. Our people in Rumania are loyal citizens, and we who all wish well to their country will thank God if they are able henceforth to live their lives in happy freedom, none daring to make them afraid.

Brethren, Baptists stand for something vital, whose disappearance would leave the world impoverished. Grasp that, and all our problems are seen in a clearer light. We are not a spent force, but by the grace of God mighty yet for the Gospel and freedom.

J. H. RUSHBROOKE.

Has Carlyle still a Message?

THAT Carlyle did have a message, or at least was widely believed to have a message, no one can seriously question. By multitudes he was regarded as a prophet, a man who spoke to his time the essential Word of God. He called men back from the trivial and foolish to think of the higher purposes of life; and if he made frequent use of capital letters in such indefinite terms as the Eternities and Immensities, it was recognized that he was trying to describe the infinite background which alone can give our human existence dignity and value and power. His style was certainly unusual, and it contained a good deal of extravagance, particularly when it expressed condemnation. But it was quickly seen that this was involved in his essential constitution, and (at least in his earlier work) it was due to his very sincerity. He wrote as he felt, and his language took fire from the feeling that consumed him. Men who knew Carlyle admired his forthrightness and honesty of purpose; and if they laughed at the scathing extravagance of some of his judgments, they had an idea, perhaps even an uncomfortable idea, that there was somewhere within the extravagance a good deal of truth that was worthy of serious consideration.

But even in the heyday of Carlyle's reputation, there were people who criticized his message. For instance, James Russell Lowell, the famous American essayist and poet. He wrote a review of Carlyle's *Frederick the Great* which he afterwards incorporated in his book *My Study Windows,* and in it he takes Carlyle to task most faithfully. He criticizes his method of approaching a subject, and still more the anti-democratic character of his teaching. This essay, like all Russell Lowell's critical work, is well worth reading. It is only fair to add, however, that even the most ardent disciple of Carlyle finds it impossible to defend his choice of Frederick the Great as a "hero"; so that Lowell makes his attack from fairly safe ground. But on the other hand, his strictures against Carlyle's treatment of history are somewhat unjust, for, when all is said, Carlyle remains a great prophetic teacher. Another critic of Carlyle in his own lifetime was Justin McCarthy, whose *History of our own Times,* is still a treasure-house of instruction delightfully set out. McCarthy compares Carlyle with Macaulay, greatly to Macaulay's advantage. But it is doubtful whether serious students would accept McCarthy's opinion; for Carlyle, with all his faults, leaves an impression on the mind of a sympathetic reader that is quite beyond Macaulay's power to achieve.

A more recent critic was William Archer, known best to the public for his *Green Eye of the Little Yellow God,* and to the lover of literature as the translator of Ibsen. In an article in the now defunct *T.P's Weekly,* he told how his uncle presented him with a complete set of Carlyle's works in the little brick-red volumes that we see on secondhand bookstalls. Carlyle "of course interested, and no doubt helped me enormously", said Archer; "but I rebelled from the first, as I hope everyone rebels now, against his monotonous declamation of a sham philosophy." The phrase is a good one. But it strikes the ear as a little rhetorical, and one asks whether it is quite as true as it sounds. "Monotonous declamation"—in some senses perhaps; especially if you think it "a sham philosophy." But, then, preaching of any sort may be so described, for it consists of constant reiteration of the same fundamental ideas, and the real question is not "Is the preaching 'monotonous'" (in the sense that it dwells on the same ideas), but "Is it sincere?" and deeper still, "Is it true?"

Archer to some extent puts himself out of court as a critic, because he was himself a secularist and not therefore likely to find Carlyle's message very profitable. We shall never understand, or begin to understand, Carlyle properly unless we see that he was essentially a religious man. His creed was perhaps vague, and there was no specific form of faith to which he attached himself. He was not a Christian in the orthodox sense, though he had a deep reverence for Christ, and had a strong hankering after the faith of his fathers. Sometimes his language about conventional religion was so scornful that his friends were puzzled by it. "After all", said Darwin once to Mrs. Carlyle who tells the story, "What is Carlyle's religion, or has he any?" to which Mrs. Carlyle says, "I answered him that I knew no more than himself." This must surely apply to the first part of Darwin's question, because about the second there can hardly be any doubt. The precise brand of "religion" may be uncertain, but the religion itself is unmistakably present, as anyone who reads *Sartor* or *The French Revolution* or *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches* can see at a glance.

Carlyle, we must remember, was trained in the best Scottish School, a devout home where religion (with a strongly Calvinistic bias) meant reverence for God, expressed in sound moral character. There was a good deal of the Old Testament in it and the emphasis was prophetic (in the best sense) rather than Christian. Carlyle once described himself as "something savage-prophetic. I am John the Baptist, girt about with a leathern girdle, whose food is locusts and wild honey." The comparison is suggestive, and it is well worth noting.

The central message is God's living reality. "This fair universe," we are told in *Sartor*, "were it in the meanest province thereof, is in very deed the star-domed City of God. Through every star, through every grass-blade, and, most, through every living soul, the glory of a present God still beams. But Nature, which is the time-vesture of God and reveals Him to the wise, hides Him from the foolish."

God reveals Himself to man as a moral authority in conscience whose voice becomes the Everlasting Yea of honest duty. Standing before the Eternities a man realizes his own moral greatness; and as he seeks to live for the highest that God reveals to him, he attains to inward happiness and victory.

The presence of God is everywhere in Nature and experience, but we can see it most clearly in history and it is here that Carlyle made his greatest contribution. He broke with the eighteenth century historians and made history once more, as it was to the Old Testament prophets, the sphere of God's greatest activity.

It is interesting to compare the attitude of Carlyle in this respect with that of so great a man as Dr. Johnson. "We must remember," said Johnson, "how very little history there is—I mean real authentic history. That certain kings reigned and certain battles were fought we can depend upon as true, but all the philosophy, all the colouring, of history is conjecture." "Then, sir," answered Boswell very sensibly, "you would reduce all history to no better than an almanac, a mere chronicle of remarkable events". History of this sort Carlyle rejected with scorn. History is more than a number of beads strung on a thread. It is a living unity, and behind all the events great forces are at work, giving meaning and purpose to all we see. It is the business of the historian to penetrate behind "the mere chronicle of remarkable events" in order to show how the eternal principles that constitute the divine order work themselves out in experience. In other words, the historian must endeavour to trace for his readers the movements of God, that by so doing he may stress the appropriate lessons.

Carlyle himself noted two main aspects of the divine activity in history, the first Judgment, and the second Revelation.

Under the first head we have *The French Revolution*. Lord Acton described it as "one of those disappointing storm clouds that give out more thunder than lightning." In other words, the clear picture of events in sequence is lacking, and the reader is confused where he had expected to be enlightened. There is something in the criticism unquestionably. Probably the man who knows a little about the French Revolution from somebody else will get more good from Carlyle than the man

who comes to it in absolute ignorance. Carlyle's treatment is impressionistic rather than scientific; and one longs to see people and events under a quieter light at times, that so there may come a more distinct understanding of their relation to each other and the whole great drama before us. But, on the other hand, it is doubtful whether Carlyle could have driven home his message in any other way than the one he took. He wrote at white heat, and all his powers were directed to leaving on his reader's mind one vivid, vital impression, the impression of an awful judgment of God going forth against human frivolity and iniquity. Epithet is piled on epithet; scenes are flashed quickly before us; men and women are shown as they essentially are; and over all broods the sense of impending catastrophe, till at last the lightnings of God descend on the sin of Man. "Imposture is in flames, imposture is burnt up. One red sea of fire, wild-bellowing enwraps the world, with its fire-tongue licks the very stars. Thrones are hurled into it and Dubois mitres and Prebendal stalls that drop fatness—And ha! what see?—all the 'gigs' of creation [Carlyle's favourite phrase for social snobbery]—all, all, woe is me."

God judges His world—of that there can be no question. This was Carlyle's favourite message, and no one has ever more effectively used a caustically brilliant pen in the statement of it. Righteousness is the basic fact of the moral order, and whoever ignores it has sooner or later to pay the price.

But judgment is only one side of God's activity in history. The other side is Revelation, God's disclosure of His will in human experience. This is worked out by Carlyle in his doctriine of Heroes. We get the theory in *Heroes and Hero-Worship.* Man, says Carlyle, is "the emblem to us of the Highest God", and man at his greatest and best in the Hero is the clearest "emblem" of God we can have. Carlyle discusses this under six categories, the Hero as Divinity, as Prophet, as Poet, as Priest, as Man of Letters, and as King. It is typical of Carlyle that his two examples of kings were not kings in the conventional sense; they are Cromwell and Napoleon.

Cromwell he deals with more fully in the *Letters and Speeches,* and it was the first clear vindication in literature of Cromwell's genius as a statesman. For centuries Cromwell had been denounced as a hypocrite and a charlatan. But ever since Carlyle wrote the world has learned to appreciate and understand him.

Then came *Past and Present* in which Carlyle sought to apply his theory to modern conditions. Carlyle was a true son of the people, and his heart was wrung by the miseries of his time. In the brilliant first half of the book he went back to

history, and showed how the coming of Abbot Samson changed life at Bury St. Edmunds. Find your Abbot Samson, he said, and let him work his will in present economic affairs.

But suppose your Abbot Samson is a tyrant? and suppose his idea of government is the abolition of human rights and the creation of dictatorship? Is even a good dictatorship as valuable for humanity as a bad democracy? This was the crux of the problem, and Carlyle came down on the side of dictatorship. The danger of his theory was manifest from the start in his choice of Napoleon as a hero; then came his attempted justification of the darkest stain on Cromwell's memory, the massacres in Ireland; then came his suggestion in *Past and Present* that working men might be better in the slavery of Gurth the Saxon than in the condition of the freeborn Britisher. Then finally came *Frederick the Great,* a wonderful piece of research but a sad waste of power on a very undesirable character. It is hardly surprising that Carlyle defended Governor Eyre's treatment of the negroes in Jamaica, and to-day he is quoted in connection with the Prussian historian Trutschke as the literary "begetter" of Pan-Germanism and its monstrous child, Adolf Hitler.

What a descent it is from the glorious *Essay on Burns* to *Frederick the Great*! and it is hard to see how the warm-hearted son of Scottish peasantry could become the champion of dictatorship. The best explanation is that of G. M. Trevelyan, our greatest living English historian. He points out that Carlyle's constant stomach-trouble and increasing loneliness in life as he grew older made him more and more depart from his own true self; with the result that we really have two Carlyles, and it is the eager-hearted first, and not the soured and cankered second that really matters.

This paper is already longer than was intended. But, as one who in his student days received undying inspiration from Carlyle, it seemed only fair that something should be said on his behalf at a time when his reputation, for political reasons, is sadly under a cloud. With all his later faults Carlyle was as true a prophet of God as Amos or John the Baptist; and for a world like our own the message of the *French Revolution* is as living as ever. Preachers especially can find much to thrill them in the earlier Carlyle, and if *Frederick the Great* can safely be left alone there are plenty of other things in Carlyle that we can all of us usefully study.

HENRY COOK.

John Bunyan and Andrew Gifford.

THE linking of the names of these two men in connection with an interesting and undoubtedly authentic relic of Bunyan (now in America), has led to some research, the result of which is here given as deductive rather than conclusive evidence; in the hope that proof may yet be forthcoming.

A silver tankard exists which was presented in 1671 to Elizabeth, John Bunyan's second wife, by Nathaniel Ponder, the publisher of *The Pilgrim's Progress*; and when Bunyan died in 1688, his widow passed on the gift to Andrew Gifford. Gifford was described by *The Chicago Tribune* (in or about 1884) as the pastor of "the Baptist Church in Bedford"—confusing him, no doubt, with John Gifford (who died in 1655), Bunyan's spiritual counsellor and predecessor at Bedford. Andrew Gifford, of course, lived at Bristol.

The question therefore arises, Did John Bunyan and Andrew Gifford ever meet? Apparently neither Gifford nor Bunyan is known to have mentioned the other in print; but that does not signify that they had never met; for it seems highly probable that they were in touch, not only with one another, but also with others whom each knew, although when, where, or how, still needs to be determined. The present writer ventures to suggest that Bunyan and Gifford were sometimes present at the gatherings of those who formed the Fifth Monarchy Movement, as Gifford, it is recorded, was often in London, and Bunyan was there not infrequently—even whilst serving his imprisonment at Bedford.

As early as 1654 the Fifth Monarchy Movement began, when certain of Cromwell's Army regarded the Protectorate as opposed to their vision of a theocratic republic. And before then, attempts that had been made to reorganise the Church as it was (with no alternative form of government) only brought about a state of chaos: partly due to those who created themselves ministers and lived as best they could. Parliament was loth to take responsibility, although Doctor John Owen, "the reputed head of the Independents," had put forward a scheme which proposed the continuance of the National Church "with dissenting bodies by its side." However, "the limits of toleration" killed the project. The people of England—although not unwilling for a temporary dictatorship—had no inclination to be ruled by a Puritan minority. The country

could not and would not be forced into Puritanism. Vavasour Powell is stated to have exclaimed: "Lord, wilt Thou have Oliver Cromwell or Jesus Christ to reign over us?" But Cromwell had no desire to claim Christ's crown for himself. The Protector, whilst recognising the mistaken enthusiasm and yet appreciating their zeal, regarded somewhat crushingly the Fifth Monarchy Movement as "A notion I hope we all honour, and wait for: that Jesus Christ will have a time to set up His reign in our hearts; by subduing those corruptions and lusts and evils that are there; which now reign more in the world than, I hope, in due time they shall do."

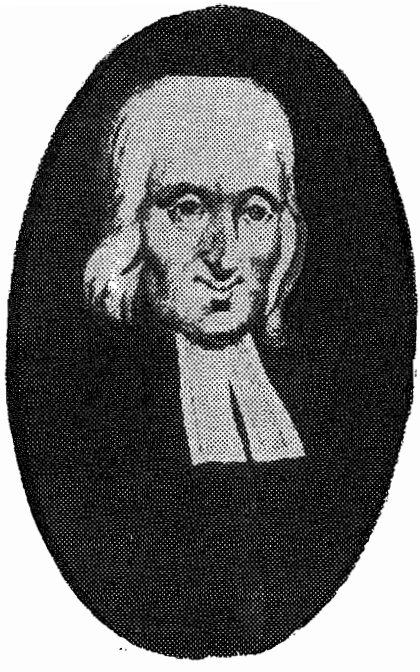
Yet so prevalent was the belief in the immediate coming of Christ to reign on earth that no denomination at the close of the Commonwealth was devoid of it; so much so that it was even feared that Christianity (if allowed full scope) might take the place of civil government, and that those who did not comply would "be put to the sword." The fanaticism of both leaders and followers of the Fifth Monarchy Movement did not abate: rather did it spread—especially among Anabaptists who had "largely officered Cromwell's Army" in the Civil War, for Cromwell had favoured praying Baptists; and John Bunyan had been, when serving in the garrison at Newport Pagnell, in close quarters with some of those who figured prominently as Fifth Monarchy men, including Paul Hobson.

It was about the year 1651 that Bunyan himself became Anabaptist, so it is not unreasonable to assume that he forgathered with others whom he knew—John Owen, Vavasour Powell, and William Dell included—at the Fifth Monarchy conclaves in London, and met there Andrew Gifford, of Bristol. But none of these could have suspected the machinations that were eventually to lead to rebellion and outrage; because at its inception the Movement was without doubt sincere and spiritual: its members living in expectation of the speedy return of Christ to reign in literal sovereign power, until Venner's perfidy and fanatical massacre in 1661 disillusioned them. Venner, with his mad venture, was renounced by John Bunyan's friend, George Cockayn.

A document sent to Cromwell from Bedfordshire in 1653, returning two members to his "Parliament of Saints," contains, with others, the names of not only "that reverend man," John Grew, but also of John Gifford, William Dell (at whose church at Yelden Bunyan preached in 1659), John Donne, John Gibbs (the vicar of Newport Pagnell)—and John Bunyan, whose signature, because written in a cultured hand, is repudiated by the late Dr. Brown. But as Bunyan was so intimately connected with the men whose names are here mentioned, there can be no

JOHN BUNYAN
1628—1688

From the original Drawing by Robert White in the Cracherode Collection in the British Museum. (By kind permission.)



ANDREW GIFFORD

1641—1721

(*By kind permission of* THE WESTERN DAILY PRESS, *Bristol.*)

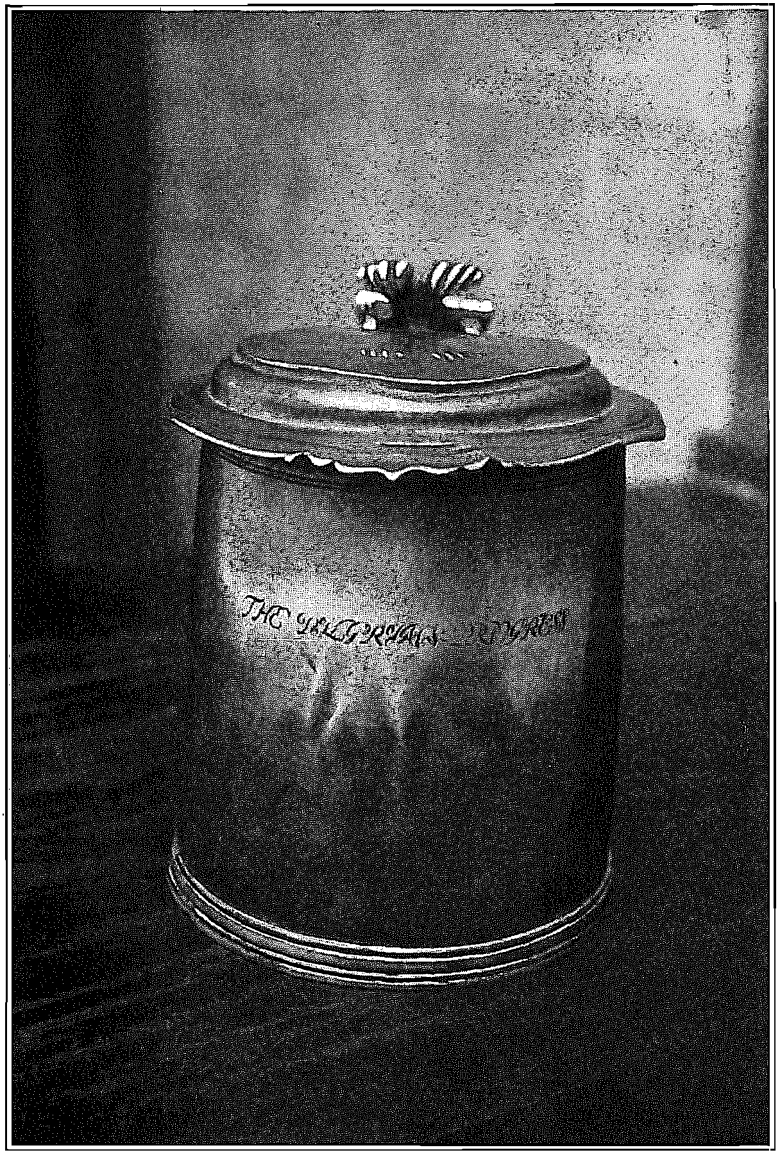
valid reason for rejecting his: despite its unresemblance to his authentic signatures. Most of the men above-named had been or were in the Fifth Monarchy Movement. But to what extent Bunyan might have been involved (until its religious merged into political significance) at this distance of time it is impossible to say. Some of its supporters must have withdrawn by the time the Venner insurrection broke out; and Bunyan's own record of Paul Cobb's visit to Bedford Gaol in 1661 is convincing proof that the prisoner was strongly, though unjustifiably, suspected of attending seditious gatherings in London. Bunyan's reply to a question from Cobb certainly confirms his innocence of the charge: "I look upon it (said Bunyan) as my duty to behave myself as a man and a Christian." Bunyan was loyal to his monarch in all civil matters, however much he claimed liberty of conscience in things spiritual; and at a time when the rule of the King and the Church were supreme over the minds of the people, it is sheer outrage on language to translate Bunyan's actions into rebellion. Such interpretations were bad enough in his own day, but to continue the argument now is contemptible. And yet it is done. In Bunyan's time "dissent and republicanism were synonymous terms," because it was then thought impossible "for a dissenter not to be a rebel." Bunyan suffered severely for conscience' sake; and the fact that, at the coronation of Charles the Second, prisoners were pardoned and released whilst Bunyan was retained in gaol, leads to the assumption that he was still the martyr of revenge: too strong and bold a man to be freed. No wonder is it then, that at the time he wrote with a sigh—"thus was I . . . left in prison."

To what extent, if any, Andrew Gifford involved himself in the Fifth Monarchy Movement, there is no discovered record to disclose. He may have been for a time carried away under Venner's influence, for afterwards (in 1685) Gifford narrowly escaped execution for the part he played, with other Baptists, in the Monmouth rebellion.

The date, 1671, on Ponder's gift to Elizabeth Bunyan, clearly shows that he and Bunyan were intimately acquainted at least seven years before the first edition of *The Pilgrim's Progress* appeared in 1678. This now established fact supports the statements made by biographers of Bunyan, prior to the comprehensive work by Dr. John Brown, that *The Pilgrim's Progress* was composed long before it was printed; for no doubt it was written in the County Gaol at Bedford and not in the Bridge Prison—as Dr. Brown surmises and so cleverly argues. But the delayed publication of the work needs elucidation. It seems not improbable that Bunyan postponed the printing of it when released from prison through King Charles's Act of Indulgence:

a freedom thankfully accepted by Bunyan, who, "in the first warmth of his gratitude" (as Lord Macaulay puts it), had eulogised the King in a tract; but upon discovering that the Monarch's magnanimity was to restore in England the religion of Rome, Bunyan evidently determined to print the manuscript he had set aside for several years, notwithstanding his papal references. Why Ponder had not been employed by Bunyan previous to 1678 is still a mystery, for Bunyan had already published twenty-two works bearing various imprints—but not one with Nathaniel Ponder's. It is common knowledge that some of Bunyan's earlier publishers were mixed up with the Fifth Monarchy men, but whether Ponder himself was is doubtful, although his first patron (in 1668), Doctor John Owen, did have some connection with the movement; and Owen, it is assumed, brought together Bunyan and Ponder. That being so, Ponder too might have been amongst them. It is, however, inexplicable why Nathaniel Ponder should have presented the tankard to Elizabeth and not to Bunyan himself. It may be that Ponder wished to celebrate the occasion of her husband's release from gaol; or, is it unreasonable to suggest that Bunyan's wife was related to Ponder? There is no known record to show who either wife was before marriage.

At the time of the tankard episode, the Anabaptist Francis Smith was publishing Bunyan's writings. Smith, a bookseller and preacher, was certainly involved in the Venner trouble, but to what extent it is difficult to judge, for the alleged charges against Smith made by Muddiman, the King's Journalist, are so prejudiced that they are unworthy to rank as evidence. Through neglect to renew the Printing Act of 1662, Charles had allowed it to lapse when he prorogued Parliament in 1679; but by the end of his reign the Press was restored to order, and dissent had been subdued. Smith's premises were, however, constantly raided under L'Estrange's censorship, and his books seized or damasked: amongst them were some by "Mr. Bunyan." Ponder, too, in 1676, was sent to the Gatehouse for publishing, as far back as 1671, Andrew Marvell's *The Rehearsal Transpros'd*; and Simon Dover, another printer employed by Bunyan, had died (in 1664) whilst in prison for having issued literature that had been denounced as seditious. Roger L'Estrange with determination "had broken up the knot of dishonest booksellers"—and not until 1679 was another rebellion started, when Titus Oates' plot to murder the King was projected. This, according to the King's Journalist, was but a revival of the Fifth Monarchy Movement. Other of Bunyan's publishers who came under the lash of the law included George Larkin and Benjamin Harris. The author-publisher, Harris—says the



THE SILVER TANKARD

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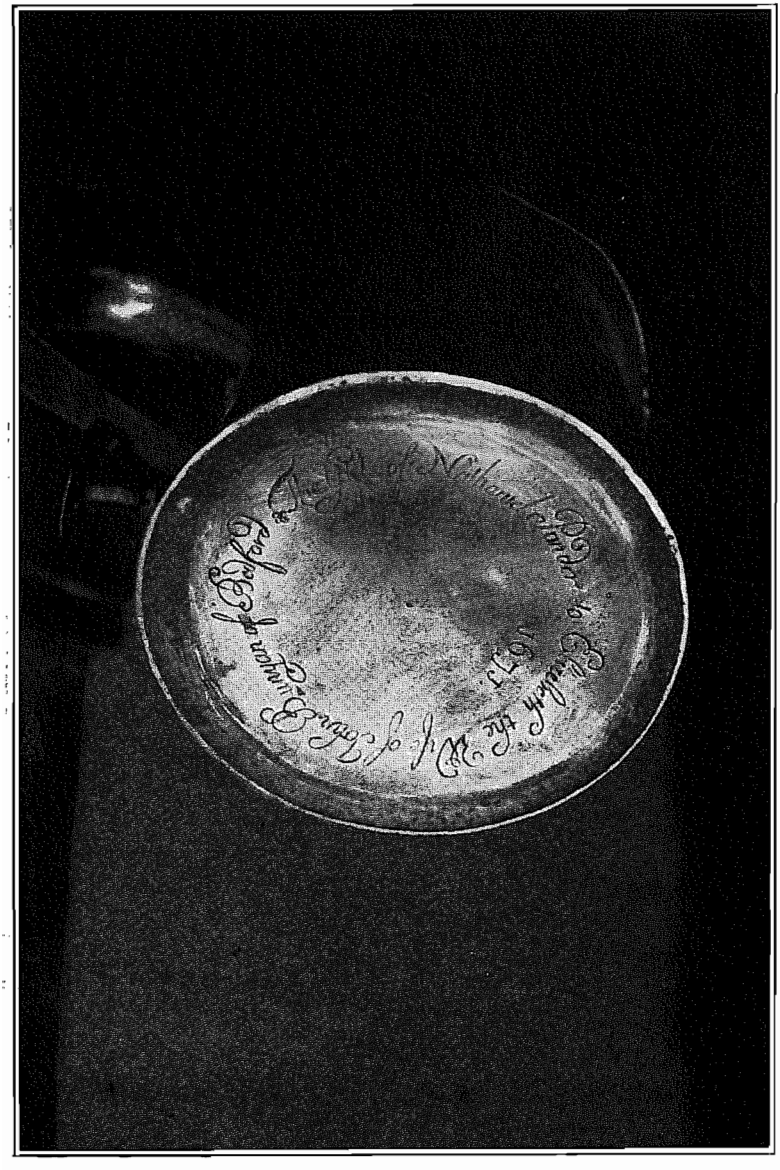

BOTTOM OF TANKARD.

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unreliable though witty John Dunton—"scandalised Truth by pretending to write for it"!

As has been already intimated, during the first half of his twelve years' imprisonment, John Bunyan had a certain amount of freedom, even to leaving Bedford for short seasons; and at that time, according to Ivimey, Andrew Gifford "was a very active promoter of a General Union of the Baptist Churches in England and Wales, and attended all the meetings in London"; and as Bunyan had run amok of the Strict Baptists by contending (as Dr. Brown states) "for the reception of saints into Church fellowship as saints, independently of water baptism," he was violently assailed "by leading London Baptists who upheld strict communion": a toleration which apparently dates from the Restoration. The acceptance of Christians into fellowship, whether immersed or not immersed, brought upon Bunyan anathemas from the merchant-preacher William Kiffin and others: such as were opposed to open communion. Nevertheless, Bunyan was a Baptist, but a Baptist with a vision beyond rites and ceremonies. So at these London gatherings Bunyan and Gifford might well have met.

Ivimey gives, too, the text of a letter received in 1675 by Andrew Gifford at Bristol from Joseph Morton. It was signed by William Kiffin and, amongst others, by Nehemiah Coxe. Coxe was for some time a member of Bunyan's congregation at Bedford, and his name establishes yet another link, for it is stated in the Bristol Baptist Records that Andrew Gifford, "the third minister," was ordained at Bristol on "the 3rd of the sixth month, 1677, by the laying-on of hands of Brother Daniel Dyk [Dike] and Brother Nehemiah Coxe, elders in London, with fasting and prayer in the church." Gifford, a cooper by trade, was born in 1641 (when Bunyan was a boy of thirteen), and was baptised in 1659. He began his ministry at Bristol two years later—at the time when persecution was rife and John Bunyan was already in gaol. Like Bunyan, Gifford preached in churches and barns and houses, as well as in fields and woods. He was imprisoned four times. He claimed—as also did Bunyan—that he "ought to obey God rather than men"; and, by curious coincidence, each man was on one occasion arrested on a warrant signed by thirteen county magistrates. When in 1672 the Declaration of Indulgence released both Bunyan and Gifford, the preaching licence granted to Andrew Gifford by Charles the Second and Lord Arlington, bore the denominational designation "Presbyterian." This was crossed out (presumably by Gifford himself), and in its place "Baptist" appears, inscribed in bold, black ink.

The tradition of Gifford's disguise as a tinker (when in

trepidation of being arrested and persecuted) may or may not be explained through his acquaintance with Bunyan; it is here noted for what it is worth and not as evidence. But the copy of a *Concordance* (1671), compiled by Vavasour Powell, now in the Bristol Baptist College Library, with Bunyan's signature (supposedly in his own handwriting) is a matter for consideration, as no doubt Powell (who was an open communionist) and Bunyan undoubtedly knew one another, as both enjoyed the intimate friendship of Dr. John Owen. Owen in fact contributed the preface to the *Concordance*—to which John Bunyan is said to have added 9,000 extra references. The above-mentioned copy was possibly in the valuable collection bequeathed to Bristol by Dr. Andrew Gifford (grandson of "old" Andrew), who for many years was sub-librarian at the British Museum, as well as being at the same time minister of a Baptist Church in London.

Unquestioned evidence that John Bunyan and Andrew Gifford were not unacquainted is adduced from the fact that Ebenezer Wilson, son of John Wilson, of Hitchin, went to Bristol apparently to assist "old" Andrew Gifford in his duties towards the end of his ministry. John Wilson, who "was a very dear friend of John Bunyan," took charge of the congregation formed by Bunyan at Hitchin in 1677—the very year in which Andrew Gifford began his work at the church in the Pithay.

Mention should also be made of the Prospectus issued in 1691 by Charles Doe, of Southwark, announcing the publication of his Folio Collection of Bunyan's works, as it contains in its list of subscribers "the Church at Brostol [*sic*]": no doubt the church at which Andrew Gifford was then ministering, and at which he continued to minister up to the year 1721.

Whilst one was affectionately known as "bishop" Bunyan —Andrew Gifford is described as "the Apostle of the West." Both men founded congregations: Bunyan in the midlands and Gifford in the western counties. Gifford, like Bunyan, visited "with parental fondness" the churches he had established. He also assisted in a practical way in the education of young ministers, and when asked why he was so zealous of giving his grandson (afterwards Dr. Andrew Gifford) such a liberal education, which neither he nor his son, Emmanuel, possessed, "he smartly replied, 'for that very reason'." Nevertheless, judging by his neatly written sermons at Bristol College (if in his own hand), "old" Andrew Gifford was no mean scholar himself. Nor was John Bunyan.

FRANK MOTT HARRISON.

Authorities consulted include: *The Baptist Quarterly*, Vol. viii., No. 5; *Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society*, Vol.

vi., No. 1; Frith's *Cromwell*; *Congregational Historical Society Transactions,* Vol. xii., No. 5; Bunyan's Account of his Imprisonment; Muddiman's *The King's Journalist*; Carlile's *A History of English Baptists*; Brown's *Life of Bunyan*; Macaulay's *Essays* (Bunyan); Urwick's *Bible Truths and Church Errors*; Ivimey's *A History of English Baptists*; Barclay's *Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth*; Whitley's *Minutes of the General Assembly.* Thanks are here accorded to Prof. F. E. Robinson; and to Mr. T. M. Williams for notes supplied from the Broadmead Records.

A TREASURER'S ACCOUNT, 1773-4. No British member has made any suggestion concerning the query on p. 107 of our last issue, but Mr. Edward C. Starr, Curator of the Samuel Colgate Baptist Historical Collection, Hamilton, N.Y., writes: "This might be a guess, possibly wide of the mark—might not the *lion* be lieing, i.e. possibly referring to the bedding down of the horse, possibly even for Bro. Perkins? This occurs to me for in Webster's *New International Dictionary,* 1918, under *lie* v.i. pret. *lay,* it states:

> 8. To reside, esp. temporarily; to sojourn; to lodge; sleep; specif., of an army, fleet, ship, or commander, to be in camp or quarters temporarily stationed . . .

The note which follows completes the case or guess:

> The forms of *lie* are often ignorantly or carelessly confounded with those of the transitive verb *lay.*"

Mr. H. G. Wells as Gospeller.

IT seems that Mr. H. G. Wells began his public career with a mental background in which modern science was superimposed upon a faded evangelicism. In his youth he found science challenging traditional beliefs and agnosticism summoning men from the worship of an unknowable Infinite to the exploration of the knowable finite and its almost infinite possibilities. The period was, as he has said, almost hectically conscious of Progress. It was not, however, progress in the earlier romantic-philosophic-religious sense in which it was hymned by the dreamers and revolutionaries of '48; rather it was progress in the American sense of "development"—that is, scientific invention, planned efficiency and economy, and the extension of "civilisation." It was the period, in short, of Herbert Spencer, Huxley, Edison and H. M. Stanley; and young Mr. Wells felt called to prove himself worthy of his citizenship in a world no longer "boxed in by the Creation and the Day of Judgment," but stretching out on all sides toward alluring and explorable possibilities of human achievement. And there is reason to suppose that this early conditioning of his mind has persisted.

It is the epic of man and his universe that has fascinated Mr. Wells. In imagination he has seen the curtain of eternal nothingness rise upon the stellar dance of teeming billions of suns and planets whirling through the vast etheric fields. On one of these spinning particles, no bigger in relation to the immensity of space than a mote in the sunshine of a summer landscape, emerges the mystery of life; emerge a green scum upon the warm ooze of the earth—vegetation—forests—living creatures—the mind of man, and in that mind the secret of cities and empires, of sciences and philosophies and religions, of a history lengthening out into processive epochs of culture and civilisation. And here Mr. Wells has found his master-theme.

Mr. E. M. Forster, in a penetrating essay on Joseph Conrad, has complained of a central obscurity in the confessions of that great writer—complained that his essays suggest that "he is misty in the middle as well as at the edges, that the secret casket of his genius contains a vapour rather than a jewel"—that in short it is useless to try to write him down philosophically, because in that direction there is nothing to write. But not the most irresponsible critic in his wildest dreams would essay such a judgment upon the confessional essays of Mr. Wells, of whom it may be said that almost everything he has written has been in some respects confessional. "I am prepared to believe," he

has declared, "the universe can be deeply tragic and evil or wonderful and beautiful, but not that it can be fundamentally silly." And though it would be unfair to hold so exuberant a propagandist to the pronouncements of yesterday or the day before, it is safe to say that the conviction here quoted remains somewhere "in the middle."

For withal, Mr. Wells has not easily accepted science as a substitute for religion. What he has sought has been a science touched with imagination and with hope, and humanised into a gospel. Accordingly, much of his writings has been consciously or unconsciously dialectical, the dialectic being between scientific positivism and some sort of religious dogmatism. "Every believing Christian is, I am sure," he once confessed, "my spiritual brother"; and if we may suppose that here Mr. Wells regarded himself as an elder brother in a family of smaller children, nevertheless he felt the kinship to be real.

For the trouble with the average religious mind, as Mr. Wells sees it, or once saw it, is its uncritical puerility. The child takes a stick and pretends it is a sword: man takes a religious emotion and makes believe it is God. But while the child, after all, does not forget that the stick is only a stick, but at most only half-forgets, the average religious man does forget that his emotion is only an emotion. Nevertheless, there was a time when Mr. Wells could follow this up with a curious comment. It did not follow, he suggested, that the religious man was entirely deceived—deceived, that is to say, by thus identifying his religious feeling with God. And it did not follow for an excellent reason: for Mr. Wells himself had experienced something of these self-same emotional reactions, and was convinced there might be something in them. Thus, for example, we all recollect how Mr. Britling, in the process of Seeing Things Through, attained to illumination:

> Never had it been so plain to him that he was a weak, silly, ill-informed and hasty-minded writer, and never had he felt so invincible a conviction that the Spirit of God was in him. . . . And for the first time clearly he felt a Presence . . . so close to him that it was behind his eyes and in his brain and hands. It was no trick of his vision; it was a feeling of immediate reality . . . God was beside him and within him and about him.

But also in his *First and Last Things* Mr. Wells has recorded the same experience without the guise of fiction.

> If I am confessing, I do not see why I should not confess up to the hilt. At times in the silence of the night and in rare lonely moments, I come upon a sort of communion

> with myself and something great that is not myself. It is perhaps poverty of mind and language obliges me to say that then this universal scheme takes on the effect of a sympathetic person—and my communion a quality of fearless worship. These moments happen, and they are the supreme fact of my religious life to me, they are the crown of my religious experiences.

"My religious life . . . my religious experiences." One has no wish to enlarge upon these expressions, especially when they belong to a phase which Mr. Wells has apparently discarded; but they do indicate the fundamental difference between the mental attitude of Mr. Wells and that of a Continental sceptic like, let us say, Turgenev. The Russian was entirely a man of this world, without hesitations or compunctions; Mr. Wells is not entirely so; he is caught in his own inward dialectic, and, even when most in revolt, must justify himself to himself. And so in bygone years there have been times when he has relapsed naturally into the language with which the evangelical Christianity of his childhood made him familiar, and which, he found, offered the most expressive phrases he had ever met for the psychological facts of his own experience. Thus he has been able to write: "I have been through the distresses of despair and the conviction of sin, and I have found salvation."

Such language, employed with the utter spontaneity and candour of Mr. Wells, might deceive even the elect; but it is fair to recognise that it is never used in a fully Christian significance. For when he has used it he has been concerned to confess that the Christian approach to Christ is beyond his understanding —that "terrible and incomprehensible Galilean with His crown of thorns." So the conviction of sin has meant for Mr. Wells no more than a sense of the swarming confusion of motives which distresses and enfeebles the inner life, with its need for some dominant synthetic idea to harmonise it. And so with social evil. The sin of the world is no mere dualism of the good and the bad; it is rather that confused struggle of social forces which Mr. William Clissold likened to the conflicts of Vishnu, Siva and Brahma. Wherever there is privileged ownership there is stubborn conservatism (*Vishnu*), menaced by a resentful radicalism (*Siva*); but also, standing above the antagonism, there is the force of intellectual curiosity and creative, constructive experiment (*Brahma*), which, making all new things, seeks through them to make all things new. As long as society is torn by this conflict, society is in sin; its salvation lies in conversion to the new "Brahmanic" synthesis—to the Wellsian World State with its planned economy.

But also there have been times when Mr. Wells has been oppressed with a sense of evil more sinister and demonic. So in *The Island of Dr. Moreau* we were given a parable which reads to-day like an uncannily accurate forecast of the worst features of Totalitarianism and State propaganda. For what better representation of Totalitarian technique with its experimental surgery in which the public mind is slashed and mutilated and grafted with alien ideas—what better representation than the methods of Dr. Moreau, who stocks his island with the results of his secret experiments upon living brains and bodies, and who seems to have maintained order by infesting the minds of his victims with the notion of his own divinity? And what could be more prophetic than the Dictator's contempt for his abject creatures:

> I fancy they . . . have a kind of mockery of a rational life—poor beasts! . . . They build themselves their dens, gather fruit and pull herbs—even marry. But I can see through it all, even into their very souls, and see there nothing but the souls of beasts. . . . Yet they're odd. Complex, like everything else alive.

However, it was the divergences of Mr. Wells's gospel from the Christian faith which we were remarking, and here it may be noted that not even in his most evangelic moods has he had any use for the doctrine of personal immortality. There is indeed, it seems to him, something *bourgeois* and pathetic and a little ridiculous about the whole conception.

> When Mrs. Bloggs sits in her back pew and hears the blessed hope of immortality coming from the pulpit, it is Mrs. Bloggs herself, body and soul, thirty-five, a little faded, kindly and tending to put on weight, who is to live, she understands, eternal in the heavens. Dressed rather differently, perhaps, more in the bridesmaid style, but otherwise the same.

So he tells us in his *Anatomy of Frustration.* Yet it is possible to argue that what is significant here is not Mrs. Bloggs's picturesque misconception of immortality (which no more invalidates the doctrine itself than would her conceivable misconception, or even complete ignorance, of Mr. Wells's position in the world of letters invalidate his own literary immortality), but Mr. Wells's own misconception of Mrs. Bloggs—his evident opinion that in so homely a body it would be comical to suppose there could be personal possibilities of more than local and ephemeral importance. Whether or not such a downward revision of human values makes for great literature or a great

interpretation of life is not a subject for discussion in this review, but its relevance to the issue raised in *The Island of Dr. Moreau* is apparent. And it is precisely because the Christian faith sees in human personality, in all its drab disguises, an august possibility which Mr. Wells denies, that it is able to reinforce with higher sanctions and a superior logic Mr. Wells's own protest against the exploitation and victimisation of living souls. For here, Mr. Wells tends to defeat himself. To him the wheel-smashed frog in the road, the fly drowning in the cream-jug, and Mrs. Bloggs nearing the end of her earthly existence in the back-bedroom over the shop, are all alike, incidental experiments to be swept aside and forgotten. So that it is difficult to see that there is —or was—anything in his gospel to protect the masses of ordinary humankind from exploitation either at the hands of the modern Caesars whom he detests or those future "Great Barons of a World Witanagemot" whom he invokes.

To this consideration we may return; but what of the central Wellsian dogma itself? In his gospelling days it was the dogma of the Man-god, based upon what may be called a mystical collectivism. We are all "parts of one flow of blood and life," and thus between man and man, people and people, as they set their minds together, there is a something real and comprehensive which is more than the sum-total of individual human intelligences. Mankind is slowly achieving conscious unity—an awareness of itself as (in Mr. Wells's not too happy term) the Being of the Species.

And it was here that Mr. Wells, for all his modern impatience with superannuated myths, leaned to a mythology of his own, a mythology, if not a theology, of Crisis, with an eschatology and apocalyptic of its own. "I see myself," he has declared, "as part of a great physical being that strains and I believe grows towards beauty, and of a great mental being that strains and I believe grows towards knowledge and power"; and so he has looked forward to the time when men as gods "will stand on this earth as on a footstool and reach out their hands among the stars." This is the Wellsian Man-god, a divinity of physical strength and beauty, of knowledge and power, an Apollo, not a Christ. But also Mr. Wells has seen, even if dimly, a vision of still greater glory: for what limit may be set to the evolution of this Being from which we all rise and to which we return, and which even now is becoming the Conscious Being of this planet? Who knows if it will not "ultimately even transcend the limitation of the species and grow into the Conscious Being, the undying Conscious Being of all things"? (*First and Last Things*, p. 70.) This is the Man-god complex with a vengeance. Collective Man may invade and

conquer world after world, spread himself over the heavens, and become the dynamic Spirit, the directive, conscious Intelligence of the universe. Not even Mrs. Bloggs in her back pew ever dreamed so naïve a dream as this.

We had the Wellsian eschatology vividly set forth, of course, in *The Shape of Things to Come,* where we were shown our civilisation, brought to ruin by total war, rebuilt by an international group of airmen who succeed in moulding the world to their desire. This leads the way to the final vision, in which we are shown an observatory on a hill above an imposing Wellsian metropolis. It is night, and the stars are out, and in among the stars we see a minute cylindrical gleam. It is a rocket-shell containing two intrepid explorers thus rocketed into space for a reconaissance flight to the moon. On the earth, near the observatory, stand the fathers of the daring couple, and we are permitted to overhear the dialogue between them.

"Will they return?"

"Yes. And go again. And again. And again—until the landing can be made and the moon is conquered. This is only a beginning."

But what if they don't return? Then presently others will go. But is there never to be an end, a goal, an age when mankind shall be at rest? And the answer is resolute.

"Rest enough for the individual man. Too much of it and too soon, and we call it death. But for Man, no rest and no ending. He must go on—conquest beyond conquest. This little planet and its winds and ways, and all the laws of mind and matter that restrain him. Then the planets about him, and at last out across immensity to the stars."

This indeed is the Man-god making his due appearance, his feet on the earth, his hands reaching among the stars.

It would be strange not to be grateful for a "thriller" so engaging and spectacular, or to fail to admire the vitality which could prompt a no longer youthful Mr. Wells to let himself go with so schoolboyish a lust for a tale of high adventure. But it would be still stranger to be blind to Mr. Wells's serious purpose. And here perhaps there is room for two comments. In the first place, one is not quite easy about these air-minded masters of the world in whom Mr. Wells sees—or saw—our hope of salvation, and who are to rebuild civilisation into one great artifact, diagrammatic super-State. Mr. Wells was at one time something of a Liberal; he will always, one must believe, be fundamentally Liberal in his personal bias in favour of human rights and liberties; but his detestation of the stupidities which have brought civilisation into its present muddle, and given our

absurd, drum-thwacking, flag-waving Dictators their opportunity, has led him to dream of a Planned Economy which may be only another name for a new and hardly less tyrannical bureaucracy. And after all, are our Hitlers and Stalins and Mussolinis to be succeeded by a new junta of supermen who are to claim the moon and stars for their *lebensraum*? "Imagine," says Mr. Bertrand Russell,

> Imagine a scientific government which, from fear of assassination, lives always in aeroplanes, except for occasional descents . . . on the summits of high towers. . . . Is it likely that such a government will have any profound concern for the happiness of its subjects? Is it not, on the contrary, practically certain that it will view them, when all goes well, in the impersonal manner in which it views its machines, but that, when anything happens to suggest that after all they are not machines, it will feel the cold rage of men whose axioms are questioned by underlings, and will exterminate resistance in whatever manner involves least trouble?[1]

And in the second place one feels, not that this dream, this programme, is too vast, too dazzling, too great, but that it is not great enough. No doubt it may all come true, but what then? After all, man is so constituted that he must look for something more than a World State organised by scientists and industrial magnates and humming with mechanical miracles, something more than an explorer-race whose aerial *Mayflowers* circumnavigate the interstellar oceans and colonise the stars. For in truth all this schoolboy regalement leaves us like hungry men invited to a lavish and glittering feast where the table decorations are enchanting and the illuminations dazzling, but where there is nothing under the covers but packets of children's "tuck"—lollipops and humbugs. There was once, one recollects, a Christian poet who also had a vision of the shape of things to come, and described it, in a still celebrated passage, as a vast and shining community unfolding like a rose, whose petals were the redeemed of all the ages, and whose golden centre was as it were the very core of Light itself, even the light which makes God manifest to His children, who, only in beholding Him, have peace. And though one has no wish to decline into unctuous comparisons, one feels that the finger of Dante points to heights and depths which still have meaning for us. The universe is still nothingness unless there are holiness and truth and love at the heart of it, and rockets to the moon are childish toys compared to the faith in which Christian souls have launched into eternity.

[1] *Power*, p. 33.

And now a last observation. It is significant that the present crisis finds Mr. Wells in a chastened mood, and the brave new gospel of "first and last things" and "men like gods" deflated beyond recognition. Precisely at the time when, presumably, the public nourished upon his prophesyings of human progress have need of cordial refreshment, Mr. Wells has discovered that his reserves of optimism are exhausted. And yet, who can blame him? If the food of the gods has now become illusory, is it not true that the gods seem illusory also? The Being of the Species with his hands reaching among the stars has shrunk back into our humbler friend *Homo sapiens,* who began in a cave and may end in an air-raid shelter. After all, was he not a biological accident who stumbled upon an evolutionary extra which raised him a perilous few inches above all other ruling animals?

And what if he, too, will blunder into a final and dismal decadence?

> There is no reason whatever to believe that the order of nature has any greater bias in favour of man than it had in favour of the ichthyosaur or the pterodactyl. In spite of all my disposition to a brave-looking optimism, I perceive that now the universe is bored with him, is turning a hard face to him, and I see him being carried less and less intelligently and more and more rapidly . . . along the stream of fate to degradation, suffering and death.
>
> (*The Fate of Homo Sapiens,* p. 312.)

The only slender hope, as Mr. Wells sees it, lies in "the wilful and strenuous adaptation by re-education of our species now—forthwith." Mankind must take itself in hand, become "renascent," or perish. And so the ebullient cheerfulness of the former days has given place to Mr. Wells's very worst bedside manner. Poor *Homo sapiens,* having been told that the universe is bored with him, and that he is being carried more and more rapidly toward "degradation, suffering and death," is exhorted, as Mrs. Dombey was exhorted, to "make an effort" and achieve a mental and moral renascence "now—forthwith." Otherwise, he who began as a biological accident must know himself as a biological catastrophe, the earth for his grave and his hands already groping in the dust.

It seems indeed ungrateful to Mr. Wells to write in this way—an act of impiety to the memory of Kipps and Mr. Polly and Mr. Lewisham. But the truth is that the Olympian dream has faded. The gospel of scientific humanism has preached itself out. The star-begotten supermen have let us down. The Man-god complex has (perhaps fortunately) given us no Man-god.

GWILYM O. GRIFFITH.

A Minister and His Hymns.

I FOUND Mr. Page's article "A Lay Preacher and his hymns," which appeared in the last issue of the *Baptist Quarterly*, of extreme interest; and was gratified, though not surprised, to find that at least one of our splendid body of "local preachers," as Ernest Brown insists they must be called, gives serious thought and attention to the conduct of Public Worship as distinct from the sermon, and has moved a long way from that once prevalent, but most lamentable, conception of a service as comprising sermon and "preliminaries". With most of Mr. Page's comments at the end of his article I find myself in complete agreement, and I hope they will receive the attention they deserve. I read his article in the train *en route* for the Assembly at the City Temple, where a mischievous fate directed my unwitting steps into the seat next to that occupied by the editor—who characteristically seized the opportunity, and imposed on me the task of following up the first article with a second.

I yielded to his blandishments the more readily since I have for years felt that very careful attention should be paid to the choice of hymns used in Public Worship, and have therefore throughout all my ministry preserved careful records of hymns used, etc. Lack of attention in this regard can go far to destroy the effectiveness of a service; and may, indeed, warrant the criticism sometimes levelled against Christian congregations that they are utterly insincere, and sing hymns quite unmeaningly, hymns that contain aspirations and sentiments quite remote from those actually present to the minds of the singers. I well remember the most unfortunate effect on my own mind, produced at a service I once attended (not in a Baptist church) at a seaside resort in Wales. Eighty per cent. of the congregation were obviously holidaymakers, and were welcomed as such by the church secretary, who told us that it was only the generous offerings of visitors in the season that enabled the church to pay its way through the winter. Then the minister announced the hymn:

> The dawn of God's dear Sabbath
> Breaks o'er the earth again;

and we who had spent a week in holiday delights were expected solemnly to sing,

Lord, we would bring for offering,
Though marred with earthly soil,
A week of earnest labour,
Of steady, faithful toil!

If only a little imagination had been exercised!

But more than that. Fortunately, or unfortunately (it depends on your point of view!), the hymn represents the only part of worship in which the average Baptist worshipper is prepared to take articulate part. This surely makes it all the more imperative that in the preparation for the service careful attention be paid to their selection.

Now let me follow Mr. Page's example, and produce a schedule of hymns actually used. My list will differ from his in several respects; it is confined to one hymnal, it is confined to one congregation, and it covers a longer period. We use the *Revised Baptist Church Hymnal,* and the figures given represent the services for which I have been responsible since that book was introduced five and a half years ago. I have records of 2,332 occasions on which hymns have been announced: of the 787 available in the book 522 have been used, an approximate average of four and a half times each. Five have been sung more than twenty times, twenty-one from fifteen to nineteen times, ten from twelve to fourteen times: the remainder less than twelve times. The following analysis reproduces the subject arrangement of the *Baptist Church Hymnal*:

	Hymns available in book.	Hymns used.	Times.	Approx. Average.
The Call to Worship	31	25	138	5½
The Holy Trinity ...	6	6	10	1½
God the Father				
His Attributes ...	13	7	22	3
Creation	4	3	13	4
Providence	17	11	63	6
Redemption ...	5	5	29	6
God the Son				
Eternal Word ...	2	2	16	8
Incarnation ...	19	18	69	3½
Earthly Life ...	12	11	19	2
Death	12	9	45	5
Resurrection ...	9	8	43	5½
Ascension	4	2	2	1
Priesthood	3	2	3	1½
King	7	7	57	8
Name	6	5	33	6½
Titles	11	9	46	5
Ascriptions	5	4	17	4
Coming	6	3	13	3

	Hymns available in book.	Hymns used.	Times.	Approx. Average.
God the Holy Spirit ...	18	12	55	4½
The Scriptures ...	12	10	35	3½
The Christian Life				
Gospel Call ...	17	12	48	4
Call Accepted ...	20	12	39	3
Cry—for Grace ...	12	8	27	3½
Fellowship with God	21	14	51	4
Holiness	30	21	55	2½
Joy	5	2	6	3
Union with Christ	17	14	47	3
Patience & Submission	21	9	25	3
Peaceful Trust ...	18	11	59	5
Service	28	21	57	3
Zeal	21	16	71	4½
Guidance	15	11	48	4
Heaven	8	1	2	2
Victory over Death	8	1	16	16
Final Blessedness ...	9	4	25	6
The Church				
Unity	16	13	73	5½
Baptism	16	10	62	6
Lord's Supper ...	19	15	145	10
Ministers	5	—	—	—
The Kingdom ...	40	33	113	3½
Worship				
The Lord's Day ...	18	12	62	5
House of Prayer ...	14	9	77	8½
Prayer Meeting ...	27	4	7	2
Times and Seasons				
Morning and Evening	36	14	69	5
New Year, etc. ...	18	6	15	2½
Seasons	13	8	39	5
Hospital	5	3	3	1
Marriage	4	1	1	1
At Sea	4	2	6	3
National and International	18	12	74	6
Childhood				
Intercession ...	4	4	38	9½
Aspirations	18	15	74	5
Children's Hymns ...	58	45	170	3½
Farewell	2	—	—	—
	787	522	2332	

These figures are very interesting—to the writer at least! Some may call for a little elucidation: e.g., the high average of sixteen in the section "Victory over death." Of the eight hymns in that section I have only used one, Charter Piggott's fine lines beginning, "For those we love within the veil," because I think it far outvalues any of the other seven. It did lack an adequate tune: both "Almsgiving" and "In Memoriam," suggested in the book, are wedded to other words, and neither quite fits these; but our talented organist at Sutton has risen to the occasion and produced a fine triumphant tune which perfectly meets the need. Of the five most frequently used hymns one is a Communion and another a Dedication hymn: of the twenty-one used from fifteen to nineteen times four are Communion and three are Baptismal hymns. The figures as a whole leave the impression that in the *Revised Baptist Church Hymnal* we have a hymnal which is adequate to the needs of a modern congregation; and I think the Committee responsible for its production have deserved very well of the denomination. I do not know any other book for which I should be prepared to exchange it. But, having said that, let me add that there is room, indeed need, for improvement. I should like to see a supplement issued in the not distant future, containing:

1. A selection of hymns for use at the Dedication of Infants (surely this section should be transferred to "The Church"). At present there are only four (nos. 706-709) of which one is harsh, one childish, a third sugary and the fourth plaintive. If it be retorted that no really adequate hymns on this subject exist—what a chance is offered to some denominational poet!
2. More hymns—many more—for use at the Communion Service.
3. More hymns on the social implications of the Gospel (the "Fellowship" book might help us here) and, if they can be found, more for the section "International."

Finally—would it not be well to reconsider some of the *versions?* Why on earth did the revisers mutilate one of the finest Christmas hymns ever written:

Earth was waiting, spent and restless,

omitting altogether from the Revised Edition the beautiful verse, which appears in the original Edition,

Still the Gods were in their temples.

And if, as I have often been told, Isaac Watts really wrote

When I survey the wondrous cross
Where the Young Prince of Glory died,

why do we not sing it?

But enough of such criticism. That our present book is a great denominational asset cannot be denied, and one minister gladly records here his profound gratitude for it.

H. V. LARCOMBE.

The Approach to Christ, by H. Elvet Lewis, M.A., D.D.

Thy Kingdom Come, by Bernard C. Plowright, B.A., B.D. (Independent Press, 3s. 6d. net. each.)

We congratulate the Congregational Union on the enterprise of its Literature Committee. The war has not sent it into retirement. Its Press is issuing volumes which are a stimulus to faith in black days. Here are two. The first was intended for Lenten reading, but circumstances delayed publication. Its value does not, however, depend on a date: the message is timeless. The author, one of the most gifted sons of the Principality, writes of the wide variety of the ways by which men have come to Christ—conviction, meditation, prayer, friendship, glorious hope, and many others—and all are still open even in a world filled with violence and cruelty. A choice book for the quiet hour.

The second consists of a series of Bible Studies in Christ's teaching about the Kingdom of God, and questions for discussion are added at the end. Mr. Plowright says it is becoming clearer every day that some new orientation of both our Christian faith and our Christian ethics is more than overdue. His virile chapters challenge thought on every page. Just the book for a Bible Class or Study Circle: it will well repay careful study.

The B.M.S. and Bible Translation.

(*Continued from p.* 105.)

III.

FROM THE B.M.S. JUBILEE, 1842, TO THE CENTENARY, 1892.

AFTER the death of Dr. Joshua Marshman, the last survivor of the famous Serampore trio, in 1837, Calcutta became the publishing centre of the Baptist Mission for Bengal and North India. Three great oriental scholars entered into the succession of Bible translators. Dr. William Yates became famous for his grammar of Sanskrit. He carried out a new revision of the Bengali Bible, and collaborated with Leslie and others in revising the New Testament in Hindi and Urdu.

Dr. John Wenger followed on, and for many years was the outstanding European scholar in Bengali and Sanskrit. His two revised editions (1852, 1874) of the entire Bible in both languages were a prodigious achievement. By his Bengali grammar, his New Testament Commentary in Bengali, and many other works, he left a most valuable literary legacy. His mantle fell upon another gifted scholar, Dr. George H. Rouse, under whose skilful and painstaking guidance of trained Indian helpers fresh advance was made in Bengali Revision. The eleventh edition of the Bible was issued in 1909. It is claimed that a more accurate version of the Holy Scriptures does not exist in any language than in Bengali. Dr. Rouse also edited for the Mohammedans of East Bengal special editions of Scripture portions in what is called the Mussulmani Bengali: these were issued in 1876.

In the Hindi language a most important revision of the New Testament was undertaken by John Parsons in 1857, and completed before his death in 1869. J. D. Bate followed this up with a revision of the Hindi Old Testament. Later revisions of both the Urdu and the Hindi versions have taken place, in which G. J. Dann has rendered valuable service on Union Committees.

The Bible Translation Society published in 1843 an Armenian version by Carapeit Aratoon which found much acceptance among Armenians resident in India as well as in Turkey. It was issued in both Modern and Ancient Armenian.

New translations were promoted by the Baptist Mission in this period for the hill tribes of Northern India—Lepcha, Santali (1856) and Garo (1874).

The Baptist Missionaries in Orissa had their own Mission Press at Cuttack, and carried on a vigorous policy of Christian publication in the Oriya language. Dr. Sutton and Dr. Buckley revised the version of the entire Bible in Oriya, which was again revised more than once with each reprinting within this period. A gifted Oriya Christian poet, Makunda Das, rendered the Gospels and the books of Psalms and Proverbs into Oriya verse. At a later period (1915), H. W. Pike made another version of the New Testament in simple modern Oriya, on lines initiated by Dr. George Howells.

Within this period falls the opening of a great new chapter of Bible translation in Africa, the continent of many tribes speaking many languages and varying dialects.

The Baptist Missionary Society began its work in West Africa at the island of Fernando Po in 1840, following up the previous labours of Baptist Missionaries from the West Indies. J. Merrick and J. J. Fuller translated the Gospels, the Book of Genesis and other selections into Isubu in 1846, and Clark and Saker prepared a translation in Fernandian in 1849. To the heroic Alfred Saker belongs the honour of a great achievement in Dualla, one of the Bantu family of languages. In 1847 he began the translation of the New Testament, labouring day by day from 4 o'clock a.m. with characteristic zeal and enthusiasm. He constructed his own printing press, cut the matrices and founded his own type with such lead as he could purchase from passing ships. His literary work was carried on amidst almost incredible hardships and hindrances. In reducing the Dualla to a written form he said he "found the verbs giving him much labour." In 1851 he began to print the New Testament, and in 1862 he had finished it. The Old Testament caused him severe toil, "especially Job and Ezekiel." He wrote home begging for more books on Biblical Criticism, for a copy of the Septuagint, and for books on the Hebrew text. The entire Bible was at last translated, and on 23rd February, 1872, he wrote: "I feel as a bird long imprisoned liberated at last. . . . The last sheet of the sacred volume in good readable type is before me."

He was not satisfied, however—and a revised edition of the New Testament, embodying his own emendations, was brought out after his death by his daughter in 1880.

It will be more convenient to deal in the next section with the great advance in Bible translation which followed the opening up of the Congo Missions, but actually the first portions of the New Testament in the Kongo language appeared in 1888, and this was included in the B.M.S. list published in the Centenary Volume in 1892.

In 1843 grants were made to assist the production of the

translation of one of the gospels in the Karif or Carib language of British Honduras by a Baptist Missionary, A. Henderson.

In 1847 there was published at Brest in Brittany the translation of the New Testament in the Breton language by the B.M.S. missionary, John Jenkins.

It is a matter of very special interest to recall that for a few years between 1877 and 1890 the B.M.S. had its own missionaries—W. J. White and G. Eaves—in Japan. The work was then transferred to the American Baptist Missionary Union. But as early as 1867 the Bible Translation Society gave encouragement and assistance to the American Baptist Missionary, J. Goble, of Yokohama, in his translation of the New Testament into Japanese, and made grants for the printing of the first volumes of the Christian Scriptures ever published in Japan in both Roman and Japanese (Sokana) Script. The Gospel of Matthew was issued in 1874. The New Testament was completed by the American Baptist Mission in 1879.

Grants were made from the Baptist Translation funds to aid the publication and distribution of the New Testament in Danish in 1866 and in the German language in 1874.

The languages added in the period 1842-1892 were the following:

1843	Karif or Carib (Honduras)	1856	Santali
1843	Armenian (Modern and Ancient)	1865	Maya
1847	Dualla (Cameroons)	1866	Danish
1847	Breton	1872	Japanese
1848	Fernandian	1872	Mussulmani Bengali
1848	Isubu	1874	Garo
1856	Lepcha	1874	German
		1888	Ki Kongo

bringing the total for the century to 60.

At the Centenary in 1892 it was recorded that since the formation of the B.M.S. in 1792 no less than £202,656 had been devoted to the production of Scripture versions and their circulation.

IV.

FROM THE CENTENARY 1892 to 1940.

Congo offered a great pioneer field to Baptist Missionary translators. Here was virgin soil in which to dig. No books existed. None of the 70 languages of the Congo basin had been committed to writing. Vocabularies had to be collected with long and painstaking effort. The grammatical constructions had

to be discovered, and the first tentative efforts made to translate the sacred message. It is a record as full of romance as the achievements of Carey, though in a different realm.

The first B.M.S. Congo Station was San Salvador, opened in 1879. The station at Wathen was opened in 1884 in the Cataract region, where the same Ki-Kongo language is spoken.

H. Ross Phillips was the first to produce a Scripture translation by rendering the book of Jonah. Mrs. Thomas Lewis translated the stories of Elijah and Elisha. George R. R. Cameron, at Wathen, finished the Gospel of Mark in 1888, and J. H. Weeks, at Old Underhill, did the Gospel of Matthew in 1889. Bentley printed Luke in 1890. These had to serve until the whole of the New Testament in Ki Kongo appeared. The outstanding leader in this field was Dr. William Holman Bentley —a linguistic scholar of eminence raised up by God for the need of the time. He devoted himself with assiduous labour to the compilation of his Kongo Grammar and Dictionary, first published in 1887 with a supplemental volume in 1895. He was happy in the companionship and valuable help of Don Zoao Nlemvo, the son of a Congo chief, of unusual intelligence and language ability, who was his amanuensis both in Africa and in England until 1893, when the first edition of the New Testament was published. The arrival of the printed volumes was an occasion of great rejoicing among the Congo people. Bentley, with his devoted wife and Nlemvo, continued their labours on the Old Testament. Bentley suffered a period of temporary blindness, and Nlemvo became permanently blind. At the time of Bentley's lamented death at the end of 1905 he had finished Genesis, Proverbs and the book of Psalms as far as Psalm 92. To complete this book was his widow's sacred privilege. The unfinished task was then undertaken as expeditiously as possible, being divided among six able and experienced missionaries—Phillips, Graham, Cameron, Frame, Wooding and Lewis. The whole Bible was completed in sections by 1916. This plan had the advantage and disadvantage of a variety of style, and even of difference in dialects. Some translators did their work at San Salvador, others at Wathen, Zombo and Kimpese. It was clearly necessary to make a complete revision of the whole. So, with the addition of the Rev. R. Glennie, the Secretary of the Bible Translation Society, the six missionary translators were formed into a Revision Committee. "Everyone was agreed," wrote Thomas Lewis, "on keeping out all foreign words, and insisted on all words being translated into the Kongo tongue." So, with the exception of proper names, and the words "Alleluia, Hosanna and Amen," the Kongo Scriptures contain no foreign expressions. The words bishop,

church, angel, baptism, all appear in the nearest Kongo equivalent. "Testament" is translated by the Kongo word for "Covenant," and the very name of the book appears not as "the Bible," but as "Nkanda Nzambi," "The Book of God."

With some differences not yet entirely resolved, the Ki Kongo or Kisi Kongo language and the Fioti Kongo prevail over the area west of Stanley Pool to the sea coast of Angola. The B.M.S., the American Baptists and the Swedish Mission (Svenska Missions Forbundet) have produced translations and literature in both Ki Kongo and Fioti. Both are used at present in the Union Training College for preachers and teachers at Kimpese, in which all three Missions co-operate. The Roman Missions use another kindred dialect. There is reasonable expectation that a unified form of the language for the whole Lower Congo region will emerge before long. In 1925 the B.M.S. published a Diglot edition of the book of Psalms in Ki Kongo and Portuguese (D'Almeida), and a New Testament in 1935. This was to meet the difficulty occasioned by the Portuguese Government's prohibition of the use of the vernacular in schools, and their suspicious attitude about its use even in worship. Diglot hymn-books were also published.

The first of the Upper Congo languages to be brought by the B.M.S. missionaries into the sacred circle of Bible versions was the Lo Bo-Bangi spoken in the area now occupied by the B.M.S. stations of Lukolela, Bolobo and Tsumbiri. Messrs. Richards and Darby made their first attempts in the language in 1886. R. Glennie arrived in 1889, and J. Whitehead in 1890. Whitehead published a Bobangi Grammar and Dictionary in 1899, Whitehead and Scrivener translated the Gospels and printed them at Bolobo between 1892 and 1895. With the help of J. A. Clark, the New Testament in Bobangi was completed in 1912. The Old Testament is not yet completed. Genesis, Psalms, Daniel, Hosea to Malachi have been published. Isaiah has has recently been translated by A. W. G. McBeath. Bobangi is the chief native language used, with French in the Mission Schools. Other languages are spoken in the hinterland. J. A. Clark has translated the Gospels and other selections in Sengele, published in 1915. Selections were also printed in Mpama, and in Teke, the language spoken about Tsumbiri, the Gospels of Mark and John have been published.

For the purposes of Government and trade, the attempt has been made to reduce the complexity of the Congo language problem by the selection in four chief areas of a "lingua franca." One of these is the Luba of the Kasai river region. The other three are languages in which the B.M.S. is operating. They are Ki-Kongo for the Lower River already referred to, Lingala for

the Main River from Stanley Pool eastward to Stanley Falls, and Kingwana for the North and East of the Belgian Colony.

It will be convenient to refer here to the translation work done in Lingala and Kingwana.

Li Ngala is in process of development—built up, as it were, on the basis of the speech of the Ngalas, with such imported terms as are necessary to make it a medium of elementary education and literature.

Walter Stapleton and J. H. Weeks made a beginning at Monsembe and produced the Gospel of Matthew in 1895, followed by Old Testament stories and the Book of Acts by H. T. Stonelake. Frank Longland produced a Lingala Grammar and Vocabulary in French and English on the basis of Stapleton's previous work. Dodds and Guyton and others followed with Luke and John. D. C. Davies made another trial of the Riverine Lingala with the Book of Acts. A union version of Mark was issued by the B.F.B.S. in 1934. In the Welle district a different variety of Lingala has been employed. The latest achievement is the compilation of a Grammar and Vocabulary by Malcolm Guthrie, of Kinshasa, and the preparation of a revised version of the New Testament is in hand.

Ki Ngwana is a form of the Swahili language, widely spoken but hitherto not much developed for literature. The B.M.S. missionaries at Yakusu, Stanleyville, and on the Lomami River have taken a useful share in what has been attempted. Selections from the Gospels were translated in 1905. J. Whitehead compiled a Harmony Gospel in Kingwana in 1916. G. J. Wilkerson and J. N. Clark also took a share. A union version of Matthew was issued in 1934. The New Testament has now been completed.

The wide area in which the B.M.S. stations of Upoto and Pimu are established is peopled by tribes speaking several languages. At first the missionaries at Upoto devoted their attention to the Li-foto, and from 1898 the Gospels and most of the books of the New Testament were translated by W. L. Forfeitt, F. Oram and Kenred Smith. But as the Mission extended it became apparent that Li-foto did not carry far enough in the district, and Li Ngombe was adopted instead for the work of the Church and the schools. Again Mr. Forfeitt and his wife, with their colleagues—K. Smith, Dodds and Marker—set themselves to the task, and between 1903 and 1930 the whole New Testament was translated and again revised in Li Ngombe.

In the area of the Yalemba Mission, with its sub-stations at Elizabetha and Ligasa, the prevailing language for Church and school work is Heso, though Li Ngala is much used in the district. Some translation has been done in Soko and Topoke. W. R. Kirby and A. B. Palmer shared in these labours. In 1920

the Heso New Testament was published. There are parts of the Old Testament in Heso—the historical books and Psalms.

In the Yakusu Mission area the language which has been most employed for missionary purposes is Lo Kele, in which W. H. Stapleton, W. Millman, Kempton, Wilford and Sutton Smith have produced since 1899 the New Testament in more than one edition, and most of the Old Testament. A considerable number of religious and educational books have been issued in Lokele, which are eagerly sought after by the rapidly growing Christian community.

The French language is also being used in the schools, and for evangelistic purposes in the widely extending area from the Lomami to the Lualaba and eastward of Stanleyville, Foma, Kumu, Ena, Bale, Manga, Olumbu, Essoo and other dialects are employed, as well as Li Ngala and Ki Ngwana. Mr. Millman is now engaged on a revision of the Lokele New Testament.

Among Indian Aborigines.

No part of the devoted wealth of Robert Arthington has been more fruitful in its maintenance of pioneer missionary work than that which has gone to the initiation and support of the Lushai Mission. The first two pioneer missionaries, J. H. Lorrain and F. W. Savidge, set out in 1890, supported by Mr. Arthington himself. After many difficulties they were able to settle at Aijal, in the North Lushai hills. There they made their friendly advances among a wild and sturdy mountain people; they began their painstaking study of the language; they compiled a grammar and a vocabulary of 7,000 words, and made their first efforts in translation. By 1898-1899 they were able to publish the Gospels of Luke and John and the Book of Acts in Lushai. There was an interval of three years, during which the two pioneers went to the Abor-Miri people, another frontier tribe. When they left Aijal they transferred a vigorous and rapidly growing work to the Welsh Presbyterian Mission, which under God's blessing has ever since greatly prospered in the Northern Hills. In 1900, after Mr. Arthington's death, the Baptist Missionary Society opened up a Mission in the South Lushai hills. At the Society's invitation, Lorrain and Savidge made a fresh gospel invasion of the Lushai people, settling at Lungleh, eight days journey from Aijal. Here the work has marvellously prospered. It is reckoned that of the population of 28,000 scattered over hundreds of mountain villages, no less than 19,000 have accepted the Christian faith and are receiving Christian education for their children. The membership of the Baptist churches alone is 7,200. There has always been the most cordial co-operation between the Missions in the North and

South. J. H. Lorrain continued to bear the honourable burden of Bible translation and literary work in the Lushai language. In addition to the New Testament, which appeared in 1916, the translation of the Old Testament is proceeding. Genesis, Psalms and Isaiah have been published. In this high task one of the trained Lushai Christian helpers, Mr. Challiana, is now engaged. Mr. Lorrain published a gospel portion in the Abor Miri language in 1908, and a dictionary of that language in 1910. His greatest literary achievement, the labour of forty years, is now being published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal—a Dictionary of the Lushai language.

For the Aboriginal tribes of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, a version of the New Testament—the work of George Hughes—was published in 1915 in the Chakma language—in Roman script—and a Gospel portion in Chakma has also been issued by Mr. W. J. L. Wenger in Burmese Script.

In the language of the Moghs, Mr. P. H. Jones translated the Gospel of Mark in 1915.

The late Professor J. Drake, of Serampore, began his missionary life among the Kurku-speaking people of Central India. In 1900 he translated and published the Gospel of Mark in Kurku. He also published a grammar of the Kurku language in 1903.

In the hills of Kondistan, on the borders of Orissa and Madras, the Kui-speaking tribe have responded in a very encouraging manner to the labours of the B.M.S. missionaries in the last thirty-five years, during which, by the Arthington Fund, new residential mission stations have been opened up and organised work established. Earlier evangelistic tours among the Konds had been carried on by Wilkinson and Long, but not till 1906 could systematic language work be undertaken. The first Kui version of Mark's Gospel was produced by O. J. Millman and his colleagues in 1916, followed later by the Gospel of John. A most valuable linguistic achievement was made by W. W. Winfield, whose Kui English Dictionary and Kui Grammar were published by the Government. The unhealthy climate of the Kond Hills has caused many serious losses by removal from the European missionary staff, and this has interfered greatly with the continued prosecution of the Bible translation, much needed with a rapidly growing church membership already numbering 1,600 in thirty organised congregations. The New Testament has thus far been translated into Kui from Matthew to II. Corinthians.

Here the record is complete to the present date.

The great task is unfinished. As evangelisation advances, and the Christian Church continues to grow, the language problem

constantly calls for courageous solution. New versions are needed for people who are still strangers to the truth, and who know only their own dialect. This calls, as in the past, for wisely directed zeal and the consecration of linguistic ability. It also calls for funds to meet the necessary outlay in the maintenance of the missionary translators and their native helpers, and in printing and promoting the circulation of books among new readers. Early versions need to be revised and made more perfect. Native scholars have to be taught and trained for this high and holy service. Long before the results can be shown there must be much patient labour out of sight. It can never be spectacular. But it should be laid upon the hearts of the Lord's people, and should be constantly upheld in their prayers. No department of Foreign Missions is more essential and important. Baptists still have a place of responsible leadership in it. At the present date the Bible Translation and Literature Committee of the B.M.S. is needing funds for the completion of the Bible in the Lushai hills, the Kond hills and the Chittagong hills. Necessary revisions and re-issues of existing versions are called for in Orissa and Bengal. In none of the languages of the Upper Congo is the Bible yet complete.

As the Church in this land gratefully acknowledges its vast debt to Wyclif, Tyndale, Coverdale and the great translators and revisers of our English Bible, so will the Churches of Asia, Africa and the far islands count among their apostolic heroes the Careys, Sakers, Bentleys, and many other Baptist translators. It is our privilege to perpetuate their influence and imitate their example.

The languages added to the B.M.S. list of Bible versions in the period from the Centenary 1892 to the present year, 1940, are the following:

1892	Bangi	1908	Abor Miri
1895	Ngala	1912	Lwena
1898	Foto	1915	Chakma
1898	Lushai	1915	Mogi
1899	Kele	1915	Sengele
1900	Kurku	1915	Mpama
1903	Ngombe	1915	Tetela
1905	Teke	1916	Kui
1905	Ngwana	1921	Lamba
1905	Soko	1923	Topoke
1907	Heso		

bringing the total from 1792 to 1940 to eighty-one.

CHARLES E. WILSON.

St. Mary's, Norwich.

(*Continued from p.* 117.)

II.

ANTECEDENTS: THE GATHERED CHURCHES IN NORFOLK 1642—1667.

THE exiles who returned from Holland about the year 1642 did so not merely in hope of enjoying peace and freedom, but also with the intention of gathering churches on the model they had learned in Rotterdam and of witnessing for the truth among their own people. The story of their return is graphically told in the contemporary record of the Great Yarmouth church book.

> "After y^e^ glad tidings of a hopefull Parliamt. called and convened in England was reported to ye Church in Rotterdam, divers of y^e^ church whose hearts God stirred up to further ye light (they now saw) by all lawfull meanes in their native Country, not without hope of enjoying liberty there: After much advising with y^e^ Church and seeking God for direction, they returned with y^e^ assent, approbation, and prayers of ye Church into England, with resolution to gather into a Church with all convenient speed, where God should please to direct them, ye Church also promising to give their assent under handwriting, for their inChurching whensoever notice should be given of y^e^ present probability of y^e^ same to y^e^ sayd Church."

The returned exiles met with considerable hindrances in gathering their Church. Neither King nor Parliament contemplated freedom of religion: each side desiring to enforce that order and form of worship which it favoured. Nevertheless, the conflict of the two parties, with the consequent loosening of of the reins of government, made the establishment of Congregational Churches possible without effective opposition from the authorities. After many meetings, the brethren felt that the time was ripe and applied to the Church at Rotterdam for its assent to their inchurching. This was presently received:

> "Whereas severall members of our English in Rotterdam, whose names are hereunder written, have desired dismissions y^t^ they may incorporate themselves into a Church in Norwich or elsewhere, these are to certify whom it may concerne, y^t^ in a Church meeting, there is granted liberty and leave unto them to joyne together into a body in Church fellow-

ship, trusting upon their faithfulnes y^t^ they will joyne and walke according to y^e^ order wch Jesus Christ hath left to be observed in y^e^ Churches, wherein likewise they have walked in their fellowship with us. Commending them to y^e^ sweet guidance of y^e^ Spirit of Christ, with or earnest desire and prayer y^t^ truth and peace may be their portion. Amen. By me, Robert Parke, in y^e^ name of y^e^ Church."

In November, 1642, the brethren met at Norwich to begin their inChurching, which is thus described:

"Christopher Stygold freely offered himself to y^e^ work of y^e^ Lord in building a house to his name, and made a motion to John Eyre to agree and to joyne with him in y^t^ service, who gladly imbraced it. And they moved John Leverington who also agreed with them, and they further moved the same thing to Daniel Bradford, and then to James Gedney, and also to Samuel Clarke, to William Staffe, Samuel Alexander, John Balderston and to Francis Olley, who all agreed to in y^e^ same matter."

Nine sisters also agreed to come in and help in the work.

"Some brethren scrupled at y^e^ gathering together into a body unlesse Mr. Bridge (upon whom their eyes were for an Officer, and of whose abilityes and faithfullness they had full experience) did also joyne with them."

Bridge accordingly sent for his dismission, which came to hand in April, 1643. After discussion as to the relative safety of Norwich and Great Yarmouth for the settlement of the Church, it was decided that Great Yarmouth was safer in view of the dangerous times. The Norwich brethren acquiesced on condition that there should be at a later date a full debate as to which place promised greater liberty and opportunity, and that the issue of the debate should determine the domicile of the Church.

In June, Bridge, with those who had "offered themselves to ye work" met in Norwich. One of their number was absent—"Daniel Bradford was in y^e^ Armie." He was, however, admitted to the Church in the following October, by virtue of his dismission from Rotterdam. His name is of particular interest, as he later appears as leader of the Baptists when they parted from their paedobaptist brethren to form a separate communion. The brethren entered into covenant in these terms:

"It is manifest out of God's word y^t^ God was pleased to walke in a way of Covenant with his people: hee promising to be their God, and they promising to be his people. . . . We being in gt fear of God, desirous to worship and feare

him according to his revealed Will, doe freely, solemnly, and joyntley Covenant with y^e^ Lord in y^e^ presence of his Saints and Angels.

1. First: That wee will for ever acknowledge and avouch God to be our God in Jesus Christ.
2. Secondly: That we will always endeavour through y^e^ grace of God assisting us, to walke in his wayes and ordinances according to his written word, wch is y^e^ onely sufficient Rule of good life for every man.
3. Thirdly: Neither will we suffer ourselves to be polluted by any sinful wayes, either Publicque or Private, but will abstaine from ye very apperance of evill: giving no offence to y^e^ Jew, or to ye Gentile, or to ye Churches of Christ.
4. Fourthly: That we will in all love improve our Communion as Brethren, by watching over one another and as need be to counsell, Admonish, reprove, comfort, relieve, assist and bear with one another, humbly submitting ourselves to ye government of Christ in his Churches.
5. Lastly: We doe not promise these things in our owne, but Christ his strength, neither do we confine our selves to y^e^ word of this Covenant, but shall account it our duety at all times to imbrace any further light or truth yt shall be revealed to us out of God's word."

This Covenant is noble in its simplicity. It owes much to the Rotterdam covenant, and also echoes the words of John Robinson to the Pilgrim Fathers: "The Lord hath more light and truth yet, to break forth out of His holy word."

The Church being now duly constituted met on September 10th, 1643, to ordain William Bridge as their pastor, and "did comfortably partake in both Sacraments, ye children of some of ye members, and members' children of other Churches Baptised."

Bridge was soon called to London to the Westminster Assembly of Divines, where, with the support of Burroughes, his late colleague at Rotterdam, and Simpson, Nye and Goodwin, who had been fellow-exiles in Holland, he championed Independency against the Presbyterian majority. He gave a letter of recommendation to the Church to the Rev. John Oxenbridge, M.A., who came to Yarmouth in November and assisted in the ministry.

Up to this time the desirability of having a church established by law had scarcely been questioned. The support

of religion by public funds and its protection and enforcement by the civil magistrate were taken for granted. William Bridge had come to Yarmouth as Town Preacher, appointed and paid by the Corporation of the borough. He thus occupied a legally established position. The town did not, however, recognise the Congregational Church of which he was pastor, though they must have been aware of its existence and were content to give tacit consent to the situation. Oxenbridge was employed simply by the Church. The Corporation were not prepared to extend their patronage to him, but they sanctioned his ministry provided he preached before the ordinary time of service and completed his exercise by half past eight in the morning.

The Norwich members were far from satisfied with an arrangement under which they had to journey twenty miles to enjoy Church fellowship. Now that the Church was domiciled at Yarmouth, and had added to its members many residents in that neighbourhood, it was plain that its removal to Norwich was no longer practicable. The Norwich members therefore requested permission to gather into Church fellowship in their own city. The Church assented and gave a dismission to the nine Norwich brethren (among whom was Daniel Bradford) in these terms:

> "There is granted liberty and leave unto them to joyne together in a body in Church fellowship, trusting upon their faithfulness that they will joyne and walke according to that order which Jesus Christ hath left to be observed and holden forth in his Churches."

A meeting was held on June 10th, 1644, to incorporate the Norwich Church, Mr. Oxenbridge and several of the Yarmouth brethren being present.

> "They spent the former part of the day in prayer: and then one in the name of the rest made a profession of faith. Whereunto all the rest gave their consent."

The Covenant, practically identical with that of the Yarmouth Church, was then read and subscribed by the nine foundation members. Thirteen women, including Elizabeth Bradford, were subsequently transferred from Yarmouth.

The Yarmouth Church continued in strength. During the persecuting years of the Restoration period it numbered so many adherents, including prominent townsmen, that it was able to a considerable extent to defy the repressive laws aimed against Nonconformists. This fellowship is still represented by the Middlegate Street Congregational Church, Great Yarmouth.

A year after its foundation, the Church at Norwich num-

bered over a hundred members. By 1646 it had become sufficiently important to arouse jealousy and opposition, which resulted in the publication of a derogatory tract entitled "Hue and Cry after Vox Populi."

> "Surely," says this anonymous opponent, "your Independent Ministers have not had so good fortune here to lead them? Neither Mayor nor one Alderman member yet; your two lectures and constant Sabbath sermons and double weekly exercises and publicke insinuations and private tricks have not found Norwich such a lob-cocke citie as you would have it. Are only the thirty men and four score women of your Church, and the best of them scarce a Common-Councell man, with the rabble of poor mechanicks and silly women entrapped in your snare, the only men in Norwich that will examine the Scriptures for Paul's doctrine?"

In 1647 the Church chose one of the City Ministers, the Rev. Timothy Armitage, to be their pastor. Armitage was "Wednesday Lecturer" at the Church of St. Michael Coslany, an office which he continued to fill for a year after his election to the Congregational pastorate. The Church now wrote to the Yarmouth brethren about Armitage's settlement, seeking advice

> "Concerning ye manner of ordination, how they shall proceed in it, whether by imposition of hands or other ways."

They received reply that:

> "if laying on of hands was signicative as the ceremonies were, and for ye conferring of some immediate gift, it was not to be done. But if merely demonstrative before ye Church, noting ye man set apart for ye worke and office unto wch hee is set apart then it might well be done; onely with this caution yt such as were against it would not be offended with ye thing done."

The Norwich church book gives some information about church life and customs during Armitage's pastorate. It was not judged essential that candidates for admission to membership should render an account of the hope that is in them for salvation publicly before the Church, though it was considered most desirable that they should speak something tending to edification. The Lord's Supper was observed on the first Sunday in each month. In regard to singing:

> "It was judged fitt that the ordinance of singing psalmes be exercised in publicke by the Church and that the pastor direct such psalmes in the vulgar translation as are most agreeing with the original to be used at the hearing of the

word, and upon other occasions to sing according to such other translations as shall be thought fit."

In 1651 eight "lay preachers" were appointed to "exercise their gifts in a publicke way" when requested by the Church. Daniel Bradford was one of these. Three years later he was "made choise to be a Deacon," which office he accepted, declaring that "he did give up himselfe to the service of the Lord and the Church in that Office."

Churches of the Congregational order were now being formed in many Norfolk villages. Deputations were sent from the Church to consult with "the godly" at a place as to the desirability of their incorporating themselves into a Church. If the Conference was favourable a second deputation would go to assist at the inChurching. Daniel Bradford served as one of the Church's messengers in this connection to Beccles, North Walsham, Tunstead, Stalham, Edgfield, Godwick and Swanton Worthing.

Armitage died in 1655. A volume of his sermons was published by his successor in the pastorate, who describes him in the preface as "that gracious and sweet-spirited man." The sermons disclose very advanced views on religious liberty. To suppress error, he writes, is a good work, but it must be done in God's way, not in man's way. The sword of the spirit will be more effective than any sword of man. He points out that Paul, before he was brought home to God, used carnal weapons, but after his conversion he said "our weapons they are not carnal but spiritual, and so they are mighty through God." He is persuaded that it glads the devil when he sees men so violent against error as to draw the sword. Men being fallible may suppress truth for error, as in the times of Popery truth was persecuted:

> "Our great truth, our main truth of justification by the free grace of God and the blood of Jesus Christ, without works, without merits."

Does all truth come into the world at once? And may we not persecute that which afterward may appear to be a truth?

The Church now sought the services of another City Minister, the Rev. Thomas Allen, M.A., parish minister of St. George Tombland. Allen was a native of Norwich, educated at Caius' College, Cambridge, and had been Rector of St. Edmund's, Norwich, until silenced by Bishop Wren in 1638. He went to New England, where he exercised his ministry at Charlestown, returning home about 1651. In December, 1655, the Church invited him to relinquish his work of preaching to the city in order to assist with its ministry. This he was probably

unwilling to do, but a year later he was received into membership and unanimously chosen pastor. An arrangement seems to have been reached whereby the Church attended Allen's preaching services at St. George's, so that like Bridge at Yarmouth, he acted in the dual capacity of Public Preacher and Congregational Pastor. The congregation which gathered in St. George's was much too large for the old parish church. To provide accommodation a gallery was erected over the chancel, which remained till 1680. The Commissioners who then went to view it before its demolition reported:

> "Wee were credible informed (the gallery) was built and erected there in the times of the late Rebellion, before the hapie restoration of the King's Matie that now is, for the more ample receiving and conteineing a sort of people called Independents who in these times flocked from all pts of the citie to heare such preaching there as best suited the humours of that sort."

In their Covenant the members of the Church had promised

> "to imbrace any further light or truth yt shall be revealed to us out of God's word."

Such light came to some of them concerning the ordinance of Baptism. They went a step further than their brethren—the logical outcome of the steps already taken, discarding the Baptism of Infants and replacing it by the Baptism of Believers as it was practised in the days of the New Testament and the Primitive Church. They had been brought up to accept the Baptism of infants as a matter of course, but all those who had lived in Rotterdam must have become aware of another view on this matter, for the Mennonite Brethren in Holland had practised the Baptism of believers for several generations. Among the earliest gathered churches in Norfolk there was one at least which was frankly Baptist. The Church at Pulham dissented from the "administration of Baptism unto Infants." This congregation was in being before 1646, for in February of that year they consulted the Norwich Church about the removal of their minister, Mr. Wildeman, who had received a call to Beverley.

In 1646 the Christians at Wymondham, who were meeting for worship under the ministry of John Money, a member of the Norwich Church, consulted Yarmouth as to the desirability of inChurching. They mention several difficulties, one being that they were divided on the subject of Baptism:

> "some looking upon the baptising of infants the way of God; and others, questioning the truth of it, therefore suspend it."

The reply from Yarmouth was:

> "We think there ought to be on both sides a full knowledge and experience of one another's affections and judgements, how far they can bear in point of practice, lest differences should be more sad than Church fellowship comfortable."

From this it may be seen that the paedobaptist Congregationalists did not consider Baptist opinion and practice to be any insuperable bar to the fellowship of their Churches. It was within these Churches that the Baptist movement developed, and apart from Pulham, there is no evidence of the existence of any separate Baptist society in Norfolk for the next twenty years.

As early as 1646, "Hue and Cry after Vox populi" describes the Church as "a church of Independents, that is to say Brownists, Anabaptists and Antimonians." The term Anabaptist might be applied merely by way of abuse, but it is probable that there were facts to suggest it. That there were Baptists in Norwich in 1646 is further evidenced by a letter written by the Rev. Hanserd Knollys, then pastor of the Baptist Church in Great St. Helen's, London, to a Mr. John Dutten at Norwich. He ends the letter:

> "Salute the bretheren that are with you. Farewell. Your brother in the faith and fellowship of the Gospel."

Since there is no evidence of the existence of a separate Baptist fellowship in Norwich at this date, it is not unlikely that those brethren referred to were Baptists in communion with the Congregational Church.

The Baptist movement in Norfolk received a new impetus about 1656, when Baptist principles were advocated by some whose main interest was in the political activity of the Fifth Monarchy party. These held the doctrine, based on an interpretation of Apocalyptic scriptures, that the Fifth Monarchy, in which Christ would come to reign with His saints, was imminent. Some held it merely as a matter of passive expectation; others were prepared to go to any lengths to overthrow Cromwell's government in order to assist the fulfilment of the prophecies.

In March, 1656, the Fifth Monarchy was debated in a meeting of messengers of the Norfolk Churches. An invitation, signed by Daniel Bradford and John Tofte, was sent out in the name of the Norwich Church, who had been incited thereto by "some bretheren of neighbouring Churches." They were asked to send messengers to meet at the house of Timothy Norwich, in Tombland, Norwich, at 10 a.m. on the 12th of March, to compare their thoughts together concerning:

> "The visible reigne of Christ and the duty of the Saints towards the Govments of the world."

The general vote of the Messengers was:

> "That there should be in the latter dayes a glorious and vissible kingdom of Christ, wherein the Saints should rule. And to the second question whether we should be subject to the present powers of the world—that it was our dutie to give subjection, and if any should doe otherwise it should be a matter of grief and great offence unto them."

There were some in the County who were not content with this passive attitude towards the Government, and these were watched by Major-General Haynes, who reported to Secretary Thurloe on their proceedings. From his reports we learn that many Norfolk Fifth Monarchy men became Baptists. In April, 1656, he wrote:

> "Truly the Churches here are very free from such practices save that at North Walsham and some few, I thinke seven or eight, members of several Churches, that are breaking from their several relations uppon the account of anabaptisme, some of them have alreadie taken up that ordinance, and all the rest engaged in that principle, as well as the 5th Monarchie."

In July he reported:

> "At Norwich—our fifthe monarchy party there have many of them turned anabaptists and submitted to the ordinance."

And later in the same month:

> "Our North Walsham fifth monarchy bretheren who weare lately dipped, are synce growen exceeding high in their expressions, and that tending to bloud, as by the enclosed your honour will perceive: and Buttephant of the lyfe guard, Ruddock, and Pooly the Chieftances of them. Its not conjectured they are able to doe any considerable thing to a disturbance heere—."

The Baptists were a source of anxiety to their paedobaptist brethren in the Congregational fold. Early in 1657 the messengers of the Norfolk Churches met to confer about:

> "Those who had not onely forsaken the Churches for want of the Ordenance of Baptisme as they say, but also judged all the Churches no Churches that were not of their minde, or came not up to their practise."

Such were judged to be makers of divisions, and therefore to be withdrawn from. Despite these hints of differences on the baptismal question, another ten years passed before a Baptist Church emerged as a separate and lasting entity, distinct from the paedobaptist Congregational Churches.

After the Restoration, blow after blow fell upon the Churches. The Act of Uniformity excluded them from the Anglican Establishment, while the Conventicle Act made their own worship illegal. The Norwich Church was ejected from St. George's Tombland. Regular meetings could scarcely be maintained. The Church book records no meetings between 1664 and 1667, and it seems probable that fellowship was maintained by meeting in small companies, keeping so far as possible within the law. During this time the Baptists in the fellowship drew together under the leadership of Daniel Bradford, one of the veterans of the exile.

By 1667, Daniel Bradford and his group had come to regard themselves as a separate "Baptised Church," and on October 23rd in that year he declared to the messengers of the Congregational Church

> "That he could not hould Communion any longer with ye Church."

This event formally marks the separation of the Baptists (later to become St. Mary's Baptist Church) from the paedobaptist Congregationalists. The separation, in fact, may have taken place some time earlier. Throughout their long history as separate bodies the relationship of the two Churches has remained a cordial one. The Congregationalists have a stirring history, and still worship in the Old Meeting House erected immediately after the Glorious Revolution had brought freedom to Nonconformists. Their Church takes its name from this building, which is one of the noblest monuments of English Free Church architecture.

CHARLES B. JEWSON.

(To be continued.)

Ministerial Problems, 1830.

THE following letter from the Rev. Isaac Mann, of Maze Pond, to the Rev. James Upton, of Blackfriars, written 110 years ago, surely reflects honour on both writer and recipient. The problems discussed are with us still, although one has been partly removed by the Sustentation and Superannuation Funds. Mann died the following year, and Upton within four years.

* * * *

46, Long Lane,
BERMONDSEY,
October 30th, 1830.

My dear Brother,

I have read the little book you put into my hands with great interest. Your flock, and your friends, will receive it as a useful *vade mecum,* and peruse it with profit when you are removed. The conduct of the Church over which you preside, in reference to your sons, is highly honourable to them, and, if possible, more so to yourself. Two or three things, relative to aged ministers, have painfully affected my own mind.

Many ministers of the Gospel do very tenaciously hold the possession of their pulpits, when they ought to resign them to others. In some cases, a man's perceptions fail most when turned inwardly upon himself. Christ is the object of his supreme regards, and has been his glory and joy for many, very many years. In the work of the ministry, the aged minister has found a thousand pleasures—and he is unwilling to quit his Master's service. All others perceive his incompetency, but here his sight is dim. In such a case, the friends of the good old man are filled with no little perplexity. He has outlived the friends of his youth—a new generation has sprung up, which only began to know him when falling into a state of dilapidation, and are but little prepared to appreciate their fathers' friend, of whom they see only the shadow. A painful desertion frequently follows; and he who conducted with great profit the edification, the worship of an overflowing congregation, lives to see the place where they assembled almost as dreary as a desert.

Some ministers, I fear, have had too great an anxiety to retain the emoluments arising from the discharge of pastoral duties, and have found them a temptation sufficiently powerful

to prevent their quitting the pulpit, when reduced to almost imbecility. Where such a corrupt principle has operated, the Christian ministry has been reproached, and the Church has been torn with division and strife.

In how many cases has an endowment on meeting-houses operated only to freeze and cause to perish the benevolence of the people, and to secure in the place an inefficient, and often unworthy minister. Our forefathers followed an unhallowed fashion which blasphemed the Christian liberality of succeeding ages. They endowed everything—churches, chapels, workhouses, hospitals—everything must be endowed. Church endowments have, in a thousand instances, been the prey of rapacity, the boon of indolence, and the curse of the Churches of Christ. Thrice happy will be the day, when men shall have hearts disposed to employ their surplus property, in effecting present good in the Church and in the world, and leave future exigencies to the liberality which Christianity, under the influence of its Divine Author, shall inspire.

But, alas! how many instances do we remember, in which the minister of the Gospel has himself been fully conscious of growing infirmities, and increasing incapacity for his work, and yet he could not retire. Through life he has had merely the means of present subsistance. A very small and a standing salary, with a constantly growing family, have most effectually prevented his providing for the claims of old age. If he retire, another must succeed him; his people cannot support two ministers; and to quit his pulpit would only be a preface to his being cast upon a parish. There can be no doubt, that this apprehension has deterred many an honourable minister from retiring, when he perceived that his strength for effective labour was exhausted. Happy will it be, if, in this day of growing benevolence, some year sufficient provision may be made to meet cases of such a truly distressing character.

Where ministers have thought it necessary to receive an assistant, an unhappy jealousy has been entertained of the growing popularity of that assistant. The venerable minister of Jesus Christ, forgets that his old friends are in heaven; that a younger generation cannot sympathize with him, as did the friends of his youth; and hence he becomes unhappy at an apparent neglect. Young ministers, in such situations, have need of great prudence and tenderness and affection. They may see in the conduct of a young congregation towards an aged minister, the very treatment they may expect, if ever placed in such circumstances. And whoever should for a moment seem to slight the venerable and enfeebled pastor, they will do well to manifest to him the most assiduous and Christian attentions.

You, my dear brother, are in a most enviable situation in these matters. You have passed your seventieth year, and yet your health is good, and your faculties are almost entirely unimpaired. You have led your flock onward in seeking an acceptable assistant, and they have treated you with a tenderness and delicacy above all praise. I do, yes, I must, regard your conduct in your old age, as reflecting high honour, both on yourself, your flock, and the cause of Christ.

But there are doubtless cases in which Churches have consulted with far less attention than was justly due, the taste, feelings, and judgment of their pastor, in the choice of an assistant. Your honoured deacons and fellow-members, here, however, act in concert, and with entire harmony. That harmony will, I trust, be for ever unbroken!

I have been led into this train of reflections by the small Volume before me. We have known and loved each other nearly twenty years, and I am truly thankful to see the evening of your life so calm and tranquil. I sympathize with you in your deep afflictions in one branch of your family. May God graciously support you, and deliver yours! In this way would I testify my unfeigned and unchanging esteem to my brethren in Church Street, and to their beloved pastor.

I am,
My dear brother,
very affectionately yours,
I. MANN.

REV. JAMES UPTON.

The City Temple, 1640-1940. The Tercentenary Commemoration History, by Albert Clare. (Independent Press, 5s. net.)

A great history worthily told. Much painstaking research has gone to the writing, and the early period at Anchor Lane and the Poultry lives no less than modern days. We could dispense with many Victorian biographies for an adequate one of Joseph Parker (the same remark applies to Spurgeon), and we are glad that the author has devoted eight chapters to his remarkable personality. The present minister, in a preface, writes a lively defence of popular preaching—does he protest too much?

This book must be referred to by those who would write in the future of the Free Churches. How was it, with its nearly 300 pages and sixteen illustrations, produced for 5s.?

Baptist Historical Society.

I. ANNUAL REPORT.

SINCE our last annual meeting seventeen new members have been elected to the Baptist Historical Society, but the statement then made is equally urgent to-day—"We need a constant influx of new members, as inevitably we lose a few each year, who retire owing to age or because of financial stringency."

The annual meeting was held at Bromsgrove, to which an excursion was arranged from the Birmingham Assembly. This was an outstanding success, and we were much indebted to the Rev. A. S. Langley for his efficient organising, to West Midland laymen for providing charabancs, and to the Bromsgrove Church for hospitality. A full account was written by the Rev. F. G. Hastings in the July *Baptist Quarterly*.

It is deeply regretted that war conditions prevent a trip to London's historic sites during the present Assembly.

Four issues of the *Baptist Quarterly*, enlarged to 64 pages, were published, and letters of appreciation have reached us not only from this country, but also from Australia and the United States. Valued helpers of many years' standing have continued to send contributions, both historical and modern. The Society's officers have felt encouraged by the number of young ministers and laymen who are engaging in research or declaring themselves on current problems. They have enriched the pages of our journal. Some members have written expressing concern lest publication should be discontinued during the war period. Paper restrictions will inevitably cause a reduction in the number of pages, but members can rest assured that the Society's officers will do their utmost to continue the quarterly issue. Fortunately, in Messrs. Rush and Warwick (Bedford) Ltd., we are served by printers who have treated our Society with every consideration for many years.

Various enquiries on historical matters were received. Some involved much research and correspondence, but it is always a pleasure to help the serious student.

SEYMOUR J. PRICE, *Hon. Secretary.*

II. FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

(For the year ended 31st December, 1939.)

INCOME.

	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Balance from 1938	... ...	3 5 6
Subscriptions—		
Annual for 1939	121 4 11	
Annual for 1940	3 11 0	
One Life Member	10 10 0	
		135 5 11
Sale of Publications	... ...	12 14 1
		£151 5 6

EXPENDITURE.

Baptist Quarterly, four issues ...	... ...	107 8 3
Stationery, postages, insurance, etc.	... ...	8 7 8
Transfer to Life Subscriptions Reserve	... ...	10 10 0
Transfer to General Reserve ...	... ...	15 0 0
Balance in hand	6 8 7	
Subscriptions paid in advance ...	3 11 0	
		9 19 7
		£151 5 6

RESERVE FUND

(including above allocations).

Life Subscriptions	60 10 0
General Reserve	50 0 0
	£110 10 0

A. H. CALDER, *Treasurer.*

Reviews.

Living Religions and a World Faith, by William Ernest Hocking. (Allen and Unwin, 10s. net.)

By many, Professor William Ernest Hocking, of Harvard, is known and appreciated for his stimulating volumes, *The Meaning of God in Human Experience* (1912) and *Human Nature and its Remaking* (1918). In missionary circles he came into prominence as chairman of the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry, which published its findings in 1932 in the volume *Re-thinking Missions,* which had a wide circulation but failed to commend itself to the main body of missionary opinion. In the present volume, which contains the lectures delivered under the Hibbert Trust, Professor Hocking fastens on the question which must be the burning centre of all missionary thinking, namely the exact nature of the Church's witness to the non-Christian religions. He is convinced that there is no future for the missionary enterprise if it persists in its aim of displacing the non-Christian religions. With equal decision he rejects the method of synthesis and advocates what he calls the method of Reconception. The meaning of the phrase is not immediately obvious, and the author helps out his exposition with diagrams after the manner of A. N. Whitehead. Professor Hocking's meaning seems to be that Christianity should immediately include all that is valid in the non-Christian religions, and then go on to include indefinitely more as the adherents of the different religions come to understand more clearly the true essence of their own faith. The method involves, of course, the surrender of the finality of Christ and the uniqueness of Christianity. That causes Professor Hocking no misgivings because he is convinced that the existence of many different religions is a scandal. What is needed is a single world religion; and Christianity is not yet ready to serve as such, since it does not, at present, include all the values that the other religions possess.

If only we were all Barthians, we might feel that Professor Hocking had been answered in advance by Dr. Kraemer's *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World,* which was written for the Tambaram Conference. Dr. Kraemer's book is a learned and important work, but missionary-minded theologians like Dr. D. S. Cairns were not slow to express their disagreement with some of its presuppositions. At Tambaram it formed the *pièce de résistance,* and by then the non-Barthians had recovered from Dr. Kraemer's onslaught. Now they are

attacked on the other flank by Professor Hocking. They must muster for a counter-attack by bringing forward their exposition of the finality of Christ. Perhaps, in spite of Professor Hocking's demurs, Dr. Macnicol's *Is Christianity Unique?* will satisfy most of them. Clearly the acceptance of Professor Hocking's views would cut the nerve of the missionary enterprise; and the world religion he advocates would be, to use one of his own phrases, "an abstract distillate too tenuous to live and too colourless to retain its interest."

A. C. UNDERWOOD.

Great Women in Christian History, by F. Townley Lord, B.A., D.D. (Cassell and Co. Ltd. 4s. net.)

The dedication of this book, "to the memory of Sister Doris, Bloomsbury's beloved Deaconess," will give pleasure to all who knew this devoted worker, for in consecration and faithfulness she was not behind the great women of whom Dr. Lord writes. The reception given to his volume, *Great Women of the Bible*, published less than twelve months ago, made this companion volume inevitable. From Perpetua and Monica to Susannah Wesley and Catherine Booth, the centuries are bridged; and martyrs, mystics, monastics, evangelists and home-makers pass before us. These women made an important contribution to their times, and their story is attractively told. We commend this volume as heartily as the earlier; it will inspire many addresses and lectures in the forthcoming autumn.

Brookfield Hymns, by Maurice F. Hewett. (Carey Press. 1s. net.)

The author had his first ministry at the Baptist Church, Chudleigh, in the heart of Devon. There he could listen to the music of the brook, and rejoice in the beauty of the fields. Thus he obtained the title for this enlarged edition of his hymns. When a supplement is published to the *Revised Baptist Church Hymnal* some will surely find a place.